



SCANDINAVIAN- CANADIAN STUDIES

Vol. 3 1988

ÉTUDES SCANDINAVES AU CANADA

GURLI AAGAARD WOODS

Editor/Rédactrice

AASSC

ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES
IN CANADA

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

AAESC

Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada
 Editorial Board/Comité de rédaction
 1988-1990

John de Vries <i>Sociology, Carleton University</i>	Christopher English <i>History, Memorial University</i>
Harry Lane <i>Drama, University of Guelph</i>	Jocelyn Lillycrop <i>Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, Ottawa</i>
William Sayers <i>Council of Ontario Universities, Toronto</i>	Peter William Wonders <i>Geography, University of Alberta</i>
Robert Young <i>Political Science, University of Western Ontario</i>	Peter Ohlin <i>English, McGill University</i>

AASSC/AAESC
 Executive Committee/Comité exécutif
 1987-1989

President	Gurli Aagaard Woods <i>Comparative Literature, Carleton University</i>
Vice-President	Wolfgang Ahrens <i>Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University</i>
Treasurer	Sigrid Johnson <i>Icelandic Collection, Library, University of Manitoba</i>
Secretary	Brian Bunting <i>Geography, McMaster University</i>
Chair, Editorial Board	Peter Ohlin <i>English, McGill University</i>
Editor of AASSC Newsbulletin	Harry Lane <i>Drama, University of Guelph</i>
Member-at-Large	Richard Cornell <i>Political Science, York University</i>
Member-at-Large	Christopher English <i>History, Memorial University</i>
Past-President	Christopher Hale <i>Scandinavian Program, Germanic Languages, University of Alberta</i>

SCANDINAVIAN-
CANADIAN
STUDIES

ÉTUDES
SCANDINAVES
AU CANADA

Volume 3 1988

GURLI AAGAARD WOODS

Editor/Rédactrice

AASSC

ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES
IN CANADA

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

AAESC

Ottawa, 1988

Copyright © 1988 by the AASSC/AAESC.

All rights reserved.

Published 1988 by the AASSC/AAESC.

Typeset at Carleton University.

Printed by Reprographic Services, University of Ottawa.

Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada

ISSN 0823-1796

ISBN 0-9691476-2-7

The Editor and Editorial Board of *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada* and the Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada and its Executive take no responsibility for the opinions or data presented by contributors to this volume.

CONTENTS

Editor's Introduction v

HISTORICO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

Norway and European Integration	1	Helge Ø. Pharø
Floating Capital: Investment in the Canadian and Norwegian Merchant Marines in Comparative Perspective, 1850-1914	17	Lewis R. Fischer Helge W. Nordvik

FROM DRAMA AND CONTROVERSIAL WRITING TO FILM

Realism and Innovation in Stringberg's <i>Mäster Olof</i>	43	Paul Walsh
Suzanne Brøgger and Eros <i>Through a Glass Darkly:</i>	61	Marina Allemano
Figurative Language in Ingmar Bergman's Script	73	Peter Ohlin

THE MEETING OF TWO CULTURES

Kjartan's Choice: The Irish Disconnection in the Sagas of the Icelanders	89	William Sayers
<i>Kalevala</i> in Sointula: The Intellectual Background of Matti Kurikka	115	J. Donald Wilson
Arqaluk Lynge — Poet and Politician	133	Marianne Stenbæk

Editor's Introduction

The Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada is pleased to bring forth Vol. 3 of its series entitled *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Etudes Scandinaves au Canada*. The multi-disciplinary focus of the Association is reflected in this volume which is divided into three parts. The first part deals with political and economic issues, the second part focusses on literature and film, and the third part is of a more sociological nature as the articles reflect various aspects in connection with the meeting of two cultures.

Professor Helge Pharo of the University of Oslo opens the first part of the volume by discussing pro and anti-market sentiments in Norway with regards to the European Economic Community. In the next article, Canadian researcher Lewis Fischer and Norwegian researcher Helge Nordvik have co-authored a comparison between the merchant marines in Norway and Canada between 1850 and World War I. This study represents one result of a joint research project between Memorial University of Newfoundland and the School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen, Norway.

The second part is devoted to three articles on literature and film. Paul Walsh presents a new way of looking at Strindberg's historical drama *Måster Olof*, and Marina Allemano discusses the controversial Danish writer Suzanne Brøgger. The third article is an analysis of Ingmar Bergman's film script to his film "Through a Glass Darkly".

The third section focusses on some of the sociological aspects that arise when two cultures meet. In the case of Dr. William Sayers' article, the two cultures in question are medieval Irish and Icelandic cultures as reflected in the Book of Settlements and the sagas. Donald Wilson's article renders a picture of Finnish culture on Malcolm Island in British Columbia around the turn of the century, and through the poetry of a Greenlandic Inuit poet and politician, Marianne Stenbæk depicts problematic areas in Greenlandic/Danish relations in the 1960s and 1970s.

As Editor of this volume, I wish to thank the members of the Editorial Board and the many other readers involved in assessing papers submitted for publication by AASSC. A note of thanks also goes to Martha Healy, my Research Assistant in 1987, who was involved in the beginning stages of this volume, and to Stephen Barber, my Research

Assistant this year, who helped proof-read the articles at the final stages of production. Furthermore, a special thank you is owing to Christina Thiele at Carleton University who so expertly looked after the production side of this volume, from the typed manuscripts to the camera-ready copy.

The majority of the articles in this volume were presented at the Association's conferences at the University of Manitoba in 1986 or McMaster University in 1987, and they reflect the fact that AASSC aims at promoting scholarship and research in all disciplines relating to Scandinavian-Canadian studies. It has been a pleasure to prepare this volume for publication, and I sincerely hope that the reader will enjoy the scope and variety of topics offered.

G.A. Woods, Ph.D
(Carleton University)

HISTORICO-POLITICAL
AND
ECONOMIC ISSUES

Norway and European Integration After World War II

Helge Ø. Pharo
(University of Oslo)

I

In the fall of 1972 the Norwegian electorate rejected by a majority of around 250 000 votes (53.5 percent against 46.5 percent) the treaty that the Labour government of Trygve Bratteli had negotiated with the European Community. With the exception of the special case of Iceland, Norway was thus the only one of the founding members of both the OEEC and of NATO to remain outside the community. As viewed from the outside, the outcome of the referendum could be interpreted as an indication that Norway's strong postwar alignment with the West was weakening. Such an observation would appear the more persuasive since Norway during these years consistently had followed the British lead in matters of European and Atlantic cooperation. As a minimum, the tenor of public debate could be considered as heralding a resurgence of the isolationist and anti-European sentiments of the interwar and immediate postwar years.¹

In terms of domestic politics it would be tempting to consider the outcome of the referendum as above all a dramatic defeat for the foreign policy elite in Norway. In the aftermath of a heated campaign many analysts highlighted this interpretation. In an historical perspective, however, such a view, while to some extent accurate, is inadequate. The struggle over membership in the European Community first of all marks a partial, and possibly temporary, breakdown of the foreign policy consensus forged during the debates over Marshall Plan and NATO membership.

The postwar oppositional fringes were to be found on the left within the Communist and Socialist People's parties as well as on Labour's left wing, on the right and within the centre among isolationist members of the Centre (Farmer), Christian People's and Liberal parties. These oppositional groups, together with leading mainstream politicians of all parties, the Conservatives excepted, led the struggle against membership with very impressive organizational support from the grass roots. The left and isolationist fringes, of course, had been excluded not only from foreign policy decision-making but from the foreign policy debate alto-

gether since the late 1940s. The market issue to a considerable degree brought them back to respectability, while the outcome of the referendum removed the question of membership in the Community from the political agenda until the most recent years. Still, the breakdown of the consensus was only partial, support for Norwegian NATO membership has kept increasing since 1972, and the two main protagonists of membership, Labour and the Conservatives, have regained and even strengthened their positions from before the 1972 defeat.²

While there has lately been only muted public debate on the market issue, the minority Labour government in the summer of 1987 completed a major White Paper concerning Norway's relations with Europe which has yet to be debated. It is increasingly being recognized, even by former opponents of membership, that the question of Norway's relations with the European Community may not be primarily one of economic development and control, but above all one about the wider issues of Norway's political position and influence in Europe, and thus its foreign and security policies in a more general sense.

Such issues were largely disregarded by membership supporters and downplayed by the opponents during the membership campaign. To the extent there was a debate along such lines, it centred on the rather simplistic scare images of a European political union, provided by the opposition, that assumed that Norway would again lose its independence. In the heated atmosphere of the referendum campaign there was little room for academic debates on the relationship between national sovereignty and integration. By many membership opponents, the Community was dreaded as a vehicle for German dominance, the antecedents clearly to be found in Hitler's Third Reich. While the mainstream antimarketeers did not market such ideas, the fear of European — and of Catholic — dominance of Norwegian politics was everpresent in the debates, and undoubtedly influenced grass roots attitudes.³ There was a very strong feeling both of Norwegian separateness on the one hand, and of extreme vulnerability in the relationship with Europe on the other. The latter feeling was forcefully expressed by Norway's leading historian, Jens Arup Seip, a few years later in a different and scholarly context, when he alluded to the European determinants of Norwegian independence. In his history of Norway since 1814 he emphasized the fact that the Napoleonic wars led to Norwegian independence from Denmark. "In the same way Hitler's war turned out to be one immediate cause for Norway's reentry into alliances and dependency. Seen in such a perspective independence was a gift that was rendered and recovered. Napoleon gave, Hitler took."⁴

During the referendum debates, the proponents largely argued in terms of economic advantage, the opponents in terms of political cost. Those who favoured entry did not exploit the wider ramifications, either in regards to Europe or the North Atlantic area, while the opponents played on isolationist fears and prejudices, and very carefully worked to dissociate the problem of Norway's basic alignment with the West from that of the European Community. This issue was potentially divisive within the anti-movement. We should bear in mind when considering these strategies that Europe's political potential and the relative decline of the United States' position in Europe were seen less clearly than in the late 1980s, as was the degree of Norwegian isolation which has resulted from the referendum.

Until government and party archives are made accessible to researchers, we can put forward only very tentative conclusions as to the course and outcome of the struggle over Norway's European policy in the 1960s and the early 1970s. Even as regards the abortive attempt at membership in the early 1960s, which might then have been accepted domestically but which was cut short by de Gaulle's 1963 veto against British membership, we do not have adequate archival access.

However, the issue of European economic integration and cooperation was also raised in the late 1940s and early 1950s within the context of the Marshall Plan and the OEEC. At that time a number of the strongly voiced anti-European sentiments of the 1960s and 1970s opposition were widely held by the same group of political and business leaders that some 20 years later led the struggle for entry. Their relative ignorance of Europe at the time is in retrospect quite striking, as is their distaste for continental policies and politics, barring the case of the Netherlands. They are certainly not comparable to the later opponents, either in depth of misunderstanding or in intensity of antimarket feelings, but then neither were they engaged in one of the most explosive political campaigns in independent Norway.

By going back to the 1940s and 1950s we may gain considerable insight into the problems facing Norwegian policymakers at the time, as well as into the attitudes and perceptions that contributed to shaping their decisions. Norwegian foreign policy in the early postwar years already has been treated in a large number of studies based on public and private archival collections. By exploiting these studies as well as the accessible archives we may acquire a firmer understanding of Norway's European policies in general, while we wait for the more recent materials to be made available to scholars.

Before we touch upon the actual issues of that period, it seems perti-

nent to emphasize that for the Norwegian political leadership European economic integration, and to some extent even functional cooperation, has above all constituted an unpleasant problem. It has not been seen as offering an opportunity for achieving important economic and political goals. The salient issues have been those of cost, whether they be consequences of joining or of remaining outside. This holds true whether we study the problems within a European context or in the more circumscribed one of Scandinavian cooperation.

II

The problem of European integration first came up within the context of the Marshall Plan during the initial negotiations in the summer of 1947. In return for aid the United States wanted closer economic cooperation between the recipients. Higher level officials as well as a number of members of both houses of Congress were looking forward to the establishment of a common market in Europe, modelled on the American one. The European response was generally quite cautious, but a number of more or less cooperative strategies were adopted. The idea of one or more regional customs unions was among those put forward. The Norwegians, together with the Swedes and closely followed by the British, were the most skeptical towards these plans. Partly the Norwegian Labour government was afraid of losing control of domestic economic policy, partly (and in the summer of 1947 this was of greater importance) opposition was due to the fear that close and institutionalized Western European cooperation would further undermine the so-called "bridgebuilding" policy of the immediate postwar years.⁵

During the early part of the Marshall Plan conference, Norway consistently tried to undermine efforts aimed at closer Western European cooperation, even to the extent of proposing that the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe be used to distribute Marshall aid. Once the Americans applied heavier pressure to force the Europeans into some sort of compliance with their ideas, and as the Norwegians along with the rest of Europe found themselves saddled with a serious dollar shortage, such obstructionist policies were doomed. In order to accommodate the Americans, the Scandinavians then introduced the idea of a regional customs union. Talks started in the fall of 1947 and dragged on until 1952 when the Norwegians came up with their final proposals. The talks were then revived in 1954 and again they came to nothing.⁶

The proposal for a Scandinavian customs union was clearly a tactical response to developments abroad. While the Swedes and the Danes — as

far as we can legitimately draw conclusions from Norwegian sources — to some extent tried to promote the union because they also appear to have found some intrinsic merit in the proposal, the Norwegians generally viewed it as undesirable until 1952. That year the Labour government contemplated making a sincere effort to have the union set up. However, once it realized the strength of the opposition within the non-Labour parties as well as within agriculture and manufacturing industry, the government backed down. We should also note that the 1952 proposals were made as much to further Scandinavian political cooperation and unity as to promote economic integration. It was considered important to try to reduce the breach between the Scandinavian neighbours that followed upon the NATO membership of Denmark and Norway.⁷

European political and economic cooperation only advanced after the early 1950s. Still, the efforts made within the OEEC and the Council of Europe at the end of the 1940s were important precursors, not the least because these early proposals, debates and modest organizational results demonstrated very clearly to the continental Europeans that the British and the Scandinavians were less than wholehearted adherents of integrationist schemes. In competition with the looser and Europe-wide (Western Europe) first efforts, they launched their own proposals for closer cooperation between a smaller number of states. In the process they informed the British that they would be welcome to join provided they accepted this concept of economic integration.⁸

As had been the case during the early Marshall Plan negotiations, the Norwegians were more reluctant than even the British Labour government as regards the Council of Europe. The Council was Churchill's idea, and to left-of-centre Norwegians it had an unmistakably conservative tilt. The Norwegian Labour Party was not represented during the preliminary negotiations, and only reluctantly followed suit when the Attlee government decided to go along. After the Gerhardsen cabinet had decided to join, it again tried to limit the authority of the Council as much as possible, to the extent of not even wanting the court.

The early skepticism towards the Council, and towards similar proposals from other quarters, was fuelled by the fear that bridgebuilding would be endangered. Once the original bridgebuilding stance had become impossible, by the summer and fall of 1948, some of the opponents of a North Atlantic alliance were willing to see the Council of Europe as a kind of third alternative, a middle way between the US and the USSR, albeit with a Western tilt. What limited support there existed for the Council of Europe in Norway, was thus by and large not due to any enthusiasm for integration.⁹

Obviously there were inherent risks in this negative approach, as had been clearly understood by the Norwegian government when it modified its position during the Marshall Plan negotiations in the summer of 1947. Though in the main following the British lead, or coordinating policies with Britain, the Labour cabinet remained in danger of becoming isolated as it kept its distance not only from the integrationists on the continent, but also from its Social Democratic neighbours in Denmark and Sweden. After the autumn of 1948 we may thus trace a few, modest Norwegian attempts at avoiding international isolation in questions of economic policy.

The first Norwegian proposal, as Alan Milward has shown, was launched in the fall of 1948 when Norway put the idea of Uniscan to the British government. This joint Anglo-Scandinavian committee was set up in early December of 1949 after a meeting in Paris between Foreign Minister H.M. Lange and the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps, later joined by the ministers of foreign affairs and trade of the other Scandinavian countries. Generally speaking, the British and the Norwegians were the most active of the group. In the field of economic policy, the committee was above all intended as a forum to discuss and decide on questions of trade liberalization and the liberalization of current and capital payments.¹⁰

In the end, the committee never achieved much in the way of joint action, not the least because the Norwegians insisted upon ad hoc agreements. They were not willing to accept "automatic rules", as was also the case in the discussions concerning the Scandinavian customs union. As far as positive cooperative measures were concerned, the head of the Norwegian delegation to the OEEC very succinctly characterized the fate of this abortive organization in the summer of 1950: "As yet there has been no concrete proposals from anyone that we should at this moment develop further the cooperative effort that has been initiated."¹¹

We should not, however, conclude that Uniscan was totally useless, nor that it was primarily intended to promote closer cooperation between the British and the Scandinavians in the management of their economies. In their private, preparatory meeting, Lange and Cripps agreed that the opposing views of economic cooperation within the OEEC constituted a problem for the states of Northwestern Europe, and they expressed the hope for closer cooperation between themselves to provide countervailing power to the continental bloc. They were also hopeful that they could disconnect the Netherlands from the other continental states, as that country, in Lange's view, was not too far removed from the Scandinavian countries in terms of economic policy. Here we have

arrived at the heart of the matter. The two main instigators were pursuing a dual purpose policy. Economic collaboration between themselves would be pursued to the extent possible without the conclusion of agreements requiring adherence to automatic rules. At the same time they would be contemplating measures to throw closer European integration off course, or at least to have the continentals conform more closely to Anglo-Scandinavian ideas of looser, functional cooperation. Uniscan was soon to become primarily a forum for the exchange of information and opinions on developments within the OEEC and the Schuman Plan. For the Norwegians the meetings of the committee offered the possibilities of coordinating policies with the British, and for tentatively promoting alternative frameworks for economic cooperation.¹²

It was never very likely that the Norwegians would succeed in their efforts. The continental states were moving quite decisively towards closer cooperation. They had the continued support of the United States. The Americans showed very little sympathy for the British preference for looser cooperation, and little understanding of Britain's Commonwealth connections, responsibilities and aspirations. Neither would the Americans accord the British the elevated, supra-European status that the latter desired to maintain the special relationship. The British preference for a North Atlantic rather than a European framework, one that would embrace the United States, the United Kingdom, and some European entity, and that could be, as Michael Hogan has put it, "brought about by developing NATO as an "umbrella" organization with separate arms for military and nonmilitary affairs,"¹³ was voiced on several occasions, and we may assume, served to inspire also the loosely formulated Norwegian plans. As the British plans were faced with both continental and American opposition they were never likely to be implemented.

The representatives of a small Northern European nation could hardly expect to do better than the spokesmen of a still major European and imperial power. No wonder then that the Norwegians never appear to have put any great effort into their planning procedures whenever they came up with new ideas. There is indeed a certain fairytale quality about the proposals that were promoted within the foreign ministry, betraying both a rather modest knowledge of the situation on the continent and a remarkable lack of realism as regards the possibilities for wider cooperation. Neither do we find any analysis of the possible support for Norwegian ideas. Most probably only the Canadians could be considered genuinely interested. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the Norwegians found the international situation acceptable

as long as they were not facing any immediate threat of becoming isolated. They could, however, still enjoy the fantasies of a more congenial international environment.¹⁴

Pious hopes were expressed on several occasions in the early 1950s. In the spring and summer of 1951 Foreign Minister Lange and his principal adviser, Professor of History Arne Ording, were playing with the idea of accommodating the Schuman Plan countries within a larger North Atlantic framework to include NATO, the OEEC, and the Council of Europe. They were looking for

closer European integration within a greater Atlantic context. From the Norwegian point of view Atlantic cooperation is the main thing. We should work towards one Atlantic organization which includes all kinds of cooperation.¹⁵

It does not seem likely that either the continental states or the neutrals would have gone along with such a proposal. When the Norwegians briefly suggested reopening the Scandinavian customs union negotiations in early 1952, the twin goals of the initiative were those of strengthening the Atlantic states and creating the basis for a joint Scandinavian stance towards the Schuman Plan. Even while recognizing that Sweden's neutrality might prove an insurmountable obstacle, Lange still promoted the idea for some time. In the end, the foreign ministry retreated before domestic opposition without actually having reached the stage of international negotiations.¹⁶

It is in retrospect difficult to square such wishful thinking with the realist pursuit of Norwegian interests — as well as Labour Party interests — which the foreign minister and his colleagues otherwise engaged in. In the absence of a sustained Norwegian effort to achieve its deviant integrationist goals, we shall probably never be able to give a wholly satisfactory discussion of these proposals. However, by exploring the reasons for Norway's extreme reluctance to enter into agreements on close economic cooperation at that time, and by casting our net wider to other facets of Norwegian foreign policy, we may come closer to an understanding of Norwegian policies with regard to European integration.

III

There is one common theme recurring in Norwegian discussions of European integration, be it within the foreign ministry, various Norwegian negotiating teams, or the delegation with the OEEC: Norwegian representatives were extremely unwilling to give up any part of real or

imagined freedom of action by entering into agreements embodying automatic rules. We can observe this within the context of the OEEC, the Council of Europe, Uniscan and the Scandinavian customs union talks. This unwillingness to relinquish part of its sovereignty is also evident in the Norwegian response to the question of a joint reconstruction plan to be presented to the Americans in exchange for Marshall aid. Though that reluctance was primarily due to the fear that close Western European cooperation would ease the way to a Western bloc, the choice of words in one of the dispatches from Paris also reveals the Norwegian fear of reduced domestic freedom of action:

So far our major objectives have been to establish that it is not the task of the conference to work out a reconstruction plan for Europe and establish any coordination of the economic activity between the sixteen participating countries repeat it is not the task of the conference furthermore the trade of the various participating countries will not be tied or controlled stop. This has been clearly established.¹⁷

There are several reasons for this fear of loss of sovereignty or freedom of action. In the first place, we must keep in mind that Norway in 1950 was only entering its 45th year of independence. Secondly, as opposed to the continental states, independent Norway had experienced no warlike disagreements with its closest neighbours. While we may look in vain in the archives for explanations such as these, it appears unreasonable not to assume that tacit considerations of this kind were important. Such arguments were certainly important to the opponents of membership during the debates preceding 1972 referendum. But also, there is no lack of more immediate, material reasons for Norwegian skepticism and obstruction. We shall now turn to those.

As regards the Scandinavian customs union, the Norwegian government, as well as the opposition parties and representatives of agriculture and manufacturing industry, felt that the country would be at a disadvantage because it was less developed than its neighbours. Norwegian manufacturers would lose ground to their Swedish counterparts, and Danish agriculture was far more competitive than Norwegian. While Norwegian producers would thus be exposed to stronger Scandinavian competitors on the home market, Norway's export markets would not be significantly expanded by a customs union. This is not to imply that the Labour government was economically inward-looking. On the contrary, Norway was heavily dependent upon foreign trade, and the industrialization drive of the Labour party certainly presumed international liberalization of trade and payments in the not too distant future. The Norwegian export industries needed above all a relatively open world

market. Thus the Labour government, as well as the leaders of manufacturing industries, looked to more general liberalization schemes rather than to regional solutions in cooperation with mainly more economically advanced neighbours. At the same time, the Labour government in the short run wished to maintain its system of controls and regulations which characterized its approach to the economic problems of the reconstruction period. A Scandinavian customs union would certainly not offer any immediate benefits; indeed, it would only entail short term costs.¹⁸

With regard to the continental states the situation was somewhat different. The Norwegian government was opposed to their integrationist efforts both within and outside the OEEC for mainly political reasons. The economic policies of most continental states were seen as fundamentally different from those of Norway — in retrospect probably more so than was warranted. Arne Skaug, Ambassador to the OEEC, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and later Minister of Trade, pointed in the summer of 1950 to the contrasts between the Scandinavians and the British on the one hand and the continental Europeans on the other:

They adhere to a *laissez-faire* policy. The so-called financial stability, whereby they appear to mean a modest depression and resistance to controls and regulations, seems essential to them. They are by and large opposed to public investments and control of investments. They consider trade liberalization as a goal in itself, but frequently undermine the results of such liberalization by a deflationary policy and partly by protectionism. They are not really concerned with adhering to agreements about maintaining full employment. The Anglo-Scandinavian system is largely the opposite of the continental European. The desire to maintain full employment and considerations of social justice have priority, other goals are secondary. These primary goals imply a kind of governmental responsibility which is most often alien to the continental philosophy.¹⁹

This criticism is certainly more specific and better informed than that of many European Community critics in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet it is also marred by misconceptions and unwarranted generalizations, and is characterized by a fundamental lack of trust in continental Policies and politicians. Norwegian Labour leaders clearly felt that the goals and policies of their social democracy would be at risk in an integrated economic bloc dominated by Europeans. The Labour government felt it necessary to keep at a distance the proponents of what was assumed to be an alien political philosophy, or at least to modify the cooperative framework to such a degree that the Norwegian political economy would not be subjected to their influence in any significant way. The Norwegian dream of merging NATO, the OEEC and the Council of Europe was

tailored to the desire for a loose organization embracing Western Europe and the North Atlantic area. The large number of members would ensure a low degree of formal and real integration, and consequently the continentals would be kept at a safe distance, while Norway would not be isolated.

It would seem reasonable to assume that the basic distrust of continental Europe was strengthened by fear and dislike of Germany. Certainly public opinion and parliamentary politicians gave vent to such feelings from the 1940s onwards. We do not yet have any studies of government policies and perceptions that are based on government archival sources. It would, however, appear unlikely for the Norwegian government, notwithstanding its outward loyalty on the question of arming the Federal Republic, not to have shared some of the attitudes and perceptions of both the population at large and significant parts of the political elite. The very influential Erik Brofoss, first Minister of Finance and then of Trade, and later Director of the Bank of Norway, was certainly very skeptical of Germany and fearful of German influence in Europe.²⁰

The Norwegian preference for a Western European and North Atlantic organization furthermore serves to highlight the fact that only within the realm of defence was the cabinet willing to contemplate measures of actual integration. The German attack in April 1940 had proved to those responsible for the execution of Norwegian foreign policy that the formerly implicit British guarantee of Norwegian territory had to be replaced by an explicit one. Such a guarantee could only be credible if there were peacetime preparation for wartime cooperation. As a consequence of the establishment and development of NATO, a considerable degree of defence integration was unavoidable. Yet, while clearly perceiving the need for a Western security guarantee, Einar Gerhardsen, Prime Minister at the time of entry in 1949, still had his doubts (as party leader in 1952) as to "whether Norway had not gone too far in her Atlantic policy and too far for the party members."²¹

The necessity for alignment with the West for security reasons was of overriding importance in the initial Norwegian decision to join the Marshall Plan. As the big three of the wartime coalition drifted towards the creation of two mutually hostile blocs, Norway could not afford even to appear to be approaching the other side. Even so, the domestic obstacles to defence cooperation were always considered formidable. As Arne Ording mused in his diary in the summer of 1946, when the first threats against the short-lived policy of bridgebuilding appeared:

We have not yet abandoned the hope of becoming a "bridge". If that becomes impossible we obviously belong to "Western Civilization". It is, however, both for national and international reasons impossible and, furthermore, not important to take a stand that implies a break with the new neutrality.²²

By the summer of 1947, the first few steps westward had been taken; however, both the international and domestic costs of continuing the new neutrality were becoming too high. In March 1948, the decision was taken to approach the West to gain protection. By the end of 1948, the Western implications of Marshall Plan participation were such that the Labour Party obtained almost universal support in the *Storting* for its long term economic program (to be presented to the OEEC) with only the Communists and a few Farmer representatives voting against it. Skepticism against the heavy industry bias of the program ran high in all opposition parties, and in parts of the Labour Party as well. However, as the program was considered part and parcel of the OEEC reconstruction and development effort, a vote against the program could be construed as a vote against Western alignment. The need to close ranks in the face of a perceived security threat caused the political parties to tone down their disagreements over economic policy when it had such foreign policy implications.²³

IV

In the post-war period, as we have seen, skepticism of close integration was widespread across the board. The analysis and sentiments expressed by Arne Skaug would certainly have been widely shared by other Norwegians inside and outside the political establishment. By the time of the Norwegian application for membership in the European Community in the 1960s and 1970s, parts of the political elite had changed course, the voters less so. Most of them would probably have applauded Skaug's two-decades-old analysis of continental policies, though a good portion of them would, for various reasons, be willing to accept membership.

The left and populist opposition in the years 1969-72 was definitely strengthened by the fact that the security issues of the 1940s and 1950s were not really part of the debate. Those opposing integration could carry their cause to the electorate without risking the taint of anti-westernism. At the same time, the agreements that the Bratteli government entered into were more wide ranging than anything the Norwegian government had contemplated and reacted so strongly against in the

early 1950s. There is indeed considerable continuity in the outcome of the referendum of 1972.

Ironically it appears quite conceivable that Norway would have opted for membership in the early 1960s even with a referendum. Labour and the Conservatives by that time had changed to a pro-market position, largely we may assume, because they felt the need to follow the British lead. The parties of the centre were uncertain of their stand, but the opposition within these parties was not nearly as vocal, well organized or substantial as it was to become towards the end of the decade. The kind of cooperation between the left and the centre that occurred at that time was at best embryonic in 1962, and it appears in retrospect highly unlikely for the two disparate groups to have succeeded in their fight against membership at the time. In a way then, the anti-marketeers were in the short term rescued by de Gaulle, a representative of the European political tradition they so much disliked.

Norway's complex relationship with and attitudes to the emerging European Community are thus characterized by both considerable stability and dramatic changes, on the elite as well as the popular level. To come to grips with the policies of successive Norwegian governments as well as party policies and grass root reactions, we shall have to deal with a great variety of issues and attitudes. Changes in the international environment as well as varying perceptions of these changes are certainly important. It is equally obvious that we must pay close attention to deepseated attitudes within the Norwegian political culture and popular culture more generally.

Clearly we must move well beyond the archives of government departments and agencies to understand the processes of change and the elements of stability in the relationship between Norway and the emerging European Community. The pro-market drive was defeated by a combination of forces representing the radical left, the periphery and the primary sector — a kind of alliance that has very respectable predecessors in Norwegian political history. However, government archives are also crucial. They are necessary for us to be able to grasp the changing approaches of the 1960s and 1970s at the same time as they are vital for our understanding of the continuity in anti-market sentiments and policies. With the benefit of having had access to the archives of the earlier period, we may indeed speculate that the initial skepticism towards the new Europe lingered even on the elite levels in Norway and contributed to the outcome of the referendum. While international developments from the early 1960s were seen to require changes in Norwegian policies, they were only made very reluctantly. We can easily see that the

anti-market rhetoric of the referendum campaign mirrors the attitude of previous cabinet members and higher level officials. It seems not unreasonable to assume that the initial skepticism on the part of Norwegian elites was reflected in the lukewarm enthusiasm of the pro-market campaign.

Notes

¹ For a historiographical survey of Norwegian cold war foreign policy literature, see H.Ø. Pharo, "The Cold War in Norwegian and International Historical Research." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 10, No. 3 (1985).

² On the European Community and the Common Market, see T. Bjørklund, *Mot strømmen. Kampen mot EF 1961-1972* (Oslo, 1982) in particular; for references to the literature, see also *Nytt norsk tidsskrift*, 3 (1986).

³ See Bjørklund, *op. cit.*; this is also my impression from working in the papers of a prominent anti-marketeer on another research project.

⁴ The statement is to be found in the first of two volumes that have so far been published of his history of Norway. J.A. Seip, *Utsikt over Norges historie*, Første del (Oslo, 1974), p. 17.

⁵ See my articles: "Bridgebuilding and Reconstruction: Norway Faces the Marshall Plan." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, I, No. 1 (1976); "Domestic and International Implications of Norwegian Reconstruction," European University Institute Working Papers, No. 81 (1984); "The Third Force, Atlanticism and Norwegian Attitudes towards European Integration," EUI Working Papers, No. 255 (1986); see also N.A. Røhne, "Norge — en lunken europeer," Research Centre for Defence History, National Defence College, Norway, Working Paper, No. 7 (1986).

⁶ See note 5; see also I. Lie, "Forhandlingene om nordisk tollunion/nordisk fellesmarked 1954-56," (Cand. phil. dissertation, Oslo, 1973); K.E. Eriksen, "Norge i det vestlige samarbeidet," in T. Bergh and H.Ø. Pharo, eds., *Vekst og velstand. Norsk politisk historie 1945-1965* (Oslo, 1981, 2. ed.).

⁷ UD (Archives of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry) 44.2/4, VII, F. Vogt to Foreign Ministry (29 April 1952); see also EUI Working Papers by H.Ø. Pharo, particularly No. 255 (1986).

⁸ For the different attitudes in Britain, Scandinavia and on the continent, see A. Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951* (London, 1984). These themes are among several pursued in a series of EUI working papers that have been produced under Alan Milward's supervision or at his invitation.

⁹ See Røhne, *op. cit.*; and Pharo, EUI Working Paper, No. 255 (1986).

¹⁰ Pharo, EUI Working Paper, No. 255 (1986); Milward, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

¹¹ UD 44.3/5, IV, A. Skaug to D. Juel (2 June 1950); see also Pharo, EUI Working Paper, No. 255 (1986).

¹² *Ibid*; UD 44.3/5, IV, H.M. Lange, memo (4 November 1949).

¹³ M.J. Hogan, "American Marshall Planners and the Search for a European Neocapitalism." *American Historical Review*, 90, No. 1 (1985), pp. 44-72, see especially pp. 68-72.

¹⁴ Canada's predilections for solutions similar to those being promoted by Norway were forcefully presented in several papers at a recent conference in Toronto. "Canada, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance — (May 20-23, 1987)."

¹⁵ UD 44.3/5, V, J. Melander to A. Skaug (12 June 1951); *ibid.*, memorandum by F. Jacobsen (9 June 1951).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ UD 44.2/26, V, Paris embassy to Foreign Ministry (21 July 1947).

¹⁸ See Pharo, "Bridgebuilding and Reconstruction"; and "The Third Force, Atlanticism and Norwegian Attitudes Towards European Integration," *op. cit.*

¹⁹ UD 44.3/5, IV, A. Skaug, memorandum for the Foreign Minister (20 July 1950).

²⁰ For Erik Brofoss' attitude, see e.g. G. Lundestad, "Norske holdninger overfor Vest-Tyskland (Cand. phil. dissertation, Oslo, 1970).

²¹ Quoted from R. Tamnes, "Norway's Struggle for the Northern Flank, 1950-1952," in O. Riste, ed., *Western Security* (Oslo, 1985); for the concepts of implicit and explicit guarantees and the continuity of Norwegian foreign policy with respect to the British and British-American guarantee, see several works by O. Riste, e.g. *Londonregjeringa* (2 vols., Oslo 1973, 1979); "Was 1949 a Turning-Point? Norway and the Western Powers 1947-1950," in *Western Security*; see also M. Skodvin, *Norden eller NATO* (Oslo, 1971).

²² A. Ording Diary (27 June 1946). Typescript and handwritten original, Oslo University Library. The diary is presently being prepared for publication.

²³ For a somewhat more extended discussion of this issue, see Pharo, "Domestic and International Implications of Norwegian Reconstruction," *op. cit.*

Floating Capital: Investment in the Canadian and Norwegian Merchant Marines in Comparative Perspective, 1850–1914¹

Lewis R. Fischer

(Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Helge W. Nordvik

(Norges Handelshøyskole, Bergen)

On 24 August 1874 the *Victoria*, a 773-ton barque built in Prince Edward Island and owned by William Richards of Port Hill, sailed out into Malpeque Bay to begin her maiden voyage. Three days later the vessel entered Cocagne to load a cargo of timber for Swansea. When she cleared from this northeast New Brunswick port on 9 September, the *Victoria* commenced an odyssey which was to take her to ports on six continents over the next sixteen years. We are fortunate to possess continuous records of her voyages for the remainder of her career on Canadian registry, until she was sold to new owners in Norway in 1890. We know that during that time she was employed carrying coal from Swansea to Kanagawa; nitrates from the Chilean port of Iquique to Hamburg; rice from Colombo to New York; and wheat from San Francisco to London, among a wide variety of other cargoes on various trade routes. All told the barque visited seventy ports after leaving Cocagne, but she was always involved in the cross-trades.² Never again did the craft enter a Canadian port.³

The voyages of the *Victoria* were by no means atypical for nineteenth century vessels. Nor, it must be admitted, would they be unusual for ships in our own time. It is common today for Greek vessels to carry Canadian timber to Japan, or for Korean freighters to bring Norwegian fish to markets in the Mediterranean. Indeed, since the advent of a new economic liberalism in the middle of the nineteenth century, shipping has been perhaps the most international of all industries. Nonetheless, the international character of the industry has not been matched by the perspectives of its students. While there are a few exceptions, it is not too far off the mark to observe that the study of this international activity has been conducted almost totally within the framework of national

histories. Given the nature of shipping, this narrow approach is unfortunate, since it will never yield more than a superficial understanding of this complex economic activity. While we know a fair amount about shipping in certain nations, we know much less than we should about the industry as a whole.

This paper is a conscious attempt to adopt a different perspective. We want here to say something about shipowners, the men (and the occasional woman) who made the decisions about whether to invest in maritime assets. A comprehensive examination of this group could be very broad, touching on a wide variety of topics and behaviours, but here our objectives are more modest. We want to focus not on individual entrepreneurs but rather on investment patterns in general. Our main goal is to begin to gain an appreciation of the unique features of national investment patterns by examining the similarities and differences across national boundaries. Our choices are Canada and Norway.

These two countries are of particular interest because in many ways they were so similar. In the nineteenth century, for example, no other nations invested in shipping so out of proportion to the sizes of their domestic economies. In addition, both were examples of what economists like to call "staple economies," a phrase that indicates that they depended on the export of a few primary products to fuel their economic growth. While the range of exports was always more diversified for Canada than for Norway, both were important exporters of timber and fish. This was particularly true of eastern Canada, where the bulk of the Canadian deep-sea vessels was owned. As well, both nations exhibited very similar patterns of shipping investment during the third quarter of the century: their own rapidly expanding export trades were inducements to large increases in tonnage in the 1850s and early 1860s, and by the middle of the latter decade, both Canadian and Norwegian shipowners had begun to move into the carriage of other peoples' goods (the so-called "cross-trades"). By the early 1870s, the Canadian and Norwegian fleets were of almost identical size as measured by carrying capacity, and they ranked third and fourth in the world, respectively, trailing only Britain and the United States. But thereafter their maritime paths diverged. Norwegians continued to invest in the maritime sector, and the nation remains an important provider of international shipping to this day. Canadians, on the other hand, turned their backs on the sea: by 1910, the nation no longer ranked among the leaders in maritime transport.⁴ Today, the Canadian-registered deep-sea fleet is for all practical purposes non-existent.⁵

As we examine the maritime investment patterns of the two na-

tions between 1850 and 1914, we also want to advance some tentative explanations of the behaviours we observe. In so doing, we hope to make a contribution not only to a better understanding of the investment strategies in each nation but also to a comprehension of the kinds of concerns that may have motivated (or deterred) investors elsewhere. Though the investment climate in no two nations was exactly similar, shipowners all operated within the international economy. This suggests that by isolating some of the specific factors which influenced Canadian and Norwegian investors, we can point out some obvious directions for researchers elsewhere.⁶

Obviously, the most important question, given the patterns we know existed, is why did the Canadian and Norwegian investment growth paths diverge after the mid-1870s? As Canadians deserted merchant shipping, why did Norwegians not behave similarly? Even though Norwegian investment slowed in the 1880s and early 1890s, why was that nation able to re-enter a growth phase while the Canadian fleet stagnated? Can the Norwegian success help to explain the Canadian failure, or vice versa? And how great was Norway's success, and how profound was the Canadian failure?

To begin to answer these questions, we need first to examine some comparative data. Because we want to make the analysis as comparable as possible, we have relied for the most part on material gleaned from only one source: the magnificent set of international shipping statistics compiled by the great nineteenth century Norwegian statistician, Anders Nicolai Kiær.⁷ We have made this choice for several reasons. First, given that various nations measured tonnage in different ways, we searched for a source in which the figures were standardized.⁸ Kiær did this, converting all national measurements to tons based upon the Moorsom standard, which makes the Norwegian sources unique for the study of the nineteenth century. He also provided a detailed rationale for his decision to convert sail tons to steam tons; no one else who has ventured into this prickly patch of controversy has ever been so willing to expose his methods to public scrutiny.⁹ Second, despite the confidence we have in the investment series developed for selected eastern Canadian ports by the members of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project (ACSP), we do not use them here because they do not cover even all the regional fleets, let alone investments elsewhere in Canada.¹⁰ Since we know the official national statistics to be exceedingly inaccurate for the ports that have been studied in detail,¹¹ we did not feel that it would be useful to combine ACSP data with the unreliable official figures for the remainder of Atlantic Canada and the rest of the country. Indeed, we feared that

if we attempted to do this, we would simply be introducing yet another time series of dubious quality. This brings us to our final reason for using Kiær's figures: given his concern with shipping, his time series very likely come closer to depicting the true state of Canadian maritime investment than do the official Canadian figures. Kiær was a citizen of a nation that depended upon shipping far more than Canada ever did. For most of the period with which we are concerned in this paper, returns from shipping accounted for at least a third of total foreign earnings to the Norwegian economy. Maritime industries were also the largest single employer in the nation at least through the 1880s. In short, as a Norwegian concerned with providing his compatriots with accurate data on which to base investment decisions, Kiær took special pains to get the *best* data available. In a field characterized by an obvious lack of precision, Anders Nicolai Kiær's studies inspire a good deal of trust.¹²

With these preliminaries complete, we may now turn our attention to the analysis of investment patterns. We present a detailed yearly net investment series in Appendix I; interested readers can refer to it as they wish. There we present both "real" and "estimated" tonnage figures, to demonstrate how widely the two can diverge. But in the body of the paper we will concentrate on data that can be derived from the appendix.

An examination of Table 1 provides some solid data on the patterns of investment in the two countries. Here we present the compound annual growth rates for net investment in the two fleets between 1850 and 1910. Broadly speaking, the table confirms the generalization that in the first half of the period the investment patterns in the two nations were similar, while they diverged after 1880. The 1850s was a decade of strong growth for both fleets, but particularly for the Norwegian. In part this is a statistical relic: at mid-century, the Norwegian fleet was only about two-thirds the size of its Canadian competitor, and hence the Norwegian growth rate was slightly exaggerated. But the fact that Norwegians began their growth from a lower base does not explain the entire difference in growth rates, as we shall see later. Norwegian growth continued to be strong in the 1860s and 1870s, but so did the Canadian. The annual compound growth rates of net investment were extremely similar in the 1860s; the Canadian fleet at the end of the decade was about sixty percent larger than it had been in 1860, while the Norwegian merchant marine had expanded by about seventy percent. While both grew in the 1870s, it is clear that the Norwegians were again expanding their investments much more rapidly than the Canadians. Norway's annual growth rate was higher than Canada's by 1.72% per year, and

the Norwegian merchant fleet grew by two-thirds in the ten year period compared to overall Canadian growth which was slightly less than it had been in the 1850s.

Table 1
Annual Compound Growth Rates of the Canadian and Norwegian
Merchant Marines by Decade, Estimated Tonnage,
1850-1910

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>Norway</i>
1850-59	+4.80%	+6.89%
1860-69	+5.27	+5.57
1870-79	+3.72	+5.44
1880-89	-3.16	+1.04
1890-99	-3.09	+2.15
1900-09	+2.39	+3.18

Note: All growth rates are calculated by regression equations of the form $\log Y = a + b_t$.

Source: Calculated from Appendix I.

But the two national experiences went in different directions thereafter. In the 1880s Norwegian growth, while noticeably slower than in previous decades, was at least positive, growing in total tonnage by about a sixth (+1.04% per year). Canadians, however, actually *disinvested* in this period: by 1889 the fleet had contracted by just over forty percent measured in tonnage (a negative annual growth rate of -3.16% per year).¹³ Disinvestment in Canada began in individual ports of registry as early as the mid-1870s, and by the later part of the decade it characterized almost all ports.¹⁴ Still, as can be seen from Table 1, it was not until the 1880s that this trend assumed major proportions. Two distinct behaviours were at work here. On the one hand, gross investment in sailing vessels was substantially reduced; since investors were no longer ordering large numbers of new vessels, it was only a matter of time before losses from marine disasters and capital depreciation exceeded the replacement rate. Since Canadians were also *selling* tonnage to foreign investors (including Norwegians) in this period, the disjunction was exacerbated. On the other hand, Canadians were not investing in steam tonnage. As they put less capital into sailing vessels, they did not, as the Norwegians did, begin to shift into steam. Norwegians began buying increasing amounts of steam tonnage between the mid-1880s and mid-1890s, but Canadians looked instead to their continental hinterland

as an arena for future economic growth.

As Canadians were disinvesting in sail and steadfastly refusing to make the transition to steam, Norwegians were themselves reacting tentatively to the changing nature of the international shipping industry. Investment in sailing tonnage in Norway in fact declined (albeit fairly slowly) in the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s. The sharpest contraction was in investment in newly-built craft; to the extent that sailing vessels were added to the fleet, it was due largely to an influx of second-hand craft, the largest single source of which was Canada. At the same time, however, Norwegian shipowners in marked contrast to Canadians were beginning to venture tentatively into the acquisition of steamers. While this process had long been underway in ports such as Bergen, where by 1884 the majority of tonnage was already in the holds of steamers,¹⁵ for most of the country the years between 1886 and 1895 were crucial. During these ten years, investment in steamers of over fifty net tons grew from 109,200 tons to 352,600 tons, an increase of 223 percent.¹⁶ In the same period, Canadian steam tonnage grew by a much less spectacular seventeen percent, from 69,100 to 80,900 net tons. Thus, from starting points that were not too dissimilar, Norwegians had managed to take an important step while Canadians faltered. The patterns of steam investment after 1886 are depicted in Table 2.

There is a danger, however, in overstating the ease with which Norwegians made the transition to steam. In comparison both with her Scandinavian neighbours and with Britain, the Norwegian move into steam was relatively late.¹⁷ Yet once Norwegian shipowners began investing in the new technology, the commitment was substantial. Indeed, the raw volume figures in Table 2 understate the extent of this shift. A better idea of the importance of this new investment may be obtained from the work of Ole Gjølberg, who has compiled a gross investment series for shipping in current Norwegian kroner. Since he depended heavily upon the value of imported tonnage in calculating his totals, his figures certainly understate the real value of the investments.¹⁸ Nonetheless, his data show that in the 1870s, a decade which we have already noted was characterized by strong growth (5.44% per annum, based on net tonnage), Norwegians placed about NOK 119 million into the purchase of maritime assets; of this total, roughly 96 million, or about eighty percent, was invested in sailing vessels.¹⁹ By the 1880s, however, sail and steam investments were virtually equal in value, and from then on steam predominated. From the mid-1890s the yearly gross investment in sail was not sufficient to maintain the value of that portion of the capital stock. Investment in steam, on the other hand, rose from a yearly aver-

Table 2
Annual Net Changes in Total and Steam Tonnage
Canadian and Norwegian Merchant Marines, 1866-1913
(000 net tons)

Year	Canada		Norway	
	Total	Steam	Total	Steam
1886	- 4	+33	-37	- 1
1887	-86	-41	-20	+ 9
1888	-35	+ 2	+ 32	+16
1889	-36	- 1	+ 78	+31
1890	-17	0	+ 94	+35
1891	-19	+ 6	+ 31	+35
1892	+41	+ 5	+ 6	+13
1893	-58	+ 4	- 28	+15
1894	+40	+ 3	- 89	+53
1895	-41	+ 1	+ 13	+64
1896	+ 3	+ 1	- 76	- 8
1897	-36	+ 3	- 14	+32
1898	-20	+11	+ 6	+54
1899	-29	+ 3	- 22	+44
1900	-19	+ 4	- 27	+24
1901	+29	+15	- 39	+25
1902	-26	- 8	- 19	+35
1903	+16	+11	- 12	+36
1904	-11	+ 4	+ 5	+39
1905	-15	+ 3	+ 23	+19
1906	-11	- 1	+ 69	+90
1907	+46	+55	+ 18	+62
1908	+33	+19	+ 5	+31
1909	+ 1	+ 4	+ 10	+27
1910	+10	+ 4	+ 37	+33
1911	+ 9	+12	+120	+92
1912	+54	+21	+ 73	+98
1913	+50	+34	+ 48	+75

Note: Vessels over 50 net tons only.

Source: See Appendix I.

age of about 12.5 million kroner in 1890-91 to 20 million kroner by the turn of the century. And in the nine year period from 1905-1913, aver-

age yearly gross investments in steam tonnage amounted to about 23.5 million kroner.²⁰

The net result of the Norwegian decision to transfer investment into steamers combined with Canadian reluctance to do the same, was to alter dramatically the positions of the two nations in the international freight markets. In 1870, at the height of the "golden age of sail," Canadians owned 6.8% of the tonnage on registry in the fifteen principal North Atlantic shipping fleets; at the same time, the Norwegian share was 6.7%. Strong Canadian investment in the 1870s was responsible for the country controlling 7.8% of the total tonnage by 1880, but the beginnings of disinvestment (combined with an even higher investment growth path in Norway), explain why by the same date the Norwegian share had risen to 8.9%. Twenty years later, the Norwegian share of this market remained a respectable 7.1%, while Canada's proportion was 2.7% and falling.²¹

The data in Table 1 indicate that after 1900 the Canadian fleet once again began to expand. Although the annual growth rate of tonnage on registry (2.39%) remained below the Norwegian trend (3.18% per annum), it is clear that in the pre-war period the *absolute decline* of the Canadian merchant marine was confined to the last two decades of the nineteenth century. As Table 2 documents, the slow growth of steam tonnage was a large part of the comparative disadvantage that came to characterize the Canadian fleet. Canadians were slow to invest in steam, with most steam tonnage not added to the fleet until after 1900. Indeed, Canadian investment was largely confined to the years 1907-1908, and 1912-1913.²² The net result of retarded investment in steam combined with disinvestment in sail can be seen by comparing the Canadian and Norwegian positions on the eve of World War I. Canadians possessed about thirty percent of Norwegian tonnage, but only about twenty-four percent of Norwegian steam holdings. Forty years earlier, when neither owned any significant amount of steam tonnage, the two merchant navies had been virtually identical in size.

It is obvious that the shifts that we have seen came about because of pronounced differences in investment behaviour. Having isolated the 1880s and 1890s as crucial decades, we obviously want to examine them in more detail. But behavioural patterns (which are in reality what we are discussing) seldom spring full blown as if from the thigh of Zeus; instead, they tend to develop over time. This suggests that we need to go back to mid-century and before to examine the behaviour that underlay the growth rates discussed above. In particular we want to pay some attention to the kinds of forces to which shipowners in the two

nations were responding.

The rapid growth, it seems to us, in both the Canadian and Norwegian merchant marines in the period up to about 1880, can be explained in terms that are broadly similar (although not identical). From the research conducted by members of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project at Memorial University, as well as by other Canadian researchers, we know that the initial inducement to invest in a Canadian merchant marine came from increasing demand for coastal transportation and for vessels to participate in the transatlantic carrying trade.²³ Much of Atlantic Canada was settled by people who founded scattered communities along the thousands of miles of heavily-indented coastline. Since shipping was the only way to service these isolated settlements, early investors frequently began by building or purchasing a small schooner to engage in coastal trading. Nowhere was this more true than in Newfoundland, where in the nineteenth century the statistical correlation between shipping investment and population was extremely high.²⁴ While the relationship between coasting and initial entry into the maritime field was nowhere else as strong, it was nonetheless a factor throughout the region.²⁵ By the 1840s, Canadian shipowners were heavily into the transatlantic trades, principally carrying local staples to markets in England and Europe.²⁶ Timber was by far the most important export, and because it was also the primary material out of which vessels were constructed, several key linkages developed early on between the export trades and shipbuilding.²⁷

The same sorts of linkages are readily apparent in Norway. Like Canada, Norway possessed important comparative advantages in the form of inexpensive shipbuilding materials and a steady supply of relatively cheap labour,²⁸ often trained initially in the coastal trades. Just as Canadian shipping depended in its formative years on plentiful cargoes of domestically-produced timber, so too did the Norwegian. In addition, fish was an important cargo, especially in the first half of the century.²⁹ Clearly, both countries depended upon the export of staple products to fuel growth in shipping investment in the first half of the nineteenth century.³⁰

By the 1860s, however, both nations were outgrowing this previous reliance on their own staple trades. Indeed, the expansion of both merchant marines in the 1860s and 1870s must be seen as the result of collective responses by shipowners to strong international market forces. The rapidly growing volume of world trade increased the demand for vessels, and sailing ships (which both nations possessed in abundance) were the chief means of satisfying this need. In the Canadian case, the

demand stemmed chiefly from the United States. The American ocean-going fleet declined by about a third as a direct result of the Civil War (1861-65); thus, it was physically incapable of meeting the demands posed by the burgeoning export trades of the late 1860s and 1870s. The situation can be illustrated briefly: between 1860 and 1879, the volume of shipping clearing American *seaboard* ports increased from just over five million to almost fourteen million tons, an average annual increase of almost 420,000 tons. It is also clear that the bulk of this increase was being carried in foreign vessels. In 1860, US flag carriers accounted for almost exactly two-thirds of the tonnage clearing American coastal ports; yet by 1879, this proportion had declined to less than a quarter.³¹ And the reason that the American merchant marine was unable to keep control of its own trade is also clear: even after the conclusion of the Civil War, the American foreign-going fleet stagnated. The growth rate of tonnage registered for the foreign trade grew by only +.29% per annum between 1865 and 1879.³² Canadian shipowners were well-situated to profit from this state of affairs, and they grasped the main chance. By the 1870s they were the most important foreign fleet in this prospering trade.³³

For the Norwegians, the markets may have been different, but the operative forces were similar. In the 1860s they continued to carry domestic commodities to world markets, while at the same time expanding their commitments to the cross-trades. This can be seen clearly by examining the distribution of their fleet. In 1860, 26.8% of all entrances by Norwegian foreign-going vessels were into domestic ports; a decade later, the proportion had declined to 20.3%. The volume of Norwegian shipping entering British and Irish ports, however, had almost doubled, and trade routes in the Baltic, Mediterranean and Black Sea were more important. Norwegians also increased their stake in the North American trades, although these trades were not nearly as important for Norway as for Canada. Nonetheless, in 1860 only slightly more than 20,000 tons of Norwegian shipping entered East Coast United States ports, a figure which almost quadrupled by 1870. No Norwegian craft were in the Gulf of Mexico cotton trades in 1860, but more than 25,000 tons of shipping were so employed ten years later.³⁴

In the 1870s, the general pattern continued, albeit with some variations. The dependence upon domestic ports continued to decline, falling to only 17.3% of all entrances by tonnage by 1880. During this decade Norwegians also attained extremely important positions in the general Mediterranean trades and the Black Sea grain trade. They also began to shift sailing vessels out of the North Atlantic (as did Canadians); the

most important new markets were located along the east coast of South America.

In short, the available evidence suggests that the factors behind the expansion of the merchant marines of the two countries were remarkably similar prior to the late 1870s. Given the resource endowments, existing factor prices, and similar structure of the two fleets, this is hardly surprising. But there was one critical difference that needs to be commented upon briefly. While shipowners in both nations came to concentrate upon the cross-trades, Norwegian shipowners also continued to pay attention to their domestic commerce. In every year prior to 1880, Norwegian vessels carried in excess of eighty percent of the total trade emanating from their home ports. The same cannot be said for Canadians, however. By the mid-1870s, they were carrying less than half of the volume of exports leaving their country, a figure which suggests that a severing of the ties between local staple trades and shipping had occurred.³⁵ In the event of reverses elsewhere, Norwegians could have fallen back, to a degree, on their domestic trades; Canadians would have found a similar decision much more difficult. Indeed, the attitude of Canadians toward locally-based trades was perhaps expressed best by Robert Moran, a member of one of the most important New Brunswick shipowning families. When the competition in the cross-trades left many sailing vessels without employment by 1878, Moran wrote about one vessel that "I do not know what to do with her unless we send her out to St. John in hopes she will make sufficient to pay her way."³⁶ By the late 1870s, trades from local ports had become little better than last resorts for Canadian owners.

This point suggests part of the explanation to the larger question. Canadians, it would appear, did not in general have the same level of commitment to shipping as did Norwegians. And they were far less likely than Norwegians to be content with slow, but steady returns. Timber and fish were never among the more lucrative cargoes during the "golden age of sail"; having become accustomed to the much higher returns to be garnered in the cross-trades, Canadian shipowners were loathe to return to their local base.

Fortunately for many of them, however, they did not have to make this choice. Instead, the federal government in 1878 introduced a policy of stimulating domestic manufacturing by erecting a wall of high tariffs. Many shipowners opted for the security of a protected market, and disposed of their maritime assets in favour of more secure (and perhaps more remunerative) landward opportunities. Many others did not invest directly in new manufacturing or service endeavours, but chose instead

the safer and more stable domestic rentier market over the unprotected world of international shipping.³⁷

That this general argument has a good deal of force can be confirmed in several ways. First, it comes much closer to describing what actually happened than do competing explanatory models. The decline of the Canadian shipping industry after 1880 has traditionally been explained by the combined effects of a squeeze on profits in the 1880s, which "forced" shipowners to sell off their wooden sailing vessels, and the failure to invest in new steam technology. The trouble with the first part of the argument is that it is contradicted by the available evidence,³⁸ while the second half is more a description of what happened than an explanation.

But the second reason for having some confidence in this argument can be gleaned from a comparison with the behaviour of Norwegian shipowners in the 1880s and 1890s. It appears from the evidence that the different perceptions exhibited by Canadians and Norwegians were caused by radically divergent opportunity costs involved in remaining in shipping. While at present these cannot be quantified, a qualitative discussion should shed some light on the point.

Norwegian shipowners, in the main, perceived fewer domestic opportunities. They had no "industrial strategy" crafted by the government to lower the opportunity costs of entering landward businesses. While some did diversify into other activities, it was less common to find those who had made their fortune in shipping later looking for alternative sectors into which to invest. Instead, Norwegian shipowners tended to stay in the profession. To do this, they by and large followed two different strategies, depending upon the port in which they resided.

The first—and most important for our argument—was a strategy of purchasing second-hand sailing tonnage. This mode of behaviour is well-known, and is perhaps the one feature of late nineteenth century Norwegian maritime investment with which virtually all maritime historians are familiar. While it describes an historical reality, the strategy needs to be discussed with more care than has often been the case, especially among non-Norwegians. A Canadian historian has recently argued, for example, that it was the withdrawal of Canadian shipowners from the international arena which formed the basis for Norwegian success in the 1880s and 1890s.³⁹ In essence, this argument asserts that as Canadians sold off their maritime assets, these were purchased by Norwegians, who subsequently used these vessels to enter trades vacated by the departing Canadians. As we shall see, the link between Canadian decline and Norwegian persistence was indeed important, but not in this

way.

First, the argument is simplistic, since it ignores the fact that Norwegian vessel owners had a variety of sources for the purchase of second-hand tonnage; while important, Canada was not the only country from which they could purchase used sailing craft.⁴⁰ Second, the argument that Norwegians were able to survive by filling niches vacated by Canadians ignores the evidence of how Norwegian owners chose to employ their assets. Norwegian participation in the east coast North American trades, for example, actually declined from 818,000 tons in 1880 to 459,000 tons in 1885. Since it was the North Atlantic upon which Canadians had concentrated, this contention is clearly in error.

The key point, though, is not that Norwegians bought second-hand Canadian vessels, but rather that the strategy of employing used craft was confined to certain ports in Norway. This point can be seen from Table 3, which shows clearly that it was the traditional sailing ship towns, mainly along the southeastern coast, which purchased almost all the imported second-hand sailing tonnage. Shipowners in these ports stayed in the industry for a long time, first by deploying wooden vessels, and later by purchasing second-hand iron and steel hulls. But as a general rule, these towns, such as Arendal, Kristiansand, Kragerø, and Porsgrunn, never made the transition from sail to steam very successfully.⁴¹ In this respect, they resemble their counterparts in Atlantic Canada. This piece of evidence is crucial, since it suggests that we should perhaps be less surprised at the inability of Atlantic Canadian ports to make the transition. Based on the Norwegian experience, the ability to transfer successfully from one technology to another was relatively limited.

But we have already seen that as a nation Norway was successful in making the transition. This implies a second strategy—the purchase of new steam vessels. The men who invested in these symbols of maritime progress were in the main *not* those who had operated sailing vessels but rather a new generation of entrepreneurs. The typical investor in steam tonnage lived not in the relatively small towns of southern Norway, but rather in the growing commercial, industrial and financial centres, such as Bergen, Kristiania (Oslo), and Trondheim. The pioneers in this process were succeeded by men who moved into the industry from other sectors of the economy. In general, these new investors had accumulated capital outside of shipping and subsequently spotted opportunities for profits in specialized trades.⁴²

To complete an outline of this strategy, it is important to indicate briefly what Norwegians did with these new steam investments. Most

Table 3
Major Norwegian Ports of Registry,
1880 and 1910
(000 net tons)

Port	1880		1910	
	Sail	Steam	Sail	Steam
Arendal	168.2	0.8	37.6	26.4
Stavanger	113.3	4.7	24.9	29.6
Bergen	55.8	28.6	10.5	249.2
Kristiania	93.1	5.5	60.0	218.6
Drammen	92.2	1.5	32.4	28.1
Tønsberg	55.7	1.4	12.6	103.3
Kragerø	53.9	0.3	17.3	6.9
Porsgrunn	34.9	0.1	42.4	18.0
Risør	29.1	0.0	23.4	6.3
Lillesand	19.8	0.0	27.1	1.3
Kristiansand	38.2	1.8	40.8	9.6
Haugesund	21.6	0.0	4.0	43.8
Trondheim	6.2	4.1	4.3	30.4

Note: The high steam tonnage registered in Tønsberg in 1910 is not a true reflection of the town's commitment to steam. Most of the tonnage was owned by the W. Wilhelmsen Company, one of Norway's major shipping operations; while Wilhelmsen registered his tonnage in Tønsberg, the company's base of operations was in Kristiania.

Source: Statistisk Sentralbyrå, *Tabeller vedkommende Norges skibsfart i året 1880* (Kristiania, 1882), Table 1; *Norges skibsfart 1910* (Kristiania, 1912), Table 1.

were not the large bulk carriers that could have prosecuted trades vacated by Canadian barques; instead, they were the "small, miserable little tykes" about which Stephen Salmon has written.⁴³ Few made it to the Great Lakes in the prewar years, but most were engaged in tramping in parts of the world where they could successfully evade competition from larger vessels owned by more important maritime powers. By the late 1890s, Norwegians were heavily involved in trades to China and Japan, as well as on the short-haul North Sea and Baltic routes. And almost 400,000 tons were employed carrying fruit from Central America. These, not the trades previously dominated by Canadians, were to prove the basis for Norwegian maritime prosperity.

This comparative analysis sheds a good deal of light on the kinds of investment decisions made in both countries during the period 1850-1914. If we return briefly to the questions that we posed at the outset, we can indicate some of the points that we hope have been clarified. First, we have argued that Canadians fled the maritime industries in part because of opportunity costs which were significantly higher than in Norway. In part these higher opportunity costs derived from governmental policy, but they were also the result of a different approach to maritime affairs clearly visible at least a decade earlier than the introduction of the "National Policy." While we have tried to indicate that the patterns displayed by Canadian and Norwegian owners prior to 1880 were caused by factors which were broadly similar, we feel it important to stress that they were not identical.

Norwegians, as we have seen, began in the aggregate to dispose of sailing vessels in the 1880s, although at a rate significantly lower than their Canadian competitors. But we have also tried to show that this was true for only part of the country. Owners in the small south coast ports, in contrast, continued to invest in sailing tonnage. The transition to steam, which occurred in the years after the mid-1880s, was the result of investment decisions made by people in larger centres who by and large were new to the industry. Shipping became attractive to these new investors, we believe, in the main because they perceived fewer alternative investment opportunities than did Canadians. And there is yet another parallel with Canada: in the 1890s, Canadians too began to venture into the world of steam. With the exception of the purchase of a few large vessels by one individual in Saint John, the bulk of the new Canadian steam tonnage was owned in ports, like Montreal, that had never been major centres of sailing ship ownership. But Norwegians were able to make a success of their new investments because they approached the industry differently than did Canadians. First, they invested in small vessels which they deployed in carefully selected trades. Held prisoners by their fixation on the North Atlantic, Canadians failed chiefly because they possessed no special comparative advantages in the trades that they chose to enter. Second—to reiterate a point already made several times—the opportunity costs for Canadians to move into alternative industries were substantially lower than for Norwegians. A Canadian who found the competition in shipping unsettling could easily envisage alternative investment sectors; prior to the First World War, it was more difficult for Norwegians.

That the decision to remain in the maritime industries was a wise choice for Norway appeared certain for more than fifty years after 1914.

Only as a tonnage glut more serious than anything ever experienced in the nineteenth century, combined with declining demand, wreaked havoc on the industry in the 1970s, did Norwegians begin to question the wisdom of the choice made in the late nineteenth century. But it is hard to envisage how Norway could have made the very real economic progress that she experienced after the turn of the century had so many of her citizens not invested in shipping. And the long tradition of involvement in maritime affairs allowed Norwegians to press forward their comparative advantages in the newest (and until the last few years the most profitable) of maritime endeavours: the development of offshore petroleum resources. On the other hand, since the 1970s, many of the small towns that had remained in shipping found it difficult to readjust their economies to the harsher economic climates of a world that did not appear to need their vessels.

Most Canadians interested in maritime affairs—and the bulk of historians concerned with the Atlantic region—have tended to think of the decision to abandon maritime ventures in the last years of the nineteenth century as a source of failure. Perhaps it was, although in the context of the Norwegian experience it is difficult to understand how shipowners on Canada's east coast could have successfully made the transition to steam. Those who argue to the contrary are prone to write about foregone opportunities, and in a region which has been buffeted so mercilessly by economic misfortune, the perspective is at least understandable. Certainly as they plan the development of their own offshore resources, Canadians have to be struck by the fact that they have lost any comparative advantages in maritime activities that they once had. Indeed, the most ubiquitous of the foreigners clamouring for involvement in "joint ventures" are the Norwegians.

But it is also possible to argue that from a national perspective, the decision by all those individual vessel owners many years ago was correct. Despite spending an average of ten billion dollars per year on buying foreign shipping services, Canada, since the turn of the century, has still run a persistent trade surplus. As economic historians know only too well, the dispersion of part of that trade surplus through the purchase of maritime transport is good for both the country and the international economy, even if it is less pleasant to ponder from the vantage point of Canada's economically-depressed eastern provinces.

Given the histories of the two nations since 1914, it is difficult to accept that the Norwegian decision to remain heavily involved in shipping has been an unqualified success; neither is it possible to characterize the Canadian alternative as an unmitigated failure. At any rate, attaching

these kinds of labels to economic decisions seldom proves productive. Perhaps a better way of viewing these decisions is by attempting to understand them in the context in which they were made. When viewed from that perspective, both the Canadian and Norwegian choices seem explicable, if not necessarily worthy either of approbation or condemnation.

Notes

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented to the June 1986 meetings of the Canadian Historical Association in Winnipeg, Manitoba. We would like to thank Kris Inwood, Kenneth S. Mackenzie and David Frank for helpful comments on that draft. We also owe a debt to Edgar Hovland and Lauritz Pettersen for sharing generously their knowledge of nineteenth century Norway. Some of the Canadian data in this paper were collected as part of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Gerry Panting, Eric W. Sager, Rosemary Ommer, the late David Alexander and the late Keith Matthews have always graciously shared their research with us. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Memorial University of Newfoundland and the University of Bergen for generous support of the research that went into this paper.

² By "cross-trades," maritime historians mean trades which do not involve the nation in which the vessel is owned. For example, a Norwegian vessel carrying grain from New York to Antwerp would be considered to be in the cross-trades. But the same vessel carrying dried fish from Stavanger to Madeira, because it is carrying the produce of the nation which owns the craft, would be classified in the domestic carrying trades.

³ The evidence of the voyages of the *Victoria* is derived from the British Empire "Agreements and Accounts of Crew" held in the Maritime History Archives at Memorial University of Newfoundland. For a discussion of this source, see Lewis R. Fischer and Eric W. Sager, "A Quantitative Approach to the Study of British Shipping Records," *Business History*, XXII, No. 2 (July 1980), pp. 135-151; Keith Matthews, "Crew Lists, Agreements and Official Logs of the British Empire," *Business History*, XVI (January 1974), pp. 78-80. The complete listing of the voyages of the *Victoria* can be found in Lewis R. Fischer, "Deep-Sea Tramps: Voyage Patterns of Prince Edward Island Vessels, 1846-1890," *The Island Magazine*, XII (Winter 1983), pp. 24-29.

⁴ For convenient overviews of the nineteenth century shipping histories of the two countries, see the following: On Norway, Helge W. Nordvik, "The Shipping Industries of the Scandinavian Countries, 1850-1914," in Lewis R. Fischer and Gerald E. Panting (eds.), *Change and Adaptation in Maritime History: The North Atlantic Fleets in the Nineteenth Century* (St. John's, 1985), pp. 117-148; Ole Gjølberg, "The Substitution of Steam for Sail in Norwegian Ocean Shipping, 1866-1914: A Study in the Economics of Diffusion," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, XXVIII, No. 2 (1980), pp. 135-146. On Canada, see Eric W. Sager and Gerry Panting, "Staple Economies and the Rise and

Decline of the Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914," in Fischer and Panting (eds.), *Change and Adaptation in Maritime History*, pp. 1-45; Eric W. Sager and Lewis R. Fischer, *Shipping and Shipbuilding in Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Ottawa, 1986); Sager and Fischer, "Atlantic Canada and the Age of Sail Revisited," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXIII, No. 2 (June 1982), pp. 125-150.

⁵ To understand why the Canadian merchant marine is unlikely to be resurrected in the 1980s, see *Task Force on Deep-Sea Shipping: Report to the Minister of Transport* (Ottawa, 1985), which sets out a series of policy recommendations designed to ensure that Canadians remain users rather than providers of maritime transport.

⁶ For a full discussion of the international conditions within which the nineteenth century merchant marines operated, see Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik, "Maritime Transport and the Integration of the North Atlantic Economy, 1850-1914," in Wolfram Fischer, R. Marvin McNinn and Jürgen Schneider (eds.), *The Emergence of a World Economy, 1500-1914* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 519-544.

⁷ On Kiær, see Gunnar John, "Anders Nicolai Kiær," *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*, VII (Oslo, 1936); Peter Jacob Bjerpe, "Preface," in A.N. Kiær, *The Representative Method of Statistical Surveys* (reprinted, Oslo, 1976).

⁸ Tonnage, which will be used in this essay to compare investment patterns, is in shipping terms not weight but rather a rough measure of the carrying capacity of a vessel. Since what shipowners had to sell was space, this is the most crucial variable in comparing international shipping fleets.

⁹ This was not attempted even in the British statistics, which are in many other ways equally admirable. Instead, British bureaucrats tended either to ignore discrepancies in foreign measurements or to make adjustments without discussing their methodology. Because Kiær avoided both these pitfalls, his figures are likely to remain the most useful that are readily available.

¹⁰ The Atlantic Canada Shipping Project has compiled investment series for Newfoundland; Prince Edward Island; Richibucto, Miramichi and Saint John, New Brunswick; and Yarmouth, Halifax, Windsor, Pictou and Sydney, Nova Scotia. Together, the owners in these ten ports controlled most, but not all, investment in shipping in Atlantic Canada.

¹¹ For evidence of the inaccuracy of official Canadian statistics, see for example, Lewis R. Fischer, "The Port of Prince Edward Island, 1840-1889: A Preliminary Analysis," in Keith Matthews and Gerald Panting (eds.), *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region* (St. John's, 1978), pp. 41-70. This study, along with parallel studies by David Alexander on Yarmouth and Eric W. Sager on St. John's, demonstrates that the official statistics are in error by at least fifteen percent.

¹² Kiær was responsible for writing or editing a number of volumes of international shipping statistics which have been largely neglected by maritime historians. See Norway, Det statistiske Centralbyrå, *International Skibsfartsstatistik, 1850-1886* (Kristiania, 1887); *International Skibsfartsstatistik*,

1872–1896 (Kristiania, 1897); *Statistique Internationale. Navigation Maritime, I–IV* (Kristiania, 1876–1892). All of these are worthwhile, but the latter four are of special value. They are written in French, which further increases their accessibility to international scholars. The first, subtitled “Jaugeage des Navires,” which was edited by Kiær and T. Salvesen, introduces in some detail the convoluted topic of international tonnage measurements. The second, subtitled “Les Marines Marchandes” and edited by Kiær alone, continued that discussion and provided extensive tables of international shipping tonnage from 1850 to 1880. The third and fourth volumes continued this pattern, and Kiær used these publications to refine continuously his methodology.

¹³ The real negative growth rate for the deep-sea portion of the fleet was of course even higher. Because it has thus far proven impossible to disaggregate the figures for 1881–1885, the slower positive growth of the Great Lakes’ fleet masks a higher propensity to dispose of deep-sea assets.

¹⁴ The sole exception among the eastern Canadian ports specializing in investment in deep-sea assets was Windsor, Nova Scotia. For a discussion of this port, see Rosemary E. Ommer, “Composed of All Nationalities: The Crews of Windsor Vessels, 1862–1899,” in Rosemary Ommer and Gerald Panting (eds.), *Working Men Who Got Wet* (St. John’s, 1980), pp. 191–227; Ommer, “The Decline of the Eastern Canadian Shipping Industry, 1880–95,” *Journal of Transport History*, New Series, V, No. 1 (March 1984), pp. 25–44.

¹⁵ On Bergen, see Lauritz Pettersen, *Bergen og Sjøfarten. III: Fra kjøpmannss-rederi til selvstendig næring, 1860–1914* (Bergen, 1981). The transition is explored in depth in a study of one individual shipowner in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik, “From Broager to Bergen: The Risks and Rewards of Peter Jebsen, Shipowner, 1864–1892,” *Sjøfartshistorisk Årbok 1985* (Bergen, 1986), pp. 37–68.

¹⁶ *International skibsfartsstatistik. Tabeller vedkommende skibsfartsbevægelsen 1872–1894 og Handelsflaaderne 1886–1896* (Kristiania, 1897), p. 60.

¹⁷ This point is discussed in detail in Nordvik, “The Shipping Industries of the Scandinavian Countries,” especially pp. 139–142. On the British transition, see note 5. For discussions of the shift in the Nordic countries, see Gjølberg, “The Substitution of Steam for Sail in Norwegian Ocean Shipping”; Ove Hornby and Carl-Axel Nilsson, “The Transition from Sail to Steam in the Danish Merchant Fleet, 1865–1910,” *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, XXVIII, No. 2 (1980), pp. 109–134; Martin Fritz, “Shipping in Sweden, 1850–1913,” *ibid.*, pp. 147–160; Yrjö Kaukiainen, “The Transition from Sail to Steam in Finnish Shipping, 1850–1914,” *ibid.*, pp. 161–184.

¹⁸ Ole Gjølberg, “Økonomi, teknologi og historie. Analyser av skipsfart og økonomi, 1866–1913” (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration, 1979), has compiled several time series on Norwegian gross investment between 1866 and 1913, including series on both physical and real capital. The latter has been calculated by multiplying the tonnage figures in published Norwegian statistics by the average import price for tonnage. This assumes, of course, the functioning of a relatively efficient market. Whether such a mechanism existed in nineteenth century Norway has never been demonstrated, but more to the point is the fact that

Gjølberg seriously misreads the evidence on imported tonnage in reaching his conclusions. Imported tonnage, especially sailing vessels, was almost invariably second-hand; hence, the price per ton that he applied to calculate the value of the Norwegian fleet was much lower than the price of newly-built craft. This leads him to under-estimate the value of capital represented by the Norwegian fleet. The problem, however, is not merely in noting this difficulty; it is in estimating by how much Gjølberg under-estimated the value of Norwegian investment. Finding an answer to this question is part of our on-going research, but since it is impossible to provide a solution at present, we will use Gjølberg's figures here, albeit with a good deal of caution.

¹⁹ The value of a Norwegian krone in the pre-war period was fixed at 18.16 kroner to each £ Sterling. This means that there were 3.74 kroner to each Canadian dollar.

²⁰ Gjølberg, "Økonomi, teknologi og historie," pp. 185-187, and Appendix, Table 7.

²¹ These figures are taken from Fischer and Nordvik, "Maritime Transport and the Integration of the North Atlantic Economy," Table 3. The fifteen nations that accounted for the "North Atlantic shipping market," in addition to Canada and Norway, were Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden, Spain, Russia, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Finland and Greece.

²² Most of the 1907 and 1908 tonnage increase was accounted for by the introduction to the port of Saint John of the Battle Line steamers of William Thomson and Company. This is discussed in more detail in Lewis R. Fischer, "The Great Mud Hole Fleet: The Voyages and Productivity of the Sailing Vessels of Saint John, 1863-1912," in David Alexander and Rosemary Ommer (eds.), *Volumes not Values: Canadian Sailing Ships and World Trades* (St. John's, 1979), pp. 115-155.

²³ The results of the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project have appeared in a variety of formats. The project published six volumes of essays which contain much important data on the nineteenth century merchant marine. See Matthews and Panting (eds.), *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region*; Lewis R. Fischer and Eric W. Sager (eds.), *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914* (St. John's, 1979); Alexander and Ommer (eds.), *Volumes not Values*; Ommer and Panting (eds.), *Working Men Who Got Wet*; Lewis R. Fischer and Eric W. Sager (eds.), *Merchant Shipping and Economic Development in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's, 1982); Fischer and Panting (eds.), *Change and Adaptation in Maritime History*. Other sources are scattered throughout the notes. An indispensable overview into which to place the work of the ACSP is provided by Nicholas Tracy, *Canadian Shipbuilding and Shipping Businesses: The State of Scholarship* (Halifax, 1985).

²⁴ On Newfoundland, see Eric W. Sager, "The Merchants of Water Street and Capital Investment in Newfoundland's Traditional Economy," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *The Enterprising Canadians*, pp. 75-95; Sager, "The Port of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1840-1889," in Mathews and Panting (eds.), *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region*, pp. 19-39.

²⁵ For a case study of a major shipowner who began his career in the coasting trade, see Lewis R. Fischer, "An Engine, Yet Moderate: James Peake, Entrepreneurial Behaviour, and the Shipping Industry of Nineteenth Century Prince Edward Island," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *The Enterprising Canadians*, pp. 97-118.

²⁶ See Sager and Panting, "Staple Economies and the Rise and Decline of the Shipping Industry of Atlantic Canada," for the most careful study we currently possess of the inter-relationship between the staple economy and the growth of shipowning. This should be supplemented by T.W. Acheson, "The Great Merchant and Economic Development in St. John, 1820-1850," *Acadiensis*, VIII, No. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 3-27; David A. Sutherland, "Halifax Merchants and the Pursuit of Development, 1783-1850," *Canadian Historical Review*, LIX, No. 1 (March 1978), pp. 1-17; Lewis R. Fischer and Gerry Panting, "Harbour and Metropolis: The Shipping Industry of Saint John and the Urban Economy, 1820-1914," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *Merchant Shipping and Economic Development*, pp. 137-155; Peter D. McClelland, "The New Brunswick Economy in the Nineteenth Century" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1966).

²⁷ See Arthur R.M. Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867* (Montreal, 1967); Richard Rice, "The Wrights of Saint John: A Study of Shipbuilding and Shipowning in the Maritimes, 1839-1855," in David S. Macmillan (ed.), *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 317-337; Richard Rice, "Measuring British Dominance of Shipbuilding in the Maritimes, 1787-1890," in Matthews and Panting, *Ships and Shipbuilding in the North Atlantic Region*, pp. 109-155.

²⁸ The issue of just how inexpensive Norwegian seafaring labour was in the nineteenth century needs to be handled with care. This is an area in which we have concentrated our research in recent years. There is no question that Norwegian seamen were low paid by international standards when they were recruited in Norwegian ports. The fullest discussion of this point is in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik, "From Namsos to Halden: Myths and Realities in the History of Norwegian Seamen's Wages, 1850-1914," *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, XXXV, No. 1 (1987), pp. 41-66. But increasingly Norwegian masters were forced to recruit internationally, and despite some qualitative evidence to the contrary, the quantitative data suggest that by the 1870s at least there was very little difference between wages paid on Norwegian and Canadian vessels. This is discussed in Lewis R. Fischer, "The Price of Labour: Wages on Norwegian and Canadian Sailing Vessels in Comparative Perspective, 1863-1900," in Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik (eds.), *Across the Broad Atlantic: Essays in Comparative Canadian-Norwegian Maritime History, 1850-1914* (Bergen, 1988), forthcoming.

²⁹ On the relationship between fish exports and shipping, see Christopher J. Munday, "Sea Communications and the Norwegian Fresh Fish Trade with England," *Sjøfartshistorisk Årbok 1984* (Bergen, 1985), pp. 83-138. Fish was also an important export from Canada, and in particular from Newfoundland. But for a variety of reasons, Newfoundlanders chose to use vessels registered

elsewhere to carry much of the catch to market. For a fuller discussion, see the sources cited in note 23. The fullest study of the nineteenth century Newfoundland fish trade is Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1814-1914* (St. John's, 1986).

³⁰ On the question of the importance of staples in stimulating shipping investment in Norway, see especially J.S. Worm-Müller (ed.), *Den norske sjøfarts historie* (3 vols., Oslo, 1935-1951). Local maritime histories are also frequently instructive; among the best on this point are Elisabeth Kallevig, *Sjøfarten i Arendal 1815-1850* (Oslo, 1939), especially pp. 15-88; Einar Pedersen, *Kragerøs sjøfartshistorie fra 1850* (Oslo, 1933), pp. 9-17, 51-71; Svein Wisth, "Skipsfart some bygdenæring" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Oslo, 1977), pp. 43-82; Johannes G. Torstveit, "Vår Ære og Vår Makt. Ei næringsøkonomisk undersøkning av skipsfarten i Arendal i 1870-åra" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Bergen, 1986), Chapter 1. A short general discussion of the topic may also be found in Hans Try, *To kulturer, en stat* (Oslo, 1979), pp. 116-142.

³¹ These figures are calculated from United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States from Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1975), Series Q, pp. 515-517.

³² *Ibid.*, Series 429.

³³ The importance of the American trades to the Canadian fleet is discussed in depth in Keith Matthews, "The Canadian Deep Sea Merchant Marine and the American Export Trade, 1850-1890," in Alexander and Ommer (eds.), *Volumes not Values*, pp. 195-243.

³⁴ The deployment of the Norwegian fleet is discussed in much more detail in Lewis R. Fischer, "New York, Rio or Batavia?: The Deployment Patterns of the Canadian and Norwegian Fleets, 1860-1900," in Fischer and Nordvik (eds.), *Across the Broad Atlantic* (forthcoming).

³⁵ See the discussion in Sager and Panting, "Staple Economies and the Rise and Decline of the Shipping Industry in Atlantic Canada" for a fuller discussion of this point.

³⁶ Quoted in A. Gregg Finley, "The Morans of St. Martins, N.B., 1850-1880: Toward an Understanding of Family Participation in Maritime Enterprise," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *The Enterprising Canadians*, p. 51.

³⁷ This argument is presented in much more detail in Eric W. Sager, Lewis R. Fischer, and Rosemary E. Ommer, "Landward and Seaward Opportunities in Canada's Age of Sail," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *Merchant Shipping and Economic Development*, pp. 7-31. For detailed studies of the investment patterns of shipowners, see Gerry Panting, "Shipping Investment in the Urban Centres of Nova Scotia," *ibid.*, pp. 123-136; Panting, "Personnel and Investment in Canadian Shipping, 1820-1889," in Ommer and Panting (eds.), *Working Men Who Got Wet*, pp. 335-360; Panting, "Cradle of Enterprise: Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, 1840-1889," in Fischer and Sager (eds.), *The Enterprising Canadians*, pp. 253-271; Panting and Fischer, "Harbour and Metropolis"; Sager and Panting, "Staple Economies and the Rise and Decline of the Shipping Industry of Atlantic Canada."

³⁸ See Lewis R. Fischer and Helge W. Nordvik, "Dollars and Kroner: Profitability in the Canadian and Norwegian Merchant Marines, 1860-1900," in Fischer and Nordvik (eds.), *Across the Broad Atlantic* (forthcoming).

³⁹ Ommer, "The Decline of the Eastern Canadian Shipping Industry," especially pp. 40-41.

⁴⁰ It is difficult, however, to be precise about this. The Norwegian import trade statistics do not distinguish between vessels previously registered in the United Kingdom and British North America. The Norwegian consulate for Canada in this period was situated in Quebec, and the various consuls seldom mention the sale of Canadian vessels to Norwegian owners. Thus, an analysis of the extent and importance of Norwegian purchases of second-hand Canadian sailing vessels would make most sense if based on a systematic analysis of Canadian shipping registers. To date, this has not been done. But the author of the article cited in footnote 38 attempts to use the Norwegian *Det norske Veritas* for 1890 and 1900 to compute Norwegian purchases of Canadian vessels in the 1890s. There are two problems with this procedure. First, the fact that a vessel was originally built in Canada does not necessarily imply a direct transfer between the two countries. Second, the *Veritas* register for 1890 is incomplete. Many foreign-built ships were not classified by *Det norske Veritas*, most likely because the new owners preferred to maintain the classification with a foreign register (usually *Lloyd's*). Not until 1896 were all Norwegian-owned vessels supposed to have been entered in the *Veritas* register, yet at that time, 360 sailing vessels of over one hundred tons, comprising over 100,000 tons, and two hundred steamships amounting to some 173,000 tons, were still not classified by *Det norske Veritas*. See *Det norske Veritas, 1864-1914* (Kristiania, 1914), p. 80.

⁴¹ At least they did not make the transition successfully in the period before 1914. But by investing in inexpensive second-hand sailing tonnage, shipowners in many of the older ports did do something that was important. While the operation of these vessels was clearly not a viable long-term strategy, it succeeded in maintaining maritime traditions in some of the smaller ports. From this base, some of the old sailing ship towns were able to stage a comeback in the interwar period by investing in motor tankers. On this trend, see Leif Nørgård, *Tankfartens etablerings- og introduksjonsperiode i norsk skipsfart 1912-1913 og 1927-1930* (Bergen, 1961).

⁴² See Pettersen, *Fra kjøpmannsrederi til selvstendig næring*, pp. 150-313; Wørm-Müller (ed.), *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, especially pp. 1-97, 245-270, 287-358.

⁴³ M. Stephen Salmon, "Small, Miserable Little Tykes: The Norwegian Entry into the Great Lakes Trades, 1923-1928," in Fischer and Nordvik (eds.), *Across the Broad Atlantic* (forthcoming).

Appendix I

Tonnage in the Canadian and Norwegian Merchant Marines,
1850-1913
(000 net tons)

Year	Canada		Norway	
	Real	Estimated	Real	Estimated
1850	420.6	442.7	288.6	289.5
1851	424.1	447.2	299.8	300.6
1852	422.9	445.9	314.9	316.3
1853	416.8	439.4	338.6	340.1
1854	458.5	480.5	350.5	362.7
1855	504.3	526.6	397.7	400.8
1856	550.4	582.8	427.2	432.7
1857	596.3	634.3	479.0	486.3
1858	624.2	668.3	520.5	528.9
1859	600.3	639.4	539.2	548.2
1860	618.6	656.7	551.8	561.3
1861	665.7	723.6	558.3	567.8
1862	696.6	770.5	576.8	586.7
1863	676.4	754.8	592.8	602.7
1864	865.4	936.2	628.8	638.9
1865	983.8	1,074.9	663.0	673.8
1866	1,021.3	1,113.1	743.0	756.4
1867	980.1	1,060.7	820.2	834.2
1868	960.0	1,031.9	862.2	879.8
1869	975.4	1,052.4	931.4	953.4
1870	981.4	1,069.0	960.4	984.2
1871	985.8	1,073.5	1,004.0	1,032.7
1872	990.4	1,082.4	1,043.4	1,085.3
1873	1,020.4	1,127.8	1,101.1	1,164.8
1874	1,050.0	1,170.9	1,220.2	1,306.5
1875	1,103.8	1,220.5	1,316.5	1,403.9
1876	1,143.0	1,277.3	1,395.2	1,487.1
1877	1,252.3	1,407.6	1,436.3	1,528.2
1878	1,291.7	1,463.4	1,493.0	1,586.8
1879	1,323.4	1,500.4	1,526.7	1,630.0

Year	Canada		Norway	
	Real	Estimated	Real	Estimated
1880	1,335.9	1,530.5	1,510.7	1,620.3
	1,425.0	1,684.4		
1881	1,406.6	1,661.8	1,518.7	1,634.9
1882	1,418.9	1,675.3	1,520.4	1,651.6
1883	1,377.4	1,631.4	1,530.0	1,695.0
1884	1,390.8	1,670.6	1,547.2	1,732.2
1885	1,385.7	1,667.1	1,583.4	1,794.6
1886	1,365.8	1,656.2	1,563.0	1,791.2
	1,138.8	1,366.8		
1887	1,135.5	1,354.5	1,410.9	1,749.9
1888	1,049.4	1,254.0	1,503.6	1,747.2
1889	1,014.4	1,155.0	1,534.5	1,809.5
1890	979.3	1,118.5	1,611.4	1,947.6
1891	961.2	1,101.4	1,705.7	2,111.9
1892	942.6	1,096.2	1,738.6	2,215.6
1893	903.3	1,068.5	1,745.0	2,248.0
1894	846.9	1,020.1	1,719.5	2,253.9
1895	809.9	990.7	1,630.8	2,221.8
1896	769.6	952.2	1,643.5	2,362.7
1897	653	866	1,486	2,382
1898	617	838	1,472	2,452
1899	597	847	1,478	2,598
1900	568	825	1,456	2,691
1901	549	817	1,429	2,725
1902	578	884	1,390	2,752
1903	552	838	1,371	2,825
1904	568	884	1,359	2,906
1905	557	881	1,364	3,012
1906	542	876	1,387	3,084
1907	531	862	1,456	3,388
1908	577	1,049	1,474	3,566
1909	610	1,133	1,479	3,654
1910	611	1,145	1,489	3,733
1911	621	1,145	1,526	3,910
1912	630	1,204	1,646	4,214
1913	684	1,313	1,719	4,543
1914	734	1,452	1,767	4,786

Notes:

1) Canadian figures for the period are tonnage registered for the deep sea and coastal trades *except* for the period 1880–1886. For those years the figures include tonnage registered in lake ports. The first figure for 1880 and the second figure for 1886 are for Maritimes tonnage only.

2) From 1897 to 1914, tonnages are rounded to the nearest thousand tons.

3) Totals include all vessels, 1850–1896. From 1897 to 1914, they include only those vessels over 50 net tons.

4) Estimated tonnage is calculated by making two adjustments to real tonnage. First, tonnage no longer believed to be in service has been deducted. Second, the figures were recalculated by adding all sail tonnage to three times the steam tonnage for the years 1850–1895, and 3.6 times the steam tonnage, 1896–1914. This reflects a standard estimate of the increased efficiency of steam.

5) All Norwegian tonnage has been converted to British net tons according to the standards prescribed by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854. Where necessary, Canadian tonnage has also been converted to a similar standard.

Sources: *Navigation Maritime. I: Jaugeage des Navires* (Kristiania, 1876); *Navigation Maritime. II: Les Marines Marchandes* (Kristiania, 1881); *Navigation Maritime. IIIA: Jaugeage des Navires. IIIB: Les Marines Marchandes, 1880–1886* (Kristiania, 1888); *International skibsfartsstatistik. Tabeller vedkommende handelsflaaderne i aarene 1850–1886* (Kristiania, 1887); *International skibsfartsstatistik. Tabeller vedkommende skibsfartsbevægelsen 1872–1894 og handelsflaaderne 1886–1896* (Kristiania, 1897); *Statistisk Årboker, 1898–1916* (Kristiania, 1898–1917).

FROM DRAMA AND
CONTROVERSIAL WRITING
TO FILM

Realism and Innovation in Strindberg's *Mäster Olof*

Paul Walsh
(University of Toronto)

In the spring of 1872 August Strindberg left university and moved to Stockholm to become a great playwright. In no time at all he succeeded, completing the prose version of *Mäster Olof* by the end of the summer. Today, *Mäster Olof* is considered the first major work by Sweden's major playwright and "the first Swedish drama to merit a place in the international repertoire."¹ Lauded as "one of those chosen works which divides the old and the new" and "the first strikingly realistic Swedish play," it has been used to demarcate a new era in Swedish historical drama in particular and in Scandinavian dramatic writing in general.² In the early decades of our century, it vied with Strindberg's metaphysical family dramas *Påsk* (1900) and *Dödsdansen* (1900) as the Strindberg play most often performed.³ Of course it took considerably longer—about ten years—before anyone recognized Strindberg's success. In the fall of 1872, the play was rejected by the administration of Kungliga Teatern. When entered in the Swedish Academy's literary competition the following year, it was dismissed without public comment. In 1875, a revised version was rejected by Stockholm's alternative Nya Teatern. Not until 1881 was *Mäster Olof* finally accepted for production.

That it took the world longer to recognize the power of *Mäster Olof* than it took Strindberg to write it is in itself not surprising. It is a complex and difficult play that speaks simultaneously on a number of levels. Ideologically, it offers a revised interpretation of the founding of the Swedish nation, challenging accepted notions of history and attacking as naive the patriotic identification of the interests of the Swedish people with the interests of their kings. Formally and stylistically, it employs a number of strategic innovations that were uncomfortably unfamiliar to theatre audiences at the time, and it assumes a performance style for which Swedish actors and theatre producers were not yet technically prepared.⁴

Attempts to account for the theatrical vitality of *Mäster Olof* and its initial rejection have generally focused on what Alrik Gustafson has called its "racy realism and its note of familiarity in dealing with national saints and heroes."⁵ Scholars like Martin Lamm and Walter Johnson have located this realism in the play's concrete characterizations,

lavish "milieu scenes" and prose dialogue, enumerating a series of technical innovations that, they suggest, enhance the logical causality of the play and bring the stage representation into closer proximity with the outward forms and experiences of daily life.⁶ In general, the vitality of the text has been ascribed to formal experiments that are said to have anticipated the realism of the 1880s.

Critical concern for enumerating realistic devices in the play (together with a search for literary precedents and biographical resonances) has obscured the function these innovations serve in this and subsequent Strindberg plays. This paper will argue that the vitality and innovative significance of *Mäster Olof* have less to do with what is generally considered the project of realism in the theatre than with a deliberate disruption of expectations in order to extend to the audience an experience of ambivalence before accepted versions of history and assumptions about reality.

Strindberg was clearly aware of the innovative nature of his first major work, though he was less clear about what these innovations were meant to signify. In a letter to his cousin Oscar written early in August 1872, he enthused over the play's "starkly new timely style" but said nothing about the source of this innovative urge.⁷ The terms in which he expressed his enthusiasm, however, are revealing. Innovation (the "starkly new") is linked to relevancy (the "timely" [*tidsenlig*, literally "in touch with the times"]) in terms that valorize the new over the old and the timely over the irrelevant. An implicit series of dichotomies is set up that ascribes an oppositional function to formal innovation. This is emphasized in the adverb "starkly." In general, the dramatic project is endowed with a confrontational urgency and vitality that stem from a determination to speak with pertinent timeliness to what is perceived as a new and modern age.

What is to be spoken, however, is not revealed. To explicate the function of this "starkly new, timely style," and uncover what is signified by the other innovations present in *Mäster Olof*, we must first locate the source of this confrontational desire for timeliness in the play and consider what happens when it confronts the venerable tradition of the national historical drama. From this perspective, the strategic innovations present in *Mäster Olof* take on new importance as markers of a deliberate redefinition of the national historical drama and of the dramatic terrain itself.

The most obvious source of the desire for innovation in *Mäster Olof* is its intimation of a new vision of history. Recognition, as Herbert Lindenberger points out, is one of the chief pleasures for the audience

of the national historical drama.⁸ The audience is aware that they are seeing their own history dramatized. As such, they recognize their own age as the product of this history and celebrate the presumed continuity of history as past projects into present and present into future. In the Scandinavian historical drama of the early nationalist period, this relation of past to present was generally predicated upon an aesthetically ennobled rehearsal of familiar things and a celebratory gratification of expectations.⁹ The audience was invited to witness and celebrate the great actions of great men making the history that they had since studied.

Mäster Olof sets out to disrupt expectations in order to challenge familiar attitudes toward history in general and Swedish national history in particular. It proposes a revised reading of history based on new evidence that intimates the part played by personal and class interests in shaping the modern Swedish nation.¹⁰ In this sense, the confrontational urgency and vitality of the play can be ascribed to the playwright's attempt to come to terms with his own experience of history-in-the-making as represented by contemporary events in Paris.

In January 1882 Strindberg wrote to C.R. Nyblom, his former professor of aesthetics at Uppsala, to suggest that what made *Mäster Olof* realistic was its reflection of recent political events in Europe: "*Mäster Olof*, which today is so realistic, was written under the influence of the Franco-Prussian war and the Commune of 1872. . . . It is both natural and necessary," Strindberg continued, articulating his perception of how greatly such events had changed the world, "that we who are a generation after you should write differently, and precisely as we do."¹¹

In this letter, Strindberg suggested that such events as the workers' revolt in Paris in 1872 had made the world a new and different place that demanded a new and different kind of drama. This modern perspective reverberates throughout the play, not only in the character of Gert Bokpräntare as scholars like Sven-Gustaf Edqvist and Gunnar Brandell have pointed out,¹² but in a more far-reaching intimation of class interests and allegiances. In the world of the play, these interests and allegiances lead through a series of alliances, intrigues and betrayals to social revolution that is itself put down by intrigues, alliances and betrayals. The traditional emplotment of history that showed great men performing great actions on behalf of the nation is called into question. History is presented as a variegated struggle of conflicting interests and allegiances. The nation itself is redefined as an unstable alliance of opposed social classes and conflicting interests.

The play, however, is distinctly confused about the implications of this new view of history except insofar as it challenges traditional historiography. It is this dismay that is interpellated by the confrontational desire for timeliness alluded to in Strindberg's August letter to his cousin. A gap opens up between modern experiences and traditional explanations as the play acknowledges new historical evidence in search of a new reading of history.

The consequences of this confusion, and of the formal and stylistic innovations that signify it, however, remain to be explored. A close reading of Act 1 and the first scene of Act 2 suggests how the play translates this general confusion over the process of history to the audience as a series of gaps that disrupt the sense of assurance, stability and familiarity ascribed to assumptions about reality, whether historical or empirical. In doing so, it seeks not to verify and validate accepted notions of reality but to elicit from the audience a response of ambivalence and disorientation similar to that experienced by its title character when confronted by the exigencies of daily life. Stylistic and formal innovations interpellate a desire to break through the confining mire of secular history and empirical reality in order to write a new spiritual history of freedom and equality. But they do so within a distinctly modern terrain that defeats this desire at each step. The effort to find new theatrical means capable of extending the experience of this metaphysical desire to a modern audience turns on the realization that the metaphysical can only be represented in its absence. As such it can only be experienced at one remove, as a response to other realities which can be seen and known. In this sense, the "realism" of the play intimates what remains always absent and unattainable.

This interplay of presence and absence serves as the underlying structure of *Mäster Olof* which ostensibly deals with the founding of the Swedish nation. To retain focus on this interplay and the dissolution of Olof's desire for metaphysical transcendence, Strindberg clears the stage of potential intrusions, dismissing the prime actions and actors of history from the stage into the wings where they hover as an absent, informing presence. It is here that Strindberg's confusion over the consequences of his personal experience of history writes itself into the drama. And it is here that the modernity of *Mäster Olof* resides.

Mäster Olof begins in the middle of another play. In a courtyard of the cloister of Strängnäs, the cradle of Swedish Lutheranism, Olof Petri rehearses two students for a performance of his biblical play *Tobiae Comaedia*. After eight couplets the rehearsal is broken off by the entrance of Lars Andersson, recognizable to the audience as the second

major proponent of Lutheranism in Sweden. In a clipped exchange of short emphatic questions and answers, the formality of the old play is disrupted and the stylistic differences that will distinguish this play from earlier representations of history are announced:

LARS: *som inkommit*: Vad gör du?

OLOF: Jag leker!

LARS: Du leker?

OLOF: Ja! Jag leker en liten comedia om Israels barn och babyloniska fångenskapen!

[LARS: *who has entered*: What are you doing?

OLOF: I'm playing!

LARS: You're playing?

OLOF: Yes! I'm playing a little comedy about the children of Israel and the Babylonian captivity.]¹³

The stylistic shift from formal iambic couplets with their archaic diction and syntax to the three emphatic tri-syllabic sentences that follow opens up a gap in the referential fabric of the drama that is reinforced thematically. The play seems to take place in medieval times, yet the characters speak in a recognizably modern language. Similarly, Olof seems to play "a little comedy" about the children of Israel and the Babylonian captivity, but his play comments directly on the present situation in Sweden where the children of God are held captive by the powers of Rome. The stylistic discord of this opening moment, reinforced by Olof's consciousness of the referential duality of his "little comedy" suggested by his pun on the word *leker* ("play"), alerts the audience to the possible referential duality of the play it introduces. As Olof's play speaks on two levels, so perhaps does Strindberg's.

The instability caused by this oscillation between theatrical and metatheatrical levels continues throughout the scene in a similar series of stylistic disruptions. The scene refuses to settle into a single, familiar mode of discourse which the audience can identify as the play's reality. As Lars unrolls a scroll and reads a passage from the Book of Jeremiah, Olof jumps to his feet: "Sa' Herren det?" [*SS* 2, p. 8: Did the Lord say that?]. What follows is a blending of symbolic premonitions, prophecies and apocalyptic visionary poetry heavily laden with biblical tropes and metaphors. The stylistic formality of the old play has been totally discarded in favour of a new poetic urgency in speech and gesture that gives free reign to Olof's soaring imagination. He conjures up "en ängel som kommer emot mig med en kalk; hon går på aftonskyn därborta, blodröd är hennes stig, och hon har ett kors i handen" [*SS* 2, p. 11: an angel coming towards me with a chalice; she walks on the evening sky over there; her path is blood-red and she has a cross in her hand].

Through a quick series of stylistic alterations, the play creates a charged and unstable atmosphere of vacillating emotions that disrupts the expectations of the audience. They experience the same sense of vertigo that leads to Olof's own vacillation before his moment of decision:

—Nej, jag förmår icke, jag går tillbaka till den lugna dalen; må andra strida, jag skall se på. —Nej, jag skall gå efter och läka de sårade, jag skall viska frid i de döendes öron. Frid! —Nej, jag vill strida med, men i de sista lederna; varför skall jag gå främst? . . . Hjälp mig, Gud! Nu går jag!

[No, I cannot, I'm going back to the quiet valley; let others battle, I shall look on. —No, I shall follow them and tend the wounded, I shall whisper words of peace in the ears of the dying. Peace! —No, I want to battle too, but in the back lines; why should I go first? . . . Help me, God! Now I go!]¹⁴

The dialogue dramatizes the charged vacillations of a momentous decision, endowing it with internal emotional nuance and metaphysical intensity. Olof's visual projection and gestural location of the angel within the pictorial space of the stage ("*därborta*"), like his verbal projection of himself into the visionary dialogue ("*Frid!*"), intimates the power of a visionary reality whose presence can only be ascertained in its effects.

Having conjured up a titanic metaphysical battle, Olof turns his back on the "little comedy" and walks from the forestage to the upstage church door where a crowd of townspeople have gathered. As Olof enters life, the single stage space is divided between the downstage play and the upstage church by a middle-ground of metaphysical visions and titanic projections. The action locates different levels of reality within the single pictorial frame of the stage, just as the stylistic oscillations of the scene locate different levels of discourse within the same temporal frame. History and the representation of history are rendered problematical by this superimposing of temporal upon atemporal and physical upon metaphysical realities.

Once the play's central perspective has been clearly established as that of the title character and the audience has been solicited to see the events of the play from this character's point of view, Strindberg opens up the dramatic panorama to depict the multiple conflicting powers which shape the protagonist's destiny. In quick succession, Gert Bokpräntare, Hans Brask and Gustav Vasa enter the drama in terms that specify the nature of the battle that Olof unwittingly has embraced in his pentecostal vision. Gert entreats Olof to join him in a revolution that will not only extend the work of Luther to Sweden but go further

(*SS* 2, p. 21). Bishop Brask admonishes him to curb his adolescent spirit, threatens him with excommunication and tries to buy him off with a position as private secretary (*SS* 2, pp. 28–29). Olof, caught in the mire of opposed political realities, speaks in the voice of moderation: he warns Gert that he is going too far (*SS* 2, p. 23), but affirms his accord with the reformist doctrines of Luther before the Catholic bishop (*SS* 2, p. 29). Visionary fervour dissipates in the face of political necessity. At this point, Gustav Vasa enters hastily to subsume Olof's moderate stance under his own program of political expediency; Olof is appointed Royal Secretary in the Stockholm Council and sent off to quell the Anabaptist storm descending on Stockholm (*SS* 2, p. 35).

While retaining the central position of focus in the play, and endowing center stage with the visionary metaphysics of the play's opening, Olof is quickly relegated to the periphery of political power. The audience is presented not with the enactment of great historical moments—of momentous battles and state decisions—but with the effects of these on the title character. The actions of great men of state are nowhere to be seen. They are displaced with the major political actors to the wings of the stage where they remain unseen and consequently unknown: history is represented as a complex, informing absence that can only be experienced in its effects.

Olof finds himself drawn by a current whose source and complexity he is unable to comprehend. His words and gestures are reinterpreted and reweighted according to the plans, interests and desires of others. In this way, for example, his decisive gesture of Act 1, ringing the Vespers bell in opposition to the Catholic authorities, is extended by Gert into "stormklockan som ringde till strid!" [*SS* 2, p. 18: the alarm bell which called to battle!]. Similarly, the new faith that Olof preached with Gustav's indulgence (*SS* 2, p. 107) is reshaped following a shift in political power into a minor reordering:

ni ej får på något vis rubba det gamla, ej borttaga mässor, vigvatten eller andra övriga bruk samt för övrigt ej företaga några nya självsvåldigheter, ty kungen kommer ej att blunda för era tilltag vidare såsom tillföre, då han ej hade makt att göra annat!

[you may not in any way disturb the old, not take away masses, holy water, or other customs, nor introduce any new liberties, for the king will no longer turn a blind eye to your undertakings in the future as he has done in the past when he did not have the power to do anything else!]¹⁵

Caught in a current of social, political and religious changes that prove more far-reaching than he had imagined, Olof finds his attempts at religious reformation curbed at each step. He is represented in the drama as neither a major agent of what we might call historical change (that is, changes in the sociopolitical sphere) nor an opponent to them. He is trapped at each step by reactions to his actions and rewordings of his words. His metaphysical desires are deflated by political exigencies just as the desire for a formally satisfying tragedy is thwarted by the play's realism. As soon as Olof takes a step or makes a decision, the ubiquitous messengers of the king, the supercilious representatives of the church, or the advance guard of the future revolution intrude from the wings to redirect and reinterpret. Olof's will is subsumed by contradictory political forces that remain unseen and unknown. He is trapped in a process of change that he cannot fully comprehend and can do little to alter or redirect.

The mime and tableau that end Act 1 cap for the audience the sense of bewilderment and dislocation, so carefully written into the act, that comes to characterize Olof and the play. As Olof walks with Lars Andersson to the stage right wing, he turns to look at the students who had opened the act with their rehearsal of *Tobiae Comaedia*. The students have exited stage left and, at the moment Olof turns, two Blackfriars appear "*from the very wings where the students had exited.*" Olof gives a "*sudden cry of involuntary astonishment and draws his hand across his brow.*" Lars leads him out as the curtain falls.¹⁶

This tableau, inexplicable and unmotivated in terms of the action of the play to this point, reinforces in the audience the sense of incomprehension before the political exigencies of history which intrude from the wings.¹⁷ The manifold consequences of a given action are shown to extend beyond what a single individual can expect or comprehend. It is a nightmarish image of inexplicable dislocation that inscribes the space of the stage in a larger reality and locates the metaphysical visions of the opening scene of the play within the individual who occupies, and is identified with, center stage. Olof's bewilderment and anxiety before the tangled skein of unseen incidents, implications, and consequences—represented theatrically in this tableau—is shared by the audience who are immersed in a drama more complex than they had been led at first to expect.¹⁸ Ambivalence becomes the major theme of the drama as the experience of ambivalence becomes its primary effect on the audience.

The scene changes for Act 2 to a tavern hidden in the wall of the cathedral (Storkyrkan) in Stockholm where Olof will later preach Luther's doctrines. Here the full political complexity of the historical

period, including the intimation of a future battle generated out of class alliances and suppression, is made immediately present and available to the audience. We will recall that it is this "milieu scene," said to be modelled on the tavern scenes in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV*, that past scholars have singled out as a prime example of Strindberg's "starkly new timely style" and of *Mäster Olof*'s innovative realism.¹⁹ For this reason it deserves particular attention in the present context.

The preceeding discussion suggests that the scene provides more than "local colour," comic relief and a sense of historical authenticity as others have claimed. Deliberately representing the effects of class division and antagonism, the scene is a prime example of the historical revisionism at the heart of the play's oppositional timeliness. It foregrounds the playwright's effort to come to terms with a new and complex vision of historical totality which he felt had been silenced in earlier dramatizations of this key moment in Swedish national history. Most importantly, it anticipates the disruptive consequences of the playwright's desire for a new sense of historical totality upon the formal rubric of the national historical drama. The play, like its title character, becomes mired in sociopolitical history; its desire for metaphysical transcendence can only be articulated in the interplay of presences and absences, of statement and retraction, of silenced intimations and ambiguous effects. These add to the formal ambivalence of the play as the desire for a titanic battle and tragic resolution dissolve in the face of unseen realities. The efficacy of Olof's pentecostal vision is challenged and remade along with accepted notions of history and the nation.

The scene opens in the middle of a drunken row between a Dane, a German burgher and Hans Windrank, the poor Swedish sea captain whose drunkenness led him to divulge the conspiracy against Gustav Vasa in 1539. They are arguing about political tyranny: the great actions of history are once again perceptible only in their effects upon individuals pushed to the periphery of political power. The realistic tenor of the scene, which relies on a discourse that approximates that of daily life, immediately contrasts with the visionary metaphysics of the opening of Act 1, setting the events of the preceeding act in a wider social, economic, and political context. The scene introduces characters who will return as the conspirators against Gustav Vasa in the first scene of Act 5; and, through the Småland farmer, it offers a theatrically moving indictment of the political actions of Gustav Vasa by giving voice to a group who had been silenced in traditional readings of history. It is a carefully structured scene which moves quickly through exposition and development to a potentially violent climax that is interrupted at

the critical moment by the abrupt departure of the Smålander from the stage.

The opening argument underscores the uneasy international political situation in Sweden which inspires Windrank to propose a toast to the king. He is a Swedish patriot and spokesman for moderation in politics if not in drink: "Hör nu, herrarne! Vi ska vara ihop nu och ha roligt" [SS 2, p. 39: Listen here, gentlemen! We should all get along now and have fun]. The identification of Windrank as the spokesman of Swedish national patriotism is not without irony. Windrank may be the voice of brotherhood and hospitality in the scene, but he is hardly the voice of reason. He is characterized as a man of strongly varied emotions, as susceptible to fits of drunken sentimentality and childish superstition as he is to outbursts of patriotic fervour. Moreover, his patriotism is firmly based in personal interest:

Jag tycker icke om att man talar illa om kungen. Jag vet nu inte vad han gör och låter och det rör mig inte heller, men det vet jag, att han är mån om sjöfarten! Ja, det är han som rustat ut spanjefarare, och gjort mig till skeppare, och då har jag väl inte något att klaga på!

[I don't like it when people talk badly about the king. Now I don't know what he does or allows and that doesn't concern me either, but I do know this, he's mindful of shipping! Yessir, he equipped the fleet headed for Spain and made me a skipper, so I certainly don't have anything to complain about!]²⁰

Unfortunately, Windrank does not yet realize that while the interests of the king may coincide at the moment with his personal interests, this may not always be the case. Failing to understand the antagonistic forces operating in society, Windrank, like Olof, is unable to comprehend the full consequences of the history with which he identifies and the current in which he is caught up. It is this process of patriotic identification with a mythology of national greatness that the scene challenges.

As soon as it surfaces, Windrank's naive patriotism, and the equally naive identification of king and nation upon which it is based, are challenged by the strangely intrusive silence of the Småland farmer whose refusal to drink Windrank's toast threatens the tenuous harmony of the company:

WINDRANK: *till småländingen:* Varför dricker icke vår tyste broder!

SMÅLÄNDINGEN: Ert kornvin skall jag dricka, men skålen gör jag så här med! *Klämmer ihop bleckmättet och kastar det på golvet.*

- WINDRANK: *letar efter sin kniv*: Ni vägrar att dricka kungens skål!
- SMÅLÄNDINGEN: Jag har så länge druckit ur hans kalk, att jag nu inte har lust att dricka hans skål.
- WINDRANK: Guds blod!
- [WINDRANK: *to the Smålander*: Why aren't you drinking, our silent brother?
- SMÅLANDER: I'll drink your liquor but your toast I'll do this with! *Crushes the tin mug and throws it on the floor.*
- WINDRANK: *reaches for his knife*: You refuse to drink a toast to the king!
- SMÅLANDER: I've drunk from his cup for so long that now I have no wish to drink to his health.
- WINDRANK: God's blood!]²¹

The significance of the moment is marked by the Smålander's use of a familiar folk pun (*kalk/skål*), by Windrank's curse, and by the strong theatrical gesture of throwing the cup to the ground. Windrank, in a fit of patriotic rage and bruised honour, goes for his knife, threatening real violence that cuts across the political banter that opened the scene. The audience is alerted to a shift in tone as events seem to be moving from talk to action.

The potential violence of the moment, however, is immediately defused by the pathos with which the Smålander speaks. He tells a tale of personal woe that leaves his hearers stunned. The cause of his woe, he suggests, is an alliance between king and nobility. Windrank is moved to question his naive trust in the king: "Kors, är kungen på det sättet! Jag trodde han höll adeln i örat!" [SS 2, p. 43: Good God, is the king one of those! I thought he had the lords by their ears!]. Growing directly out of the more general argument that opened the scene, the Smålander's story gives new substance to the earlier recollections of political tyranny, transforming them into a personally verified experience of class repression and opposition. The transformation is subtle, but its effects on stage are intense.

The farmer has been driven into bankruptcy by a royal monopoly on the price of oxen: "Det är kungen som sätter priset på oxarne; det är kungen som fördärvat mig" [SS 2, p. 42: It's the king who sets the price of oxen; it's the king who has ruined me]. But this is not all: "jag vet mycket mera! Han lär snart vilja ta bort munkarne och prästerna från oss bara för att vräka på adeln" [SS 2, p. 43: I know much more! It's said he'll soon take away the monks and priests from us just so he can throw everything to the lords]. The king has even authorized the nobles

to cut down the farmer's forests.

The directness and pathos with which the Smålander's complaints are dramatized elicits a response of sympathy from both his immediate hearers in the tavern and the larger audience in the theatre. This transfer of sympathy endows the farmer's embittered perspective on the political and economic reforms of the king with particular vitality, calling into question the predominant patriotic identification of the actions of Gustav Vasa with the interests of the nation. The interests of the nation have been theatrically redefined as the interests of one group against those of another.

Far from providing comic relief, the scene intimates an alternative view of history that calls into question the whole rubric of the national historical drama. The drunken and defeated farmer conjures up a vision of the future that is at once apocalyptic and prophetic, intimating the tensions and oppressions that were to explode in the peasant revolts in Småland in the 1540s. His personally verified experience of suppression generated by class interests presages a coming battle reminiscent of events in Paris in 1872.

Curiously, this battle remains unspoken: it is only present in the scene through a series of metaphoric displacements and self-imposed silences: "Bara jag inte hade hustrun och barnen hemma! . . . Å ja, jag vet mycket mer, men det talar jag vackert inte om!" the Smålander says [SS 2, p. 44: If only I didn't have the wife and children at home! . . . Oh yes, I know much more, but that I'm sure not going to talk about]. Here, the play reveals its own confusion over the full implications of its view of history. It articulates its commitment to a new sense of historical totality in gaps and silences that add suspense by postponement. The source of the current of history remains hidden, displaced, unnamed and so unknown except in its personal private effects.

The tension achieved by this intimation and immediate silencing of new historical evidence is most evident in the sudden and unmotivated exit of the Smålander from the tavern. Overcome by his vision of opposition in despair, he empties his cup and stumbles out with a piercing cry: "Fy tusan djävlar vad det är bittert!" [SS 2, p. 45: Oh a thousand devils how bitter it is!]. Although the Smålander has gone from the stage, the tensions generated by his recitation of personal oppression and his portentous prophecies of a coming class battle remain to mingle with Olof's visionary pentecostal battle of Act 1.

Characteristically, the play refuses to resolve the tension between these two battles. The Smålander's desire for political freedom and economic equality comment on Olof's desire for spiritual freedom and equal-

ity. Neither can be achieved in the presence of the other; neither can be achieved without the other. Each calls the other into question; each necessitates the other. This symptomatic vacillation is itself inscribed in the dramaturgical and stylistic oscillations between metaphysical visions and encroaching realism. The audience's desire for metaphysical transcendence and tragic resolution is defeated without being denied. The play itself, like its title character, yearns toward tragedy but cannot see itself clear of political timeliness. When, later in the act, Olof looks out his window to see "kvinnor och barn släpas mellan knektarne" [*SS* 2, p. 87: women and children dragged off by soldiers], the Smålander's bitter indictment of the alliance of royal and aristocratic powers returns to mind. Similarly, Lars Sparre's recitation to the king in Act 3 of the internal strife threatening the nation (*SS* 2, pp. 99–100), like his advice to "Tag upp stödet, adeln, och krossa fienden, kyrkan!" [*SS* 2, p. 99: Take up your support, the nobility, and crush the enemy, the church], recalls the rumours alluded to by the Smålander.

Though intimated in the drama, this alternative view of history is not its primary subject. The point of view of the Smålander is one among several presented in the drama. As the Smålander had intruded upon the political debate that opened Act 2, so his story intrudes upon the dramatic action of the play, opening it up to the intimation of alternative views of history and the actions of history. The result is an experience of dislocation and ambivalence that reinforces the thematic concern of the play for the relativity of truth in the face of modern multiplicity.²²

The immediate effect of representing conflicting points of view in the drama is marked by a symptomatic experience of ambivalence and anxiety in the characters. A prime example of this is the character of Windrank who, by the first scene of Act 5, has reversed the stance he held in Act 2. During the course of the play, Windrank has become one of the conspirators plotting to assassinate the king. His new position within the current of political history, however, calls up in the former patriot a response of bafflement and bewilderment dramatized in the opening scene of Act 5.

Again the action depicted on stage is peripheral to that which would be considered the real historical action of the scene—the meeting of the conspirators—which takes place in the burial chapel out of the audience's sight. Dramatic attention is focused not on the determinant historical moment but on its consequences for the confused Windrank standing watch outside the chapel. As Windrank's ambivalence over his part in the planned assassination of the king is acted out before the immediate audience of Olof's wife Kristina and the prostitute from Act 2, the larger

audience in the theatre is confronted with an oxymoric identification of the king as liberator and oppressor: the king is "landets befriare och fader; visst är han en plågare, men, han skall väl inte mördas för det!" [SS 2, p. 173: the liberator and father of the land; of course he is an oppressor, but, he certainly shouldn't be murdered for that!]. Windrank's anxiety, mirroring that of Olof, becomes the subject of the scene.

The audience is engaged in an active task of sorting through and interpreting alternative points of view in order to construct their own reading of history. As they are called upon to construct their own meaning, so must they find a satisfying resolution for the formal ambivalences inscribed in the drama. The historical solution to the complexity of power relationships presented in the drama—a unified Sweden under Gustav Vasa—has been rendered unsatisfying by the intimation of political repression. Available dramaturgical solutions have likewise been undercut by the displacement of the primary historical actors to the wings and the unheroic oscillations of the central character before the incidents and events of history. The final terrifying realization that personal experience is itself relative explodes the sole remaining source of verification. The audience is exposed as victims of their own desires without recourse to formal resolution.

The play ends neither with the reconciliation of tragedy nor with the projection into a politically stable future, but with the iconoclastic dissolution of the national hero. The great metaphysical battle intimated in the opening scene of the play has been postponed and finally lost sight of as political exigencies and the realities of the world strip Olof of the formal rubrics that define his heroic stature in dramatic terms. Olof remains at centre stage, an unwitting victim of forces beyond his control and understanding. The possibility of heroic action is displaced with the major political actors to the wings, leaving Olof alone with his all-too-human anxiety and his internalized vision of a great metaphysical battle. As Gert Bokpräntare's final accusation is shouted from the wings, Olof "*collapses on the pillory, reduced to nothing.*"²³ With him crumbles the ironically hopeful iconization of a future of national heroes, presented by Vilhelm in his tribute to Olof, and the patriotic efficacy of the national historical drama.

Notes

¹ Evert Sprinchorn, *Strindberg as Dramatist* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982), p. 180. See Martin Lamm, *August Strindberg*, trans. Harry G. Carlson, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), pp. 31–32; Martin Lamm,

Strindbergs dramer, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1924), I, p. 83; Walter Johnson, "Introduction to 'Master Olof'" in August Strindberg, *The Vasa Trilogy*, trans. Walter Johnson (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1959), p. 22.

² Johan Mortensen, *Från Röda rummet till sekelskiftet* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1918), p. 74; Walter Johnson, *August Strindberg* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), p. 132.

³ Yngve Hedvall, *Strindberg på Stockholmsscenen, 1870-1922: En teaterhistorisk översikt* (Stockholm: N.S. Lundstrom, 1923), p. 29.

⁴ See Gunnar Ollén, *Strindbergs dramatik*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Sveriges Radio, 1961), p. 60; Nils Beyer, "Strindberg som teaterkritiker," *Bonniers Litterär Magasin* 15 (1946), p. 222.

⁵ Alrik Gustafson, *The History of Swedish Literature* (Minneapolis: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1961), p. 256.

⁶ Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer*, I, pp. 109-21; Lamm, *August Strindberg*, pp. 31-32; Walter Johnson, *The Historical Drama of August Strindberg* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1963), pp. 50-51; Johnson, *August Strindberg*, p. 132.

⁷ *August Strindbergs Brev*, ed. Torsten Eklund (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1948-76), I, p. 109 (No. 53), [July 1872]: "Jag håller på med 4de akten på mitt femaktstucke, i en spritt ny tidsenlig stil." References to Eklund's edition of Strindberg's letters are hereafter cited as *Brev* followed by volume and page numbers, Eklund's item number in parentheses, and actual [or conjectured] date. All translations are by the author.

⁸ Herbert Lindenberger, *Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 79-86.

⁹ See Gerda Rydell, *Adertonhundralets historiska skådespel i Sverige före Strindberg* (Stockholm: Kung. Boktryckeriet-Norstedt, 1928).

¹⁰ See Kenth-Åke Andersson, et al., "Reform och revolution. En tolkning av Mäster Olof och en studie i dess litteraturhistoriska behandling," in *Klartext, Marxistisk Litteraturkritik*, Kritiska Seminariet (Gothenburg: Författarförlaget, 1972), pp. 26-61.

¹¹ *Brev*, II, pp. 356-57 (No. 402), 24 Jan. 1882: "Se här min öppna bekännelse: Mäster Olof som nu är så realistiskt skrefs under intrycken af Fransk-Tyska kriget och Kommunen 1872. . . . Det är således något rent naturnödvändigt att vi som äro en generation (student-) efter Er skola skriva på ett annat och just sådant sätt som vi göra . . ."

¹² Sven-Gustaf Edqvist, *Samhällets fiende, En studie i Strindbergs anarkism till och med Tjänstekvinnans son* (Stockholm: Tidens förlag, 1961), pp. 75-87; Gunnar Brandell, *Svensk litteratur 1870-1970*, vol. 1, *Från 1870 till första världskriget* (Stockholm: Aldus, 1974), p. 54.

¹³ Citations from the play are from Vol. 2 of *Samlade Skrifter av August Strindberg*, ed. Johan Landquist (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1912), hereafter cited

as *SS*. Author's translations appear in square brackets. This citation: *SS* 2, p. 7.

¹⁴ *SS* 2, p. 11.

¹⁵ *SS* 2, p. 131.

¹⁶ *SS* 2, p. 38: "*De [Olof and Lars] gå åt högra sidan; då Olof kommer i kulissen vänder han sig ännu en gång om för att se efter Scholares. Då hava svartebröderna Mårten och Nils trätt fram just från den kulissen där Scholares gått ut. / OLOF / uppger ett rop av ofrivillig häpnad och far med handen över pannan. / LARS drar honom med sig. / Ridån faller.*"

¹⁷ Similarly, though in different terms and to a different end, Harry G. Carlson, *Strindberg and the Poetry of Myth* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1982), p. 39, points out the "strangely unreal quality" conjured up by the tableau of mother, wife and prostitute that ends Act 2 "as if an image were flashing by in a dream."

¹⁸ Harald Molander, who revived the play at Vasa Teatern in 1897, seems to have understood the desired effect. Though *Svenska Dagbladet* reviewer Tor Hedberg objected to Molander's theatrical interpretation of these moments, his description of Molander's use of lighting effects to achieve emotional dislocation is significant: "The only disruption was the lighting effects: the red glare in the first tableau, the hateful sunshine following the mother's death scene. Here a theatrical element intruded which seemed brutal precisely because it was so incongruent with the rest" (reprinted in Hedberg, *Ett Decennium: Uppsatser och kritiker i litteratur, konst, teater, m.m.* [Stockholm: Bonnier, 1913], III, p. 23).

¹⁹ See Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer*, I, pp. 116–17; Johnson, *The Historical Drama of August Strindberg*, p. 53; Joan Bulman, *Strindberg and Shakespeare: Shakespeare's Influence on Strindberg's Historical Drama* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), pp. 54–54, 67–73; cf. Hans Andersson, *Strindberg's Master Olof and Shakespeare*, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, no. 2, ed. S.B. Liljegren (Uppsala: Lundequist-Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952), pp. 23–27.

²⁰ *SS* 2, p. 44.

²¹ *SS* 2, p. 41.

²² In his commentary on *Mäster Olof* in *I Röda Rummet*, Strindberg recalls that he had considered titling the play "*Vad är sanning?*" (What is truth?), and describes the play's "angreppen . . . på sanningen såsom något stående i evig utveckling . . ." [*SS* 19, p. 28: attack . . . on truth as something unchanging in eternal development]. An understanding of truth as relative and conditioned by time carries with it a similar attitude toward rights and powers: "*Alla få rätt och hava relativt rätt, ty absolut finns ingen rätt*" [*SS* 19, p. 33: All [the characters] are proven right and are right, relatively, for no right is absolute.] This passage turns on the confluence of meanings attached in Swedish, as in English, to the word *rätt* ("right") which carries logical, moral and legal connotations. This aspect of *Mäster Olof* is discussed in Lamm, *Strindbergs dramer*, I, pp. 102–04; Carl Reinhold Smedmark, *Mäster Olof och*

Röda Rummet (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952), pp. 85–86; Johnson, *The Historical Drama of August Strindberg*, pp. 38–39.

²³ SS 2, p. 184: "GERTS röst långt bort i kyrkan. / Avfälling! / OLOF / nedfaller på skampålen tillintetgjord. / Ridån faller."

Suzanne Brøgger and Eros

Marina Allemano
(University of Alberta)

You either come to the Brocken-complex with a bureaucratic career in mind, or you leave it, and choose the world. There are two distinct sorts of witch, and . . . is the World-choosing sort.

Thomas Pynchon, *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973)

Det stormer. De gule høje tulipaner svajer en anelse i vinden, men står ellers ganske rankt. De følger med vinden helt værdigt og har saftige stængler. De er mit forbillede.

Suzanne Brøgger, *En gris som har været oppe at slås kan man ikke stege* (1979)

[It is stormy. The yellow tall tulips sway a tiny bit in the wind but stand otherwise quite erect. They follow the movement of the wind with dignity, and their stems are juicy. They are my model.

Suzanne Brøgger, *You Can't Roast a Pig That's Been Fighting*]

The image of the tall bright flower that receives the blows of nature with dignity and which is bursting with spring sap is an appropriate picture of Suzanne Brøgger, one of the most celebrated writers in Denmark for the past decade.¹ The simplicity of the tulip, however, remains a noble, but remote model. Within the enclosing petals, a complex sybil resides with a creative talent and personality that compare with those of the late Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen). Because Brøgger has placed herself unabashedly at the centre of nearly all her writing (with the exception of *Tone* and the journalistic essays in *Brøg*), her name has taken on mythical dimensions over the years. But unlike the self-complacent Narcissus, Brøgger projects herself as a personification of Eros, the lover of life with all its beautiful and diverse expressions. At the same time she is seen by the community at large as the desirous, but alien Lilith, even as the frightening Medusa, but mostly as a powerful Amazon. Beautiful, intelligent, artistic, funny, courageous, independent, eccentric, coquettish, critical, unconventional, iconoclastic, anarchistic, cosmopolitan, earthy, sexy, or simply radical are all befitting epithets bestowed upon her by various critics during the week following the publication of her seventh book *Ja* in 1984.² Not only is she a tiger in the eyes of her lover in *Ja*, but also in the eyes of the press who fear her presence when let into her wild cage.³

The reason for this extravagant description of Suzanne Brøgger is

that one cannot separate the writing from the author. The writing is in fact much like its author: unconventional and radical, but otherwise difficult to categorize. In an interview with this critic, Brøgger openly admitted that it took her many years to develop her characteristic hybrid genre which mixes autobiography, essays, diary-notations, and landscape descriptions, a genre (*utanikki*) that she discovered in Japanese literature only after the completion of her first book.⁴ Instead of writing a traditional novel, which she attempted during her apprentice days, she sought a literary idiom that could accommodate her interest in both fiction and non-fiction. As an avid reader and amateur student of modern science, especially of quantum mechanics, Brøgger profoundly believes that the subject matter, or nature, cannot in principle be separated from the *presence* of the observing subject. Hence her distrust of fiction that pertains to describe a so-called objective reality from an elevated point of view.

Moreover, using Elaine Showalter's feminist terminology in her seminal work, *A Literature of Their Own*, we may refer to Brøgger's works as belonging to the "female phase" of women's literature.⁵ In an historical context, this stage of development was reached in Britain and other Western countries by the 1970s, coinciding with a peak of the Women's Liberation Movement. Characteristic of "female" literature is that it deals with women's experiences and positive role models, and that it expresses solidarity with women in general. Yet, although Western societies are changing and many people are challenging the existing patriarchal values, women's literature, in dealing with women's lives, naturally shows the tension that results from the following three factors: 1) women's own sense of their identity; 2) the patriarchal definitions of women; and 3) the vision of a new female identity in a new society. Brøgger tackles not only these problems, but also her own society's conventions and values directly and convincingly both in her fictional and essayistic pieces in *Fri os fra kærligheden* and *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*. Some of her favourite targets are the conventional, institutionalized notions of love and the nuclear family on which the foundations of our society rest.

None of these issues, however, are her own inventions. As a motto for her second book, Brøgger clearly states that "[i]kke en af ideerne i bogen er mine egne. Jeg elsker at pynte mig, med lånte fjer. Tak." ["not one of the ideas in the book are my own. I love to adorn myself with borrowed feathers. Thank you."]⁶ For example, the ancient idea of a humanistic, all-embracing, and non-possessive kind of love, Eros, has most recently been revived by at least three groups: the counter

culture of the 1960s, the feminist movement of the 1970s, and the peace movement of the last three decades.

In the title piece "Kærlighedens veje og vildveje," Brøgger challenges the "Patrhistisk sexuel idealdannelse" or PIS ["Patriarchal Sexual Formative Ideals"] by suggesting a new set of values, the so-called "Matristisk erotisk idealdannelse" or MIS ["Matriarchal Erotic Formative Ideals"].⁷ The latter system is not merely an adaptation model, she writes, but an entirely different model that "should aim at liberating the repressed libidinous forces in each individual." Furthermore, the alternative system presupposes that "the necessary economic changes are insufficient in order to create a society based on the needs of all people." In other words, a social revolution is not sufficient. "Even if we abolish the property rights of material things, it is of little use if we continue to bind each other in personal relationships," Brøgger continues.⁸ That an economic change *is* necessary for the development of true human liberty goes without saying:

Jeg er overbevist om, at der ikke er reelle muligheder for tillid eller fortrolighed (kærlighed) i et samfundssystem, der bygger på økonomisk udbytning. Der kan næppe findes kærlighed mellem stjælerne og de bestjålne, mellem de højrovede og de røvrejndte, selvom man nok kan drikke sig fulde sammen ind i mellem.

[I am convinced that there are no real possibilities of establishing trust or confidence (love) in a society which is based on economic exploitation. Love hardly exists between robbers and the robbed, between the possessors and the depossessed, although one might get drunk together occasionally.]⁹

Although Brøgger does not consider herself a feminist *per se*,¹⁰ she believes that women will be able to develop the new human model, since it might be easier for them to break down the barriers between individuals and the collective. The large majority of women participating in the peace movement, for example, shows the kind of initiative women traditionally have taken in the welfare of the collective.

In a sexual sense, the PIS-system is genitalia-oriented, whereas the corresponding MIS-system is erotically focused. Referring to Emmanuelle Arsan's *L'Hypothèse d'Eros*, Brøgger agrees that

Coitus er ikke Eros' ærinde. Eros' anliggende er de mentale og sociale strukturer, som sigter på at forvandle sexualiteten og kærligheden til vækstlag for kundskab, kreativitet og til glædelige forbindelser mellem mennesker.

[Coitus is not Eros' concern. Eros' concerns are the mental and social structures which aim at transforming sexuality and love to form the basis for knowledge, creativity, and happy relationships.]¹¹

From this fundamental premise, a long list of opposing values can be deduced from the two systems. The nuclear family, for example, which is based on *closed* relationships, *excluding* others and tending to be *static*, stands in contrast to *open* relationships that will make room for individual *development*. In addition, the old system regards women as complementary to men, rather than women and men as independent individuals. Where the MIS-person finds creativity in the spontaneous, the PIS-person tends to be calculating. Finally and most importantly, the idea that the personal should only be subject to the twosome, if that, is being challenged by the Erotic Matriarchal prototype, as s/he believes that the personal can and must develop within the collective at large.¹²

What is so exceptional about Suzanne Brøgger, since her ideas are often second-hand, is the ways in which she acts out these MIS-values herself and records the results. Her attitude to radicalism is one of doing rather than just reflecting, and as a result, her writing consists mostly of autobiographical "fiction." In attempting to put a label on her works in a generic sense, it might be useful to look at her essay on private life called "Lad os afskaffe privatlivet" ["Let Us Abolish Private Life"].¹³ Should we keep our personal lives in privacy behind closed doors, as the prevalent culture would have us do—or is it precisely the personal that should be explored in an analytical way and be the guide to cure much societal malaise? The paradox, Brøgger says, lies in the fact that the more anonymous, conformist, and empty we become in the midst of all our material goods, the larger the need becomes to keep our private lives guarded, to build tall fences around our suburban gardens (this attitude is referred to as "ligusterfascisme," "liguster" being the popular private shrub used for hedges). The only places, in fact, where our personal lives are shared publicly with others are ironically at drug abuse centres, homes for battered women, alcoholics anonymous, group therapy sessions, and certainly not at dinner parties. "Our social institutions are public, but at the same time an expression of the quality of our private lives,"¹⁴ Brøgger argues. In other words, the barrier between the private and the public does not disappear until the former reaches a pathological state.

Brøgger breaks down fences everywhere, destroys sacred icons, and tells about the confrontations she has encountered with the patriarchal

and bourgeois institutions. Some feminist critics, however, reject the validity of turning personal experiences into general statements. The question is how one can form a direct connection between the individual woman's experiences and those of women at large without making the former "typical" in the Marxist sense. In many cases, pure fiction is better suited for this purpose, as it will place individual lives coherently within the larger context of the fictional world.¹⁵ Brøgger, on the other hand, has no problems bridging the gap between the personal and the general, the individual (herself) and the collective. Like several other works by women writers of her generation, her autobiographical fiction can be seen as a variation on personal documentarism and the specific genres of memoirs, journals, diaries, autobiographies, and epistolary texts that women have indulged in over the centuries. As she learned from Søren Kierkegaard, her self-acclaimed mentor, there is nothing unrefined in writing about oneself, although some critics and writers would insist that it is more proper to relate about *anything* else:

Jeg lærte at skrive Jeg—selv om man ikke kan synke dybere i professionen end ved at skrive om sig selv. Det er 'finere' at skrive om Søren Kierkegaard, det er 'finere' at skrive om Anders And, det er 'finere' at skrive om en gaffel end om sig selv.

[I learned to write I—although one can hardly reach lower within the profession by writing about oneself. It is more proper to write about Søren Kierkegaard, it is more proper to write about Donald Duck, it is more proper to write about a fork than about oneself.]¹⁶

For Brøgger, the link between the subjective and the objective is not only political but also existential, another reason why she rejects the traditional mimetic narrative with its omniscient storyteller. She is not at all interested in exploring the "typical," but wants to show how the world is perceived in subjective terms.

It is clear that Brøgger's notion of private/public life has guided her authorship to a level of personal or subjective documentarism that is quite different from what one usually encounters in autobiographical writing. Not only does she record her experiences, she seeks them out, especially the unusual ones, such as testing or acting out one of her sexual fantasies by putting an ad in the paper for the "right type"; or having her mascara scrubbed off by an old half-naked woman in an Iranian bath-house; or having a green sculpture made of her genitals by an eccentric artist in New York; or having a wing tattooed on her heel by a Copt in Jerusalem who otherwise made his living by selling fake icons and lacquered crosses by the Dung Gate.¹⁷

Brøgger herself prefers the fictional to the documentary label. In contrast to other Danish documentary writers, such as Grete Stenbæk Jensen, Tine Schmede, or Jytte Rex, Brøgger moves from concrete, personal events to the kind of fantastic elaborations that we find in Latin American magic realism. The question of fact versus fiction really has no place in her autobiographical pieces. It becomes irrelevant, for example, whether the black sabbath in Paris related at the end of *Ja* ever took place. The surreal description of it, however, becomes pertinent in our attempt to reach a general statement from the individual experience. Likewise, after her cruel rejection by a lover in *Ja*, it does not seem necessary to know whether she actually in her suffering placed herself supinely in a black hole which her lover had previously dug out in her back yard. What matters is the symbolism and the myths that Brøgger creates out of her life stories. The historical Suzanne disappears within her own fictions, and her writing becomes fantastic subjectivism while it at the same time pertains to a generally shared female mythos.

An example of this method is Brøgger's use of the Lilith myth in several of her works, most notably *Ja*. As a frame for the novel, the author has a wing tattooed on her heel during a visit to Jerusalem, although she does not initially know what her self-acquired freedom as a winged female entails in terms of pain, vitality, and creativity.¹⁸ In an early Jewish legend, which is still alive and well in Cabbalistic and Midrashic literature, Lilith was Adam's first wife:

He [The Holy One] said: It is not good for man to be alone, and he created for him a woman from the earth like him, and called her Lilith. Instantly they began to quarrel. She said: "I shall not lie beneath," and he said: "I shall not lie beneath but above, for your place is beneath and mine above." She said to him: "Both of us are equal for both of us are of earth." And they did not listen to each other. When Lilith saw this, she uttered the Ineffable Name and flew off into the air of the world.¹⁹

After her flight into freedom, Lilith is afflicted with several curses: as the seductress who induces lust and causes men to "have spontaneous emissions at night," as the harlot who afflicts them with disease, and as the child killer.²⁰ She is free, alone and powerful—and the only one who dares to utter the Ineffable Name, a metaphor, within Brøgger's scheme, for being a creator, an autonomous being, and a writer who says "ja" [yes] to life.

The step from being an infamous, winged spirit to being a medieval witch, healer, and abortionist, and finally a modern, liberated, outspoken woman is but a small one. The characteristics are unmistakable.

From the MIS point of view she is independent, strong, creative, and erotic, but from the PIS point of view she is loose, weird, hard, and basically a harlot. She does not fit into the PIS-scheme at all and thus lives traditionally on the fringe of society. In Brøgger's writing, it is obvious that freedom has its price, and that the Lilith-woman at some point must come to realize that her hands are empty, that she does not possess anything but herself, as indeed happens at the end of *Ja*:

ja—I begyndelsen slog vi fingrene mod sække med bønner i, og derefter mod sække med sand i—ja—vi slog fingrene mod papirklistrede vægge, men til sidst var papiret så tyndslidt, at vi af al kraft slog fingrene mod den nøgne stenvæg—ja—og sådan trænede vi den tomme hånd, som jeg genkendte i dig.

[yes—In the beginning we beat our fingers against bean bags and then against sand bags—yes—we beat our fingers against paper-glued walls, but in the end the paper was worn so thin that we beat our fingers with all our might against the naked stone wall—yes—and in this way we exercised the empty hand which I recognized in you.]²¹

Tone in the "kvindekvad" ["woman's lay"] of the same name is one of these empty-handed Karate heroines (Karate means literally 'empty hand' in Japanese), metaphorically speaking, since she is a very creative and generous lady from whom energy and gifts pour out in abundance. Tone Bonnén was an historical person, a talented and successful milliner and costumier at the Royal Theatre, who lived and died in Copenhagen (1980) and was known by many, especially in theatre and arts circles, but also in the neighbourhood of Nikolaj Plads where she resided. Most people would call her eccentric and bizarre, although some would be more sensitive and see her as a character. The award-winning lyrical epic, *Tone: Epos*, is not an autobiographical work, but the lively Tone nevertheless shares many characteristics with the winged Suzanne. I would call her an erotic heroine, although not heroic in the usual Aristotelian sense, and only erotic within the MIS-context of Emmanuelle Arsan. Interestingly enough, Tone is close to being a Christ-figure, and, like the son of God, has two identities: from behind she might be taken for an anonymous old woman with a non-identity, as is the lot of many older women in Western societies, but from the front she is Tone, the light:

Da Tone gik på jorden
 og folk fulgte hende bagfra,
 troede de,
 der går en gammel madam!
 Først når de så hende forfra
 var billedet vendt,
 da var det Tone de så
 og motivet var lyset.²²

[When Tone wandered on earth
 and people walked behind her,
 they thought,
 there is an old lady!
 Only when they faced her
 the picture was turned,
 then it was Tone they saw
 and the motif was Light.]

Tone's name is significant as it suggests a musical sound, but also a nuance, a hue, or a shade in colour, as well as a modulation in voice to indicate emotion. The key words are variation and nuance, since it was Tone's desire to experience as many layers of life as possible. A benevolent and multi-talented individual, Tone is depicted as an inverted version of the ferocious goddess Kali:

Hun var fodrap
 og fingernem,
 var det Kali
 der gemte sine evner,
 lag på lag,
 med de mange arme?
 En til striketoj,
 én til tekande,
 én til meterlange katte
 og kællingekoster—
 Tones arme var flere
 end menneskene ku' fatte. (p. 9)

[She was quick on her feet
 and quick with her hands,
 was it Kali
 who hid her talents,
 layer upon layer,
 with the many arms?
 One for the knitting,
 one for the teapot,
 one for the cats
 and the coats—
 Tone had more arms
 than one could fathom.]

Tone's voyage through life is not goal-oriented, as was Ulysses', for example, but neither is it missionary, as was Jesus'. Her existence is defined by her denial of submission and by having the courage to pronounce, ever so innocently, the Ineffable Name, that is, to be a creator in her own right. Typical of women's place in society, Tone's life is devoid of important decision-making, of questions pertaining to either/or, but is characterized by the presence of profusion, a craving for life, love, and beauty. She has no sense of personal ambition, in fact her only ambition is "at eje alle nuancer af farveblyanter i verden" (p. 102) ["to own all shades of pencil crayons in the world"], while the happiest day in her childhood was when she discovered that her knitting had grown. Neither

does she possess the urge to travel and to encounter new adventures like most of her heroic male counterparts: "for hvorfor skulle hun flytte sig, når alt var hvor hun var" (p. 80) ["why should she move about, when everything was where she was"].

Tone is not a raving feminist, nor is she a political activist of any sort, although she occasionally joins demonstrations when doing her errands in the inner city. But by defying the system and its hierarchical divisions, by pronouncing that "[m]ænd er pragtfulde, men de er tidsrøvende" (p. 57) ["men are wonderful, but time-consuming"], and by avoiding people whom she felt would not let her direct and divide her love, she still presents to us a model, not necessary a female but a human model. Her strength is her creativity in human relationships, her endurance, and her power to conjure up the ideal,²³ while her weaknesses are her individualism and Lilithian isolation in the midst of all her love relationships. In a liberal society the witch-figure with wild hair and flowing garments is an object of curiosity, but in any rigid totalitarian system the same independent lady would be very vulnerable indeed. By the same token, the reader can only admire Tone, as well as her creator, and their ability to feel life in its smallest details, to transform pain into a different type of energy, and to be a valuable part of the collective whole. Although Tone is not politically inclined, she does have a strong sense of the importance of debate: "[e]kkoet af samlet forskellighed / fylder langt mere end fimsen / af enighed" (p. 105) ["the echo of a gathering of differences / is a lot stronger / than the stuffiness of agreement"].

When Tone finally approaches death, there is always one more joy she wants to experience, even during her last days of cancer pains: "De første jordbær på en hvid opaline. / Nyfødte lam i græsset. / Og Æbleblomster" (p. 105) ["The first strawberries in white opaline. / Newborn lamb in the grass. / And apple blossoms"], and a final and quick wedding with a handsome young man. One of her last practical pieces of advice echoes Virginia Woolf. Not only does she demand a room of her own, but "et råderum," that is, a space of activity or free scope, or simply a place to be creative:

Altid havde hun sagt,
at man kan gi' afkald på en mand
og miste sine børn,
men aldrig opgi' sit hjem,
for det var et råderum . . . (p. 106)

[She had always said
that you can give up a man
and let your children go,
but never give up your home,
your creative space . . .]

On her deathbed her "råderum" had shrunk to a basket containing her entire little world of "huskesedler, fotografier, telefonnumre, penge / Niveacreme og bamse, / bange for natten . . ." (p. 113) ["notes, photos, phone numbers, money / Nivea creme and teddy, / fear of the night . . ."].

In closing it should be mentioned that Suzanne Brøgger has a way with the Danish language which suits her subject matter in more than one way. Her descriptions are always sensuous and exuberant, often Sapphic in her manner of relating to natural and earthy objects. Furthermore, she makes frequent use of alliteration in the ancient Nordic, poetic tradition while also paying great attention to the characteristic fricatives [ð, ɣ] in spoken Danish as in the following examples: "et kvindekvad til alle trængende i trange tider," "æde fede krabber," "hun havde held og håndsnilde / og var stor i slaget," "jeg synger om Tone, / sorgen skal skrives i vand, / glæden i sten, / fuglene flyver i form af en fisk" (pp. epigram on cover, 7, 99, 8) ["a woman's lay for all needy during tough times," "fill on fat crayfish," "she had luck and illustrious hands / and proceeded with striking style," "I sing about Tone, / sorrow shall be signed in water, / joy in stone, / fowl fly in the shape of a fish"].

In terms of poetic images, Brøgger's writing is rooted in the present Danish landscape by always relating exactly what is to be seen, heard, felt, smelled, and tasted. These sensuous images are especially abundant in the novel *En gris som har været oppe at slås kan man ikke stegi* which is set in the Danish village where Brøgger lives, and which is devoted to the six senses. Danish apple blossoms, warm milk with rye bread, roasted pheasants with juniper berries, crunchy hazel nuts, juicy blackberries, and the Rabelaisian catalogues of Tone's fantastic costumes are things that make up the poetic stuff of her fiction. At the same time, Brøgger's analytical abilities shine through her poetry at all times and make her portrayal of the social organization of her community complete. Her assaults on the establishment even show up in her often ironic use of the Danish language, as commonplace phrases are elegantly turned into witty aphorisms; and Brøgger's knack for transforming traditional sayings into poetic images have become her trademark:

Men Tone tabte sit hjerte til brandchefen,
som var nydelig og nobel,
og hun var så listig,
at hun lukkede alle de andre inde i stuen,
så hun fik ham helt for sig selv ude på trappen,
hvor hun snuppede et kæmpekys
i røg og damp

med ild i røven
og en knude i brystet. (p. 82)²⁴

[But Tone lost her heart to the fire chief,
who was nice and neat,
and in her sly way,
she shut up the others in the living room,
so that she could have him to herself on the stairs,
where she snatched a big kiss,
in smoke and steam,
with fire in her ass,
and a lump in her breast.]

Finally, a number of Brøgger's works, including *Tone*, contain mythical patterns as well as voices echoing with quaint expressions, such as "kvindekvad," that make the works seem ahistorical and in keeping with archetypal and subversive female figures. When seen in the context of Arsan's love-ideology, these World-choosing witches may contribute to a more general understanding of the long tradition of female revolt.

Notes

¹ Suzanne Brøgger (b. 1944) is the author of the following books:

Fri os fra kærligheden, 1973. Tr. into English as *Deliver Us from Love* (New York: Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence, 1976).

Kærlighedens veje og vildveje, 1974 [The Ways and By-ways of Love].
Creme fraiche, 1978.

En gris som har været oppe at slås kan man ikke stege, 1979 [You Can't Roast a Pig That's Been Fighting].

Brøg, 1980 ("Brøg" is a neologism and a pun on the author's name as well as on the Danish word for brew, "bryg").

Tone: Epos, 1981 [Tone: Epic].

Ja, 1984 [Yes].

Den pebrede susen: Flydende fragmenter og fixeringer, 1986 [The Peppered Sough: Liquid Fragments and Fixations].

All Danish editions are published by Rhodos, Copenhagen. All translations, including titles (except for *Deliver Us from Love*), appearing within this paper are my own.

² See Hanne-Vibeke Holst, "At turde se tigreren i øjnene," *Berlingske Tidende*, 6 March 1984, pp. 1-2, and "Suzanne er en sand anarkist," *Berlingske Tidende, Kultur*, 8 March 1984, p. 2; Jens Kistrup, "Suzanne Brøggers vej gennem forelskelsen," *Berlingske Magasin: Kultur*, 15 March 1984, p. 5; Lisbet Møller Jensen, "Ja tak," *Demokraten Weekend*, 30 March/5 April 1984, p. 6; Hans-Jørgen Nielsen, "Alt i intet," *Information*, 16 March 1984, p. 6; Thorkild Nyholm, "Gok i nøden til de rette meningers kadaver-disciplin," *Århus Stiftstidende*, 17 March 1984; May Schack, "Det er flot at sige ja," *Politiken*, 15

March 1984, p. 5; Ole Schierbeck, "Suzanne sætter sig selv i scene," *Politiken*, 18 March 1984, p. 5.

³ Holst, "At turde se tigeren i øjnene."

⁴ M. Allemano, "Suzanne Brøgger: et interview, August 8, 1985," *Horisont*, 33 (1986), No. 3, pp. 54-61.

⁵ Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Novelists from Brontë to Lessing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 13.

⁶ *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 5.

⁷ *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 124.

⁸ *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 122.

⁹ *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 123.

¹⁰ "Interview," pp. 54-55.

¹¹ Emmanuelle Arsan, cited in *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 121. Arsan, author of the erotic novels, *Emmanuelle I, II, III, and IV (L'Hypothèse d'Eros)*, is one of Brøgger's literary and ideological influences. See Brøgger, "Man kan ikke blive gammel med Søren [Kierkegaard]," *Politiken* (kronik), 25 Jan. 1985.

¹² *Kærlighedens veje og vildveje*, p. 126.

¹³ *Fri os fra kærligheden*, pp. 53-64.

¹⁴ *Fri os fra kærligheden*, p. 56.

¹⁵ Stig Dalager and Anne-Marie Mai, *Danske kvindelige forfattere* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1982), vol. II, p. 164.

¹⁶ Brøgger, "Man kan ikke blive gammel med Søren," *op. cit.*

¹⁷ See "Åh Trikotage . . ." ["Ah Knitwear . . ."] in *Fri os fra kærligheden*; "Vask" ["Wash"] in *Fri os fra kærligheden*; *Crème fraîche*; and *Ja*.

¹⁸ "Interview," p. 59. Brøgger incidentally revealed in the interview that real blood had been shed in the name of *Ja* and that she now is, in fact, equipped with a winged heel.

¹⁹ Raphael Patai, *A Book of Jewish Legends: Gates to the Old City* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1981), p. 408.

²⁰ Patai, pp. 461, 463, 466.

²¹ *Ja*, pp. 398-99.

²² *Tone: Epos*, p. 5. All subsequent references to this work will be included within parentheses in the text.

²³ May Schack, "Besværgelsens heroiske kraft," *Kritik*, 58 (1981), pp. 7-28.

²⁴ The phrase "i røg og damp" is taken from the Danish anthem "Kong Kristjan stod ved højen mask / i røg og damp" by Johannes Ewald.

Through a Glass Darkly: Figurative Language in Ingmar Bergman's Script

Peter Ohlin
(McGill University)

As many people have pointed out, the film script is a difficult genre to study: the whole point of it is that it is a sketch, an incomplete notation pointing towards the finished film. In 1960, Bergman described it as an almost impossible form: "The transformation of rhythms, moods, atmosphere, tensions, sequences, tones and scents into words and sentences, into an understandable screenplay"

One can write dialogue, but how it should be delivered, its rhythm and tempo, what is to take place between the lines — all this must be omitted for practical reasons. Such a detailed script would be unreadable. I try to squeeze instructions as to location, characterization and atmosphere into my screenplays in understandable terms, but the success of this depends on my writing ability and the perceptiveness of the reader, which are not always predictable . . . Here I cannot clearly give a key, as in a musical score, nor a specific idea of the tempo which determines the relationship of the elements involved. It is quite impossible for me to indicate the way in which the film "breathes" and pulsates.¹

A few years later, in the preface to *Persona*, he continues the musical analogy: "What I have written seems to me most similar to the melodic part which I believe that I, with the help of my collaborators, will orchestrate in the production process."² In the preface to *The Touch* he suggests that a script is "a summary text, a cipher, which at best can appeal to every reader's imagination and empathy."³

However, despite Bergman's unhappiness with this compromised form (more musical score than literature), the fact remains that a film script is a literary construct (as Bergman himself admits, dependent on his writing ability).⁴ It has a distinctive form and shape, and the filmmaker faces a number of formal choices in writing it (how much and what kind of description to include, for example; what emphasis to give to technical cinematic information, and so on). His decisions give us information as to how he defines his craft, what emphasis he gives his themes, what he believes to be the formal coherence of his concerns: all this within the carefully limited arena of the script itself, in much the same way perhaps that a Rembrandt sketch contains not only an

indication of the final painting-to-come but a demonstration of formal mastery in a preliminary genre. Thus, what is interesting to study is not just Bergman's dialogue, and the way that it is later orchestrated by the specific *mise-en-scène* (though the literary qualities of that dialogue deserves serious study as a subject in its own right). Rather, what is interesting is that the scripts contain a vast amount of information that is not readily associated with what we mean by cinematic imagery. In other words, they function much less as specific instructions to a technical crew of performers than as a kind of embodiment of the original vision, though in a different medium. The descriptive passages of the scripts give us details about textures, sounds, smells that could or would not necessarily be translated into the cinematic text. They serve, instead, as a kind of instruction to the reader; and they become part of the figurative language which, in a purely literary sense, regardless of cinematic considerations, serves to determine at least some of the central thematic concerns of Bergman's vision. What is interesting, then, is not just that there is a clear and articulated relationship between the script and the finished film, but that the script, in all its language and metaphorical power, demonstrates a poetic and rhetorical coherence that can — in its turn — be related to the completed film.⁵

The opening description of the setting is itself indicative:

The house stands by itself on a long sandy point and is heavily marked by exposure. It is built in two stories and painted dark green, except where sun and wind have polished the wood into a lighter silkier tone. The back looks out over a large overgrown garden, partly protected from views by a high fence.

People are living in the house. Laundry is flapping on a line, and the windows are open below awnings almost torn apart by the wind.

Out of the swelling ocean, darkened by dusk, rise voices and laughter. Suddenly four heads are bobbing in the waves, and soon four people are struggling towards the shallow beach. They are breathing heavily as if after a rigorous swim and laugh helplessly, they walk side by side, four black figures against the sunset and the restless fires of the reflections in the water.⁶

Already in these first few paragraphs we find Bergman establishing some of the most important themes of the film: the idea of isolation and loneliness, first of all, so clearly related to the desire to break through to someone else, which influences the actions of all the characters. Also, the idea of loneliness and isolation is related to vulnerability: the house has been "heavily marked" by its "exposed" or "abandoned" position. There is a suggestion that this kind of suffering may bring some kind of reward: "sun and wind have polished the wood into a lighter silkier

tone." In contrast to these images of exposure and vulnerability, we find also images of protection and actual or incipient decay: the back of the house "looks out over a large overgrown garden, partly protected from views by a high fence."

The third paragraph introduces images of light and darkness, the ocean, a kind of compulsive violence or struggle, and the ominous restlessness of the whole scene. The waves are "swelling," for example, "darkened by dusk"; the human characters are "four black figures" seen against the sunset and "the restless fires of the reflections in the water," suggesting a drama in which human beings are dwarfed by cosmic forces. Similarly, there is in the language a suggestion of compulsion or violence: the figures appear "suddenly," as if out of nowhere, and they breathe not just "hard" but "heavily" just as they are described as laughing "helplessly." The point about this descriptive paragraph, consequently, is not that it contains directions for the film's producer or director or photographer, but that it introduces the major thematic concerns of the work: the darkness that the characters wish to penetrate, the struggle and helplessness felt in trying to reach for a shore, the sense of foreboding frequently perceived in nature.

To indicate just how deliberately the language of this description is used, it is worth relating it to the last descriptive passage in the script, setting the scene for the discussion between Minus and his father:

They have walked out on to a low sandy neck of land which almost imperceptibly dips into the water. It is as if they were standing in the middle of the whiteness of the ocean, with the whiteness of the summer skies above their heads, as if they were enclosed in a bowl of milk coloured glass. Infinitely small in this hazy silent whiteness.⁷

In contrast to the images of darkness in the beginning of the script, here we have images of whiteness, at least four of them in three short sentences. The sky is white, the ocean is white, so that they are surrounded by a milky whiteness: concrete images moving toward an abstraction. That whiteness is obviously a contrast to the darkness implied in the title;⁸ yet, interestingly enough, it is not an image of the clarity one might have been led to expect, but rather more like a non-dark fog. The clarity that the characters have been asking for has become, instead, a vague indefiniteness which also reduces them to an infinitely small status in the silence of this white universe. Earth and ocean merge "almost imperceptibly"; for human beings there is only a white silence and loneliness.

Yet, of course, that silence and that loneliness are entirely differ-

ent now from the way they were presented in the first paragraph of the script. Language has here been used deliberately — through a series of metaphors and other figurative devices — to articulate the basic thematic concerns of the work (whether or not those specific images or words will appear in the final film itself).

In that articulation, the most important type of imagery in the script is, as mentioned before, that of light and darkness. The darkness is associated with the ocean, with the forest, and with wild animals; as Karin says to Minus, "a god descends from the mountains. He walks through the dark forest, the wild beasts everywhere at dusk, in the silence. *That* must be the reality."⁹ The animalistic aspect of darkness is hinted at early on when Minus sees Karin drying off after swim: "She catches sight of him and smiles, flings the towel in his face, it wraps a damp, fragrant darkness around him and he holds it in his hands."¹⁰ Later on, the imagery that associates darkness with animal desire and sensuality is emphasized in the passages that describe the old wreck.

The light imagery is frequently equally disturbing, particularly when it goes beyond grey or the opaque whiteness mentioned earlier. The reflections of the sunset are turned into "restless fires" in the opening paragraphs. Later on, the imminent sunrise is described in this way: "On the horizon in the east, there is a streak of blood red fire."¹¹ Frequently, also, this light is described as flickering, like the candles when Minus is putting on his play. The description of Karin's experience in the upstairs room is significant here: "Suddenly little flames of fire begin to burn on the heavy leaves of the wallpaper . . . and little orange tongues of fire flicker over the leafy network of the wallpaper."¹² Light as illumination is intermittent, uncertain, as well as potentially violent.

A second important group of images is associated with decay and rotting. The garden, as we have seen, is described as overgrown. This is where the world of art belongs:

David is led across the garden to its most neglected corner where an old summer house has almost fallen down. Here Minus has nailed some boards together to make a primitive stage. A bedroom screen marks one end and a rotten pear tree the other. The broken door of the summer house is wide open and three candles flicker in the darkness inside. The stage itself is lit by three kerosene lamps forming the footlights. Backstage the thick greenery of the garden grows denser, here and there the sunset sky and the ocean can be glimpsed. The moths are beating against the flames and cast shadows against the white wall of the summer house.¹³

So much for the situation of the contemporary artist. This is a very

romantic vision which could have come straight out of the works of E.T.A. Hoffmann. At the same time, the garden and the stage must be related to two other physical spaces. The first of these is the second floor of the house where Karin has her visions:

The upper floor also has a large landing, which at one time served as a living room, strangely shaped monstrous pieces of furniture sleep here beneath white sheet covers, like oversnowed, long ago dead prehistoric animals. Up here all of the rooms are vacant and have decayed or preserved themselves quite without any supervision. The ceilings show stains in fantastic patterns and resemble charts of unknown seas, the linoleum on the floors has been ripped open like great wounds, rotting planks have collapsed or been broken off revealing the filling in floors and walls. The wallpapers are marked by humidity and bleached by sun, here and there they have buckled or loosened and hang in shreds from the walls.¹⁴

If the garden is almost a parody of the situation of modern art, this is a parody of the condition of contemporary metaphysical thought and experience. The imagery of death, of prehistoric monstrosity, primeval animals, uncharted seas, rotting boards, and so on, clearly suggests a destructive and almost perverse decadence.

The other physical space is the old wreck, a visible image of decay that provides the site for the confrontation between Minus and Karin:

It is an old wooden ship, with broken mast and crushed bow. The hold gapes black and open. Rotting tackle and pieces of rope hang from rails and boards. The aftercabin with broken windows and collapsed roof leans against the upright stump of a mast.

The hull rests on a grass covered slope of sand which projects a few meters into the water.

On top of the slope a navigation marker has been placed.

Minus climbs up on the wreck and stands there a few moments, listening. Then he steps very stealthily up to the hatch, and looks down into the darkness, but cannot distinguish anything.

Then he swings himself down into the hold.

The hull has great cracks in its walls, here and there daylight filters in and the opening of the hatch renders a grey light. In the bow the water floods in and out, but in the stern the deck is firm and undamaged.¹⁵

It is all too easy to ridicule such a description as being too overtly Freudian — and it has been done many times. As a symbol of the site of sexual transgression, it certainly seems marked by the kind of slightly Kafkaesque surrealism much cherished by Swedish authors in the 1940s. However, rather more significant is the way in which Bergman establishes sites of decadence and decay as the spaces out of which contempo-

rary art, religion (or, if you will, psychology), and personal relationships must develop more realistic and relevant structures. In that sense, the wreck is the symbol not just of the furtive anxieties of sexual transgression (incest) but of the total collapse of both familiar and personal relationships.

All this imagery of decay must as well be seen in relation to the imagery of protection. In the beginning of the script, the garden which is protected from viewers and from the ocean, is at the same time overgrown and dilapidated. In some ways, that is an absolutely explicit symbol for Karin. All the main characters try to protect her — and all of them fail, leaving her in ruins. The most obvious and pathetic one is Martin: he describes himself as “the fixed point of her existence, maybe her only security,” but Karin, in a number of places, describes him as “frightened” or “anxious” fully realizing that he is unable to understand her experience. When she finally confronts the spider god, Bergman makes Martin arrive carrying “his brown medicine bag (as if it were his last security).”¹⁶ Martin is at the same time the symbol of the inability of possessive love to understand its object and the symbol of ordinary simple human desires (as Karin herself acknowledges when she defines his ideal wife as “calm and like a flower in bloom, giving you children and coffee in bed: big, warm and beautiful”).¹⁷ Karin sees right through him when she says that “you always say the right words and do all the right things. And it still turns out wrong. Why is that?”¹⁸

What Bergman suggests is that there can in fact be no genuine protection from anything. All attempts at protection — Martin’s love for Karin, Minus’s innocent sense of purity and artistic integrity, David’s cynical and professional understanding of the relationship between his personal life and his art — all these positions that the characters are committed to protect result in a kind of decadent and perverse negation of the original purpose.

The images dealing with protection and decay must also be related to the most significant group of images in the script: those dealing with walls, boundaries, and other limits. The wall, of course, is what separates seeing “through a glass darkly” from meeting someone face to face. Its most immediate embodiment is the wallpaper in the room on the second floor which appears on three separate occasions in the script. The first one stands out by virtue of its fantastic imagery:

What is immediately striking is the wallpaper in the room. Its colour is green but it represents some kind of foliage in many different shades and nuances. In places all the colour has faded and the pattern is a faint pale grey outline, but in the corners of the room and behind

the paintings the greenery is still fresh and thick. In the wall to the right of the window there is a narrow door still tapestried in the same pattern, above it a damp stain has exploded creating a laughing moon face with an empty eye, wide open mouth, and an enormous bulbous nose. To the left of the window the leafy wallpaper has been torn away in one whole section and behind it can be seen a stiff brownish composition with pale gold stripes.¹⁹

Little of this appears in the film itself, and what is striking about the description is the way in which it starts with imagery that is pastoral and organic and then, under the impact of some kind of decay, transforms it into a cosmic surrealist landscape of terror: a stain has "exploded," the man in the moon, the stock image of countless children's stories about sleeping and pleasant dreams (it is no accident that in this work everybody — except possibly Martin — is so sleepless), may be laughing but displays an empty eye socket, a mouth gaping with terror or fear, and a grossly distorted nose. One is reminded of similar effects in the dream sequences in films like *Wild Strawberries* and *The Magician*; it is symptomatic of the kind of restraint that Bergman imposed on himself that he avoided them in this film, despite the ease with which the transformation from pastoral to grotesque could have been related to the metamorphosis of the loving God into a spider, uncovering in the process "the stuff brownish composition with pale gold stripes" of a decadent nineteenth century world view.

In the script, much more than in the film, Bergman takes advantage of the way in which the foliage pattern on the wallpaper suggests a wall that can be penetrated or that does not have the solidity of an ordinary wall. The first time we see it, it is in fact associated with other elemental forces:

Suddenly little flames of fire begin to burn on the heavy leaves of the wallpaper, there is a heavy gust of wind from the ocean and the house sighs like an old ship with masts and rigging.

The disc of the sun rolls out of the grey ocean swell and little orange tongues of fire flicker over the leafy network of the wallpaper.

Air, fire, water, earth: all collaborate and participate in this world, giving it the force of cosmic or mythic coherence.

There are two more scenes set in the room with the wallpaper. In the first one, Karin describes how she is able simply to walk through the wall: "The voice continued calling for me, so I just pressed myself against the wall, and it opened just like a wall of leaves and *then I was inside*."²⁰ The vision of peace and light and calm that she then describes

is later negated in the final scene in the room when the papered closet door finally opens and the spider god appears.

Karin's desire to break through the wall, to see face to face, can obviously be interpreted in different ways, as an expression of her schizophrenic condition or as a symbolic view of modern man's metaphysical needs. However, this is not the issue at the moment.²¹ What is of interest here is simply to note the frequency with which the script discusses walls, barriers, as well as doors, windows, openings, cracks, and other breaks in the fabric in the world (i.e. the "liminal" in general). For example, in the beginning of the script, after Minus has finished putting on his play for David, Martin complains that someone has left the window to the bedroom open so that it is now full of mosquitoes. Minus couldn't care less about mosquitoes and says so; but the scene surely stands as a preliminary and indicative parody of the appearance of the spider god in the climactic scene of the work. The description of the old wreck, as we have seen, emphasizes its broken windows: "The hull has great cracks in its walls, here and there daylight filters in and the opening of the hatch renders a grey light." The imagery, in other words, constantly underlines the walls or boundaries of loneliness, isolation, and separation, and contrasts them with various provisional or accidental cracks, openings, and points of entry. Symbolically speaking, the incest scene is an obvious example of the same pattern; so also, though in a comic mode, is the "vampire" scene in which Karin, when Martin has cut his finger on a beer bottle cap, with much enthusiasm sucks his blood to clean the wound.²² Perhaps the most powerful expression of this theme is Minus's experience of his relationship to Karin. To his father, he says: "Reality just cracked and I fell out. It's like a dream, except it's for real. Anything can happen now — *anything*, Daddy."²³ This is hardly an original insight. But the script has a long, detailed and sentimental clarification of Minus's experience, immediately after it has occurred; interestingly enough, Bergman has placed the whole passage in parenthesis:

(Minus sits somewhere in eternity with his sick sister in his arms. He is empty, stripped and frozen. Reality as he has come to know it so far has been broken and has ceased to exist. His dreams and fantasies have nothing whatever corresponding to this moment of weightlessness and sorrow. His head has penetrated the film of merciful ignorance. From now on his senses will be changed and hardened, his perceptiveness will be sharpened and he will go from the games of not really knowing to the pains of absolute clarity. The world of accidents has been transformed into the universe of absolute laws.)²⁴

Somehow it seems not accidental that the only literary figure men-

tioned in the text is Hemingway: a passage like this one surely calls to mind the traumatic experiences Hemingway recorded in the name of Frederick Henry, Nick Adams, and others. The real question is why Bergman would bother to include such a passage in his script at all, since it has no real relationship to anything that can be filmed. It is possible to see it as an indication of a genuine weakness in the script: for if Minus is a significant character he deserves better than simply a parenthetical description of his agony: for that matter he deserves something better than his final conversation with his father which was felt even by Bergman to be totally inadequate as a conclusion to the film.²⁵ But in literary terms the figurative language emphasizes the existence of the thin film or boundary between the world of a certain kind of thoughtless knowing and a world of clarity and understanding (whatever relationship those worlds may have to the worlds that Karin knows). And the passage also demonstrates Bergman's ability to combine very concrete and abstract images: Minus is empty and frozen, his world is crushed, pain is ahead of him; but all this is in the context of eternity, knowing, clarity, and the universe of absolute laws. In this sense, the passage — unlike the film — makes it absolutely clear that Minus's experience is just the obverse of Karin's. They are, if you will, both metaphysical, but from opposite sides of the boundary between them. For Minus, the world of everyday gestures has been transformed into the cruel world of materialist laws; for Karin the world of idealistic faith has been transformed into one of demonic possession.

Still another major group of images are those associated with disease and sickness. It is not just that Karin's psychological problem is discussed in detail, but, for example, the linoleum in the upstairs room has been ripped open in great sores. Similarly, David struggles with fever as he works on his manuscript, and Karin is described as being held by the physical effects of illness: tension, hot breath, "her face swells and darkens and her eyes turn glassy and unconscious."²⁶ In general, the script abounds in descriptions of compulsion and almost automatic physical reactions. When Karin speaks to her father she says: "I didn't do it of my own will. It was a voice that told me what to do . . . I tried to resist but couldn't get away. I was forced to."²⁷ Here, too, Minus's experience is almost a parody of Karin's. In his slightly overwrought Romantic play, the young poet-hero declares: "Holy Mother of God, what is it roaring in my head, what is it that contracts my throat and hammers in my stomach?" And a few lines later: "My knees are like clay and my whole body shakes, my stomach too is acting quite inappropriately, and I surely cannot enter eternity with . . ."²⁸ A passage

like this, perhaps unfortunately, invites comparison with the conclusion where he has been told by his father that God is love: "Your words are terribly unreal, Daddy. But I can tell you're serious. That's why my whole body is shaking . . . I'm cold, my teeth are chattering, and I shake all over. Do you mind if I run for a while?"²⁹ In this way, metaphysical problems and personal problems both manifest themselves directly in the physical sphere much as any illness or disease might.

On a number of occasions, this experience of compulsion and possession leads Bergman to present the characters in animal images. Martin, in declaring his love for Karin to David, says he is powerless to help her: "I can only stand next to her and watch her being transformed into a poor tortured animal";³⁰ Karin crawls on all fours in the wreck, searching for water to drink; and in defending herself against the spider god an animal scream comes from her throat. The pressure of animal forces on the human dilemmas also involves a direct challenge to the authority or relevance of traditional human language. When Karin tries to comfort Minus in the beginning of the story, "she snuggles close to him so that her face is immediately beside his. She speaks very quietly and tenderly, patiently babbling unclear sounds"; and when David in turn tries to comfort her he too "mumbles soundless words."³¹ In between, David has struggled with the absurd rhetoric of his own novel, trying to cut the irrelevant excesses of style to arrive at a meaningful simplicity: "he returns to his torments: slippery sentence structures, the detestable diction, the banality of the events, and the flat triviality of the characters."³² A little later Minus has to struggle with his Latin, a scene which suggests that nearly all human languages are pathetically ill equipped to deal with human dilemmas: the script suggests, thus, that animal forces, the nature of disease, and metaphysical realities all create pressures to purify and cleanse ordinary language and its gestures.

Still another aspect of the challenge of the animal world is the nature of sexuality itself, represented here by Karin, as she is observed by Minus:

You've got to be more careful. Stay away from me. Stop kissing me the way you're always doing. And don't lie in the sun half naked, it makes me sick when I see you. . . . You know damn well what I mean. Women are hell. They smell and move and swing their hips at you and they comb their hair and talk — it turns you into a skinned rabbit on the inside.³³

But that image of Karin's sensuality as a threat to the ordinary human world of Minus and Martin is balanced by its opposite. When she appears in Minus's play, "her hair is combed straight back and she carries a tiny crown made of silver paper. She has a large black shawl around

her shoulders and is very pale, and in addition she has painted black mascara around her eyes."³⁴ When she tells Minus about the God she is waiting for, she "is now very far away, but at the same time severe and clear, as if a strange voice spoke out of her mouth."³⁵ As they await the helicopter-spider god, her face is described as totally calm and almost luminous. She is, then, simultaneously sensuous and ascetic, whore and virgin: either way she is a threat to the comfortable assumptions of the people she lives with.

There remains one last group of images to be discussed, namely, all those instances where the pathetic fallacy is at work, the many passages in which inanimate objects are made to behave like human beings. The most important of these refer to the house itself: "there are creaks and groans in the old house, as if it were moving in its sleep." And the second floor: "The enormous grandfather clock leans thoughtfully against the wall, and the iron stove runs away in rusty self pity while a formless sofa (Jugend style) is stretching in the flowing and indeterminate light."³⁶ The furniture sleeps and the whole house sighs. Later on, the ocean itself begins to swell and mumble. As the rain falls after Minus' and Karin's moment of crisis, "the wind pushes against the old house which complains and creaks." Images like these not only serve to emphasize Karin's acutely heightened perceptions, particularly her hearing, but also suggest the way in which the external world actively intervenes in the world of human affairs in frequently unexpected ways. There can be something ominous about the movements of the ocean. In at least four passages birds scream or move in ways that appear frightening, pocking, anxious, or demanding³⁷ to the characters, as if to remind them that the world they see may not be transparent, but opaque, seen "through a glass darkly."

Similarly, the script suggests in a number of places that things happen by themselves, without warning. The word "suddenly" or "abruptly" appears in many instances: Karin wakes up abruptly, the rain comes all of a sudden, gusts of wind suddenly appear out of nowhere, all of this suggesting the unpredictability of the world impinging on human consciousness.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this inventory of the figurative language in Bergman's script. For one thing, the imagery makes clear the extraordinary care with which the script has been crafted: the thematic concerns with darkness versus light, loneliness and vulnerability versus protection and decay, walls and barriers versus doors, cracks, and other openings, sickness and compulsive behaviour versus the asceticism of saintliness, all have been interwoven in the script with great

skill. An additional example of this is the climactic scene between Minus and Karin:

Suddenly she has grabbed hold of him and he falls over her, tries to get away but can't do it, sinks more deeply towards her. He can glimpse naked skin, sense the smell of seaweed, rotten wood, ocean floor. She holds him tight with arms and legs, but her face is turned away and her lips are tightly closed.³⁸

This scene sums up a great many of the themes in the work, its imagery clearly pointing to the helplessness, the desperation, the feeling of imprisonment, combined with the notion of sinking into a world of sensuality, natural decay, and isolation.

Secondly, what stands out in the script is the extraordinary exaggeration, melodrama, or violence of its language. The violence contained in the dialogue is one thing, and that is limited to a few outbursts. But the descriptive passages are quite different: the emotional intensity here is not only high-pitched, but almost forces a melodramatic reading on the audience. The very logic of the script itself seems to reside in the strength of that metaphoric language in which the cry of a bird or a shaft of sunlight over some faded wallpaper can be seen as a sign of another reality.

Yet the remarkable thing is obviously what Bergman did with the script afterwards. The film contains almost none of the excesses that have been discussed in the script. The film itself is a perfect example of that process of stripping things bare with which it deals. During the making of the next film in his trilogy, *Winter Light*, Bergman quoted Faulkner's phrase "Kill your darlings" in order to explain that the principle of editing must be to cut out those sequences to which one feels emotionally attached. The great virtue of looking at Bergman's script is that it lays bare, in such naked form, the nature of that emotional attachment.

Notes

¹ Ingmar Bergman, *Four Screenplays* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), pp. xvi-xvii.

² Ingmar Bergman, *Persona* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1966), p. 15 (my translation).

³ Preface to *Beröringen*, in *Filmberättelser 3* (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1973), p. 103 (my translation).

⁴ The care with which Bergman, from his very earliest days, practiced his literary craft has been documented by Vilgot Sjöman in *L136 Diary with Ingmar Bergman* (Ann Arbor, 1978), pp. 9-11, and repeated in slightly different

form in his autobiographical novel *Linus utan Jeanna* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1985).

⁵ The present essay is intended to form part of a larger work which will study aspects of Ingmar Bergman's literary craftsmanship, from the very early plays and screenplays, through the major "modernist" films, to the later television dramas, as well as the relationship of that craftsmanship to the visual and cinematic aspects of his art.

⁶ "Huset står ensamt på den långa sandiga udden och är hårt märkt av sitt utsatta läge. Det är byggt i två våningar och mörkt grönt till färgen, där inte sol och väder slipat fram en ljusare sidenton ur träet. Baksidan vänder sig mot en stor igenvuxen trädgård, delvis skyddad för insyn av ett högt plank.

Det bor folk i huset. En tvätt fladdrar på tork och fönstren står öppna under halvt sönderblåsta markiser.

Ur det svallande, aftondunkla havet stiger rop och skratt. Plötsligt guppar fyra huvuden på vågorna och snart börjar fyra människor sträva in mot den långgrunda stranden. De andas häftigt som efter en hård simtur och skrattar uppgivet, de går i bredd och är fyra svarta figurer mot solnedgången och vattenspeglingarnas oroliga eldar."

Ingmar Bergman, *Filmbeskrivelser 1* (Stockholm: PAN/Norstedts, 1973), p. 7 (my translation). In order to pay particular attention to the language I have used the Swedish text, and translated it myself when necessary, rather than the available translation by Paul Britten Austin of *Three Films* (New York: Grove Press, 1970).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66: "De har kommit ut på ett lågt sandigt näs, som nästan omärkligt sänker sig i vattnet. Det förefaller som om de stod mitt ute i havets vitthet med sommarhimlens vitthet över sina huvuden, som vore de inneslutna i en kupa av mjölkfärgat glas. Oändligt små i denna disiga tysta vitthet."

⁸ Note, however, that a literal translation of the *Swedish* title is "as in a mirror."

⁹ *Filmbeskrivelser 1*, p. 43: "En gud stiger ned från berget. Han går genom den mörka skogen, överallt rovdjuren i skymningen och tystnaden. *Det* måste vara verklighet."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9: "Så får hon syn på honom och ler, kastar handduken mot hans ansikte, den slår ett fuktigt, doftande mörker omkring honom och han håller den i händerna."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27: "Vid östra horisonten brinner en blodröd rand."

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 29: "Plötsligt tänds små eldslågor på tapetens tunga blomblad . . . och små gulröda eldstungor flämtar över tapetens lövverk."

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19: "Därefter blir han förd genom trädgården bort till dess allra mest vanskötta hörn, där ett gammalt lusthus lutar mot sitt fall. Här har Minus spikat ihop några bräder till en primitiv scen. En sängskärm bildar ena avgränsningen och ett murket päronträd den andra. Lusthusets söndriga dörr står öppen på vid gavel och tre stearinljus flämtar därinne i mörkret. Själva scenen upplyses av tre fotogenlampor som bildar ramp. I fonden tättnar trädgårdens lummiga grönska, Här och var skymtar solnedgångshimlen och

havet. Nattfjärilarna slår mot ljuslågorna och kastar skuggor mot lusthusets vita vägg.”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28: “Övre våningen har också en hall som en gång i tiden fungerat som vardagsrum, märkvärdigt formade möbelvidunder sover här under vita skyddslakan like översnöade, länge sedan döda urtidsdjur. Här uppe är alla rum obebodda och har förfallit eller bevarat sig helt utan tillsyn. Taken bär fantastiskt formade fläckar och liknar sjökort över okända hav, golvens korkmattor har fläcks upp som stora så r, ruttnade plankor har sjunkit samman eller brutits loss och blottat fyllningarna i golv och väggar. Tapeterna är märkta av fukt och blekta i solen, här och var har de bulnat eller lossnat och hänger i trasor från väggarna.”

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50: “Det är en gammal skuta, med bruten mast och sönderslagen stäv. Lastluckan gapar svart och öppen. Ruttna tåg och repstumpar hänger kring relingar och bord. Akterhuset med sina krossade fönster och sitt nerrasade tak stöder sig mot en upprättstående maststump.

Skrovet vilar mot en sandig gräsvall, som skjuter ut några meter i vattnet.

Minus klättrar upp på vraket och står några ögonblick, lyssnande. Så smyger han försiktigt fram till lastluckan, och tittar ner i mörkret, men kan ingenting urskilja.

Dåklänger han ner i lastrummet.

Skrovet har stora sprickor i väggarna, här och var silar dagsljuset in och luckans öppning ger också en grådagning. I stäven strömmar vattnet ut och in men i aktern är golvet fast och oskadat.”

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61: “Han har den bruna väskan i handen (som vore den hans sista säkerhet).”

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35: “Tänk Martin, att ha en lugn och blommig kvinna, som ger dej barn och kaffe på sängen. Som är stor och varm och vacker.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36: “Du säger alltid precis de rätta orden och gör de rätta sakerna. Men det blir fel ändå. Varför är det så?”

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29: “Det som genast faller i ögonen är emellertid rummets tapet. Den är grön till färgen men föreställer egentligen ett bladverk i olika nyanser och schatteringar. Ställvis är all färg bleknad och mönstret skymtar endast svagt och gråblekt, men i hörn och bakom tavlor är grönskan fortfarande stark och lummig. På väggen till höger om fönstret finns en smal tapetdörr, ovanför har en fuktfläck exploderat och skapat ett skrottande månansikte med ett tomt öga, uppspärrad mun och en väldig potatisnäsa. Till vänster om fönstret har bladmönstertapeten rivits bort över en våd och därbakom har en stelt brunaktig komposition med bleknade guldränder kommit till synes.”

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41: “Rösten fortsatte att kalla på mig, så jag tryckte mej mot väggen och den öppnade sej som ett lövverk och så var jag därinne!”

²¹ However, I do certainly feel that the relationship between Karin's meta-physical struggle and Bergman's narrative dilemmas is striking indeed, and can — and should — be explored at greater length.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 16: “Martin håller fram fingret. Karin suger blodet, tittar, suger igen, blir mycket entusiastisk.”

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 65: "Verkligheten sprack och jag ramlade ut. Det är som i drömmen, fast det är riktigt. Allting kan hända — *allting*, pappa!"

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53: "(Minus sitter någonstans i en evighet med sin sjuka syster i famnen. Han är tom, utblottad och frusen. Verkligheten så dan han hittills lärt känna den har slagits sönder och upphört att existera. Hans drömmar och fantasier känner inte heller någon motsvarighet till detta ögonblick av tyngdlöshet och sorg. Hans huvud har trängt igenom hinnan av barmhärtig ovetenskap. Från detta nu förändras och hårdnar hans sinnen, hans mottaglighet skärps och han går från omedvetenhetens lekar till klarhetens plåga. Tillfälligheternas värld har förvandlats till de absoluta lagarnas universum.)"

²⁵ Cf. Sjöman, *L136 Diary with Ingmar Bergman*, pp. 24–25.

²⁶ *Filmberättelser 1*, p. 29: "Hennes ansikte sväller och mörknar och hennes ögon blir medvetslöst glasartade."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56: "Jag gjorde det inte av egen vilja. Det var en röst som talade om, hur jag skulle bära mig åt. . . . Jag spjärnade mot, men jag kunde inte komma undan. Jag tvingades till det."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22: "Heliga guds moder, vad är det som dånar i mitt huvud, vad är det som pressar samman min strupe och bultar långt nere i min mage?" And later: "Mina knän är som lera och jag skakar i hela kroppen, min mage uppför sig dessutom högst opassande och jag kan inte träda ut i evigheten med . . ."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67: "Dina ord är förfärligt överkliga, pappa. Men jag ser att du menar vad du säger. Och det gör att jag skakar i hela kroppen . . . Jag fryser och hackar tänder och skakr i hela kroppen. Blir du ledsen om jag springer ett tag?"

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47: "Jag kan bara stå bredvid och se på hur hon förvandlas till ett stackars pinat djur."

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15: "Karin kryper ihop bredvid honom, så att hennes ansikte kommer tätt intill hans. Hon talar mycket tyst och mycket ömt, jollrar otydligt och tålmodigt"; and p. 63: "David famnar om henne och mumlar ohörbara ord."

³² *Ibid.*, p. 31: "Så återgår han till sina plågor: De slingrande satsbildningarna, de förhålliga orden, situationernas banalitet och figurernas dimensionslösa armod."

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15: "Du måste akta dig. Håll dig borta från mig. Låt bli att kyssa mig och krama mig, som du alltid gör. Ligg inte och sola dig halvnaken, jag mår illa när jag ser dig. . . . Du begriper mycket bra vad jag menar. Kvinnor är för jävliga. Dom luktar och har rörelser och magar som dom putar med och dom kammar sig i håret och pratar — och man blir som en flådd kanin inuti av alltihop."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20: "Hon har håret strängt tillbakakammat och på huvudet bär hon en liten krona av silverpapper. Hon är insvept i en stor svart schal och är mycket blek, har desutom målat svart kring ögonen."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43: "Karin är nu mycket långt borta, men samtidigt sträng och klar, som om en främmande röst talade ur hennes mun."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28: ". . . det knäpper och knakar i det gamla huset, som om det rörde sig helt försiktigt i sömnen. . . . Den väldiga golvklockan lutar sig betänksamt mot väggen och järnkaminen vänder sig bort i rostigt självmedlidande medan en oformlig väggsoffa i tung jugend sträcker på sig i det flytande obestämda ljuset."

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 28, 31, 50.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51: "Plötsligt har hon klamrat sig fast vid honom och han tumlar omkull över henne, försöker göra sig fri men förmår inte, sjunker djupare in mot henne. Han skymtar naken hud, förnimmer doft av tång, ruttet trä, sjöbotten. Hon håller honom tätt intill sig med armar och ben, men hennes ansikte är bortvänt och hennes mun hårt slutet."

THE MEETING OF
TWO CULTURES

Kjartan's Choice: The Irish Disconnection in the Sagas of the Icelanders*

William Sayers

(Council of Ontario Universities)

When the first Norse settlers arrived in Iceland in the 870s, they found Irish anchorites living on the southern coast, among other sites on the Vestmannaeyjar, or Islands of the Westerners. As the Irish monks may plausibly be thought to have fled Ireland in part to escape the viking depredations, they can be imagined resignedly raising their eyes to heaven, since seemingly the most remote earthly refuge had now been violated. Thus Iceland had a Celtic presence from the very beginning, one that would be augmented in other, more profound ways, as settlers were drawn not only from south-western Norway—whether as a result of population growth, political pressure towards a single kingship, or the overly succinct “some killings” ascribed to individuals on the outskirts of the law—but also from the Norse-founded towns of Ireland, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and the Hebrides or Western Isles, and similar communities like Caithness and Orkney which had been the scene of the intermixture of Celtic and Norse blood and culture.¹ For some of those who emigrated to Iceland, the British Isles would only have been a staging area; others would have been born there of Norse parents; still others would have been the offspring of mixed marriages intended to consolidate political power and trading privileges, and of other less formalized unions. To these must be added a substantial number of slaves and servants among whom the Irish genetic and ethnic components were certainly even more prominent.² In a variety of ways an awareness of Ireland was maintained in Iceland for at least some four centuries, including the period to which the family sagas are ascribed. While things Irish might grow increasingly remote in the sagas, the concept was still there, like the island of Greater Ireland far out in the Atlantic, peopled by white men speaking what seemed to be Irish, to whom some errant Icelanders paid an unintentional visit.³

Given the well documented facts of settlement and other similarities between the cultures of Ireland and Iceland (despite the former being essentially conservative before the Viking raids and the latter a consciously created new state) such as feuding *and* a profound respect for the law,

corresponding keen relish for litigation, concern for land-ownership and boundaries (with religious and ethnological overtones in Ireland but of more practical concern in resource-scarce Iceland), taste for genealogy and toponymy, and their interdependence as aetiological accounts, relative sympathy in the Christian period towards the pagan past, even the status of women⁴—given all this, it was perhaps inevitable that scholars of the nineteenth century in the exploration of national origins should confront such questions as whether skaldic verse owed a debt to the metrically complex verse of the *filid*, Irish poets who enjoyed the same high station accorded versifying Icelanders at the Norwegian court, or whether the Icelandic sagas might not in part be modelled on the large body of Irish prose which antedates them, be it the aristocratic and almost exclusively martial tales of Cú Chulainn and Conchobar in the Ulster cycle, or the possibly more popular or, in some other more clerically determined way, initially subjacent romantic cycle of Finn and the *fianna*.

Writing early in this century Sophus and Alexander Bugge in works such as *Studier over de Nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse* marked the extremity of the pendulum's swing in favour of Celtic origins for early Icelandic culture and art.⁵ Not surprisingly, the Icelandic national school, once it had gained a sound methodological footing, was quick to move the pendulum back to more neutral central ground. Since the study of the export of medieval Irish culture, save to continental European monastic and court circles, has not been a priority of native Irish scholars, these questions asked in the widest sense have not been much advanced since the Bugges' time.

In 1968 Michael Chestnutt summarized the situation by saying: "The proposition that Norse literature owes a debt to Celtic, although at one time widely accepted, cannot lightly be advanced by any modern scholar."⁶ But a number of writers such as Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Gabriel Turville-Petre have reopened this file, identifying the formative influences of Irish literature on Icelandic rather than arguing for determinative status for transported Celtic cultural goods.⁷

A rather different question is the extent to which the medieval Icelanders themselves, with a degree of consciousness yet to be determined, may have contributed to what is perceived as the problem of Irish heritage, through suppression or celebration, disparagement or idealization, and combinations of these and other adaptive stances in their vernacular literary production. While the following inquiry will be restricted to literary materials, in particular the family sagas, it is appropriate to begin with a quotation from a purportedly historical work, the *Landnámabók*

or *Book of Settlements*. Significant in its inclusion among the synchronisms with which the work opens is the information that King Kjarvalr was ruling in Ireland at the time of the first settlement. The quotation is well known but has a fresh interest when viewed from the perspective of the Irish constituent (free, freed or unfree) of the founders of the Icelandic state:

People often say that writing about the Settlements is irrelevant learning, but we think we can better meet the criticism of foreigners when they accuse us of being descended from slaves or scoundrels, if we know for certain the truth about our ancestry. And for those who want to know ancient lore and how to trace genealogies, it's better to start at the beginning than to come in at the middle. Anyway, all civilized nations want to know about the origins of their own society and the beginnings of their own race.⁸

This excerpt is from the *Þórdarþók* recension of *Landnáma*, which as a corpus is generally considered to draw on the early twelfth century writings of Ari Þorgilsson. To be considered later is the fact that this *apologia* is not repeated in all versions of the text, which was to a certain degree customized to the tastes and needs of various prominent lineages and increasingly given a Christian slant.⁹ As concerns the reference "descended from slaves or scoundrels" (*af þraelum eda illmennum*), the scoundrels can be associated with those outlawed from Norway or leading a volatile existence on the shores of the Irish Sea as raiders and mercenaries. The slaves must be equated, by and large, with the Irish.

Slavery seems to have disappeared relatively quickly in Iceland, beginning even before the official acceptance of Christianity in 999 or 1000 and apparently independently of the Christian beliefs and practises of settlers coming from Ireland and the Hebrides, which tended to lapse until Christianity was reintroduced backed by Norwegian political force. Slavery disappeared in two ways, both successively and definitively, for economic and socio-political reasons. Although slaves might be given the heaviest and dirtiest work, the normal life of rural Iceland meant that the entire household shared the essential tasks, with certain distinctions in male and female roles. There was, then, little difference in life style between free and unfree and one may assume the possibility of relatively rapid acculturation. Rather than support a contingent of slaves on a family farm over the lean months of winter and spring, it proved preferable to free them, grant them a share of the relatively abundant but by no means infinite arable land of the river valleys and shore, and retain their allegiance and support in the system of clientship and geographically focused but far from fixed chieftainships of which the

early state was composed. Other slaves would have worked their way to freed status and the profits accruing to the ex-owner could be reinvested abroad in fresh unfree manpower.¹⁰

As slavery appears to have died out in the course of the twelfth century, not only the *Book of Settlements* but also the family sagas in their references to slaves and slave behaviour were not speaking from immediate experience. This permitted both willful and unconscious manipulation of oral historical accounts, perhaps with some extrapolations from traditional law where the unfree condition continued to figure.¹¹ Since the sagas took their cue from *Landnáma* in this respect, as they do more generally with the "Irish question", it is worthwhile to consider briefly the treatment of slaves in the record of the settlement years.

The *Book of Settlements* lists the recognizably Celtic names of a fair number of slaves.¹² Others have Norse names suggestive of the perceived attributes of unfree persons assigned to heavy physical labour: darkness of hair and complexion, great size and strength, physical and social uncouthness, and their original names, too, may have been non-Norse. Not surprisingly, *Landnámabók* offers a polarized division into uni-dimensional good slaves and bad slaves and, as Wilde-Stockmeyer has observed, neither group is mentioned on its own account, but only as its actions impinge on the lives of its owners.

Of the good slaves and the bad, the latter naturally make for the more interesting story. One of the fuller accounts in *Landnámabók* is found in the entry for the blood brothers Ingólfr and Hjørleifr.¹³ On the way to Iceland, Hjørleifr ran short of drinking water and his ten slaves made a gruel of flour and butter, here called *minthak*, a close approximation of the Irish *menedach*. But rain came and could be collected in sails; later the gruel, gone musty, could be thrown overboard, to give its name to a nearby island. Once settled on the land, Hjørleifr makes his slaves pull the plough as he has only one ox. The slaves resent this and plot and kill first the ox, attributing the slaughter to a bear, and then Hjørleifr and his men who had gone hunting the supposed bear. The slaves make off with Hjørleifr's and his followers' boat, goods and wives. The crime is discovered by the "good" slaves of Ingólfr who pursue the fugitives to islands off the coast. Surprised at a meal, they scatter. Some are killed, others kill themselves by jumping over a cliff. The islands have since been named the Islands of the Westerners, but these are the selfsame islands that owe their name to the Irish anchorites! To summarize from an anthropological vantage point, this qualifies as a non-origin story, featuring improper foodstuffs, reduction (albeit involuntary) to the basest physical status, anti-social behaviour

in revolt, killing, theft, attempted miscegenation, flight, cowardice and mass suicide. The story represents one solution to the Irish question, symbolic extermination of the unassimilable elements.¹⁴ Both killed and freed slaves gave their names to farms and landmarks, another instance of their varied integration into the physical reality of Iceland.¹⁵

The negative behavioural attributes associated with slaves were dishonesty, cowardice, unreliability and emotional volatility—living in the present. Certain of these characteristics were also xenophobically attributed to the Celts. This is naturally most evident in the military scenes of the sagas set outside Iceland in the British Isles. Here the Norse superiority in arms, necessary for the conventional “glory won abroad” component of an Icelandic biography, resulted in the opposing Celts being cast as vainglorious but poor fighters, ready to break and run at the first reverse.¹⁶ While some Icelanders are portrayed as quick to anger, the extreme of such behaviour leads to the negatively stereotyped berserker (significantly, often Hebridean or Swedish, with geographic distance from Iceland implying significant cultural difference). It was rather the man of moderation and patience, whose “slow burn” finally generated sudden, cataclysmic and above all effective violence that was the literary ideal of the warrior (if not of the chieftain)—the Gunnarr of *Njáls saga*, for example.

A typical example of the good slave—good by birth—is Erpr, brought to Iceland with Auðr en djúpauðga, “the Deep-Minded”, whose history also bears on the question of the Irish contribution to early Iceland.¹⁷ Widowed from Óláfr hvíti, “the White”, Norse king of Dublin, she emigrated, marrying off granddaughters along the way in Orkney and the Faeroes, before settling at the head of Breiðafjörð—a veritable *mater populorum*. Auðr offers another ideal resolution of the Celtic heritage. Neither intermarried with nor descended from the Irish, she remains a purely Norse matriarch with only one essential characteristic retained from her contact with the Celtic world—her Christian faith. The slave Erpr was a son of Earl Meldún (OIr. Mael-Dúin) of Argyll who had been killed in battle against the Earl of Orkney, and Myrgjol, daughter of King Gljomall of Ireland.¹⁸ He is perhaps to be considered as much an unransomed captive claimant to the Scottish earldom as a slave. Good breeding, here as elsewhere, transcends ethnic boundaries; Erpr and his mother are freed, significantly on the condition that the mother remain faithful in the service of Auðr’s daughter-in-law. Integration rests on conformity with and support of the Norse social norm. *Ambátt* ‘female slave’ is one of the few Irish words to remain in Icelandic,¹⁹ but with a very few exceptions, the history of non-Norse women in Iceland is even

sparser than that of the men, although their roles as concubines, wet nurses and in-house servants may have been extremely significant in the undocumented fusion of Celtic and Norse cultures in Iceland. A male, Erpr becomes the progenitor of a distinguished clan, the Erplingar.²⁰

Some other Irish touches in *Landnámabók* are equally positively presented, because they involve a cultural transfer rather than physical presence, such as the mention of Bishop Patrekr of the Hebrides providing the means to found a church in Iceland dedicated to St. Columba.²¹ Apart from the slaves, both Irish and Norse names occur among the settlers, even intermixed among children of the same parents.²² Some Irish names, like Njáll from Néill, occur with no stated Irish connections, although in this most celebrated instance significant parallels can be drawn in other respects and are explored below. As concerns narrative, a number of the incidents that befall the settlers have echoes in Irish popular tradition, such as the sudden arrival of a mysterious churl or *bachlach*, a rough fellow whose visit is followed by a volcanic eruption, or Auðun, married to Mýrún, daughter of King Maddað of Ireland, for whom a magic horse comes up out of the sea to aid his day's ploughing, then disappears whence it came. This is the *ech uisce* or water horse of Irish and Scottish tradition.²³

Genealogy is an important concern in *Landnámabók*, and it is worth noting that for purposes of inheritance and other family rights and obligations, such as compensation or vengeance in blood feuds, both Irish and Icelandic society worked in terms of the extended family where such ties were still considered valid and active between second cousins. In *Landnámabók* a number of principal families settled mostly in the western quarter of Iceland claimed descent from Irish royalty, typically from a King Kjarvalr, presented as king of Ireland but, as there was no single high king in the late ninth century, perhaps best identified as King Cerball of Ossory, who died in 887.²⁴ One of these settlers, Helgi goðlauss, "the Lean", raised in Ireland, has come to represent the ambiguity in religious matters of those straddling Norse and Celtic culture: "Helgi's faith was very much mixed; he believed in Christ but invoked Thor when it came to voyages and difficult times."²⁵ A more resolved example of Celtic to Icelandic Christian continuity is Askill Hnokkan (< OIr. *cnoc* 'hill') whose forefathers over four generations had Celtic names and among whose descendants is counted Bishop Jón the Holy.²⁶ But weighing against this positive evidence are the frequent slurs about base birth and pointed proverbs concerning slave behaviour, often in instances where no justification is apparent, which imply a readiness to suspect a slave ancestor in almost anyone's family.²⁷

In summary, the information and attitudes of *Landnámabók* indicate that descent from Celtic nobility was considered an asset, although little in the way of Celtic attributes save a predisposition for Christian faith was claimed from it. Generally, other settlers formerly resident in the west are known to integrate without comment, as is the case with the adaptable Irish slaves, with symbolic elimination of the unsuitable and their cultural identifiers. This is by and large the case in the family sagas as well, although three outsider groups who have Celtic affinities in one way or another seem to stand out and suffer because of them. These are former vikings, sorcerers or wizards, and erotic poets. These, it should be noted, are not found in the settler generation, but among their descendants or later arrivals. Readjustment from a life of violence and relatively unstructured social interaction seems to be the basic problem of the belligerent and bitter veterans, and while they may miss the "good life" of Ireland and the Western Isles, their Celtic exposure is not fundamental to their often marginal status in Icelandic society.²⁸ As for the other two categories, magic and poetry have some common antecedents in the Indo-European past. In the early Icelandic state both, at least pagan black magic and erotic verse, existed on the periphery of the law, the former for its non-Christian dimension, the latter for its affront to the father, brother or husband who was the nominal guardian of the woman addressed and whose honour was thereby compromised. These poets also tended to operate outside the system of clientship and reciprocity that dominated early Icelandic society, and often lacked the necessary support in situations of contention, much as would have been the case for an unacculturated immigrant.²⁹

In the literary context, however, the two groups are treated quite differently. Like their female counterparts who are often Sami or Norse,³⁰ the male magic-makers, to a high degree identified as Hebrideans, are stock figures, whose use constitutes one of the conventional means to advance and complicate the plot. Rather than see such magical powers as specifically associated with Celtic culture, which had been nominally Christian for centuries, these sorcerers are to be viewed as liminal figures at the interface of the two cultures, thus potentially duplicitous and at times malicious.³¹ As typical examples may be cited Kotkell and his family in *Laxdoela saga* who steal, call up bad weather (like the Sami wind-workers) to cause drownings, sing enchantments from a roof-top to lure an unwary child to his death, and pronounce efficacious curses before death and haunt after it.³²

If "Hebridean" is simply a label for the sorcerer, "Celt" is only one of several markers for the "love-sick scald". While a name like Kormákr

is clearly Irish, as was his mother's name, Dalla (OIr. *dall* 'blind'), and Gunnlaugr's pigmentation, light curly hair, dark eyes, in contrast to blond Helga, could well be Celtic, it is the more elusive quality of the temperament that marked certain of these love poets in the eyes of no less perceptive a critic than Lee M. Hollander as seemingly Celtic.³³ Despite problems of interpretation, there does seem to be a foolhardy but melancholy and irresolute quality—some of it paralleled in the typical picture of slave behaviour, and these poets too were enthralled—that makes legitimate if not fully convincing the association of a Kormákr, who could fall in love with a woman whose feet he had seen beneath a swinging door, with his Celtic namesakes. Curiously, a number of the Icelandic poets meet their death in the British Isles in other than conventional martial circumstances.³⁴

Turning to some of the sagas of the Icelanders most celebrated for their thematic richness, one finds the Irish fact exploited in quite conscious fashion, although as a complement to other more central concerns. A first example could be qualified as historico-literary, although this descriptor of *Njáls saga* is perhaps best restricted to its use of Irish material.³⁵ There is little in the way of more than conventional references in the first half of the saga: the child Hallgerðr with her thief's eyes and long hair may have had some Celtic blood but this is not made explicit; her forefathers did have Hebridean connections. Her jealous foster-father, Þjóstólfr, who kills her first two husbands for slapping her face and just rises above the status of a stereotype, is descended from Hebrideans.³⁶ Gunnarr receives gifts with Irish connections, a gold bracelet, cloak of King Mýrkjartan, and preternatural wolfhound Sámr, who, significantly, is no match for Icelandic vindictiveness. An Irish slave, Melkólfr, becomes the instrument of Hallgerðr's scheming thievery and arson. Hallgerðr is prefigured in the saga by Queen Gunnhildr of Norway, devious and scheming, who put a blight on Hrútr Eyjólfsson's marriage.³⁷ Hallgerðr will also find an Irish counterpart in the last part of the saga. Such parallels are, in fact, the key to its Irish content.

The lesson they illustrate is that human nature is made up of constants that work out individual destinies independently of family origins, social status, cultural or geographic environment. This is most evident in those chapters where the action, having shifted to Orkney and the Hebrides, culminates in Ireland at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, when a Norse attempt to regain power in Irish politics was repulsed. Sveinson has shown how the Irish king Brjánn's divorced Irish wife, Kormloð (< OIr. Brian, Gormflaith, respectively), siding with her son Sigtrygg silkiskegg against Brjánn, embodies all the negative qualities earlier seen

in Queen Gunnhildr and more fully deployed in the much married Hallgerðr whose jealousies and intrigues embroil her husband Gunnarr. Conversely, the precise description of King Brjánn of Ireland, emphasizing his judicial patience, respect for justice, love of his foster-son and Christian piety, sums up all the qualities of the ageing Njáll in the years after the conversion to Christianity.³⁸ But in the general stereotyping of the Hebrideans and the shadowy native Irish figures in the background, one should not look for any fuller presentation or appreciation of Celtic culture on its home ground in the course of Icelanders' adventures abroad than is found in descriptions of Irish slaves in Iceland.³⁹

Sveinsson's comparison—which is intended more to establish a dialectic between Christian and pagan than between Celtic and Norse, where dialectic would be an exaggerated term—can be carried one step further, if one considers Kári Solmundarson as a Celtic-influenced variant on Gunnarr Hámundarson. A Hebridean retainer of the Earl of Orkney, he saves the sons of Njáll when they meet problems abroad, accompanies them back to Iceland and, after the burning of which he—a man of luck—is the sole survivor, inexorably pursues the burners until the deaths of Njáll, his family and Kári's own son have all been avenged. And it is he who is party to the ultimate reconciliation with Flosi. The Clontarf episode illustrates that the clash of moral forces that occurred on the limited, familiar scale of rural Iceland was the same on the world's greater stages. Similarly, Kári shows that not all Hebridean Norse exposed to Celtic culture need be devious and untrustworthy. Flosi himself, object of his vengeance, said Kári was the man he would most like to resemble.⁴⁰

The family saga which approaches the question of Irish blood in Iceland most squarely is the more romantic *Laxdoela saga*, at the same time as its content, if not style, reflects a wider variety of continental European influences than, say, *Njáls saga*, where these are almost exclusively restricted to the introduction of Christianity. *Laxdoela saga*, too, has its male paragon, Kjartan, and its *femme fatale*, Guðrún, but again in contrast to *Njáls saga*, it is the former who has the Celtic affinities, while the latter is impeccably and implacably Norse. A key strand to the plot is spun early in the tale when Hǫskuldr Dala-Kolsson, a descendant of the Auð the Deep-Minded, on a trip to Norway and apparently on a whim, purchases a mute slave girl and returns with her to his wife and family in Iceland. The girl gives birth to a handsome son and is allowed increasingly independent status in Hǫskuldr's household. Mute and thus injecting no foreign culture into Iceland, she seems a well adjusted settler. But one day Hǫskuldr overhears her speaking to her son Óláfr and

learns that she is Melkorka, daughter of King Mýrkjartan of Ireland, having been carried off in a raid at fifteen.⁴¹ The son, nicknamed Óláfr pái, "the Peacock", grows up handsome and gifted, but at key moments in his life will have thrown in his face the fact of being a slave's son. To counter this, his mother urges him to visit Ireland, where he meets his grandfather, displays the tokens that will authenticate his identity, and so impresses all with his princely bearing and command of Irish language and law that he is offered the succession to Mýrkjartan's throne. Accepting a spear and kingly sword, Óláfr sagely opts for enhanced prominence in Iceland over an exposed kingship among predatory kin. In his words, and this could well stand for the ambivalence in the sagas towards things Irish, "better a brief honour than a lasting shame."⁴²

Rolf Heller has convincingly shown that the episode of the princess Melkorka and Óláfr's blood tie to Mýrkjartan is by and large a fabrication, although there were Irish kings called Muirchertach.⁴³ There is then the more reason to see this as a conscious incorporation of the Irish issue in the saga, although there may have been a subjacent personal motive such as accounting for an illegitimate birth in an otherwise impressive patronly genealogy.⁴⁴ Óláfr fully recognizes his Irish heritage but chooses to subsume it as a noble and positive complement in his more fully dimensioned Icelandic identity. In Iceland he becomes a wise and respected political and legal mediator and good farm manager, with very plentiful stock, indeed, a man with all the attributes of the successful Irish king as described in the native prince literature.⁴⁵ In terms of the saga, however, all this—the calm before the storm—is largely to set the scene for the adult life of Óláfr's son, Kjartan.

Kjartan grows up preeminent among his peers, although it is on a farmstead earlier haunted by the ghost of a violent Hebridean, Hrappr. Kjartan is closely followed in all his accomplishments by his half-brother Bolli. Kjartan spends a period at the Norwegian court, ostensibly in favour although more or less a noble hostage until Iceland accepts Christian missionaries. As a consequence, he is unable to return to Iceland by the time he had indicated to Guðrún. Against her better judgment, she marries Bolli, who is now finally asserting himself from his second-best status. Thus, in a sense, Christianity and a stay abroad have been obstacles to the union of Kjartan and Guðrún.⁴⁶ When Kjartan returns and, outwardly unmoved by the news of her marriage, weds what appears to be the first woman in his way, the springs have been cocked. It is only a question of time until family feud based on other irregularities of conduct and legal procedure in the distant past ironically an improper land grant to a freed slave, plus the machinations of Guðrún and the

Hebridean sorcerer Kotkell and his family oblige Bolli to hunt Kjartan down. But Kjartan had become a convinced Christian in Norway, thus realizing an aspect of his Celtic heritage. After the hand-to-hand combat between Kjartan and the others, it is left to Bolli to step forward and deliver the fatal blow. Kjartan's choice, unlike his father's rejection of the foreign throne, is to accede to his foreign faith, and accept the blow defenselessly. "It is an ignoble deed, kinsman, that you are about to do; but I would much rather accept death at your hands, cousin, than give you death at mine."⁴⁷ Now like his father, Kjartan has chosen a briefer life of honour over a more lasting shame. With his death the Irish dimension is gone from the saga. The "Irish fact" has not been suppressed, but it has been celebrated abroad on Óláfr's journey; the remainder of the story gives only this brief final display in Kjartan's Christian death before Celticity is assimilated among the multiple strands of lineage, legal and land-owning structures, character and plot.

A third example of the treatment of Irish material in the family sagas can be put under the sign of fantasy, as "Irish" here can generally be equated with "exotic". This is almost the Ireland of the continental romances, a country of marvel and adventure, but one into which the Norman, French or German knight brings his own culturally determined ethic. The tale is *Kjálnesinga saga*. After the standard saga introduction of a Norse settler, Helgi bjóla, the tale presents a full-blooded Irishman named Örlýgr, who incurs the wrath of King Konufoghr of Ireland. This is a new name for the sagas but recognizably Conchobar, known from the Old Irish epic Ulster cycle, and a documented royal name in the late ninth century as well. Bishop Patrekr advises Örlýgr to leave for Iceland and found a new church to St. Columba. He is to seek the protection of Helgi. The basic information derives from the *Landnámabók*, although Örlýgr is now Irish, not Norse. Later, more Irishmen arrive, the young Andriðr, a wealthy widow Esja, and Kolli, all Christian, although Esja was thought to have something of the witch about her. Þorgrímr succeeds his father Helgi as chieftain and remains a fervent pagan sacrificer, creating a narrative occasion for a lurid description of a heathen temple, this too borrowed from other works. Andriðr has a son Búi who is fostered by Esja. Búi grows up big and strong, declining either to sacrifice in the Norse manner or carry conventional weapons. Instead, like Cú Chulainn in the Ulster cycle, he carries a sling. For the former offence he is outlawed but does not leave the district. Later he fires Þorgrímr's temple, and makes a trip to King Dofri, reminiscent of Irish adventures to the Otherworld. It is not necessary to list all the potential Irish touches, such as the description of throwing a staff ahead in the

air and running to catch it, again like Cú Chulainn.⁴⁸ However striking, these touches do not really bear on the matter of an accommodation in the Icelandic consciousness of an infusion of Irish blood and culture. In a sense, the family saga has come to the end of the line, at least in creative terms, since the manuscripts of *Njála* and *Laxdoela* continued to be copied and new personalized versions of *Landnáma* were compiled.

Recalling Esja, the Irish Christian also suspected of magical practices, a rather different question which suggests itself is whether through concubines and arranged marriages the Icelanders might have associated their Irish heritage with the feminine principle and, given the medieval Norse anathema of effeminacy and homosexuality, have sought to suppress most recognition of the genetic fact.⁴⁹ As indisputable reference point here, they would have had Norse supremacy in arms over the Scots and Irish. In his *Ynglinga saga* Snorri says that it was considered shameful for manly men to practise *seið* or sorcery as did Óðinn.⁵⁰ This was left to priestesses. One can then tentatively ascribe supposed sexual deviance to practitioners of heathen sorcery, and with this brush the Hebridean wizards would have been tarred along with the Norwegian and Icelandic ones. Poets might also lie beyond the social pale and Kormákr, for instance, was curiously unable to consummate his love.⁵¹ As for other social groups, there are on the one hand the male slaves either fully integrated as unobtrusive land-holders or expunged as a result of anti-social behaviour. The Celtic women, on the other hand, are subsumed in the single term *ambátt*, or are celebrated as of royal birth, and marry into prominent families, acculturate and stand at the head of illustrious lineages of heroes. By the rules of the saga, the best of these men are fated to die, but it is difficult to ascribe this fate to any feminine Irish flaw in their make-up. At most the Irish traits render them more complex, and this may extend their agony without having direct bearing on its outcome. At present, it seems that the answer to the Irish:effeminacy question must be in the negative, as the prior Irish Christianity is a complicating factor which makes it difficult to sift and weigh the meagre evidence.

Although the saga writers of the thirteenth century were well attuned to continental European culture and learning, they portrayed their forebearers of some centuries earlier as largely unself-consciously nationalistic and to a degree xenophobic, seeing no man their equal save a Norwegian or English king.⁵² The North American experience may provide some insight into the psychological workings of early Iceland in the matter of social organization and ethnic identities. With everything, literally, to be built from the ground up—the lexicon partic-

ular to a northern volcanic island, toponymy, social organization, law, landownership, clientship, eventually modified religious conformity—the near subsistence economy of the rural settlements must have acted as a great social leveller.⁵³ As in Canada today, external social conformity and language competence might have been all that was required for nominal integration. As a parallel to the matter of retained Celticity, one can look to the exceptions that accompanied the official acceptance of Christianity: sacrifice to the heathen gods, the exposure of infants, and ritual eating of horse flesh were officially banned, but might be practised in private. Admittedly, this is a legendary account, perhaps not fully accurate, and is mentioned for only the transitional period.⁵⁴ Awareness of creating a new nation must have been very high for the successful realization of a legal code and the system of chieftainships in such a brief period as the first years of the settlement, whatever the weaknesses of failing to provide an executive arm for law enforcement.⁵⁵ As noted, slavery tended to disappear quite early, so that ethnic origin and social standing were decoupled. One of the consequences of the vision of freedom, independence and cohesion that are idealized and reiterated in the family sagas just when they were most threatened in reality would be to minimize any indebtedness to foreign models, be they Norwegian or Celtic. Thus, the literary evidence is at a double remove from the true effect of settlers and slaves from Ireland and the Isles, due to the assumed initial impetus toward national conformity and the more conscious masking and manipulation of the ethnic adjunct in the family sagas. A similar ambiguity with regard to Norway can be observed, and even more compelling contemporary reasons for it.

The sagas show that Irish slaves were absorbed or excised, nobility was freed and exalted. The remaining group with Celtic antecedents is the one that socially and economically may have been the most powerful, the Westerners. In literary terms they are either remote ancestor figures whose non-conformist Christianity is not presented as problematic or, if more recent arrivals—and here it would be a case of only a few generations—seem to have been cast as cultural hybrids, suspect late-comers, almost medieval carpet-baggers.

To conclude, one may stand back from the sagas and consider the following: the lexical import from Celtic to Icelandic was minimal, with toponymy bulking largest; popular tradition has a fair amount of what can be called migratory or international motifs in common with the Celtic lands, but there is no compelling reason for assuming that all of these were brought with the settler households in the early years. Physical anthropologists have looked at the relative frequency of blood

types and susceptibility to blood disease in Iceland and more recently at pigmentation and other indices of a supposed Celtic anthropological type, but this evidence does not convincingly contradict the information of *Landnámabók* that the majority of settlers came from Norway or, conversely, that about 25% were from the British Isles, whether of pure Norse stock, mixed, or Celts of servile status.⁵⁶

Although the earlier cited quotation suggests that *Landnáma* was composed as a vindication of the Icelandic founding people in the eyes of other nations, its real purposes were domestic, closely tied to territorial rights and family prestige and power in the troubled thirteenth century. The Age of the Sturlungs idealized its free past at a time when a reduced number of powerful chieftains engaged in inter-familial strife, with the politics and economics of land accumulation taking precedence over those of traditional positions of authority. This eventually cost the state its oligarchic social organization and its political freedom, and brought it under the sway of the Norwegian crown between 1262 and 1264. The Icelandic historian's justification, with its disclaimer of descent from slaves and scoundrels, may also have the ring of an apology. This epilogue is thought to have figured in the earliest recensions but is absent in later ones, more marked by Christian content, suggesting that the particular argument of possible Irish origins no longer needed to be countered and that the island's full acceptance of Christian faith was a more important antecedent. However, in the relatively late version called *Hauksbók*, compiled in the early fourteenth century by or for Haukr Erlendsson, a man at sufficient temporal remove from the age of settlement that he could disregard any questionable Celtic factor in his cultural inheritance, prominence is given to Irish material in general and, on three instances, to his descent from Kjarvalr, King of Ireland.⁵⁷

Since that time, however, the ethnic skeleton has been tightly locked in the insular closet. Seemingly written at a turning point, some family sagas do, however, provide encouragement to pick at the lock.

Notes

* This article is based on a paper given at the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada in May, 1987, and some of its original character is reflected in examples drawn from medieval Icelandic texts that would be generally known to the members of a multi-disciplinary group such as the Association. Wider reading in other saga literature, however, gives me no reason to qualify or modify the conclusions presented at the meeting.

¹ As concerns the Irish anchorite movement, its volume and scope, place names with the element *papi* 'monk' have been found on Man, in Cumberland,

the Hebrides, Caithness, Orkney, Shetland, the Faeroes and at several points in Iceland. See Einar Ól. Sveinsson, "Papar," *Skírnir* 119 (1945), pp. 170–203, and *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies 1 (Winnipeg, 1972), p. 15, n. 3. The recension translated in the latter is *Sturlubók*, incorporated in the ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, *Landnámabók*, Íslenzk fornrit 1, 2 Parts (Reykjavík, 1968). Page references, unless otherwise indicated, will be to this recension. Although this paper will be concerned with social history as reflected in literary materials, the limitations of the source documents must be borne in mind; see Jakob Benediktsson, "Landnámabók: Some Remarks on its Value as a Historical Source," *Saga-Book* 17 (1969), pp. 275–92. It will be noted that *Landnámabók* provides as little hard information about Norway as it does about the conditions of Norse settlement, residence and integration in Ireland and Scotland. The focus on immigration, settlement and adaptation is remarkably consistent.

² For a radically different view of some specifics of early Icelandic culture as deriving from the Heruli, a north Germanic tribe maintaining its internal cohesion and coherence in a migration from the area north of the Black Sea, see Barði Guðmundsson, *The Origins of the Icelanders*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Lincoln, Neb., 1967).

³ Accounts of greater Ireland are found in *Eyrbyggja saga*, eds. Einar O. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslenzk fornrit 4 (Reykjavík, 1935), Ch. 64, *Eiríks saga rauða*, eds. Einar O. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslenzk fornrit 4 (Reykjavík, 1935), Ch. 12, as well as in *Landnámabók*, p. 162. They doubtless stem from traditional Irish accounts of a variety of North Sea and Atlantic islands, including Tír na BhFear BhFionn ("Land of the White Men"). The Icelandic compilation *Hungrvaka* dealing with the bishops of Skálholt from the early eleventh century to 1176 has a Jón írski martyred in Vinland but the narrative elements are drawn from Adam of Bremen's account of the martyrdom of Johannes Scotus; see Paul Schach, *Icelandic Sagas* (Boston, 1984), p. 22. A fragmentary translation of the *Navigatio Brendani* has been preserved and is dated to the late twelfth century; see E.F. Halvorsen, *Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för Nordisk Medeltid, s. v. Brandani*.

⁴ On the assemblage and synthesis of genealogical material for dynastic purposes, see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Irish Origin Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies," in *History and Heroic Tale*, eds. Tore Nyberg *et al.* (Odense, 1985), pp. 51–96. The texts considered relate to early Ireland but the methodology exposed by Ó Corráin had its Icelandic counterpart as the various recensions of *Landnámabók* clearly illustrate. It would be of interest to pursue the question of whether the lay ownership and administration of churches under the *goðar* in early Iceland owed more to pagan Nordic antecedents than to Christian Irish models where lay ecclesiastics (OIr. *airchinnech*, Englished as "erenagh") exercised comparable authority. With the reference to the status of women, I am thinking primarily of provisions for the division of possessions and property on separation or divorce.

⁵ S. Bugge, I Raekke (Christiania, 1881–89); cf. C.W. von Sydow, "Iriskt inflytande på nordisk guda- och hjältesaga," *Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund*:

Ársbok (1922). The history of the early debate is summarized by Theodore M. Andersson in "The Irish Hypothesis" in his *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins*, Yale Germanic Studies 1 (New Haven and London, 1964), pp. 56–61.

⁶ Michael Chestnutt, "An Unsolved Problem in Old Norse-Icelandic Literary History," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 1 (1968), pp. 122–34, at p. 124.

⁷ Bo Almqvist, "The Uglier Foot (AT 1559 B*): An Anecdote in Old Icelandic Literature and its Counterpart in Irish Folk Tradition," *Béaloideas* 37–38 (1969–70), pp. 1–50; *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Peter Cahill (Reykjavík, 1983), and his "Three Notes on *Duggals leiðsla*," *Saga-Book* 19 (1977), pp. 42–46; Michael Chestnutt, "Haralds saga Maddaðarsonar," in *Speculum Norroenvm: Studies in Honour of Gabriel Turville-Petre*, eds. Ursula Dronke et al. (Odense, 1981), pp. 33–55; Rolf Heller, *Literarisches Schaffen in der Laxdoela Saga: die Entstehung der Berichte über Olaf Pfaus Herkunft und Jugend* (Halle [Saale], 1960), and "Magnús berfoettr-Mýrkjartan írákonungr-Melkólmr Skotakonungr," *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 77 (1962), pp. 96–100; Niels Lukman, "An Irish Source and Some Icelandic fornaldarsögur," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10 (1977), pp. 41–57; Gearóid Mac Eoin, "Some Icelandic loricae," *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963), pp. 143–64; Bridget Gordon Mackenzie, "On the Relation of Norse Skaldic Verse to Irish Syllabic Poetry," in *Speculum Norroenvm*, pp. 337–56; Rory McTurk, "An Irish Analogue to the Kráka-Episode of *Ragnars saga Loðbrókar*," *Eigse* 17 (1978), pp. 277–96; Hermann Pálsson, "Hið írskt man," *Tímarit Máls og Menningar* 24 (1963), pp. 148–56, and "Um írskt atriði í Laxdoela sögu," *Tímarit Máls og Menningar* 25 (1964), p. 396ff.; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Verzeichnis isländischer Märchenvarianten* (Helsinki, 1929), "Vísir í Hávamálum og írskt saga," *Skírnir* 126 (1952), pp. 168–77, "Celtic Elements in Icelandic Tradition," *Béaloideas* 25 (1959), pp. 3–24, *Löng er för: Þrír þættir um írskar og islenzkar sögur og kvæði* (Reykjavík, 1975); Gabriel Turville-Petre, "On the Poetry of the Scalds and of the *filið*," *Ériu* 22 (1971), pp. 1–22, reprinted with a postscript in his *Nine Norse Studies* (London, 1972), pp. 154–80, and based on "Um dróttkvæði og írskan kveðskap," *Skírnir* 128 (1954), pp. 31–55; Mattias Tveitane, "Irish Apocrypha in Norse Tradition?" *Arv* 22 (1966), pp. 111–35; Jan de Vries, "Les rapports des poésies scaldique et gaélique," *Ogam* 9 (1957), pp. 13–26; Heinrich Wagner, "Irisches in der Edda," *Ériu* 20 (1966), pp. 178–82. This partial list does not do justice to recent work on Norse adaptations of Latin works, some of ultimate Irish provenance. For the genre of prince literature in this regard, see the bibliography in William Sayers, "Konungs skuggsjá: Irish Marvels and the King's Justice," *Scandinavian Studies* 57 (1985), pp. 147–61 at p. 155f. For the adaptation of Celtic material couched in another vernacular, see Marianne E. Kalinke, *King Arthur North-by-Northwest: The matière de Bretagne in Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagaeana 37 (Copenhagen, 1981).

⁸ "Dad er margra manna mál að það sé uskilldur frodleikur að rita Landnam. Enn uier þikiunst helldur suara kunna utlendum monnum. Þa er þeir bregða oz þui, að uier sieum komner af þraelum eda illmennum, ef vier vitum vjst vorar kynferdir sannar. Suo og þeim monnum er vita vilia forn fræde eda rekia aettartolur, að taka helldur að uphafi til enn höggvast i mitt mal, enda eru suo allar vitrar þioder að vita uilia uphaf sinna landzbygda eda huers huergi tilhefiast eda kynsloder," *Landnámabók. Melabók AM 106, 112*

Fol., ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen and Christiania, 1921), p. 143. English version from *The Book of Settlements*, trans. Pálsson and Edwards, p. 6. The epilogue is preserved in *Þórdarbók*, a variant of *Mélabók*, thought to derive from *Stymrisbók*, and ultimately from Ari (Pálsson and Edwards, p. 6). For a more wide-ranging critical introduction to *Landnáma*, see Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Studier i Landnámabók: Kritiska bidrag till den isländska fristatstidens historia* (Lund, 1974) and, for the discussion of this epilogue and earlier studies of it, pp. 98–101. To situate such a term as “nation” (ON þjóð) in the evolving context of early Icelandic thought, see Kirsten Hastrup, “Defining a Society: The Icelandic Free State Between Two Worlds,” *Scandinavian Studies* 56 (1984), pp. 235–55. For the ethnographical information that can be extracted, see Régis Boyer, “Les enseignements du Landnámabók” in his *Le livre de la colonisation de l’Islande: Landnámabók* (n.p. [Paris?], 1973), which provides translation and commentary on the text. Other studies relevant to the concerns of this article are Preben M. Sørensen, “Samfundsbygningen,” in his *Saga og samfund: En indføring i oldislandsk litteratur* (Copenhagen, 1977), pp. 26–58, and Hans Kuhn, “Landbesitz in der Besiedlungszeit Islands,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 97 (1968), pp. 107–17.

⁹ See Rafnsson, n. 8, for a revised view of the genesis and interdependence of the various recensions.

¹⁰ Marlis Wilde-Stockmeyer, *Sklaverei auf Island: Untersuchungen zur rechtlichsozialen Situation und literarischen Darstellung der Sklaven im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1978); Peter Foote, “Þraelahald á Íslandi,” *Saga* 15 (Reykjavík, 1977) and, briefer, his entry in *KLNM*, s. v. *træl*.

¹¹ See, for example, *Grágás*, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen, 3 Vols. (Copenhagen, 1852–53; repr. Odense, 1974) and the English trans. in progress, *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás I*, trans. Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, Richard Perkins, University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies 3 (Winnipeg, 1980), p. 10, and n. 10; p. 25, s.v. *slave*.

¹² This fact was early recognized by the Celtic scholar Whitley Stokes in “On the Gaelic Names in the Landnámabók and Runic Inscriptions,” *Revue Celtique* 3 (1877), pp. 186–91, and further explored by William A. Craigie, “Gaelic Words and Names in the Icelandic Sagas,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 1 (1897), pp. 439–54.

¹³ *Landnámabók*, pp. 40–45.

¹⁴ The separate status of slaves is maintained into death and beyond. They are often executed for theft and other material crimes by stoning (*Landnámabók*, p. 130, *Eyrbyggja saga*, Ch. 31) or other means unlike those appropriate to free men, i.e., by weapons or burning, and are buried in bogs or on sea shores, apparently liminal sites between earth and water, or sunk at sea; see Folke Ström, *On the Sacral Origin of Germanic Death Penalties* (Lund, 1942), and, more recently, Theodore M. Andersson, “The Thief in *Beowulf*,” *Speculum* 59 (1984), pp. 493–508. This same general treatment is accorded sorcerers; see the further discussion of Kotkell and family from *Laxdoela saga* below. *Landnámabók* (p. 102) also recounts the removal of the body of a dead slave from his master’s grave so that the latter can rest undisturbed.

¹⁵ Hermann Pálsson, "Keltnesk mannanöfn í íslenskum örnefnum," *Skirnir* 126 (1952), pp. 195–203. For the not insignificant number of Icelandic farmsteads of medium size, as opposed to manors, with Celtic names, see Björn Þorsteinsson, *KLNM*, s. v. *Landnám I*. The general Icelandic tendency to associate person, event and place name is paralleled in the extensive Irish literary sub-genre of *dindshenchas* 'hill lore', i.e., 'history of notable places'. For a general characterization and guide to the collections, see Charles Bowen, "A Historical Inventory of the *Dindshenchas*," *Studia Celtica* 10–11 (1975), pp. 113–37.

¹⁶ "The sagas . . . illustrate the racist contempt which the Icelanders reserved for all Celtic peoples," Edward J. Cowan, "Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 63 (1984), pp. 111–35, at p. 114. Examples of the Celts as poor fighters, devious and treacherous allies are numerous, e.g., *Egils saga Skallagrímsson*, ed. Sigurður Nordal, Íslenzk fornrit 2 (Reykjavík, 1932), Ch. 54; *Haralds saga Sigurðarson*, in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk fornrit 26–28 (Reykjavík, 1941–51), II, Chs. 54–55; *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. Finnboði Guðmundsson, Íslenzk fornrit 34 (Reykjavík, 1965), Ch. 5; *Fóstbroeðra saga in Vestfirðinga sögur*, eds. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 6 (Reykjavík, 1943), Ch. 8. The same lack of appreciation of Irish military equipment and tactics is apparent in the early thirteenth century Anglo-Norman chronicle dealing with the Cambrio-Norman invasion of 1169, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ed. and trans. Goddard H. Orpen (Oxford, 1892).

¹⁷ *Landnámabók*, pp. 136–47.

¹⁸ *Landnámabók*, p. 138. Much work remains to be done to explain the names of putative noble Celtic ancestors occurring in the Icelandic texts, while the Irish names of settlers, their children and slaves are relatively transparent. The aristocratic names pose several problems: reconstruction of a plausible Irish original form, identification of an historical antecedent, explanation of how the name, person or both came into the Norse sphere of reference. On the first count, these two names could be explained as follows: Myrgjol from *muir-gel* 'sea-bright'; for Old Irish lexical references, see *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* [incorporating fascicules issued as *A Dictionary of the Irish Language*], general ed. E.G. Quin (Dublin, 1913–76). Pálsson and Edwards comment on her care of the Scottish queen's child while the queen is in her bath, reading *óborit*, lit. 'unborn' as 'illegitimate'. But as Myrgjol is described as *margkunnandi*, a term used of magic-working Celtic women, e.g., Earl Sigurðr's mother Eðna (OIr. Eithne) in *Orkneyinga saga*, Ch. 11, this may be a reference to care of a child prematurely born during a bath. While the first element of Gljomáll is *gleo* 'combat' (but note *gleóir* 'brightness' and the chiasmal arrangement of consonants in the two names), the second element is more questionable. **Gleomál* 'battle chief' is possible although not attested, while terms such as *gleodál* 'warlike encounter' and *gleogal* 'contest' are documented, although not as names. For the apparently Norse names of Irishmen in *Njáls saga*, King Kylfir and King Brjann's (Brian's) brother, Úlfr hreða, and the Irish genealogy of Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson's killer as given in *Þorsteins draumr*, see my forthcoming article, "Clontarf, and the Irish Destinies of Sigurðr Digri, Earl of Orkney, and Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson."

¹⁹ The Irish words *día* 'god' and *bjannak* 'blessing' (OIr. *bennacht* < Lat. *benedictum*) are used by Snorri Sturlason at the head of *Ynglinga saga* (*Heimskringla*, I, Ch. 2) in speaking of religious practices in the remote Norse pagan past. But why Irish and why a Christian term, even if its etymology went unrecognized? One can speculate that Irish Christian practices differed in detail from those reintroduced later from Germany, and that as they lapsed in the post-settlement period, they may have (been thought to have) taken on a heathen colouration. The surviving terminology could then be exploited as local colour: remote, exotic and pagan.

²⁰ Another example of the slave condition left behind is the story of Turf-Einarr, an illegitimate son of Earl Rognvaldr of Møre who, though chided for his enslaved maternal grand-parents, succeeds where legitimate sons fail in holding the earldom of Orkney; *Landnámabók*, pp. 314ff., and more briefly in *Orkneyinga saga*, Ch. 6, and *Haralds saga hárfagra*, in *Heimskringla*, I, Ch. 27.

²¹ *Landnámabók*, p. 52.

²² Names listed for Erpr's children were Ormr, Gunnbjörn, Ásgeirr, Halldís, Dufnall and Skati, p. 142.

²³ For the Irish *bachlach* 'churl', see *Landnámabók*, p. 98; for Auðun, *Landnámabók*, p. 120. The Irish names in this episode are relatively straightforward: Maddað < OIr. Maddad, Mýrún < OIr. *muir-én* 'sea bird', recalling the common Irish motif of the transformation of women into sea fowl. On the *ech uisce* and evidence of the northern transfer of this motif, see William Sayers, "The Old Irish Bóand/Nechtan Myth in the Light of Scandinavian Evidence," in *Scandinavian Canadian Studies/Études scandinaves au Canada* 1, ed. Edward Laine (Ottawa, 1983), pp. 63-78, at pp. 65-67. Another motif, the historical reality of which it would be interesting to determine, is the relatively frequent reference (*Landnámabók*, pp. 102, 127, 234) to a house built across a new road, supplying food to travellers, which suggests the *bruiden* 'hostel' of Irish tradition which often had Otherworld connotations; see Joseph F. Nagy, "Shamanistics of the *bruidean* Tale," *History of Religions* 20 (1981), pp. 302-22. The beardlessness of wise Njáll may also be compared to the bald condition (OIr. *máel*) of the Irish seer Finn in some of his manifestations, especially as a youth under the name Demne; see Nagy, "*Demne máel*," *Celtica* 14 (1981), pp. 8-14. This "sacrifice" of an essential body feature in return for insight and wisdom may be compared to the Óðinn myth.

²⁴ The Irish concentration in the west was noted by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. York Powell in *Origines Islandicae*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1905), II. p. 43. Kjarvalr is mentioned both in the family sagas, e.g., in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Ch. 1 and *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 7 (Reykjavík, 1936), Chs. 1, 3, 5, as well as in numerous entries in *Landnámá*, e.g., pp. 143, 240, 248, 352, 367, 392. In the last-named case Þorgrímr's mother is named as Kormloð and is elsewhere historically attested as Gormflaith, ex-wife of the Irish king Brian bórúma, later remarried to Óláfr kváran, Norse king of Dublin (cf. OIr. *cúarán* 'shoe' but also *cúar* 'bent, stooped'); see the discussion of *Njáls saga*, below, where the family tie to Kjarvalr is also noted.

Kjarvalr is regularly described as *Írakonungr*. Cerball mac Dúnlainge of Os-sory, during the period 847–888, seems to have played off bands of vikings one against the other, taking some into his service and marrying off his daughters to others. During a period of political weakness on the part of the Dublin Norse, he also appears to have become their patron or protector; see Francis J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London, 1973), pp. 162–63. This may explain both his entry and the rather inflated title given him in the Icelandic accounts, something between King of the Irish and a king of the Irish. At any event, Cerball made no claim on the high kingship, a largely theoretical position at the time.

²⁵ “Helgi var blandinn mjök í trú; hann trúði á Krist, en het á Þór til sjófara ok harðraeða” (*Landnámabók*, p. 250). Helgi’s mother was a daughter of Kjarvalr, Rafarta (p. 248), a name suggestive of the Irish family name Uí Rabhertaigh (? < ro (intensifier) + *bertach* ‘active’). In the following, “He-bridean” will be used to translate *syðreyskr*, by which should be understood residents and natives of the western Scottish mainland and islands, where Irish was spoken, as well as, more loosely, the Norse and Hiberno-Norse of the viking settlements in Ireland.

²⁶ Áskell’s descent was from Kjarvalr through Dufnáll and Dufþakr, while his own descendants all had Norse names. Note the summary chapter on Christian settlers which concludes *Landnámabók*, and their regretted loss of Christian faith. This is even true of Auðr’s descendants, despite her having erected a church. Thus a second Celtic Christianity came and went in Iceland. Ketill enn fíflski, “the Foolish”, a Christian Hebridean (so named because of his faith), settled where anchorites had lived and tolerated no heathen on his land (p. 322f.). See Paul Schach, “Anti-pagan Sentiment in the Sagas of the Icelanders,” *Gripla I*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík, 1975), pp. 105–34, and for other Celtic Christian anecdotes from *Landnáma*, Magnus Magnusson, *Iceland Saga* (London, 1987), pp. 75–77.

²⁷ Supposedly lacking an ethical code, slaves are often employed in the sagas as instruments of others’ ill will, for theft, arson and murder, e.g., *Landnáma*, p. 82, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavík, 1954), Ch. 47, *Vatnsdæla saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 8 (Reykjavík, 1939), Ch. 40. For proverbial wisdom, consider “A slave takes vengeance at once, a coward never,” quoted in Gwyn Jones, *Eirik the Red and Other Icelandic Sagas* (London, New York and Toronto, 1961), p. xiv; “Oft falls short in bravery the unfree race of thralls”; *Ögmundar þáttur dytts*, in *Eyfirðinga sögur*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, Íslenzk fornrit 9 (Reykjavík, 1956), p. 108. In *Eiríks saga rauða*, ed. in *Eyrbyggja saga*, a proud but indigent father refuses his daughter to the son of a freed slave (Ch. 3), cf. the story of Óláfr pái, below.

²⁸ As examples of soured and intractable warriors, consider Þjóstólfr in *Njáls saga*, Ch. 9, Hrappr in *Laxdoela saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 5 (Reykjavík, 1934), Einarr and Snæúlfur in *Faereyinga saga*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1927), Ch. 4.

²⁹ On erotic verse, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, trans. Joan Turville-

Petre (Odense, 1983), p. 35, and on reciprocity, clientship and brokerage, Jesse L. Bycock, *Feud in Icelandic Saga* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1982), pp. 141ff.

³⁰ It has been speculated that Eiríkr blóðøx's wife, Gunnhildr, was part Sami, and that it was she, in the shape of a bird, who tried to keep Egill from composing his head-ransoming verse; *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. Sigurður Nordal, Íslenzk fornrit 2 (Reykjavík, 1932), Ch. 59. For a recent study of relatively innocuous magic by women, see François-Xavier Dillmann, "Katla and her Distaff: An Example of Tri-functional Magic in the *Eyrbyggja saga*," in *Homage to Georges Dumézil*, ed. Edgar C. Polomé, *Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph* 3 (Washington, 1982), pp. 113-24. Note in the same saga the Hebridean Þorgunna (Ch. 5), a prophetess, not a sorceress (and thus not antithetical to Christianity). Yet when certain objects are not destroyed on her death as stipulated, she rises and haunts; cf. Esja in *Kjálnesinga saga*, below. On the motif of women in the Christian era still attached to the practises of the old pagan order and potential evil, see Richard F. Allen, *Fire and Iron: A Critical Approach to Njál's Saga* (Pittsburg, 1971), pp. 166ff.

³¹ Here one must take into account the historical reality of the gallowglasses (OIr. *gall* 'foreign' + *óclach* 'young warrior'), troops often employed as mercenaries and drawn from the mixed population of the Scottish mainland and Cumberland. They were seen as particularly vicious perhaps because of the lack of any fixed ethnic image, and were even known to have raided back in Norway. See Gwyn Jones, *History of the Vikings*, rev. ed. (Oxford and New York, 1984), p. 90, and *Haralds saga hárfagra*, in *Heimskringla*, I, Ch. 19.

³² See Chs. 35-38, where the means of execution of the various sorcerers is also of interest.

³³ The term is borrowed from Bjarni Einarson, "The Lovesick Skald," *Medieval Scandinavia* 4 (1971), pp. 21-41. For Hollander's observation, see *The Sagas of Kormákr and the Sworn Brothers* (Princeton, N.J., 1949), p. 193, n. 2 to Ch. 1. In the same volume he writes: "As in the case of so many Icelandic skalds, there seems to have been some admixture of Celtic blood in Thormód. He also stammered"; p. 205, n. 2 to Ch. 2. On poetic vision compare Kormákr's mother's name, Dalla, with that of her father Qnundr sjóni, "the Seer" (*Landnáma*, p. 90). Kormákr's family name was Tintein, not a Cornish term but certainly suggestive of a relation to the tin industry. Note too Kormákr's interest in snooping into the doings of sorcerers. *Gunnlaugs saga ormsstunga* in *Borgfirðinga sggur*, ed. Sigurður Nordal, Íslenzk fornrit 3 (Reykjavík, 1938), Ch. 3. See, too, Robert G. Cook, "The Character of Gunnlaug Serpent-Tongue," *Scandinavian Studies* 43 (1971), pp. 1-21. Scargill cites a personal communication from his co-editor suggesting that the parallel between *Gunnlaugs saga* and the Deirdre story may be due to Irish influence; *Three Icelandic Sagas*, trans. M.H. Scargill and Margaret Schlauch (Princeton, N.J., 1950), p. 5, n. 8. Egill Skalla-Grímsón can on the other hand be seen as a purely Norse poet, with all the positive and negative features this would imply. While he makes up some circumstantial verse for a girl (Ch. 48), true erotic verse, albeit self-centered, occurs only once in some lines for Ásgerðr (Ch. 56).

³⁴ Kormákr is crushed by what seems an earth spirit in Scotland, described with the anomalous ON term *blótrisi* 'sacrifice giant'; *Kormaks saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 8 (Reykjavík, 1939), Ch. 27. Was this some emanation of his spiritual home ground? Hallfreðr, the troublesome poet of King Óláfr, died at sea and was later properly buried in a Hebridean monastery after St. Óláfr had intervened in a dream. His possessions were recast for use as church objects; *Hallfreðar saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit 8 (Reykjavík, 1939), Ch. 11. This may indicate an authorial effort to reclaim (and reform) the love poet as a potential Christian.

³⁵ For a discussion of the problems associated with the Irish chapters of *Njála* and their possible relation to a lost work, dealing with King Brian of Ireland, see Lars Lönnroth, "Appendix 2: *Brjáns Saga" in *Njáls Saga: A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1976), pp. 226–36.

³⁶ The thief's eyes are mentioned at the outset (Ch. 1). The length of Hallgerðr's hair is twice mentioned in positive terms, although a third time it is noted that it was tucked into her belt (Chs. 1, 9, 13), the same feature of dress adapted by the apostate viking sorcerer Bróðir who slays King Brjánn of Ireland (Ch. 155). The gradual accumulation of detail prepares for the scene where the besieged Gunnarr requests and is refused a few strands of Hallgerðr's hair to wind a make-shift bowstring (Ch. 77). Hallgerðr's tentative Celtic antecedents would be via Dala-Koll, a chieftain in Scotland with Auðr, since it must be to the paternal line that Hrútr is referring when he wonders aloud to his maternal half-brother Hǫskuldr how thief's eyes came into the family. Hallgerðr also had a maternal uncle, Svanr, skilled in witchcraft (Ch. 10), who got along well with the Hebridean-descended Þjóstólfr (noted in Ch. 9). Although no clear character flaw can be isolated in Hallgerðr's ancestry, this adds to the complexity of her character and may be contrasted to the positive features of her half-Irish half-brother, Óláfr, of *Kardoela saga*.

³⁷ Melkólfr accepts rewards from Otkell, a belt, knife and clothing, that are ironic images of Gunnarr's Irish gifts from Óláfr pái. They will later lead to his apprehension (Ch. 47). The name may be explained as OIr. *máel* 'tonsured', often used in conjunction with a saint's name to indicate devotion, + *Colum*, i.e., St. Columba. The name is elsewhere attested, but sits ill on a thief and arsonist. See the brief discussion in Andersson, "The Thief . . .", p. 506, where the name is incorrectly given as Melkófr. Gunnhildr's dealings with Hrútr are related in Chs. 4–6, where gifts also play a role.

³⁸ Sveinsson's observations are usefully summarized in Schach, *Icelandic Sagas*, p. 122. In this context one should recall Njáll's Irish name and Hallgerðr's slave-like thieving in setting up the comparison with the more unidimensional Brjánn and Kormlǫð. Much of *Njáls saga* is concerned with litigation and justice, so that the characterization of Brjánn given here is thematically appropriate. It is interesting to note that an uncle of Gunnarr mentioned in Ch. 1, Morðr gigja, was considered so skillful a lawman that no decision was considered valid unless he had taken part. A similar status is ascribed in *Konungs skuggsjá* to a legendary Irish king of Tara; see Sayers, "*Konungs skuggsjá* . . .", p. 149f., and n. 10.

³⁹ As a single example of apparently widely recognized Irish local colour, one may mention the running ability attributed to Irish scouts sent ashore in their *kjafal* (< OIr. *cabhal*), a kind of hooded poncho, to reconnoiter in the New World in *Eiríks saga rauða*, Ch. 5. When Haraldr gilli appeared in Norway in the 1120s, claiming to be the Irish born son of Magnús berfoettr, he was mocked for his looks, clothes and broken Norse speech, and was obliged on one occasion to prove his worth by racing against the king's horses, which he successfully did; *Magnússona saga* in *Heimskringla*, III, Ch. 36. Racing against the king's horses is the central motif in the Old Irish tale of Macha, a territorial goddess who favours a simple man by serving as his wife, but when against her warning he mentions her to the king and boasts of her running ability, she is obliged to run despite her advanced pregnancy. She gives birth to twins but lays a curse on the Ulsterman that they will be as weak as a woman in labour at critical martial moments; *Noínden Ulad agus Emuin Macha* in *The Book of Leinster*, eds. R.I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M.A. O'Brien and Anne Sullivan, 6 Vols. (Dublin, 1954–83), 125b42–126a30, trans. as *The Labour Pains of the Ulad and the Twins of Macha* in Jeffrey Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 127–29. Noísi and his brothers in the Deirdre story are also credited with the ability to overtake wild animals on foot; *Longes mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*, ed. and trans. Vernam Hull (New York, 1954, repr. 1971). *Orkneyinga saga* also has an episode that may well be Irish-inspired: Sigurðr of Orkney defeats, kills and takes the head of the Scottish king Maelbrigte. He ties the head to his saddle in conventional Irish fashion, but is scratched by a protruding tooth and eventually dies from the infected wound (Ch. 5). Compare the incident in *Cath Muige Mucrama: The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, ed. and trans. Máirín O'Daly, Irish Texts Society 50 (Dublin, 1975), par. 70, where Ailill puts his cheek against that of Lugaid and infects it with a poisonous tooth.

⁴⁰ Gunnarr evolves from detachment to calm containment and finally to chilling violence. Kári's involvement displays both crescendo and decrescendo. He is simply presented as a Westerner, with no genealogy, land nor kin in Iceland, although he recognizes Njáll's name on first hearing (Ch. 84). Flosi's compliment is made in Ch. 147.

⁴¹ *Laxdoela saga* gives the fullest literary development of Auðr's settlement and events preceding it in the Hebrides. The chapters dealing with Melkorka are 12–13. Heller discusses the name Mýrkjartan, derived from Muirchertach, and plausibly suggests how it fell into phonological line with the name Kjartan (see below). The first element *mýr*- may also owe something to folk etymology, Ireland being perceived as a land of bogs, cf. *karrmyrr* 'marshy land with brushwood'. In *Droplaugarsonar saga*, a virtuous slave Arneiðr has a Norse father but a Hebridean mother. When she discovers a treasure she elects not to return to her people but to follow her former master Ketill to Iceland as his free wife; in *Austfirðinga sǫgur*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Íslenzk fornrit 11 (1950), Ch. 1.

⁴² "... betra vera at fá skjóta soemð en langa svívirðing," Ch. 21. The Ireland episode has none of the historical detail of *Njáls saga*, Chs. 154–57, but does have the curious incident of Mýrkjartan's decision not to allow Melkorka's old nurse to accompany Óláfr to Iceland. This is perhaps an authorial

reinforcement of the fact that Óláfr is now cutting both his and his mother's Irish ties. Óláfr continues to be called a slave's son (*ambáttarsonr* in contrast to *dóttursonr Mýrkjartans Írakonungs*, Ch. 22) even after his journey (Chs. 23–24); once married and prosperous these references are less frequent but not entirely suppressed. It is significant that an experienced traveller like Óláfr's father-in-law Egill Skalla-Grímsson recognizes Óláfr's distinguished lineage (Ch. 23). Later in the saga, Lambi Þorbjornarson takes part in a raid on kinsmen and is said to have more in common with his father's line, Þorbjörn skrúp "the weakling", than with that of Mýrkjartan Írakonungr.

⁴³ Heller, *Literarisches Schaffen* . . .; cf. Pálsson, "Um írsk atriði í Laxdoela saga," n. 7. If Melkorka is an invention, the name is still of interest, although the problem is a rather different one. Heller can offer no antecedent (p. 44). Irish annals, however, do offer the example of Mael Corcra, a king whose son was killed in 879, the period when Irish names appear to have entered Norse; *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, eds. and trans. Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, Part I (Dublin, 1983), s.a. 878. The second element can be referred to *corcra* 'purple', a generally laudatory term, or to *corca* 'oats' which frequently occurs in population names. The existence of a precedent, however, does little to explain how the name became associated with the Melkorka incident. Rather than *máel* 'bald, tonsured', which was rarely used in compound women's names, the name may be composed of *mell* 'pleasant, delightful', plus *corc*, with varied meanings: 'heart', 'hair', 'purple light' or *corca* 'oats'.

⁴⁴ Heller, *Literarisches Schaffen* . . . , p. 44.

⁴⁵ See Ch. 24. Óláfr also successfully lays the spirit of the dead Hrapp through essentially martial means. A similar range of functional responsibilities—justice, war, material plenty—is also ascribed to such successful Irish rulers as Conaire Mór in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, ed. Eleanor Knott, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 8 (Dublin, 1975), ll. 182–91, trans. as *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel in Early Irish Myths and Sagas*, pp. 60–106, at p. 67. See also examples of Irish prince literature such as *Audacht Morainn*, ed. and trans. Fergus Kelly (Dublin, 1976).

⁴⁶ Heller chooses to see Kjartan as an essentially Norse name, and it does occur outside this saga, e.g., Kjartan Ásgeirsson in *Landnámabók*, p. 227. Two possible Irish antecedents which have not been considered among those earlier reviewed are 1) *Ciarðae*, a name related to *ciartha* 'waxed, polished with wax', used of Irish battle dress, and 2) *cíar* 'dark, dusky', also used as a proper name and in compound names. Marstrander's hypothesis, OIr. *Cerd(d)an*, supported by de Vries, is presented in *Norsk tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 5 (1932), p. 276. Like his father, Kjartan is well received in Norway, Chs. 40–43. It is striking how often problems are created in the family sagas as a result of lengthy stays in Norway or of gifts received there, perhaps not always given with the best of intentions.

⁴⁷ "Vist aetlar þú nú, fraendi, niðingsverk at gera, en miklu þykki mér betra at þiggja banaorð af þér, fraendi, en veita þér þat," Ch. 49. However in character we may judge the sentiment, it must be noted that the remark seems borrowed from Earl Tosti's criticism of his kinsman Haraldr harðráði;

Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar, Ch. 91. Njáll, too, makes a conscious choice of passive death over dishonour.

⁴⁸ *Kjalnesinga saga*, ed. Johannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk fornrit 14 (Reykjavík, 1959); these details in Chs. 1–15. Konufoghr also occurs in *Orkneyinga saga* and can tentatively be identified with one of the two half-kings of Meath in the third quarter of the ninth century. Helgi bjóla occurs in *Landnámabók* but the name Esja seems a back derivation from a farmstead, Esjuberg; see *Laxdoela saga*, Ch. 3. On the Irish detail in the saga, see Helgi Guðmundsson, *Um Kjalnesinga sögu: nokkrar athuganir*, *Studia Islandica* 26 (Reykjavík, 1967), at pp. 83–94, 99–108, and more generally, Marco Scovazzi, "Tradizione pagana e cristiana nella *Kjalnesinga saga*," *Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Germanica* 9 (1966), pp. 5–48.

⁴⁹ See Folke Ström, *Níð, ergi and Old Norse Moral Attitudes*, Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies 10, May 1973 (London, 1974), Helga Kress, "Mandom og misogyni," *Gardar* 10 (1979), pp. 35–51, and Sørensen, n. 29.

⁵⁰ *Ynglinga saga* in *Heimskringla*, I, Ch. 7. Clearly a distinction is to be made between the shape-shifting undertaken by the Icelanders' legendary male ancestors and this type of magic, which seems bound to procreational rather than simply transformational energies, sexual drive rather than subjacent martial vigour.

⁵¹ For a wider ranging view, see Alain Renoir, "The Inept Lover and the Reluctant Mistress: Remarks on Sexual Inefficiency in Medieval Literature," in *Chaucerian Problems and Perspectives: Essays Presented to Paul E. Beichner, C.S.C.*, eds. Edward Vasta and Zacharias P. Thundy (Notre Dame, 1979), pp. 180–206.

⁵² Paul Schach, *Icelandic Sagas*, calls attention to just how unlikely the stock reception of Icelanders at the Norwegian court would have been in reality, but we have indisputable evidence that Icelanders had cornered the market as poets of the Norwegian kings.

⁵³ For the development of this thesis, see Richard Thomasson, *Iceland: The First New Society* (Minneapolis, 1980).

⁵⁴ *Íslendingabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk fornrit 1 (Reykjavík, 1968), p. 17, also given in *Njáls saga*, Ch. 105. See *Njal's Saga*, trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 226, n. An unobtrusive underlay of tenth century Celtic Christianity, as well as the exposure to Christianity through travel, not least to Ireland, may have facilitated the work of later missionaries; see Magnusson, *Iceland Saga*, p. 77. In retrospect, Irish Christianity must have seemed much more innocuous than the Norwegian version, married as the latter was to *Realpolitik*.

⁵⁵ On the stimulus toward literary production in such an environment, see Kurt Schier, "Iceland and the Rise of Literature in *terra nova*," *Gripla* I, pp. 108–87.

⁵⁶ Dr. Jens Pálsson indicated the rarity of a Celtic anthropological type in eastern Iceland (oral communications, 24 August, 1983), an observation in

agreement with Powell and Vigfússon's claim of a concentration of Irish settlement in the west. See, too, J. Pálsson and I. Schwidetzky, "Isländer und Iren: Anthropologische Beiträge zur Frage der Herkunft der isländischen Siedler," *Homo* 26 (1975), pp. 163-70. Schach (*Icelandic Sagas*, p. 28) summarizes the data in *Landnámabók* to the effect that of 430 named settlers, 150 are identified as coming directly from Norway, 50 from Scotland and Ireland. Curiously, the Irish question goes unmentioned in Kirsten Hastrup's *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: An Anthropological Analysis of Structure and Change* (Oxford, 1985).

⁵⁷ See Rafnsson's characterization of Haukr as "keltoman" (p. 78); cf. Benediktsson in the preface to *Landnámabók*, p. lxxxv, on his repeated claims of descentance from Kjarvalr. Reversing the dynamic flow of this article, one may consider the impact of Norse culture on Irish attitudes. See, for example, Carl J.S. Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Christiania, 1915); Reidar T. Christiansen, *The Vikings and Viking Wars in Irish and Gaelic Tradition* (Oslo, 1931); *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies held in Dublin, 6-10 July 1959* [on the theme "The Impact of the Scandinavian Invasions on the Celtic-speaking Peoples, circa AD 800-1100"], ed. Brian Ó Cuív (Dublin, 1962); *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World: Survival, Continuity and Change*, eds. Alexander Fenton and Hermann Pálsson (Edinburgh, 1984). Much of this cultural contact is ironically summarized in *The Triads of Ireland*, ed. and trans. Kuno Meyer, Todd Lecture Series 13 (Dublin, 1906), where one of the three most difficult persons to talk to is identified as *Gall ina lúirig*, "a viking in his hauberk" (p. 30, No. 232).

Kalevala in Sointula: The Intellectual Background of Matti Kurikka

J. Donald Wilson
(University of British Columbia)

Go forward people of Kalevala,
away from the drudgery of wage work:
Your path goes toward freedom,
servitude does not prosperity bring,
Whosoever shall embrace the present,
shall stumble as before.
Whosoever for freedom yearns,
can from us attain a sense of brotherhood.¹

This is a typical statement from Matti Kurikka, founder and leader of the utopian socialist settlement called Sointula (Place of Harmony) on Malcolm Island, British Columbia, which flourished from 1901 to 1905. It is typical partly because of the enthusiasm and conviction of the speaker, and partly because it derives from the mention of a new path, freedom and brotherhood, and, more specifically for our purposes, because it was directed to the "people of Kalevala." Kurikka's thought, as we shall see, was an amalgam of spiritualism, idealism derived mainly from Tolstoy and theosophy, utopian socialism derived from Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier, anti-clericalism and anti-capitalism, and Finnish nationalism. The newspaper *Aika* (Time), which Kurikka edited at Sointula together with his long-time friend A.B. Mäkelä, is full of Kurikka's articles on these themes which provided the social and intellectual basis of the colony.

Scholars to date in discussing Kurikka have made much of the various elements that fed into his intellectual background, with the exception of the theme of Finnish nationalism.² That theme, as we shall see, was inextricably linked with the *Kalevala* and the notion that the Finnish people were descendants of the *Kalevala* heroes. It was no accident that Kurikka chose to call the body that ran the Sointula colony the Kalevan Kansa (that is, "People of Kaleva") Colonization Company, or that the emigration association which he set up in Helsinki in 1899 to facilitate the emigration of hundreds of Finns to Queensland, Australia, carried the same name (Kalevan Kansa) as did the short-lived colonization company in northern Queensland.³

Kurikka's love for Finland surpassed his displeasure at the current

state of affairs in his homeland with its oppressive Russian administration bent on Russification under Governor-General Bobrikov and a compliant Finnish ruling class and state church. "Every man in his breast has a good feeling about being Finnish," he wrote in May, 1901,⁴ and that conviction at root prompted most of Kurikka's efforts from the 1890s until his death in Connecticut in 1915. His migration schemes beginning with the disastrous experience in Queensland and continuing with Sointula and another British Columbia venture, Sammon Takojat (the Forgers of Sampo), were intended to see that "tens of thousands without a fatherland will move to a new homeland to relish the fruits of one's own labour."⁵ Upon the formation of Sointula, Kurikka exalted: "The harmonious vision of a utopia is at hand. What say now the oppressed people of Finland? Our company has the right to undertake such broad activity that we can without altering the rules bring even the entire Finnish nationality to live within their shelter."⁶ From the time of his initial response in June 1900 to the invitation to come to Canada from Australia, Kurikka wrote he was ready to come to British Columbia "to plant the seed of betterment . . . for the joy of humanity and *for the glory of Finland*."⁷

Kurikka's ecstatic praise of the Finnish people and Kalevala culture were typical of the time, as witness the work of the painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela, the composer Jean Sibelius and the poet Eino Leino.⁸ Kurikka was a contemporary of these men and, like them, he was strongly affected by the struggle for national identity associated with this period in Finnish history, the so-called Romantic-Nationalist Age. The thrilling mixture of idealism, love of freedom and Finnish nationalism are evident in one of his early pronouncements.

Come here [to Sointula] you proper sons and daughters of Finnish mothers who comprehend that freedom is at the start and the finish of man's purpose. . . . Come here to live with us in such freedom where all are equal in the harmony of shared thoughts and find satisfaction and pleasure in the protection of the weak.⁹

The agreement reached with the British Columbia government which permitted the company to settle on Malcolm Island precluded restricting settlers to those of Finnish origin. Nonetheless, in practice that is what happened. As Kurikka so delicately put it: "If some person of foreign nationality offers himself for membership we cannot overlook him even though it is not desirable that they be accepted as future members."¹⁰ All told, some 2,000 people visited the colony for various lengths of time over the four-year period of its existence. Somewhere between 600 and

800 people actually settled on the island, again for varying lengths of time. At the end of 1903, for example, there were 238 inhabitants.¹¹

In the second issue of the Kalevan Kansa's newspaper *Aika*, Kurikka set out his programme for Sointula under the title "Toward a New Path."¹² He begins by addressing himself to the colonists' shared sense of Finnishness: "What are we to do so that we will still remain Finnish although superficially being subsumed within the core of other cultures?" He told his listeners that, as the descendants of Väinämöinen and other heroic characters of the *Kalevala*, they had the unique opportunity to create a new and better society of their own and indeed through example to carry its positive features to others, more specifically to create, as he said, "many Sointulas."¹³ "The people of Väinämöinen," Kurikka continued, "have suffered much but such a culture which has a personal understanding of itself will incessantly rise and not vanish from existence." The "deep origins of the nature of Finnish being" were found, he asserted, within the culture of the *Kalevala*. "We are the only living people among humanity," he boasted, "whose revered cultural past exists in insurpassable verse. Incomparable, for there is no other work equivalent in value and stature to the *Kalevala*, a magnificently preserved record of happiness saved for present humanity." Those aspects of self-reliance and of responsibility so revered in the *Kalevala* must be "implanted into [North] American life" and it was the task of the Finnish people to do so. To his daughter, he enthused, "All over [North] America times are good, but here in British Columbia, it is unbelievably happy to be a workingman. . . . This is where the new Finland is going to take shape."¹⁴

The task, while attainable, would not be easy. Unfortunately, the present generation of Finns, both in Finland and in North America, was in some degree being led astray from the traditional pattern of clean living by the ravages of alcoholism. The various Finnish temperance societies were trying to combat this evil.¹⁵ But there was yet another problem: the Lutheran Church had "turned the [Finnish] people's awareness away from the noble verses of the *Kalevala*" and thereby attempted to destroy this "valuable cultural heritage." Fortunately "the ideal-oriented virtues of the people lay deeper than the clergy had understood . . . and the culture retained its archetypal temperament" despite the church's efforts. The link with Finland's proper past would have to be restored if the new path to the future was to be cleared. Here "in spring-like America" a "new epoch" was about to begin with the people of Kalevala in the vanguard.

There is certainly no denying Kurikka's attachment to the overall

struggle for the attainment of Finnish independence and to the national folklore of Finland's past, to what he himself called "Finland's superior culture."¹⁶ The colony's flag reflected this sentiment nicely: the white shape of Malcolm Island on a blue background with a golden *kantele* (the traditional stringed Finnish folk instrument) centred on the island. The colony's sailboat even bore the name "Kalevatar."¹⁷

The Finns have always been a people to enjoy songs. Indeed, the *Kalevala* poems were originally recited in song. In keeping with this tradition, Kurikka encouraged the Kalevan Kansa to rejoice in their new freedom by expressing themselves in songs in praise of the community they were creating. In 1903, he collected these songs, together with some of his poems, into two volumes entitled *Kalevan Kansan Sointuja* (Kalevan Kansa Songs of Harmony). A selection of titles reveals the predominant sentiments: The Kalevan Kansa March; For Finland's People; Malcolm Island Our Beautiful Homeland; Here the People of Kaleva; Listen You Descendants of Kaleva; Leave the Old Ways Behind; Our Idealism is Saved; A Moment of Peace. The majority of these songs were adapted to the scores of traditional hymns.¹⁸ Kurikka took the published version of these songs with him on his extensive lecture tours in the United States, and "sang them on so many occasions that my voice became hoarse." All told he sold 2,500 copies of the collection.¹⁹

From the outset, Kurikka impressed upon the inhabitants of Sointula that they would become the new people of Kaleva. At their meetings and rallies he reminded his audience of their distant forefathers' accomplishments.

Repeatedly they were told of Väinämöinen, the most popular, steadfast and gifted singer and musician; of Ilmarinen, the eternal smith who forged the vault of heaven and who created a gold and silver bride for himself; and of Lemminkäinen, the reckless, erotic and handsome man with a far-roving mind.²⁰

One scholar even maintains that the physical appearance of Malcolm Island corresponds closely to the description of North Farm in the *Kalevala*.²¹ His suggestion, of course, is that Malcolm Island was purposely chosen by the leaders of the Kalevan Kansa because of its geographical resemblance to a location in the *Kalevala*. This is reminiscent of the now-discounted Van Cleef thesis that North American Finns chose to settle where they did for reasons of geography rather than economic considerations.²²

Now, some may ask, how could a socialist like Kurikka also be such a strong nationalist? Today, when contemporary socialists seem most

often to be internationalists, this is a legitimate question. But in turn-of-the-century Finland, linkage of the two ideologies was no anomaly. In fact, as D.G. Kirby asserts, "socialists were able to gain legitimacy among growing sectors of the Finnish working class because they were able to identify their interests with the struggle for national liberation." He continues:

There was indeed a degree of similarity between Finnish nationalism and the deterministic socialism of Karl Kautsky, embraced by the Finnish Social Democratic Party [of which Kurikka was a founding member]. Both doctrines stressed the importance of preserving a distinct identity and an ideological purity in the face of the enemy; both attached great importance to the workings of historical materialism.²³

So in the light of events in Finland, Kurikka's socialism complemented his nationalism and the two were in no way incompatible for him or his followers. It bears noting, however, that as Finnish socialists, namely members of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, became more Marxist (as A.B. Mäkelä himself did) they gradually moved toward international socialism and the primacy of the Soviet Union. The precepts of this brand of socialism lay in sharp contrast to the nationalism of the *Kalevala*, and thus these socialists turned their backs on folklore.²⁴ Matti Kurikka may have gloried in the inspiration of the *Kalevala*, but by 1915 *Työmies* (The Worker), the Helsinki newspaper he had edited from 1897 to 1899, could write:

It seems in these goings-on [Kalevala Day celebration] of the gentry there was much that smelled of humbug. When one considers that the struggle of life of the nation's present-day lower classes doesn't much move the gentry, then their celebration in memory of our tribal fathers and mothers of the past, if that's what it really is, becomes nothing more than customary ostentation with no deeper significance.²⁵

William A. Wilson in his account of *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* has explained the importance of the *Kalevala* in the emergence of modern Finnish national identity. In a series of telling quotations, he makes this equation abundantly clear: that "Finnish nationalism as a purposeful doctrine was formulated largely under the inspiration of folklore studies," that "the Finnish nation was conceived in and born of folklore," that "the *Kalevala* has been and still is the abode of the Finnish national spirit," that it can be called "the independence book of the Finnish nation . . ." ²⁶

These notions were typical of the idea of romantic nationalism of the late nineteenth century, namely that "in order to survive and to

maintain its independence, a nation must continually re-create itself in the image of its noble and heroic past and that it must seek that past in folklore."²⁷ For Finland that meant the *Kalevala*, which "made this nation realize that we are really something unique and are not simply a fringe on other's [sic] skirts. This nation has behind it its own past; it has in its breast its own character; therefore, it must also have its own mission in history." This sense of national mission appealed very much to Kurikka, as we have already seen. He would surely have echoed the sentiments of a school textbook of the 1930s which boasted with respect to the civilized nature of Finnish culture: "We are privileged to be Finns." And he would have seconded a 1910 editorial by Eino Leino, which said in part:

The *Kalevala* and its celebration are only a symbol of the right of the Finnish nation to live its own life, of the obligation of the Finnish people to defend their own existence as a nation and a civilized people. A nation which has created the *Kalevala* has not been born into this world without reason. It must also defend those ideals and that view of life which its past has left for the preservation and furthering of its present.²⁸

Kurikka's only difference with Leino was that he felt it necessary for the Finnish working class to establish itself abroad in the face of Czarist oppression and a repressive church and capitalist system in pre-war Finland. For reformers and socialist activists like Kurikka, emigration offered the only viable solution for the time being.

There is an apparent conflict here: one might well ask how Kurikka could possibly struggle for socialism and Finnish nationalism in North America and yet retain an almost daily concern for his homeland and the Finnish people, especially its working class. This apparent contradiction was addressed in 1907 by another Finnish-American socialist, Aku Rissanen, after a trip to Finland in 1907:

The immigrant is a cosmopolite in the true meaning of the word; he carries in the recesses of his soul two worlds: the old and the new. He cannot for a moment think of freeing America from Capitalist oppression without at the same time thinking of Europe's delivery.²⁹

Kurikka's utopian view of socialism differed fundamentally from so-called scientific socialism which was espoused by his colleague Mäkelä and, by 1905 when Kurikka returned briefly to Finland, overwhelmingly by the Finnish Social Democratic Party. Kurikka, as a proper heir of the Enlightenment, believed in the power of reason, in the ability thereby to transform individuals, to change them from what they were into some-

thing else. In this way an entire society might gradually, and that was the operative word, change for the better. Progress then was very much an evolutionary thing. It was in this sense that Kurikka likewise called attention to the principles of brotherhood, freedom and universal harmony espoused by Tolstoy and the then popular (among intellectuals) religion of theosophy.³⁰ On the other hand, scientific socialists believed in attaining progress through altering the basic structure of society—social, political, and especially economic institutions. Marxists for their part held that because of the unwillingness of industrial capitalism to share or give up its power and dominance, it followed that violent revolution and social upheaval were unavoidable if basic social and economic change were to be attained. Once the structure of society had been changed by revolution, one could then expect people to change but not before.

This meant that for the likes of Kurikka public education was extremely important, in fact basic to societal change. The printed word was the main vehicle for propaganda (in the true sense of that word), followed closely by the lectern. Kurikka was adept at both media. It was he who insisted upon the establishment of a newspaper (*Aika*) at Nanaimo in the spring of 1901 even before settlers had left for Sointula. That paper under Mäkelä's editorship appeared regularly once a week until October 1902 and circulated widely in the United States where its circulation exceeded that of *Amerikan Työmies* (The American Worker).³¹ After the colony's disastrous fire of January 1903, a printing press was purchased and moved to Sointula, and publication recommenced in November of that year. The format was changed from newspaper to journal and fourteen issues produced ending in December 1904. *Aika*, however, remained Kurikka's main mouthpiece.³²

Kurikka made several lecture tours of the United States and Canada speaking to audiences mainly of Finns—his spoken English acquired mostly in Australia was not that fluent.³³ His goal was not only to spread his social philosophy and political principles, but also to recruit new colonists and raise money for Sointula. Kurikka had a dramatic speaking style. One listener years later recalled him as having "charm, a moving force and fluency" which he used to "captivate his audience and to hold them spellbound." His physical actions consisted of "waving of arms, jumping up and down on his toes and continual movement about the stage."³⁴ Kurikka himself was aware of his charisma, something he referred to as his "animal magnetism." This power had an hypnotic effect on those coming in contact with him and allowed the person possessing it to "make the other do what one wants, even against the other's

will. I have it [this power] and to a goodly extent."³⁵

Meetings where Kurikka spoke were regularly held in socialist halls or labour temples, and in the early days on Vancouver Island in temperance halls. The Finnish socialist societies which were spreading rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century also staged operettas, concerts and plays usually with socialist and anti-capitalist themes. Thus education and entertainment went hand-in-hand. So popular were these cultural events that the phenomenon known as "hall socialism" became worrisome to socialist leaders who feared that such events were becoming more important for some members than the spread of socialism.

In view of the recent "Reunion of Sisters" conferences in Minneapolis and Kuopio and their stress on Minna Canth, it would perhaps be fitting to say something about Kurikka's views on marriage, sex and free love since his very definite views on women, motherhood and child-rearing were influenced from his early contact in the 1880s with Canth's salon in Kuopio. In a letter to the *Victoria Daily Colonist* at the height of the "free love controversy" at Sointula in 1904, Kurikka succinctly explained his views on marriage and his opposition to the "chains" of church-sanctioned marriages.

As the marriage state has existed before there was a church, it is going to exist when all kinds of enslaving creeds and dogmas have disappeared from among civilized nations, and the responsibilities of marriage begin when the parties concerned fall in mutual love.³⁶

By declaring only the "rights of love" not the "chains of marriage" both men and women would be freed from the basic subservience to convention.³⁷ "Marriage and morality," he continued, "are two different matters just as law and justice are two different things. . . . just as the church and truth are two different things. Similarly, just as capitalism appears as the protector of social organization, and the church the protector of truth so marriage appears as the protection of morality."³⁸

Kurikka and his friend A. B. Mäkelä became associated with Minna Canth, the socialist, feminist and suffragette leader, from the time that Mäkelä took his dead father's place as an elementary school teacher near Kuopio in 1887. Numbered among Canth's salon were such radical thinkers as Juhani Aho and Arvid Järnefelt who were, like Kurikka, attracted early to the writings of Tolstoy. From the mid-1880s Canth took up the cause of women's rights in Finland. In her plays and novels she pointed to the degradation and exploitation of Finnish women in both marriage and society generally. She demanded nothing short of full equality for women in both the home and the workplace.

Kurikka considered the church-sanctioned institution of marriage to be at the root of female oppression. In his view, marriage was a form of slavery for women since the wife was always made subordinate to her husband. Natural sexual drive did not have an opportunity to develop within marriage because husbands had turned the marriage contract into a licence to rape.³⁹ Therefore, it was only just that women should be freed from being the possession of men, and they should experience motherhood without the necessary sanction of a wedding ceremony. Kurikka's campaign to denounce marriage and encourage relationships based on love, which he launched at Sointula early in 1904, finally led to a deep split in the colony and contributed directly to Kurikka's departure along with half of the colonists. Writing his daughter Aili in November 1904, just a month after leaving Sointula for good, Kurikka explained:

The main reason for this split . . . is female emancipation. As a result of my writing [in *Aika*] many wives started to oppose the passionate advances of their husbands and the latter became angry and jealous and in the end started to believe that their wives had fallen in love with me and for that reason had betrayed them. Everything that was already bad on the island became exacerbated because of this. Let them now lie with the harvest they have sown. The company is now nearly bankrupt and only a miracle can save it. But miracles don't happen in defence of bad deeds.⁴⁰

In this instance Kurikka may well have been unjustly accused of philandering. Nevertheless, the fact remains that he had quite a reputation as a ladies' man with his strong good looks, deep piercing eyes and way with words. He was himself aware of his power over women, which he called his personal "electricity." He confessed to his daughter: "In this country [Canada] where relations between the sexes are free beyond all restraint, I have observed that if I wanted to misuse my electric influences, which I possess in great measure, against young, inexperienced women, the most delicate would helplessly become my victims."⁴¹ Certainly one might want to question the sincerity of Kurikka's motives in the 1904 free love debate. Despite his plea to accord women the "rights of love," less than two years earlier he explained to Aili that:

The basic principle upon which sexual division is based is exactly the same as in the field of electricity. Man represents the positive (striving forward), woman the negative (accepting). The basic nature of man is active (courage, desire for combat, desire to command, etc.); that of woman is passive (benevolent, helpful, patient). Man procures, woman preserves. . . . One finds active women and passive men, but for that very reason the womanly man and the emancipated woman become objects of derision.⁴²

This is hardly the statement of what would today be called a "liberated man."

Perhaps the sex ratios on the island had a bearing on Kurikka's position in the "free love" debate. By the end of 1903, men outnumbered women two to one (100 to 50), but more importantly, of these, 53 men were single as opposed to only seven single women.⁴³ Was free love then only a practical solution to a difficult social problem? On the other hand, maybe Kurikka's views changed over this two-year period. By mid-1905 he reported that the main theme in his speeches was to condemn men, the only legislators of the time, for the current social chaos. "When women become influential in making society's laws independent of men, then all these lies and mistakes will be swept away. Woman has the God-given natural right to become a mother without having to tie herself down for her entire life to satisfy one man's passion."⁴⁴ This definitely is the Kurikka from Minna Canth's salon. The apparent contradictions may only prove that Kurikka was human. His passions no doubt ran before his reason on some occasions.

One scandal which erupted just prior to the final free love debate in the fall of 1904 linked Kurikka with his friend Mäkelä's wife, Elli. Kurikka's account is worth quoting in full:

. . . by purposely keeping apart as much as possible from the intimacy of the female comrades, I had associated in close friendship with the wife of my nearest neighbour who, being more civilized than many others and by nature more honourable, truly compensated with her friendship for the brutality and ingratitude of many others. The quarrel started from the fact that Elli Mäkelä asked for a divorce from her husband and honestly announced that she planned to marry another comrade whom she loved. When she first reported her secret to me and I urged her to tell it directly to her husband, a certain third man (whose wife has since given him up) got Mäkelä to think that I was the initiator of the whole affair. Elli has apologized to her husband for her "naughtiness", but is now going mad in desperation.⁴⁵

Although this affair soon blew over, there can be little doubt that it served to worsen relations between Kurikka and Mäkelä and strain a

friendship already called into question by deepening ideological differences.

Mäkelä opposed Kurikka on the issue of free love, arguing that it was not timely to discuss the matter when the colony's very economic viability was in question. Moreover, he had no use for Kurikka's theosophy which he described as "an attempt to dress up ancient religious fantasies in a modern-looking dress."⁴⁶ Such a view made Mäkelä typical of other Marxian socialists. Utopian socialism and theosophy were regarded as distinct obstacles to the spread of true socialism. By holding out so much and delivering so little, both only added to the confusion of the workers in their struggle to improve their lot. Theosophy was after all still a religion and the failure of utopian socialists like Kurikka to be hostile to religion in any form made them objects of suspicion to Marxian socialists.

On child-rearing, Kurikka also had very definite views closely linked to his overall conception of women and their role in society. From 1903 he strongly urged the construction of a large nursery and children's building where mothers could leave their children while working. Such an innovation would in his view provide a superior environment for the children while at the same time releasing more women for the labour force. Anyway it was preferable for mothers to be working than doting over their children all day long. People must learn to accept that "motherhood is . . . entirely a different thing from the matter of child up-bringing. . . . often the mother is the most unfit to educate her own children." For Kurikka, the children's home was to be "a school from the beginning to the end, a school of life in all possible forms."⁴⁷ The idea, however, did not meet with the success he anticipated. It took almost two years before the home was opened, and the project met a rapid demise because, according to a life-long resident of Sointula, the mothers were "unwilling to have their children away from home."⁴⁸

The departure of Kurikka and half of the members of the colony spelled doom to the colonization company. The remaining population struggled on until the final company meeting, held on February 5, 1905, with a mere fifty shareholders present. An act of embezzlement on the part of the colony's manager and the seizure by the colony's creditors of a large shipment of lumber destined for Vancouver finally brought the enterprise to its knees. The company was liquidated on May 27, 1905 and went into receivership.

Kurikka was very bitter over having to leave Sointula. "Imagine yourself, what it means," he wrote his daughter, "when you are forced to leave the visible results of four long years of work, from poems to

machinery and cleared fields, and only because your best friends, who if anybody should act as friends, have instead become traitors.”⁴⁹ But, characteristically, he took up the task of founding a new colony with renewed enthusiasm. A new colonization company called Sammon Takojat was formed with Kurikka as secretary. Significantly, this name meaning “the forgers of Sampo,” was drawn also from the folklore of the *Kalevala*. The company purchased a big farm near the CPR railroad in the Fraser Valley some thirty miles east of Vancouver (present-day Webster’s Corners). This time they would not be stymied, as in the case of Sointula, by the distance to the markets. A contract for land clearing in Vancouver worth \$400 was signed, and by the end of 1904 the colony appeared to be well-launched. The colony even adopted an official seal “in the centre of which is a representation of the mountain described by Annie Besant [a prominent British theosophist] up whose slopes mankind journeys towards its goal.”⁵⁰ Kurikka’s theosophical underpinnings were still very much in evidence.

The first winter at Webster’s Corners passed without any major upheaval. The following spring, Kurikka set off on another of his many lecture tours. Buoyed by the fact that his last lecture trip had made \$1,300 for Kalevan Kansa, he left convinced he could do the same for Sammon Takojat. As things turned out, he never did return there.

Back in Finland in September 1905, Kurikka found great difficulty in reintegrating himself in Finnish society. He settled in Malmi, a suburb on the northern outskirts of Helsinki. He applied to *Työmies* for a job as a columnist, but was summarily turned down. He then turned to the Theosophical Society, befriended Pekka Ervast, the leading Finnish theosophist of the day, and announced that he would edit a newspaper entitled *Elämä* (Life). Kurikka’s political fortunes were severely damaged during this period. After being ousted from the Social Democratic Party, he founded his own party, the Social Reform Party, but it remained in existence only a few months. “I have suffered injustice from those whom I have served most,” he lamented.⁵¹

Early in 1911 Kurikka arrived back in North America and settled temporarily in Brooklyn, New York. He immediately laid plans for a lecture tour, which he called “my vocation,” and announced his intention to “start a new Sointula” in British Columbia.⁵² He did actually take up residence in Vancouver for a little over six months, from the end of December 1911, but he was welcome neither at Sointula nor Sammon Takojat, and his dream of establishing a new Sointula was never realized. He still, however, continued to refer to himself as “President, Kalevan Kansa, Ltd.”⁵³ For livelihood he took up raising chickens and writing

for *New Yorkin Uutiset*. But the *wanderlust* soon caught up with him once again, and putting his house up for sale, he left Vancouver in mid-summer 1912 "on a long lecture tour."⁵⁴

By September he was back in Brooklyn where he helped found a lodge of the Knights of Kaleva, a Finnish nationalist and mutual benefit society. To Kurikka, the fraternal and mutual benefit aspects of the society were of utmost importance in a city where there were many recent immigrants from Finland. He continued working for *New Yorkin Uutiset*, a paper well known for its opposition to the Tsar and Marxism and its support of Finnish independence and nationalism, all policies with which Kurikka found himself in full agreement.⁵⁵ Although he wrote his daughter that he was considering going to India to "try a new experience," he decided instead to buy a seventeen-acre farm in Penkese, Connecticut, near New London, where in 1913 he went back to raising chickens. His death came shortly afterward on October 4, 1915.

What can we conclude about a man like Matti Kurikka? In the long run his impact on affairs in his native land and in Canada was quite limited, this despite the fact that his name is still known in Finland today and among Finnish-Canadians as well. His idiosyncratic behaviour, his naive idealism, his many enthusiastic projects leave one concurring with the assessment by an American scholar of some early American socialists.

They were passionate and gentle, gallant and cranky, democratic dreamers and petty schemers; they invoked revolution but sought respectability; they lived for their ideas, the worst of which were kinky, the best of which became the party platforms of others; those who were faithful to their creed became case studies in futility, while those who hoped to maximize their influence had to become ex-Socialists.⁵⁶

At the very least Kurikka does provide a case study into the question of an immigrant's mental baggage, the mechanism of cultural transfer across the Atlantic, and the effects on such an immigrant of his encounter with Canadian society. What continues to fascinate us about the man is the way in which he symbolizes a type of intellectual that no longer exists, one who despite adversity and hardship struggled to implement his ideas, to make reality of them, not just to talk about them. Many would regard Kurikka as a failure; after all his failures did span three continents. In answer to this condescending view, E.P. Thompson reminds us that such individuals

lived through these times of acute social disturbance and we did not. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience; and if they were casualties of history, they remain condemned in their own lives as casualties. Our only criterion of judgment should not be whether or not a man's actions are justified in the light of subsequent evolution.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, despite his eccentricities and ultimate failure Kurikka left a lasting legacy upon Finnish-Canadian socialists among whom his name is still invoked. The Finnish tone, though muted, still survives at Malcolm Island⁵⁸ and at present-day Webster's Corners, site of Sammon Takojat. Most socialists in Canada have forgotten or neglected their heritage, especially that dating from before World War I. But in a minor way Kurikka made a distinct contribution to the social and intellectual history of Canada, not just that of Finnish-Canadians. And the intellectual tradition he sought to implant went back well beyond the nineteenth century elixirs of Tolstoyism, theosophy and utopian socialism to the *Kalevala* itself. In a small way then, Finland's intellectual ties with Canada even antedate the esteemed eighteenth century biologist and traveller Pehr Kalm.⁵⁹

Notes

¹ Quoted in Matti Halminen, *Sointula: Kalevan Kansan ja Kanadan Suomalaisen Historia* (Helsinki, 1936). Translation by A.H. Salo, Appendix I to "Kalevan Kansa Colonization Company: Finnish Millenarian Activity in B.C.," (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1978), pp. 232-33.

² Kalevi Kalemä, *Matti Kurikka: legenda jo eläessään* (Porvoo, 1978); J. Donald Wilson, "Matti Kurikka: Finnish-Canadian Intellectual," *B.C. Studies*, no. 20 (winter, 1973-74), pp. 50-65; J. Donald Wilson, "Matti Kurikka and A.B. Mäkelä: Socialist Thought Among Finns in Canada, 1900-1932," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. X, no. 2 (1978), pp. 9-21.

³ Vilho Niitemaa, "Australiansuomalainen Erakko-seura vv. 1902-1904," *Siirtolaishistoriaa* (Turku Historical Society), vol. VII (1971), p. 169. The membership book of this colony was in fact carried over to Canada and utilized again at Sointula. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁴ *Aika*, May 17, 1901.

⁵ Quoted in Niitemaa, p. 169.

⁶ *Aika*, Nov. 8, 1901.

⁷ Kurikka to Matti Halminen. Mareeba, Australia, June 7, 1900 in Salo, p. 249. My emphasis.

⁸ For turn-of-the-century art, see Sixten Ringbom, *et al.*, *Konsten i Finland: Från medeltid till nutid* (Helsingfors, 1978); for music, see Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius* (4 vols., Helsinki, 1965-1978) in Finnish or in English translation

Sibelius, vol. 1 (trans. by Robert Layton, London, 1976); for literature, see Eino Karhu, *Suomen 1900-luvan Alun Kirjallisuus* (Helsinki, 1973).

⁹ *Aika*, Aug. 23, 1901.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1901.

¹¹ Halminen in Salo trans., p. 354.

¹² *Aika*, May 17, 1901.

¹³ Quoted in Arvi Hautamäki, "Matti Kurikka," in Hannu Soikkanen (ed.), *Tiennäyttäjät* (Helsinki, 1967), p. 316.

¹⁴ Kurikka Correspondence (letter collection in the possession of Matti Kurikka's daughter, Mrs. Aili Linnoila, Helsinki). Letter sent from Nanaimo, no date. Arrived Kuopio, Finland, Oct. 26, 1900. Hereafter letters from this collection will be cited as M.K., and unless otherwise indicated the letters are from Kurikka to his daughter Aili. Kurikka's colleague, A.B. Mäkelä was equally enthusiastic: "In my opinion that shore with its islands in every way was very suitable as a place of refuge . . . for persecuted socialists in Finland. There would have been room there for . . . the whole Finnish working class." Quoted in Erkki Salomaa, "A.B. Mäkelä," in Soikkanen (ed.), *Tiennäyttäjät*, p. 209.

¹⁵ J. Donald Wilson, "Coal Miners and Socialists: Finns in British Columbia before World War I," *Polyphony*, vol. 3, no. 2 (June, 1981), pp. 55-64.

¹⁶ *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Feb. 2, 1901, p. 2.

¹⁷ Halminen in Salo trans., pp. 316; 299.

¹⁸ *Kalevan Kansan Sointuja* (2 vols., Vancouver, 1903).

¹⁹ *Aika*, Nov. 1, 1903.

²⁰ Quoted from Salo, p. 112.

²¹ Salo, p. 149, footnote 188.

²² E. Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," *Geographical Review*, no. 42 (Apr. 1952), pp. 253-66.

²³ D.G. Kirby, *Finland in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1979), p. 61.

²⁴ William A. Wilson, *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (Bloomington, 1976), pp. 172-81.

²⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 173.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 205. For a flavour of editorial opinion on this subject in the early twentieth century, see pp. 59-60.

²⁸ Quotations from *ibid.*, pp. 131; 122; 60.

²⁹ Peter Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of Finns and the Left* (Rutherford, 1984), p. 94.

³⁰ J. Donald Wilson, "'Never Believe What You Have Never Doubted': Matti Kurikka's Dream for a New World Utopia," in Michael G. Karni (ed.), *Finnish*

Diaspora I: Canada, South America, Africa, Australia and Sweden (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), pp. 131-53.

³¹ Carl Ross, *The Finn Factor in American Labor, Culture and Society* (New York Mills, 1977), p. 62.

³² J. Donald Wilson, "A Synoptic View of the Aika, Canada's First Finnish Language Newspaper," *Amphora*, no. 39 (Mar., 1980), pp. 9-14.

³³ M.K., Cairns, Australia, Aug. 1, 1900. He wrote: "I have learned to read English fluently, to write pretty well, but I have difficulty understanding the different accents."

³⁴ *Ladysmith Chronicle*, Jan. 11, 1962, as quoted in Salo, p. 146.

³⁵ M.K., Spokane, Wash., Mar. 28, 1903.

³⁶ *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Oct. 21, 1904.

³⁷ *Aika*, June 1, 1904, p. 427.

³⁸ *Aika*, Aug. 29, 1902.

³⁹ *Aika*, Mar. 15, 1904, p. 279.

⁴⁰ M.K., Vancouver, Nov. 6, 1904.

⁴¹ M.K., Vancouver, Dec. 26, 1902.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Halminen in Salo trans., p. 354.

⁴⁴ M.K., Fitchburg, Mass., June 26, 1905.

⁴⁵ M.K., Victoria, Sept. 2, 1904.

⁴⁶ *Työmies 20 Vuotta* (Superior, Wisc., 1923), p. 20.

⁴⁷ *Aika*, Apr. 1, 1904, pp. 289-95.

⁴⁸ A. Anderson, *History of Sointula* (n.p., 1969), p. 10.

⁴⁹ M.K., Spokane, Wash., Feb. 26, 1905.

⁵⁰ M.K., Vancouver, Nov. 6, 1904.

⁵¹ M.K., Helsinki, May 14, 1906.

⁵² M.K., Brooklyn, Mar. 22, 1911. As late as December 1913, Kurikka was still contemplating founding a Sointula-type colony. M.K., Penkere, Conn., Dec. 4, 1913.

⁵³ M.K., Vancouver, Dec. 28, 1911.

⁵⁴ M.K., Vancouver, June 28, 1912.

⁵⁵ "Our newspaper is nowadays making a lot of progress. . . . At the same time the political importance of the paper is becoming more and more evident. We believe that soon we shall be able to scatter the entire Marxist camp and defeat that whole humbug doctrine." M.K., Penkere, Aug. 31, 1913. By the end of that year *New Yorkin Uutiset* had nearly 7,000 subscribers. M.K., Kurikka to Lilli Kajanus, Penkere, Dec. 10, 1913.

⁵⁶ Stephen J. Whitfield, "Autopsy Notes on American Socialism," *Reviews in American History*, vol. 3, no. 2 (June, 1975), p. 254.

⁵⁷ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, 1968), p. 13.

⁵⁸ See Salo, chap. 4.

⁵⁹ Adolph B. Benson (ed.), *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*. 2 vols. (New York, 1966; original English version published in 1770). See also Martti Kerkkonen, *Peter Kalm's North American Journey: Its Ideological Background and Results* (Helsinki, 1959).

Arqaluk Lynge — Poet and Politician

Marianne Stenbæk
(McGill University)

Contemporary Greenlandic poets have played a very active role in the political and social revolutions which Greenland has experienced since the early 60s. They have not only reflected on this revolution, they have been part of it in many different ways. There is no better example of the role and influence of the modern Greenlandic poet than Arqaluk Lynge, for he and his poetry not only reflect modern-day Greenland, but have also helped shape it.

Arqaluk Lynge is a remarkable man and a remarkable poet. He is a Greenlander, an Inuk, exceptionally proud and conscious of his Greenlandic heritage. His poetry is a reflection of, and a reflection on, recent Greenlandic history and social change. In a minority society and emerging society, there is usually a very close inter-relationship between culture and politics. Cultural independence is seen as a prerequisite for political independence — and vice versa.¹

It is difficult to imagine now that Greenland was a closed colony with severe travel and other restrictions until 1953 when the United Nations passed its anti-colonial resolution and the Danish government brought in a new constitution which made Greenland an integral part of Denmark and thereby opened up Greenland. Life in Greenland began to change at a very rapid rate, perhaps far too rapidly. Greenlanders have told me that since 1953 each day in Greenland has brought as much change as a decade in a western country.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the Danish government decided that it would be preferable to send young promising Greenlanders to Denmark for further education, and that the educated Greenlanders be 'Danicized' as much as possible, indeed that the whole country be 'Danicized'. Many of the Danish government's objectives, such as centralization, uprooting of old settlements, 'Danicization', are outlined in Bill G-60, a bill that has now become a symbol of Danish cultural and social imperialism which established the mood of the decade — a feeling, on the part of the Danes, that they were doing the right thing and that the Greenlanders ought to be grateful — and a mood among the Greenlanders of alienation, loss of identity, loss of respect for themselves and their old lifestyle. Arqaluk Lynge was one of these promising young Greenlanders; he was shipped off to Copenhagen to attend university there. The seeds

of dissent grew here among the Greenlandic students far from home in a country where they often felt uneasy and discriminated against, or at best, different (another young theology student from those days, Jonathan Motzfeldt, is now the Prime Minister of Greenland).

Out of the frustrations experienced in Denmark grew a political consciousness and a concurrent artistic awakening. As Arqaluk Lynge told me:

In the 60s and 70s there was a feeling here that we ought to be grateful for the modern health services, social and education services, but at the same time, of course, they also meant a destruction of a great deal of our culture and identity and self-respect. It was the fight to win back the self-respect that resulted in the whole wave of young poets, artists and musicians that have shaped the intellectual life here during the last 10-15 years. This has created the basis for the increasing political consciousness that has risen in Greenland.²

Arqaluk Lynge studied to be a social worker and came back to Greenland where his profession gave him an intimate knowledge of the social ills caused by Bill G-60 and the effects of "Danicization" on people; he saw first-hand the suicide epidemic, the abuse, alienation, and alcoholism which these profound changes in a traditional Inuit society had led to.

His rebellion against the Danish rulers and the compassion for his fellow Greenlanders grew, as expressed in the poem "They Took Part of Ourselves" about one of the victims of the suicide epidemic. It comes from his poetry collection, *For The Honour and the Glory*:³

They Took Part of Ourselves

I saw right away your desperate face
that wanted to tell me
What it was that had happened
Our eyes met, and you knew that I knew
The tears did not come
The Winter has been cold
yet we feel some warmth now and then
Today
the sorrow hit us
Thousand of years of suffering
hidden in our ancestor's proud hospitality
hidden in our generations's frustration
were suddenly cut open
just today
and flowed out
and out!

We have paid with our lives and our bodies
We have cried in protest
our cries have been heard
but have been put in abeyance by a bureaucracy of impotence

Today
the cries have fallen down over us
and they lie before us
everything has become empty gestures — but no sounds are heard
and we are paralyzed by its power

One of ours is dead
They have once more taken a part of ourselves
He sought his own death
and found it by himself — it is said
— but suicide is murder

Dear friends
they have murdered our brother
Is that what they mean when they say
“all progress has its price”?

Dear friends
let us gather together
and tell the people in power
that this must stop!

The part you have chosen
has cost us one brother — and there will be more
The fact that your will took the life
of a human being — our brother's life
you only put that as the next point on the agenda
in your calendar without days

Therefore dear brothers
to those of you still living —
Come
It must be finished
Now they must be removed.

We will no longer pay the price
We were not born to pay
a debt that is not our own
A life which cannot be lived
A life that has to be lived so we can see it
— be destroyed

Dear brothers
It is we who must find the way:
to a life in our land that is free
to a nation that puts no one to flight
to a life that is lived together
Suffering cannot be removed by consolation

Suffering is something you fight against

The fight is ours

Dear brothers

not tomorrow or soon

Dear brother, it is now!⁴

Arqaluk Lynge had begun to write poetry sporadically while at school, around 1964. His first attempts were texts for the beginning Greenlandic beat and rock groups. When he came back to Greenland in 1969 after his years of study in Copenhagen, he began to write seriously:

I couldn't stop, it just continued. I wrote a lot of political articles, I wrote political poems because when I used to write political articles, those things that I thought took too long or were too difficult to explain in the articles, those I would write poems about. Most of them started from feelings, not from concrete political thoughts, but from feelings which I think a lot of us have, and had, and feelings that ought to be communicated to Danes and to other Europeans. . . .⁵

Traditionally in Greenland, conflicts were resolved peacefully by 'song contests' — the two opponents or two opposing teams would make up funny or pointed songs about each other and sing them at each other, until the best song writer won.

This age-old correlation between poetry and conflict solving thus has firm roots in traditional Greenlandic society. It is not surprising that this tradition is also firmly established in Arqaluk Lynge. His poetry gives vent to the feelings and concerns too complicated, too emotional, too close to the Greenlander's heart. His poems explain the tension and frustrations between Danes and Greenlanders. He portrays the Greenlanders' love of the land and their intimate knowledge of the land and its animals, a knowledge the Danes could never quite share or understand. He writes about the Greenlanders who are lost in a modern world, being treated like museum objects or cute tourist attractions, about the loss of their dignity, their respect and their culture, their own way of life. He speaks of the Greenlanders as being imprisoned in a system created by Danish mores which they do not understand. "A Life With Respect" shows some of these feelings:

A Life With Respect

In the old days

when we still lived our own lives

in our own country

we could hear

as faraway thunder

the caribou coming
two-three days in advance
when we did not count the animals, but knew
that when the caribou herd came
it would be seven days before
all the animals crossed the river
we did not count them
we had no quotas
we know only
that a child's weeping
or a seagull's cry
could frighten the animals away

then we know
that there's a balance
a life of mutual respect
between the animals and us

Today it is almost as if we are under arrest
the wardens are everywhere
we are interrogated constantly
in your hungering after more riches and land
you make us suspect
you force us to justify our very existence

On maps of the country
you draw points and lines
to show that we have been here
and are here today
here the caribou migrate
here the foxes run
here the birds nest
and here the fish spawn

You circumvent everything
demand that we prove
that we exist
that we use the land that was always ours

But now it is we who ask
With what right are *you* here?⁶

The Danes are portrayed as selfish, seeking their own honour and glory, misusing the Greenlanders' hospitality and slowly getting themselves involved in affairs that should be outside their realm, as in the title-poem "For the Honour and the Glory".

For the Honour and the Glory. . .

They explored and explored
in a country where they believed

no human beings
could live and dwell

They explored and explored
when they arrived they found people
who did not know any other
people except themselves

They explored and explored
and the hospitality was great
the curiosity boundless
but it was impossible to satisfy the guests

They explored and explored
everywhere they went
they examined the people
and bought their clothes, sleighs and equipment

They explored and explored
in such a big country
there cannot be enough humans
to name so many places

They explored and explored
and every island or fjord
river or mountain was named
to honour this or that or themselves

They explored and explored
and travelled back
with maps of the country
and descriptions of the lifestyle
for honour and glory
for medals and degrees
for having explored a country
where people live and dwell⁷

Arqaluk Lynge writes his poems in both Greenlandic and Danish, they are essentially the same — but not quite, as he explains:

I write in both languages. When I am in Denmark, I write in Danish; the Danish is written for a Danish audience, and then I write them again in Greenlandic for Greenlandic audiences. That means that even if it is the same poem, then the two languages can address themselves to two different audiences. And it is, of course, a fantastic possibility (ability) one has to be able to write in two languages.⁸

During the 1970s, Arqaluk Lynge wrote many poems and political essays about the situation in Greenland. His creativity led him to radio work at Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa (the Greenlandic Broadcasting Corporation) where he worked for close to ten years, and also into film work. He wrote, directed and produced the first, and so far only, feature-length

colour movie made by an Inuit, in 1971, entitled "Qutdligsat". (Though it had little success at the beginning, this film is presently the one that is most often shown in Danish schools.) It chronicles the demise of family and social structures in the small settlement of Qutdligsat which was forced to move because of plans made by bureaucrats far away. The film follows one Greenlandic family from its happy, though poor, Greenlandic hunting life in Qutdligsat through its transformation into an alienated wage-earner family in the big city, out of touch with its roots as depicted in "When My Picture Disappears":

When My Picture Disappears

Among the eternally travelling eskimos
there was no need to settle down
in one special place
But when the whites came and
found they could draw money from the ground
they built a mining town
and summoned the eternally travelling Inuit
before them

The old bearhunter
was among them
whom we met in the now-abandoned mining town
— manpower made superfluous
— re-socialization a failure
— four fish/per day/per net
— pro persona
hunting conditions not ideal
They pushed us away from our life
Now they hunt us
beg and entreat us
to display our dead life
the life that has vanished
We now sit and remember
draw some lines
sew some patches
whittle in wood, carve in stone
and here create our identity
as in the days when it was our own

Soon I'll be used up
empty and worn
yes, even my teeth will have fallen out
and no one will chew for me
my fingers will be stiff
and my strength diminished
what will be left
when my picture disappears?⁹

This is maybe the keynote in Arqaluk Lynge's poetry — how the modern Greenlander has lost touch with his roots and how necessary it is to hang onto them — not as dead museum pieces to be displayed for the benefit of the tourist and the anthropologist, but as living parts of their everyday life. Otherwise their picture, their image disappears.

In order to reaffirm these roots, Arqaluk Lynge resurrected the old traditional Inuit summer camp — a camp (like the ones still held in Canada) where people from surrounding settlements gather together in one place after a long hard winter to exchange stories, to discuss, to barter, to sing and dance, share traditional foods, possibly to find marriage partners, to discuss matters, and to make decisions which will affect the whole group. In 1976, Arqaluk Lynge founded the modern version of this old traditional summer camp. It is called *Aussivik*, and it has become the focal point for cultural renewal and affirmation in Greenland today. Every year since then, *Aussivik* has been held in a different place in Greenland. The week-long gathering is a focus for song and dance, as well as for social and political discussions. It is a main force in Greenlandic cultural life today.

Action on the cultural level needs to be supplemented by action on the political level; without a deep-rootedness in one's culture there is no basis for political action — without a measure of political independence, there can be no cultural independence. Thus, there is a deeply inter-related connection between culture and political independence. This is what Arqaluk Lynge's poetry is all about.

Therefore, concurrent with his resurrection of traditional Greenlandic cultural life, Arqaluk Lynge took political action too, and founded the *Inuit Ataqatigiit* party in 1976. It was then looked upon as a radical student party, though it was never, in any shape or form, a communist party as some North American political writers have made it out to be. "Soon We will Go Hunting" addresses itself to some of these criticisms:

Soon We Will Go Hunting

Revolutionary — romanticism
that's not me

Communism — I don't know what it is,
nor is it anything we speak about here.

But there is one thing that's completely wrong
no, actually all things

my boat — they've bought

my house — they've built

my daughter — they've taken

In a different way, they've also taken my son.

Nothing is mine anymore
Soon it's all theirs

Nobody tells me
What's wrong
I really do know
what it is:
it's the draft
it's the cold
it's the ice
that doesn't really hold
Soon we will go hunting¹⁰

Arqaluk Lynge is still the leader of the *Inuit Ataqatigiit* (Association of Inuit) party. It is a strong, pragmatic party based squarely on Greenlandic premises: Greenland for the Greenlanders. However, unlike what many commentators think, this does not imply a hatred of Danes, nor the wish to secede from Denmark, but an equal partnership with respect for each other.

The thoughts about Greenlandic self-government that had started in the student cafés of Copenhagen led, through years of political debate and negotiations, to the establishment of Greenlandic Home Rule with its own parliament in 1979, and today *Inuit Ataqatigiit* is no longer the youthful radical party of yesteryear; today it holds the balance of power in the new Greenlandic Parliament, and Arqaluk Lynge sits in the Cabinet as the Minister of Social Affairs and Housing. His love of Inuit life and his deep concern for its survival in the modern world opened his perspective wider than Greenland: he is concerned about an entire circumpolar Inuit homeland. Right from the founding of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Arqaluk Lynge saw the possibility of a Circumpolar Inuit Homeland and he has been fighting ever since to make it a reality. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference represents Inuit from Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Today he is the Greenlandic Vice-President of ICC. Arqaluk Lynge succeeded in negotiating the participation of Siberian Inuit at the 1987 *Aussivik* in Greenland. He has fought on all levels, personally, nationally, internationally, poetically and politically for the survival of the Inuit in the modern world.

Arqaluk Lynge's poetry gives an aesthetic voice to the generation which changed the course of his country, *Aussivik* and *Inuit Ataqatigiit* give political expression to these concerns. When he first began to write the poems in *For The Honour And The Glory*, the title was meant ironically, even disdainfully, but now the title has taken on new connotations — for Arqaluk Lynge's poetry and his other cultural and political works

have made it 'for the honour and the glory' of the Greenlanders themselves.

Notes

- ¹ Cf. the Québécois chansonniers and poets who played a vital role in 'la révolution tranquille' in Quebec in the 1960s and 70s where they summed up Québécois aspirations — some of these poets eventually ended up in the provincial government.
- ² Interview with Marianne Stenbæk, Nuuk; October 1984.
- ³ English translation of *Til Hæder og Ære — Tupigusullutik Angalapput*. Copenhagen: Brøndum, 1982. The English translation is by Drs. Marianne Stenbæk and Ken Norris.
- ⁴ (Composed on a cold day in January 1976). Unpublished English manuscript.
- ⁵ Interview, *op. cit.*
- ⁶ Unpublished English manuscript
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ Interview, *op. cit.*
- ⁹ Unpublished English manuscript.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Bibliography

- Berthelsen, Chr. and Langgaard, Per. *Grønlandsk Litteratur*. Copenhagen: Centrum, 1983.
- Lynge, Arqaluk. *Til Hæder og Ære — Tupigusullutik Angalapput*. Copenhagen: Brøndum, 1982.
- Nørregaard, Karen and Teglbjerg, Kirsten. *Nunarput*. Varde: Dansk lærerforening: Skov, 1985.

CONTRIBUTORS

MARINA ALLEMANO is a Sessional Lecturer in the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Alberta. She recently finished her Ph.D. thesis on "Historical Portraits and Visions," and she has published a number of articles on Scandinavian literature.

LEWIS R. FISCHER is Associate Professor of History at Memorial University of Newfoundland. He is currently Visiting Professor at the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen. Professor Fischer has published extensively in the field of maritime history.

HELGE V. NORDVIK teaches economic history and international business at the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen. He has co-authored a number of publications in economic and maritime history with Lewis R. Fischer.

PETER OHLIN is Professor of English at McGill University. He has published a critical study of James Agee and an analysis of the crisis in narrative film 1960-1970, as well as articles on literature and cinema.

HELGE Ø. PHARO chairs the Department of History at the University of Oslo. In 1986/87, he was Honorary Fellow in the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin. Professor Pharo has published works on Norwegian and U.S. foreign policies, Norway and European integration, Norwegian development aid, and Norwegian economic history.

WILLIAM SAYERS is Director of Communications at the Council of Ontario Universities in Toronto. Medieval Norse-Celtic relations are among Dr. Sayer's research interests.

MARIANNE STENBÆK is Co-director of the Centre for Northern Studies and Research at McGill University. For many years, she has had a special interest in Greenland and the Canadian North and she has published widely in that field. Dr. Stenbæk is also Associate Professor of English at McGill University.

PAUL WALSH has recently completed his Ph.D. thesis for the Graduate Centre for Study of Drama at the University of Toronto. His thesis deals with realism and history in the early Strindberg.

J. DONALD WILSON is Professor of Educational History in the Social and Educational Studies Department in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia. He has published widely on Canadian educational history and the history of Finns in Canada.

THE EDITOR

GURLI AAGAARD WOODS teaches Comparative Literature at Carleton University. Her research interests include Scandinavian and Canadian women writers between 1880 and 1940. She has coordinated/edited two *cahiers* in the series *Les Littératures de Langues Européennes au Tournant du Siècle: Lectures d'Aujourd'hui*, published by the Groupe de Recherches International "1900" (Carleton University), as well as the *AASSC Newsletter* (1981-85). She chaired the committee which formed the AASSC in 1981/82, and she is currently President of the Association.

The Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies in Canada/L'Association pour l'Avancement des Études Scandinaves au Canada (AASSC/AAESC) has undertaken the publication of *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada* as part of its program to promote and encourage the development of Scandinavian studies in all fields and disciplines in this country.

The third volume of the publication contains 8 articles, most of which have been presented at AASSC conferences. The volume covers a wide variety of topics from literature and film to historico-political and socio-cultural studies.

Orders for copies of *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études Scandinaves au Canada* and requests for further information regarding membership in the AASSC should be addressed to:

Dr. Gurli Aagaard Woods
AASSC/AAESC
c/o Comparative Literature
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6
Canada

ISBN 0-9691476-2-7
ISSN 0823-1796