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OLAVI KOIVUKANGAS:

Scandinavian Immigration and
Settlement in Australia
before World War II

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE WORLD WAR II

by
OLAVI KOIVUKANGAS

Kokkola 1974
Keski-Pohjanmaan Kirjapaino Oy

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In the past two years I have received many letters from Australia and other countries requiring a copy of my dissertation on Scandinavian migration to Australia completed at the Australian National University in 1972. As the thesis is the only study in this field written since World War II it was considered appropriate to have it published. Due to rising printing costs this was decided to be done by offset, and the publication was financed by the Institute for Migration recently founded in Finland.

Turku, August 21, 1974

Olavi Koivukangas
Institute for Migration
University of Turku
Finland

Additional Legend and Note for Map I

Regions and Counties

DENMARK (Regions)

1. Sjælland
2. Bornholm
3. Lolland - Falster
4. Fyn
5. Jylland

SWEDEN (Counties)

South

1. Malmöhus
2. Kristianstad
3. Blekinge
4. Halland
5. Kronoberg
6. Jonköping
7. Kalmar
8. Gotland

Central

9. Östergötland
10. Skaraborg
11. Älvsborg
12. Göteborg-Bohuslän
13. Södermanland
14. Uppsala
15. Västmanland
16. Stockholm
17. Örebro
18. Värmland

North

19. Kopparberg
20. Gävleborg
21. Jämtland
22. Västernorrland
23. Västerbotten
24. Norrbotten

NORWAY (Counties)

Ostlandet

1. Østfold
2. Akershus
3. Oslo
4. Hedmark
5. Oppland
6. Buskerud
7. Vestfold
8. Telemark

Sorlandet

9. Aust-Agder
10. Vest-Agder

Vestlandet

11. Rogaland
12. Hordaland
13. Bergen
14. Sogn og Fjordane
15. Møre og Romsdal

Trondelag

16. Sør-Trøndelag
17. Nord-Trøndelag

Nord-Norge

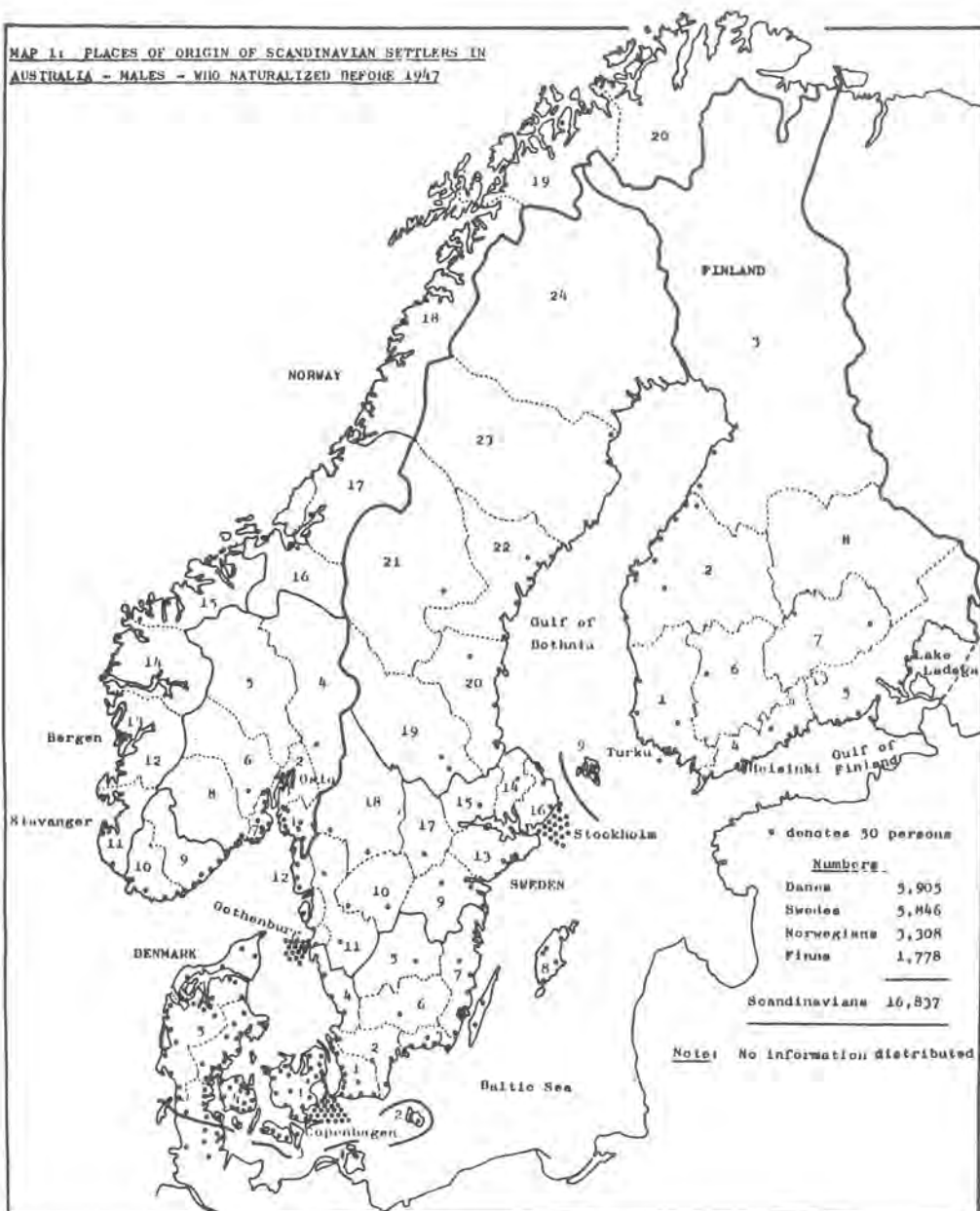
18. Nordland
19. Troms
20. Finnmark

FINLAND (Counties)

1. Turku-Pori
2. Vaasa
3. Oulu
4. Uusimaa
5. Viipuri
6. Häme
7. Mikkelä
8. Kuopio
9. Åhvenanmaa (Åland)

Note: The most conspicuous feature of Map I, showing the birthplaces of the Scandinavian male settlers who became naturalized before 1947, is the high proportions coming from coastal areas, particularly from large seaports. This coastal and seaport origin characterizes Scandinavian migrations to Australia in periods when the voyage to the Antipodes was both long, expensive and dangerous; it was much easier for seamen to reach Australia while for an ordinary Scandinavian emigrant America was the place to go.

MAP 1: PLACES OF ORIGIN OF SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS IN
AUSTRALIA - MALES - WHO NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947



Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II

by

Olavi Koivukangas

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Research School
of Social Sciences at The Australian National University

1972

This dissertation is based upon original research conducted by the author as a scholar in the Department of Demography at The Australian National University, February 1969 to February 1972.



Olavi Koivukangas

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Upon the completion of a task lasting three years I avail myself of an ancient academic privilege and thank the Australian National University for a generous scholarship and my supervisors Drs Charles A. Price and Egon F. Kunz for their never failing interest and friendly help at all the stages of the study. I wish also to thank Mr R.C. Sharman, the Archives Officer of the Research School of Social Sciences, and Dr C. Holbraad, a Dane by birth, for reading much of the manuscript and for valuable criticism and suggestions. I am also grateful for the courteous assistance received from the Staff of the Menzies Library, Australian National University, the National Library, Canberra, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the Archives Office of New South Wales, the Archives Section of the Queensland State Library, and other libraries and archives. I also wish to thank the Finnish community in Australia for helpfully providing accomodation and transport whenever needed during the field work. My thanks are also due to Mrs Elaine Ballestrin for typing and Mrs Morag Cameron for the final drawing of the charts. I would also like to thank my wife, who not only followed me half way round the world and participated with me in the heavy role of the migrant, but also gave me her support and help throughout the work.

Finally, according to an academic tradition I add that though the persons and institutions above have been most helpful, I am alone responsible for any shortcomings of this study.

PRECIS

This dissertation outlines the course of Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia from the earliest days of European penetration to World War II; and analyses the demographic profile, and surveys certain aspects of the integration of the Scandinavian immigrants themselves. It utilizes Australian census, migration, marriage and other statistics, colonial and Commonwealth naturalization records, documents and newspapers, interviews with settlers and their descendants; it also uses certain Scandinavian and other sources. In handling these materials a combined demographic and historical approach was used: after official statistics and archival data revealed the patterns of immigration and settlement, materials from other sources were used to enlarge and illustrate the story. Though using some demographic methods this work is basically a contribution of a social historian to the field of human migration.

The study first gives a general picture of Scandinavia and its overseas emigration (causes, volume and destinations). This reveals that only a trickle of Scandinavian emigration reached the remote coasts of Australia (the main flow being directed to the United States); but that much of what Scandinavian immigration to Australia took place did so outside official records; mainly when seamen were paid out or deserted their ships in Australian ports. A few brief words on Australian immigration follow.

Scandinavians in Australian waters can be traced back to the crews of Abel Tasman and other Dutch navigators of the unknown coasts of Terra Australis Incognita, in the era of Dutch exploration in the seventeenth century. When Captain James Cook in 1770 raised the British flag on the eastern coasts of the unknown continent he was accompanied by two Scandinavian scientists: Dr D.C. Solander, a Swede, and H.D. Sporing, a Finn. The best known of the early Scandinavians in Australia was a Dane, Jorgen Jorgenson, called 'King of Iceland' and 'Convict King'. Other prominent early settlers were the Archer brothers from Norway and Sir Edward Knox, the founder of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Altogether a few hundred Scandinavians had settled in Australian colonies when the gold era of the 1850s saw the first important inflow of Scandinavians.

Scandinavian seamen and those already on the Californian fields were the first to respond to the call of gold in 1851. Interest in Australian gold was particularly great in Denmark where the Three Year War of Schleswig-Holstein had just ended, causing a spirit of restlessness and willingness to use the emigration facilities of the nearby seaport of Hamburg. Soon young Scandinavians, eager for adventure and hungry for gold, were on the long voyage to the Antipodes. Because of the dangers of the voyage and language difficulties, Scandinavians often arrived in groups and also kept together on the goldfields. Altogether some 5,000 Scandinavians were attracted by the Australian gold in the 1850s and 1860s. They were most numerous at Ballarat, Bendigo, McIvor and on other Victorian goldfields. Many Scandinavians were educated men, and they soon developed ethnic social activities; at Ballarat having a Scandinavian society - even a newspaper in 1857. After a shorter or longer period on the goldfields some Scandinavians made their fortune and returned to the land of their birth; some sought other claims or engaged in a similar quest in New Zealand or even in South America; some went back to seafaring; many remained in the Australian colonies, often settling on the land, forming some ethnic congregations, the best known being the Danish settlement at East Poowong, Victoria. This change is aptly called 'from mines to soil'.

The main immigration of Scandinavians before 1940 took place between 1870 and 1914. It started with the Queensland assisted passage scheme and the Tasmanian land offer to immigrants who paid their fares to the colony. The Tasmanian land offer attracted only a handful of Danes, but assisted passages brought thousands of Scandinavians to Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s, many of them later to move to other colonies. Simultaneously there occurred a voluminous immigration of Scandinavian seamen who manned the ships and wharves of rapidly developing Australia. After 1890 these Australian 'pull' factors - assisted passages and good opportunities for seamen and labourers - weakened because of an economic depression resulting in a conspicuous drop in arrivals, except to Western Australia where gold discoveries attracted many Scandinavians from the eastern colonies as well as from Europe.

At the turn of the century assisted passages were again granted for a while to Scandinavians by the Queensland government. This group

included almost a hundred Finnish socialists who arrived to establish a utopian society. The venture failed and the leader, Matti Kurikka, and many of his supporters left for Canada for a similar attempt; others of the group settled at Nambour near Brisbane to form a compact group settlement.

After a relatively voluminous immigration in the years preceding World War I the wave receded in the 1920s, with the exception of the Finns who found it difficult to enter the United States after the quota laws of 1921 and 1924. Scandinavian immigration was then negligible until the middle of the 1950s when the large-scale assisted passage schemes were extended to the Scandinavian countries giving a new impetus to immigration, notably from Finland.

In broad historical perspective, a major thesis of this study is that Scandinavian migration to Australia has always arisen from some special impulse: adventure, lure of gold, assisted passages to overcome the disadvantages of long distances, economic opportunities, especially good wages for seamen, etc. Without these 'pull' components Australia would not have attracted many Scandinavians.

Scandinavians were scattered all over Australia and their settlement can best be called infiltration settlement, where migrants arriving individually found a niche for themselves, as distinct from organized group settlements. Only Danes and Finns had any substantial group settlements resulting from chain-migration.

In occupation adjustment a low status background affected absorption into the Australian economic system. Most Scandinavians belonged to lower social strata: the maritime occupations, general labouring, farming, and skilled craftsmanship covered almost three-quarters of all the listed occupations of male settlers naturalized before 1947. The Danes had the highest occupational status and the Finns the lowest. While the Danes often preferred farming the other three nationalities tended to prefer maritime occupations. The most valuable contribution in the development of Australia has been that of Scandinavian seamen, farmers, miners and carpenters.

This dissertation also studied some demographic features of Scandinavian immigrants and found, first, that most of them were young

adults on arrival. Second, it found a very uneven sex distribution: one female to three males among Danes and one female to ten males among the other three nationalities. Due to the scarcity of new immigration, the Scandinavian-born populations aged rapidly; by 1947 most of the old settlers had died, an exception being the Finns who had received relatively strong reinforcements of new blood in the 1920s. A large proportion of the Scandinavian male population remained unmarried, and those married in most cases had wives of British origin. Inter-marriage was less frequent among Finns and Danes, indicating that they assimilated slower than the Swedes and Norwegians.

Ethnic institutions - societies, churches, and press - were weak among the Scandinavians and, partly as a result, the English language rapidly became predominant (with the exception of Finnish in the group settlements of northern Queensland where the Finns were in the first stage of adjustment between the wars). Longevity of ethnic institutions and retention of language are considered important factors in social and cultural adjustment; these were strongest among Finns and Danes, suggesting that these two groups assimilated more slowly than did Swedes and Norwegians. Even here Scandinavian-Australian institutions did not reach the majority of Scandinavian settlers, so doing little to assist them in maintaining ethnic identity.

Speaking generally, a major finding of this thesis is that Scandinavians assimilated quickly, significant factors being the similarity of Scandinavian and British backgrounds, wide geographical dispersal and economic absorption, extensive inter-marriage with wives of British origin, lack of continuous immigration, and weak ethnic societies, churches and press to act against the strong trends towards assimilation. The observations of a New Zealand historian (Lochore), that Scandinavians melted away into the British population like snow on the Wellington hills, also holds good in Australia. Finnish settlers lagged somewhat behind, however, partly because of language differences and partly because of more substantial group settlements.

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ABBREVIATIONS

N.S.W.	New South Wales
Vic.	Victoria
Qld	Queensland
Tas.	Tasmania
S.A.	South Australia
W.A.	Western Australia
A.C.T.	Australian Capital Territory
N.T.	Northern Territory
CA	Commonwealth Archives, Canberra
NA	New South Wales Archives Office, Sydney
QA	Archives Section, Public Library of Queensland, Brisbane
ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
HRNSW	Historical Records of New South Wales
PP	Parliamentary Papers
QPP	Queensland Parliamentary Papers
V & P	Votes and Proceedings (of a Legislative Assembly)

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

"As the world of birds for convenience sake is divided into the three sections - home birds, migrating birds, and emigrating birds, mankind may be classified into three analogous groups - home people, sailors, and emigrants."

Jens Lyng, History of the Scandinavians
in Australasia, Melbourne
1907, p.21.

Aim of Study

This study concerns the second Viking period of the Scandinavian people - this time more peaceful and over longer distances. These descendants of Vikings, who travelled half way round the world to live in the Antipodes, were peaceful settlers mostly willing to adopt the culture and customs of the society in which they settled. However, there was still present the old spirit of adventure and a strong desire to explore unknown regions rather than to accept the traditional occupations suggested by family or home surroundings.

From the early days of modern Australia some Scandinavians have found their way to this remote continent. But very little is known about these Nordic immigrants. When in 1966 the publication Australian Immigration reviewed the state of Australian research in the field of immigration, its editor found some areas and ethnic groups relatively well covered, whereas other areas and groups, such as the Finns, Russians and Spaniards, had received practically no attention at all.¹ There is a little more on Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, but no new monographs have been published for decades, and the earlier are in great need of review.

One reason why Scandinavians have been somewhat overlooked by social historians may be their small numbers in proportion to the total Australian population (at the best only about half a per cent at the turn of the century). The size of an ethnic group, however, is not always the main factor which makes it noticeable, as ethnocentric Jewish populations in many countries indicate. It is assumed a priori that Scandinavians in Australia settled thinly all over the continent and infiltrated fairly quickly into the Australian population; consequently they have not been noticed adequately in Australian development.² Since, after the Germans, the next important foreign infusion to Australia's early population came

1

Charles A. Price, Australian Immigration; A Bibliography and Digest, ed. Charles A. Price, Canberra 1966, pp viii-ix.

2

See W.D. Borrie, "Some aspects of migrant assimilation in Australia", a paper delivered to Section 'E', Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Brisbane, May 1951, p.4.

from the Scandinavian countries,¹ obviously here lies a gap in Australian research. This study attempts to lessen the gap.²

The aim of this dissertation is to outline, by relevant historical, demographic, and sociological methods, Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia from the earliest days of European penetration until the outbreak of World War II; also to analyse the demographic profile and integration of these immigrants. The study falls into three main parts:

- (i) Introduction and Scandinavian - Australian backgrounds;
- (ii) Immigration, settlement, and related ethnic activities (social, religious etc.);
- (iii) Summary of demographic features and conclusions of immigration, settlement and socio-cultural adjustment.

Although our focus will be on the second and third sections, some background information is essential for understanding the whole migration process³ and to comprehend it in its larger setting. For similar reasons the dissertation contains a little on general Scandinavian emigration overseas (causes, volume and destinations) and on general Australian immigration.

With the background established, Scandinavian immigration to Australia will be surveyed in the following periods: early settlers before the gold discoveries of the 1850s, the gold rushes, the main

1

J.G. Holmes, "The Influence of Foreign Settlers in the Development of Australia", The Australian Quarterly, X, 3, September 1938, p.22.

2

A major concern of the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, since its establishment in 1951, has been studies of immigration to Australia, as a member of the Department states: "...it is one of our tasks to help members of various ethnic groups produce books in the tradition of the best literary and scientific ethnic histories". C.A. Price, "A survey of the study of immigration and assimilation", The Study of Immigrants in Australia, Proceedings of Conference on Immigration Research, ed. C.A. Price, Canberra 1960, p.3.

3

Charles A. Price: "...every physical and social trait of the place of origin has some relevance in the country of settlement". Southern Europeans in Australia, Melbourne 1963, p.17.

immigration (1870-World War I), and interwar immigration. This part also analyses the settling down and occupational integration of each wave of Scandinavians. In this context specific forms of migration, notably assisted passages and seafarer immigration, will be examined to discover any relationships between socio-economic background, immigration processes, and geographic-occupational distribution in Australia. In settlement, tendencies for segregation or group cohesion and connections between the types of occupations will also be investigated, as facets of structural assimilation.¹ Occupational analysis is not only essential for an understanding of the process of migration but also for an insight into ecological adjustment in a new environment; a person's residence is usually closely related to a particular occupation - in fact these two factors are often inseparable.²

Alongside with immigration and settlement the second part will try to give at least partial answers to questions about socio-cultural adjustment of Scandinavian settlers in their new environment, concentrating on ethnic social and religious activities, on the migrant press and language retention. This work, however, does not claim to be a comprehensive history of Scandinavian societies, churches and other institutions but rather regards these as facets of assimilation. It is assumed that ethnic social, religious, and cultural organizations help the migrant to maintain his ethnic identity - and thus resist assimilation - though they can also greatly assist adjustment in a new environment, especially that of a recently arrived migrant. It would, however, be misleading to limit the social activities of Scandinavians to their ethnic institutions; the study will therefore try also to give some idea of the informal life of Scandinavians.

1

Jerzy Zubrzycki, "Some Aspects of Structural Assimilation of Immigrants in Australia", *International Migration*, VI, 3, 1968, p.102, defined the term, based on Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, New York 1964, as "the process by which the immigrants and their descendants have become distributed in the social and occupational structure and have entered the political, social and cultural organizations of the receiving society". This study uses this concept for geographic and occupational adjustment and includes the other aspects in behavioural assimilation. 'Assimilation' will be defined pp 13-14

2

Price, *Southern Europeans*, pp 140-141

The last part, the concluding section, will analyse some demographic features of Scandinavian immigrants: age at arrival, sex-age structure, conjugal condition and intermarriage. The last chapter will then attempt to pull together the various threads running through the study, draw some general conclusions on the immigration, settlement, and adjustment of the Scandinavian immigrants, and attempt to assess the nature and importance of the whole movement.

It would have been very pleasant to have also covered Scandinavian immigration and settlement since World War II, especially since the post-war years have seen a revival of immigration. This was impossible, for several reasons. First, a thorough survey of the century and a half before 1940 required all the time available for the dissertation. Second, the major source of information - the naturalization records - were only available until 1947. (Here I would like to thank the Commonwealth Department of Immigration for giving me special permission to see records between 1929 - the year from which official records became closed to the public - and 1947). Third, the closer one comes to the present the more one becomes involved in problems of social survey and examination of persons and communities still alive and changing. As the main interest of this dissertation is historical it seemed better, and much tidier and more compact, to stop the analysis at World War II and leave the post-war period for another time.

Review of Former Research

The only comprehensive works on Scandinavians in Australia are the books by Jens Sorensen Lyng.¹ Lyng was born near Aarhus in Denmark, 1868, and arrived in Australia in 1891 having been a lieutenant in the

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J. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne 1927, 2nd Ed. 1935; and The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific, Melbourne 1939. Lyng had earlier published History of the Scandinavians in Australasia, Melbourne 1907; and a Danish version Skandinaverne i Australien i det Nittende Aarhundrede (Scandinavians in Australia in the Nineteenth Century), Melbourne 1901. The information of these early attempts is mainly available in the two formerly mentioned works. Also his articles published in the Scandinavian-Australian paper Norden, Melbourne 1896-1940, contain useful information.

Danish Army; later in Australia, while still on the reserve of officers, he was promoted to captain. First he became the secretary to the famous botanist, Baron von Muller, and in 1896 founded, with some other Scandinavians, the newspaper Norden in Melbourne, becoming editor for the first ten years. Later he worked as a civil servant in the Commonwealth Department of Census and Statistics, as the Librarian in the later years, until he retired in 1933; he died in 1943.¹ He had a varied journalistic career and was the author of several books, both scholarly and literary.

Lyng's book Non-Britishers in Australia is an outline history of the non-British element in Australia, including Scandinavians. Its main value lies in the summary history of each ethnic minority (although some chapters are very short and inaccurate, such as that on the Finns),² and the light it throws upon the contribution of non-Britishers to the populating and developing of Australia. Lyng's main work, The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific, published in 1939, is a general history of Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in Australia, emphasizing the first group, the author's own countrymen. It contains valuable observations on their assimilation and provides biographical sketches of prominent Scandinavians in Australia. These two books make a good starting point for further research.

Unfortunately, Lyng, a self-educated historian, did not provide any bibliography or list of sources, though he says that his work was 'founded on notes collected during a period of forty-four years'.³ Also Lyng's racial views, above all his conviction about the superiority of Nordic people, were forcibly expressed in Non-Britishers in Australia, and strongly influenced his sections on the Chinese and Japanese. These

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About Lyng see "The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific by J. Lyng", Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal, XXVII, 2, February 1940, pp. 43, 77; and "The Late Captain Jens Lyng, F.R.G.S., Danish Author and Historian of Scandinavians in Australia", journal cit., XXX, 5, May 1943, p. 101.

2

Lyng, Non-Britishers (1935 Ed. will be used in this study), pp. 139-141, 249.

3

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p. 205.

views may not have affected his account of Scandinavians nearly so much, mainly because he knew them best. Nevertheless this racial approach is definitely one of his major weaknesses.

Some other writers have, while writing on Australian migration, dealt in passing with the Scandinavian element in Australia, notably W.D. Borrie.¹ These writers, however, and Lyng himself, refer mainly to the 'traditional' Scandinavians: Danes, Swedes and Norwegians - and usually omit the other peoples of Scandinavia viz. Finns and Icelanders. Lyng himself wrote only a few pages on Finns and totally omitted Icelanders. In the present study Icelanders will be included with Danes, partly because they were few in number (a dozen or so) and partly because Iceland was a Danish dominion until 1944 and consequently many Iceland-born persons were Danes.

The main emphasis of these studies is on numbers arriving, places of settlement, occupations and notable personalities. Other references to Scandinavians in Australia may be found in books on Australia published in the Scandinavian languages, containing occasional references to migrants. They will be discussed later in connection with literary sources.

Main Definitions

This section defines the main terms used in the study. Other definitions will appear as appropriate.

(a) Scandinavia

The word 'Scandinavia' has come down from antiquity. Numerous scholars have tried to interpret it linguistically and to identify it geographically. There seems to be general agreement that Scandinavia is a compound word of true Nordic origin, conveying some notion of insularity, possibly originally meaning 'Fog Island' or 'Island of

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Borrie, "Some aspects of migrant assimilation in Australia", Brisbane, May 1951, reprinted 44 pp. passim; and Italians and Germans in Australia, Melbourne 1954, pp.42-46, includes a short survey on Scandinavians.

Darkness' ¹ This study uses the term simply to refer to Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden as the source countries of Scandinavian migration to Australia.

Traditionally 'Scandinavia' has been a general designation for the three North European kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, but it is sometimes applied in a more restricted sense to the latter two, meaning only the Scandinavian peninsula. Culturally and historically the Scandinavian nations are usually considered also to include Iceland, under Danish rule between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries, and Finland which was politically joined to Sweden for more than six centuries before 1809. The ethnographic, political and cultural developments of these countries are closely enough related to make them historically inseparable.

Some people may query the inclusion of Finland in Scandinavia, as Finns have a Finno-Ugrian and not Teutonic background. However, there are good reasons for so doing, particularly in this study. First, although Swedish rule in Finland ceased in 1809, there was much similarity in culture and way of life and in the Protestant religion. Also the Swedish tongue remained the language of the higher social strata and of those coastal regions which had been settled by Swedish immigrants. It is estimated that in the eighteenth century about 20 per cent of the population of Finland was of Swedish origin, but that this percentage had fallen in 1880 to 14.3 per cent and to 7.4 per cent in 1960.² Second, the true Finns have a considerable percentage of Scandinavian blood. In addition the majority of Scandinavian migrants to Australia came from coasts and islands including many Swedish speaking Finns from areas in southern and western coasts occupied by settlers of Swedish origin.

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For more detailed discussion of the origin of the word see Fridtjov Isachsen, "Norden", A Geography of Norden; Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, ed. Axel Somme, 3rd revised Ed., Bergen 1968, pp.13-14 and the corresponding footnotes p 19

2

Helmer Smeds, "Finland", A Geography of Norden, p 166

The geographically and historically marginal Schleswig-Holstein, two duchies occupying the southern part of the peninsula of Jutland,¹ presents another kind of problem. For many centuries this area has been a battlefield between Danes and Germans, though with a general tendency for most people in northern Schleswig eventually to identify themselves as Danes and most people in southern Schleswig and Holstein eventually to identify themselves as Germans; from very early days indeed Schleswig had been treated as a fief of the Danish crown and Holstein as a member of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1806, after the dissolution of the Empire, the two duchies had been eventually incorporated in Denmark but in 1815 the Congress of Vienna, while leaving the duchies under Danish rule, insisted that Holstein be a member of the Germanic Confederation. In the revolutionary year of 1848 the estates of Schleswig-Holstein temporarily united in demanding a 'liberal' constitution, and called upon the German Confederation, with Prussian troops as agents, to drive the Danish forces away. Prussia was later forced to withdraw by a threat of war from England, Russia and Sweden, and the two duchies were returned to Denmark, as a separate and indivisible unit. In 1863 a new king, Christian IX, virtually incorporated Schleswig in Denmark, so provoking German anger and the occupation of both the duchies by Prussian and Austrian troops. Some years later, after the Austro-Prussian War, they were made a province of Prussia. After World War I the Allies left Holstein in Germany but arranged a plebiscite in Schleswig, the northern area voting for inclusion in Denmark and the southern area for inclusion in Germany. Small Danish and German minorities still remain on both sides of the present border.

Considering the history of the two duchies, it is no wonder that many Schleswig-Holsteiners have emigrated to more peaceful parts of the world. Political uncertainty in these provinces caused emigration, especially after the Three Years War of 1848-51 when defeated liberation soldiers, though granted a general amnesty, could not expect a worthwhile future at home.² The war of 1864 and the delivery of the duchies

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In the statistics and their interpretations the Danish form Jylland will be used.

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Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Cambridge, Mass. 1945, p.293.

including about 200,000 Danes to Prussia and Austria gave a new impetus to emigration, especially when young men tried to avoid Prussian conscription. The majority of these emigrants went to the United States, but many also sailed for Australia, mainly attracted by the lure of the goldfields. Naturalization records indicate that a number of persons from these countries arrived in Australia after the middle of the nineteenth century. In the present study Schleswig-Holsteiners are omitted, unless their allegiance to Denmark has been specifically stated in documents, such as forms of application for naturalization.

As a geographical term Scandinavia is nowadays less common and the term 'Norden' has gained more favour, especially since World War I. This development is at present being hastened by economic integration and by cultural and other forms of co-operation between the five countries. However, this term is internationally less known than Scandinavia, but will be used in this study occasionally as synonymous for Scandinavia, as will the terms 'Northern' or 'Nordic' countries.

(b) Migration

'Migration' derives from the Latin 'migrare', to change one's residence, but nowadays scholars use it to denote changing one's community.¹ When we equate a nation with a community we are covering international migration, 'emigration' being the term for migration away from one country and 'immigration' for migration into a country.² Movements of people within the boundaries of a single state will be called 'internal migration'.

International migration - as well as conquest and colonization - may be defined as a movement of individuals and families, often over a considerable distance from one country, often old and densely settled, to another, often new and sparsely populated, with the intention of

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William Peterson, "Migration; Social Aspects", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 10, 1968, p. 287.

²

Mabel A. Elliot and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganisation, 3rd Ed., New York 1950, p. 578, note 7.

effecting a relatively lasting change of permanent residence.¹ The journey from Scandinavia to Australia, covering twelve thousand miles, is obviously a significant distance, but the question of a lasting change of permanent residence is in this connection a more difficult one to answer, as a comprehensive view of international migration must include temporary as well as permanent movements. The definition excludes all transitory travellers for temporary business purposes and pleasure, but includes persons who, though changing jobs and homes, intended to return later to their original country.

Some writers have distinguished other kinds of international movement with the same intentions and durations as that given above, notably invasion, conquest and colonization.² These distinctions are often somewhat forced, at any rate in the Australian context. Thus the British and Scandinavian settlers moving into the north and west of Queensland in the late nineteenth century could be held to have been invading and conquering aboriginal territory. Likewise, those Scandinavians who joined the first 'colonists' in South Australia or New Zealand under the plans of Wakefield, and the 'systematic colonizers' can be regarded either as colonists or migrants. Definitions are always relative, and each analyst has to adapt to the available data and work out definitions of his own. There is no need to become involved in fine discrimination here; the only common characteristic found by the author in various definitions was that the migrant is a person who travels for purposes other than short business and pleasure trips. This is also a suitable definition of Scandinavian migration to Australia and the one used in this study. The study itself traces the movements of Scandinavians from Europe to Australia in the nineteenth and first half

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Brinley Thomas, "Migration; Economic Aspects", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 10, pp.292-93; and W.D. Borrie, "Immigration", Australian Encyclopaedia, 5, 1965, p.65; and Henry Pratt Fairchild, Immigration, New York 1925, p.30; and Julius Isaac, Economics of Migration, London 1947, p.3.

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Fairchild, p.13; and Isaac, pp.1-2; and D.R. Taft and R. Robbins, International Migrations, New York 1955, pp 19-20. Later William Petersen, The Politics of Population, New York 1964, modified this typology. See also Charles Price, "The Study of Assimilation", Australian Immigration, I, ed. Charles A. Price, Canberra 1966.

of the twentieth centuries, to result in some staying permanently and some staying several years or more before leaving again.

The term chain migration denotes a movement of relatives and friends from specific localities - a village, district, or region - in Scandinavia to another locality in Australia, often encouraged by letters, visits or even by financial assistance from Australia, often resulting in compact settlements of people from the same area of origin. The term originates from the 'chain-letter' system of migration noted in the United States of America early in the twentieth century but has subsequently taken on the additional sense of a 'migration-chain' linking particular places of origin with particular places of settlement.¹

(c) Australia

The purpose is to study Scandinavian migration to the continent of Australia including Tasmania. Some notes and comparisons will be made concerning New Zealand and other near destinations because migration to them has often been closely connected with that to Australia. Further comparisons with Scandinavian migration to America and other distant destinations will be provided when needed, to reveal the larger setting of Scandinavian emigration.

(d) Settler

In this study 'settler' refers to those migrants who arrived with the intention of settling for a considerable period of time in Australia, or who - whatever their original intention may have been - in fact remained in Australia for many years. Many of these later applied for naturalization, which explains why the naturalization records are taken as a major source of information about settlers and why, at times, those naturalized are for convenience equated with those settling.

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Hansen, The Atlantic Migration; and W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, New York 1927, 3rd Ed., 1958; and R.A. Lochore, From Europe to New Zealand, Wellington 1951; and Price, Southern Europeans.

Settlers who did not become naturalized appear only in census and similar statistics, but are there combined with the transitory population of seamen, tourists, short term gold-diggers and businessmen only temporarily in Australia; unfortunately it is virtually impossible to separate these various elements out in any systematic way. The terms 'migrants' or 'Scandinavians' will be used to describe the whole population - settler and transient.

(e) Assimilation

This study regards assimilation as a mutual process of integration,¹ or as Ronald Taft put it: "the process whereby the immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of interaction".² This definition is wide enough when we remember that in practice it is the migrant who does most of the changing. This study uses 'assimilation' to cover the whole process of change, from the first contact with the host society to the final state of invisibility,³ though that was not achieved by all first-generation settlers. The term 'integration' does not imply the eventual loss of a separate ethnic identity but rather a situation where immigrants and host society have reached a reasonably amicable modus vivendi and value each other's contribution to their common life; it virtually refers to a stage of incomplete assimilation and is sometimes used in that way.

The measurement of assimilation implies a comparative analysis of economic, social and cultural differences by selecting indices to measure the degree of attenuation.⁴ This involves examining cultural similarities between the countries of origin and adoption, the size of

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Brinley Thomas, "Migration; Economic Aspects", p.299.

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Ronalf Taft, From Stranger to Citizen, Perth 1965, p.4.

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See Price, Southern Europeans, pp.200-203.

⁴

Borrie, "Some aspects", p.3.

minority groups,¹ the dispersal or concentration of settlement, the character of the age and sex distributions, and the extent of marriages outside a particular ethnic group. Some regard this last as the ultimate test of assimilation.

This study does not involve itself in any systematic research of all the dimensions of assimilation (economic, social, political, psychological etc.) but rather, with its primarily historical approach, is content to draw some general conclusions about the process of Scandinavian integration and assimilation into British-Australian society.

Sources

This section discusses, in general terms, the most important sources for this study. Due to the considerable length of time covered a variety of sources will be utilized, starting with official publications and archival sources.

(a) Official Publications concerning Immigration

Generally speaking only three kinds of statistical data about migrants exist: (1) movement statistics, i.e. records of persons who pass some check point such as a border station or port of entry; (2) statistics compiled by government or private agencies concerning migration schemes; e.g. those published in the reports of the colonial Emigration Commissioners or the Commonwealth Department of Immigration about numbers coming under various schemes of public assistance; and (3) censuses of residents which usually (i) record the population by persons

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With the exception of groups characterized by colour or marked cultural differences the rate of assimilation tends to be correlated inversely with a group's size; e.g. a small ethnic and racial group often shows a stronger tendency to marry outside than does a larger group. George Eaton Simpson, "Assimilation", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1, 1968, pp. 439, 441. However, as Borrie, Italians and Germans, p. 46, pointed out, among groups such as the Chinese and Jews, more important than the smallness of the minority groups have been cultural differences and dispersed or concentrated settlement. For the Scandinavians in Australia, however, the case holds good.

born in the area of enumeration and persons born elsewhere; and (ii) give period of residence in Australia for persons born overseas.

Colonial migration statistics give no separate information about movements of Scandinavian people. In 1902, however, the Commonwealth Government began publishing statistics on the nationalities of persons arriving in Australia and, in 1914, similar statistics for departures. In 1924 arrivals and departures were divided into temporary and permanent, the latter consisting of persons having the intention of staying more than twelve months. In 1957-8 the categories were changed to 'short-term', 'long-term', and 'permanent', because many persons came to Australia only for a couple of years. Also a birthplace category was added.

In the colonial era migration was a very vague statistical concept. What movement statistics existed were compiled by Colonial Registrars whose criteria were diverse and who had the habit of including all persons who passed through their ports en route to another Australian port.¹ From the Commonwealth period reasonably reliable figures are available. However, when after 1924 the proposed length of residence was stated by the traveller on arrival, problems of change in intention or mis-statements arose. Thus the figures covering total arrivals and departures are more suitable since they relate to facts and not only intentions.

Migration agency statistics are, as far as Scandinavians are concerned, mainly Australian. Colonial Emigration Commissioners were responsible for organizing British migration but occasionally they mention other immigrants, notably German. There are a few references to Scandinavian immigration in the Reports of Commissioners, especially for Queensland in the 1870s and again at the turn of the century when assisted passages were made available also for Scandinavians. These are contemporary official documents and seem reliable sources.

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R.T. Appleyard, *British Emigration to Australia*, Canberra 1964, p.28, Note 1; and W D. Borrie, "Immigration to the Australian Colonies 1861-1901", an unpublished paper, Department of Demography, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Censuses provide useful information after 1870 and 1871 in some colonies, and in 1881 the numbers of Danes and Swedes-Norwegians (either together or separately) are available for the whole of Australia.¹ But Finns, with few exceptions, were included with Russians until 1921. The censuses are a major source of information on the extent of immigration and settlement but are less satisfactory on such matters as occupations, intermarriage, language retention; in short, on integration.

It is commonly appreciated that all data collected by a census or sample survey contain errors in classifications.² In the case of Scandinavians in the censuses there are some problems.

First, especially in the earlier censuses, as well as in other official statistics, it is difficult to distinguish whether they are based on birthplace or nationality categories; for example, many Schleswig-Holsteiners after 1864 reported themselves as Danes but had Germany as their birthplace. Obviously here was quite a confusion as appears from applications for naturalization when Schleswig-Holsteiners often wrote: 'born in Denmark now Germany'. Similarly Finns reported themselves Russians or Finns in cases when separate information on Finns is available before 1921.

A second problem concerns 'migratory' elements in the Australian censuses which are de facto, i.e. they include all the Scandinavian-born in Australia at the night of Census, including the crews of ships visiting Australian ports. In addition train and other passengers were included among the persons who 'slept under the stars', but especially in the older times the large majority were on ships. Those crews, however, not having to pass through formal immigration procedures, were excluded from actual migration statistics. This Scandinavian-born migratory (or shipping) element was a considerable proportion of the total population, especially among the Norwegians. It is impossible,

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There are variations in the published titles of the censuses in the nineteenth century. For simplicity I will refer to each census thus: Census of N.S.W., 1881, etc. Commonwealth Censuses, since 1911, are abbreviated: Census 1911 etc.

2

Donald J. Bogue and Edmund M. Murphy, "The Effects of Classification Errors upon Statistical Inference; A Case Analysis with Census Data", Demography, 1, 1, 1964, pp 42-5.

however, to estimate the proportions of visiting Scandinavian seamen and those sailing permanently in the Australian waters. Census enumerations also tended to underestimate certain foreign-born groups, notably children and old persons.

The modern Scandinavian statistics, deriving from the supervision of the transport of emigrants, start in the late 1860s. These statistics are much less satisfactory than those in Australia, because of different methods and criteria applied in the various Scandinavian countries and lack of uniformity in different periods.¹ When appropriate, Scandinavian migration statistics will be utilized to illustrate and supplement the Australian sources; however, it should be remembered that much of Scandinavian migration to Australia took place in the form of seamen leaving their ships and settling in Australia.

(b) Vital Statistics

The most useful of these are published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics in the Demography Bulletins. These give, since 1907, the relative birthplace of bridegrooms and brides contracting marriages in Australia; also the birthplace of parents concerned in births occurring in Australia. Colonial vital statistics occasionally give information on Scandinavians, as for instance, the Queensland marriage statistics since 1871.

(c) Naturalization Records

These have been the major official source for the study and, broadly speaking, fall into three sections.

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Records of the receiving country are generally more complete than those of the sending country, and considerable discrepancies can be found due to the heterogeneity and inaccuracies in the national statistics. Isaacs, p.68. Normally there is more control over foreigners arriving than over persons departing from any country. For an individual migrant leaving a country there is less self-interest to notify the authorities, whereas in a new country there is substantially more self-interest to report to the authorities because such information is directly related to his future employment and residence. See, International Committee for European Migration, ed., A decade of post world war II European Migration 1946-1955, n.p. n.d., pp 3-5.

(1) Letters of Denization

In the early days of the Australian colonies there were no general statutes providing for naturalization of aliens. There was, however, another process called 'denization' by which an alien could acquire some of the rights of a natural born subject. By denization a foreign born person obtained ex donatio regis a letter patent to make him a British citizen. In fact a certificated denizen found himself in a kind of middle state between an alien and a natural born subject. The letters of denization enumerate the various rights and privileges given, such as the right to own land, and likewise the continuance of certain restrictions which inter alia prevented him from being a member of the Privy Council or of Parliament, or of holding any office of civil or military trust, or of receiving grants of land from the Crown.¹

The process of denization based on the Acts of Councils, in 1828 in New South Wales and in 1834 in Van Diemen's Land, empowered the Governor to grant such letters to foreigners under the Great Seal of the Colony. After the naturalization acts (promulgated first in New South Wales in 1849) came into force, the old and complicated process of denization became obsolete for practical purposes, as more extensive rights could be obtained more easily through naturalization. In New South Wales there is no record of the issue of denizations after 1847.

The letters of denization held by the Archives Authority of New South Wales, and the Registrar of the Supreme Court of Tasmania, include a few applications by Scandinavians. These give interesting, though very brief, life stories and clearly indicate that a number of Scandinavians had been residing permanently in Australia as early as in the first half of the nineteenth century.

1

Sir Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, The Law-Dictionary explaining the Rise, Progress and Present State of the British Law defining and interpreting The Terms or Words of Art, and comprising also copious information on the Subjects of Trade and Government. The fourth, by Thomas Colpitts Granger, revised Ed., London 1835, I "Denizen" (under "Aliens").

(ii) Certificates of Naturalization before the year 1904

Under the authority of an Imperial Act of 1847, revised and augmented in 1870, the Australian colonies were empowered to pass laws providing for naturalization of qualified aliens. In New South Wales a residence of five years in the colony was required. In South Australia it was six months, while in the other Australian colonies no exact qualifications of residence were stated. Thus there are separate series of naturalization records for each colony until the year 1904 when naturalization was handed over to the newly formed Australian Federal Government. Since then alien residents have been naturalized under Commonwealth Acts and there is a single series of naturalization records for the whole of Australia.

Colonial naturalization records, either indexes, certificates, application forms or butts of oaths, are available for all the states, though there are differences in the amount of information noted on them. Generally speaking the colonial naturalization records give the name of the applicant, the date of arrival, his age, birthplace, occupation, present place of residence, and often also the formal phrase 'to purchase land and settle down' as a reason for seeking naturalization. Often, however, the year of arrival, the place of residence, or some other item is missing. Unfortunately the Queensland and Western Australian materials are incomplete, with no year of arrival and no exact place, only country of birth.

The naturalization records of Victoria and South Australia are held in the Commonwealth Archives in Canberra, those of the other colonies are held in the relevant State Archives and libraries. I myself, and my wife, copied out relevant parts of the records, either in Canberra or on fieldwork, except for the Tasmanian and Western Australian records where experienced research workers were engaged locally to collect the required material.

(iii) The Commonwealth Naturalization Records

The Naturalization Act of 1903, administered by the Department of External Affairs, did not differ greatly from the ones in the old

colonial times.¹ The required term of residence was two years until the Nationality Act of 1920 increased it to five years. The acts also made provisions for naturalization by marriage and by the co-residence of a minor with his naturalized parents.

The application form for a naturalization certificate, supported by a Statutory Declaration, covers the following information: full name, address, occupation, date of birth, birthplace (giving the country, region, and town or parish), date of arrival, some information about marital status, number and sex of children, as well as the places and periods of residence in Australia or elsewhere since arrival. All the Commonwealth naturalization papers before the 1950s are held in custody at the Commonwealth Archives in Canberra.

These records were examined by myself and a team of three research assistants, who were also collecting information on German, Dutch, American and other alien naturalizations not covered by the Department of Demography's survey of southern and eastern Europeans some years earlier; the Department now has a complete sample of Commonwealth naturalizations, 1904-47.

There are various complications and difficulties with the naturalization records and their reliability needs careful assessment. This assessment is not only somewhat lengthy but is closely related to the discussion on methods used when analysing the records; it therefore follows in the section on methods.

(d) Other Sources

Non-official publications and records are also helpful for augmenting and illustrating the story of Scandinavians in Australia.

The books and articles category covers work on migration in general, background reading on Australia and Scandinavia, and the little that has been written on Scandinavians in Australia either in English or in other

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For details see "Naturalization Act 1903", The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1903, II, pp.91-94; and T.A. Coghlan, A Statistical Account of Australia and New Zealand 1903-4, Sydney 1904, pp 174-175.

languages. Most of these are scholarly works, travel stories or even combined works.¹ Although some of them are products of journalism, or mere travellers' tales, they may occasionally throw more light on problems than complicated statistics and charts. Price typifies these authors by Herodotus and describes them vivaciously:

This line covers a multitude of strange bed-fellows including the university scholar, the journalist, the novelist or playwright, the dilettante traveller and curio seeker....At its worst this tradition has produced some shocking things....But at its best, when controlled by a sense of responsibility and true spirit of scientific curiosity, this tradition has been a major source of knowledge.²

Newspaper sources are unfortunately somewhat fragmentary. The first Scandinavian newspaper in Australia, the Norden, was published for some months in Melbourne and Ballarat as early as 1857,³ but not a single copy seems to have survived. The second paper of that name was started in 1896 in Melbourne, Jens Lyng as its editor, and had an unbroken existence until 1940. Lyng assessed his paper in the following words:

Without Norden no record would ever have been written about the life and doings of the thousands of Danes, Norwegians and Swedes who left their native shores to live, labour, and set up home twelve thousand miles distant, as a contribution by the Scandinavian countries to the making of a new nation. A few years hence little would have been known about them, apart from a few figures regarding numbers extracted from Australian and New Zealand statistics.⁴

Consequently Lyng called the Norden "a storehouse for information about our people in this country. All that I myself have collected bearing on

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A few examples: Corfitz Cronqvist, Vandringar i Australien Aren 1857-1859 (Wanderings in Australia in the years 1857-1859), Goteborg 1859; Pseud. A Danish Emigrant (Thorvald Peter Weitemeyer), Missing Friends; Being the adventures of a Danish emigrant in Queensland (1871-1880), London 1908, a former Ed. 1892; W. Christmas, Fremtidslande, Australien og Ny Zealand (Countries of Future, Australia and New Zealand), Kjobenhavn 1903; J.L. Saxon, Australien i vara Dagar (Australia in our Days), Stockholm 1929.

2

Price, "A survey on the study of immigration and assimilation", pp.4-5.

3

Cronqvist, pp.43-46.

4

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.68-69.

the subject, and hundreds of letters and articles by others are found there".¹ After the National Library microfilmed the copy of the Norden in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, over 700 photocopies were taken for this study.

Other short term attempts to publish Scandinavian papers, many of them religious, were also made from time to time.²

The Finns have had a newspaper - the Suomi - since 1926, published by the Pastors of the Finnish Seamen's Mission in Melbourne in 1926-38, in Brisbane in 1938-41 and again after a gap since 1950 to the present time. The only known complete series of copies of the Suomi is held at the University of Turku, in Finland, donated by a prominent old Finnish migrant in Brisbane. It has been microfilmed for this study and a copy deposited in the National Library, Canberra.

Of periodicals the most useful is the Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal,³ especially the Twentieth Anniversary Number in 1931, published by the Swedish Chamber of Commerce for Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands.⁴ Some religious periodicals of Scandinavian migrants as well as various Australian and Scandinavian journals and newspapers will naturally be utilized also.

¹ Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlers in New Zealand", Norden, 1043, 9 October 1937, p.4.

² Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, The Foreign-language Press in Australia 1848-1964, Canberra 1967, pp.13-15.

³ The journal was entitled Swedish Chamber of Commerce - Bulletin prior to January 1921, Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal prior to January 1935, and Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal prior to April 1952, when it was discontinued, but started again from September 1967 as News from Sweden.

⁴ Also the Danish Chamber of Commerce published the first and the only issue of The Danish Australian Trade Review in 1921. According to the catalogues a copy should be in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, but this has so far not been found. The contents, presented in "Dansk-Australisk (Danish-Australian). The Danish-Australian Trade Review, special issue, June 5 1921", Norden, 641 (wrongly 941 in the paper), 9 July 1921, p.1, available in other sources.

Another useful source of information are the old street directories; these give some Scandinavian names, together with occupations and addresses. Unfortunately there was time to consult only a few of these. Likewise there was no time to consult all the local histories that give a general picture of the conditions in which the Scandinavian immigrants lived and worked; but some have been consulted and have been very illuminating.

Miscellaneous sources include manuscripts: personal documents, letters, diaries, narratives, memoirs etc., as well as unpublished theses and studies both in Australia, Scandinavia or elsewhere. They also include selected interviews with old migrants, a questionnaire to Finns and some material from the Scandinavian countries. In all this the historian of migration cannot complain of lack of material - migration produces an urge for writing, and the amount of source material is enormous.¹ Nevertheless, the materials are somewhat scrappy and are useful primarily for filling out and illustrating the general picture outlined by the official records.

Methods

This section discusses, in general terms, the methods by which all these materials have been used and the problems approached. "Because each problem is inherently unique, it is necessary for the techniques and procedures actually utilized in the solution of a given social problem to be adapted both to the nature of the original data and to the nature of the problem".² This statement is especially relevant to this study covering a long interval of time and many very different types of sources.

This work moves in the field of social history and its approach to the subject and treatment of various sources will accordingly be

¹

Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American History, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Cambridge, Mass. 1948, pp.28, 213.

²

A. J. Jaffe, A Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers, Washington 1951, p.2.

historical; demographic material and methods will be used mainly to supplement and illustrate the story.

(a) Background

First, it is necessary to establish the general background to the immigration of Scandinavians to Australia. The general economic, social and political history of Scandinavia and Australia may explain changes in the volume of immigration, places of origin, places of settlement, occupations etc., emphasizing that migration and particularly assimilation, cannot be examined as an isolated phenomenon, but is a part of a complicated economic and social process. The required background information will be drawn mainly from work on Scandinavia and its emigration and from literature on the Australian environment and its immigration.

(b) Migration Statistics

Official publications and naturalization records provide the basic data for analysis. Censuses and annual migration statistics are first examined to establish total arrivals and net migration over time and areas of settlement in Australia. Here there is a method of estimating the gain or loss by migration to particular age groups; namely by applying Australian Life Tables to the Scandinavian-born populations enumerated in the censuses, surviving them from one census to another (beginning with the Census of 1911; Finns 1921) to establish the number of survivors expected, and then assuming that the difference between the respective expected and recorded age groups indicates net gain or loss by migration.

(c) Vital Statistics

These sources, especially those relating to marriage, are used to assist in working out the scale and direction of intermarriage, notably that of Scandinavian men with women of British origin.

(d) Naturalization Records

The main calculation and charts for the study are derived from the naturalization papers.

(i) The Sample and AnalysisTable 1.1: The Sample

	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Before 1904</u>	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
Sample	3,174	2,327	1,140	386	7,027
Universe	3,174	2,327	1,140	386	7,027
<u>1904-15</u>	1/3	1/3	1/3	1/1	
Sample	476	757	384	538	2,155
Universe	1,427	2,269	1,151	538	5,385
<u>1916-46</u>	1/2	1/2	1/2	1/1	
Sample	652	625	509	854	2,640
Universe	1,304	1,250	1,017	854	4,425
<u>Total</u>					
Sample	4,302	3,709	2,033	1,778	11,822
Universe	5,905	5,846	3,308	1,778	16,837

Note: In checking a few cases had to be abandoned and the adjoining case was taken counted one less than the original sample.

Although it was possible to examine all records for the colonial period, because less information was noted on them, the large number of Scandinavians naturalized during the Commonwealth period and more data available forced us to sample the records for Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in proportions presented in Table 1.1. Finns, being fewer, were not sampled; all records were taken right through. Details of naturalized females were also collected, but being few in number were left out of the analyses. Many of them were women of British origin who had lost their nationality after marrying a Scandinavian, and naturalization restored their status as British subjects in cases where the husband did not get naturalized (see p.29).

After copying relevant details on to cards - one for each adult - the cards were arranged according to birthplace, and then analysed by major migration characteristics: period of immigration, age at arrival, dispersion in Australia, occupations, conjugal condition and period of residence before naturalization. Unfortunately colonial records were often found incomplete, notably those in Queensland.

The technique of each cross-tabulation will be given in its appropriate place; here there is no need to go into detail though it may be mentioned that, owing to an exceptional occupational distribution, a special classification was developed for Scandinavians. Though occupational classifications demand 'a great deal of spade work',¹ it was well worth the effort. For the usual occupations it uses many of the main groupings evolved in the Australian National University on the basis of census classifications;² but for those occupational areas where Scandinavians clustered in large numbers it has its own categories.

The extent to which we may use the naturalization records, and the best methods of doing so, depend first on their intrinsic reliability - whether the information they contain is reasonably true and complete - and second on the degree to which they, and the sample taken from them, are representative of the total immigrant group.

(ii) Reliability of the Records

In social history special care must be taken to verify data gathered a long time ago.³ According to the principles of historical criticism there are external and internal methods of examining data. The aim of external criticisms is first to ascertain that a document is genuine and also where, when, why, and by whom it was issued (hence the details on the naturalization records). Internal criticism has a positive function - the real understanding of statements in the document - and a negative function, viz. doubting every statement as long as any reasonable ground for doubt can be found.⁴ In historical research

¹ Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, New York 1938, p.130.

² Zubrzycki, "Some Aspects", pp.104-105; and Leonard Broom, F. Lancaster Jones, and Jerzy Zubrzycki, "An Occupational Classification of the Australian Workforce", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 1, 2, October 1965, Supplement.

³ L. Henry, "The Verification of Data in Historical Demography", Population Studies, XXII, 1, March 1968, pp.61-81

⁴ Homer Carey Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing, New York 1955, especially the chapter "The Principles of Historical Criticism", pp.13-82.

the analyst must utilize his material as it is and search for defects in it as best he can, often by very indirect means.

According to the principles of external criticism there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the naturalization records, and the above presentation of these sources answers the questions of when, where and by whom the documents were issued.

The first question for internal criticism is: Did the migrant wish to speak the truth? For the average migrant lying would not have been of much use for he knew that a certificate could be obtained if only all the required formalities were fulfilled. But another related question: Has the migrant been able to speak the truth? gives room for some doubts. For example, the names of birthplaces are sometimes difficult to identify, as they may have been remembered and written wrongly by the migrant or an Australian official. These errors are common when the migrant has already resided in Australia for, say 50 years, or arrived here as an infant with parents. Also internal migration may have resulted in some misreporting of years of arrival, and consequently of age at arrival, when the migrant perhaps gave the time of his arrival from Queensland to New South Wales and not from overseas. Further errors may have been introduced by the migrant's laziness in compiling a long list of all the places he has lived in. It has been shown, probably for this reason and because of bad memory, that the naturalization records underestimate movements inside Australia.¹ Finally, copying old papers may cause errors, for sometimes it is impossible to read old handwriting correctly.

A more complicated question is: Why does the migrant seek citizenship? The answer to this question not only throws much light on the records themselves but also helps to assess the character and the number of those who had little reason for seeking citizenship, even though they had been in Australia for many years.

There are many reasons for a migrant seeking citizenship. Until naturalization his legal status is definitely inferior to that of a

¹

Charles A. Price, The Method and Statistics of 'Southern Europeans in Australia', Canberra 1963, p.3.

native-born person. As an alien he may be subject to expulsion or be restricted in the choice of his residence and employment, especially in time of war, or he may not be eligible for various social benefits,¹ especially in later times. Acquisition of citizenship, therefore, is not necessarily a significant sign of assimilation or of transfer of loyalty to the country of adoption. Failure to seek citizenship may be associated with a feeling that residence in the new country is only temporary or with a sense of indifference or even hostility.² This last may well apply to Scandinavians with their assumed relatively low rate and speed of naturalization but high degree of assimilation.

Here it is important to note that the study regards naturalization³ as a part of the process of settlement rather than any index of assimilation, as the migrant may apply for naturalization not because he is becoming assimilated but because it enables him to find better employment or become eligible for various benefits. Occasionally his reasons are given in the application. Among Scandinavians typical reasons were:

- to purchase and hold real estate in the colony
- to become a Master of a British ship (restricted to British subjects)
- to join the police force
- to settle and carry on business
- to become a bona fide colonist etc

A relevant reason, though not often mentioned, was the old-age pension, especially in later periods. The preponderance of males among the Scandinavians, and their extensive marriage with women of British

1

Isaac, p.140.

2

Carr B. Lavell and Staff, Department of Sociology, The George Washington University, "Needed Research in the Demographic and Sociological Aspects of Immigration", A Report on World Population Migrations as related to the United States of America, Washington 1956, p.27.

3

The persons naturalized in Australia before 1949, when Australian citizenship was officially created, were classed only as British subjects.

origin encouraged naturalization because an Imperial Act of 1870 fixed the nationality of any married woman by that of her husband; consequently a common reason for naturalization was "to restore wife's nationality" or "to marry an Australian girl", as the wife of an alien was deemed to be alien, until an amending Act of 1936 provided that a British woman marrying an alien should not lose the British nationality, unless she acquired the nationality of her husband. In 1946 it was further provided that all British women married to aliens, if residents in Australia when married, should remain British subjects.

An important matter is duration of time between arrival in Australia and year of naturalization: clearly, the longer the average interval the more will the census count of total population exceed the total of those naturalized, but the more information about settlement in Australia there will be on the record when the migrant eventually does become naturalized.

For naturalization a residence qualification was imposed varying according to the colony and at different times. In colonial times the qualification period was five years in New South Wales, six months in South Australia, but in the other colonies naturalization could be obtained immediately. The Commonwealth Naturalization Act of 1903 required continuous residence in Australia for two years; in 1920 this was changed to five years residence within the Empire during the previous eight years including one year in Australia. Table 1.2 aims only to give a general picture of the period of residence preceding the date of application.

Table 1 2; Period of Residence before Naturalization - Scandinavian Males - who Naturalized before 1947 (per cent)

	<u>Years of Residence</u>									<u>Total</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
	<u>0-2</u>	<u>3-4</u>	<u>5-6</u>	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31+</u>		
<u>Danes</u>											
Before 1904	4.0	6.9	10.8	15.1	13.1	10.6	12.7	14.7	12.0	99.9	1,310
1904-15	7.8	14.7	7.6	7.8	3.6	5.8	6.6	22.6	23.4	99.9	1,427
1916-46	2.8	7.5	12.3	10.6	10.1	9.5	10.4	12.6	24.1	99.9	1,302
Total	5.0	9.9	10.2	11.1	8.8	8.6	9.8	16.8	19.9	100.1	4,039
<u>Swedes</u>											
Before 1904	3.8	5.1	9.0	14.9	13.7	13.5	18.6	13.6	7.8	100.0	1,573
1904-15	7.0	14.5	7.0	5.9	4.9	6.1	11.5	24.2	18.9	100.0	2,269
1916-46	1.5	4.8	7.7	8.8	9.6	9.1	9.0	16.3	33.1	99.9	1,248
Total	4.7	9.2	7.8	9.4	8.8	9.1	13.1	19.0	18.9	100.0	5,090
<u>Norwegians</u>											
Before 1904	4.1	5.4	8.9	13.3	15.9	11.8	19.6	13.4	7.6	100.0	709
1904-15	6.8	17.0	8.8	6.4	7.6	3.6	10.3	24.2	15.4	100.1	1,151
1916-46	3.3	5.7	11.0	9.3	8.9	11.7	11.0	14.6	24.4	99.9	1,015
Total	4.9	10.2	9.6	9.1	10.1	8.5	12.8	18.1	16.7	100.0	2,875
<u>Finns</u>											
Before 1904	5.5	4.6	10.4	14.0	15.0	11.1	19.9	13.7	5.9	100.1	307
1904-15	6.9	20.4	8.7	7.6	4.5	3.3	11.7	22.7	14.1	99.9	538
1916-46	1.3	3.7	16.4	14.6	11.5	11.1	17.0	11.5	12.9	100.0	854
Total	3.8	9.2	12.9	12.3	9.9	8.7	15.8	15.4	12.0	100.0	1,699
<u>Scandinavians</u>											
Before 1904	4.0	5.7	9.7	14.6	14.0	12.0	16.9	14.0	9.0	99.9	3,899
1904-15	7.2	15.7	7.7	6.7	5.1	5.2	10.0	23.6	18.8	100.0	5,385
1916-46	2.3	5.6	11.5	10.6	10.0	10.2	11.4	13.9	24.6	100.1	4,419
<u>Grand Total</u>	4.7	9.6	9.5	10.2	9.2	8.8	12.4	17.7	17.9	100.0	13,703

Source: Naturalization Records before 1947 when information available.

Table 1.2 reveals that Scandinavians were not in a hurry to become British subjects - only one-third of them got naturalized before 10 years' residence in Australia. Without quantitative data, and assuming that Scandinavians assimilated quickly, one would have expected them to have become naturalized quicker, as indeed was thought by Borrie: "...the majority of Scandinavians settled in Australia became naturalized when they had fulfilled the five years residential qualification".¹ In fact, they were somewhat slower than southern Europeans, most of whom got naturalized from ten to fifteen years after arrival.² The Danes and Swedes were slower than the Norwegians and Finns in changing allegiance. This fits with the findings respecting the Finns in the United States: "He (the Finn) has come to America to stay and is generally eager to complete his naturalization process as soon as possible".³ Also World War II, in which Finland was fighting with Germany, accelerated the naturalization of Finns in Australia, especially as many Finns were interned during the war.

A question demanding consideration is: In what way are those unnaturalized likely to have differed from those naturalized? There is no evidence of any strong nationalism - not even among those from Schleswig-Holstein - that might have affected changing allegiance. Those seeking naturalization were more likely to be those realizing there was some material benefit to be derived from it. In other words, amongst the young, the more mobile, the persons in occupations other than farming or the skilled trades (who might well wish to purchase shops or properties for working), there were more likely to be settlers who did not seek naturalization. Thus a relevant factor regulating the speed of naturalization was occupation. Migrants engaged in professional and commercial pursuits became naturalized quicker than in those of lower occupational status, such as miners and labourers. While seamen naturalized relatively quickly, often in the first ten years, farmers were slower to get naturalized, except in Queensland where the

1

Borrie, "Some aspects", p.25.

2

Price, Southern Europeans, p.15.

3

Carl Wittke, We Who Built America, Rev. Ed., Cleveland, Ohio 1964, p.290.

acquisition of freehold land required citizenship. Unfortunately the Queensland naturalizations before 1904 are lacking from Table 1.2 as the year of arrival was not given there. However, to some extent the Danes, but notably the Finns (especially in 1916-46), had many naturalizations after a residence of 5-9 years, largely because of their rural settlement in Queensland. A special study indicated that settlers from rural districts in Finland were quicker to get naturalized than those of urban background, apparently because they more often settled in Queensland and took up farming.¹

Though a detailed survey is beyond the scope of this study it seems that, apart from employment reasons and the desire to obtain social service benefits, there was relatively little incentive to become naturalized before World War II. In other words the paucity of early Scandinavian naturalizations can best be attributed to their indifference, and to there being no real need to change allegiance. In addition, many Scandinavians were mobile folk, such as seamen and labourers, perhaps intending to leave Australia sooner or later, and this contributed to the slow speed of naturalization. For Scandinavians, naturalization apparently was rather a final step taken after they had accepted the social and cultural pattern of their country of adoption.²

(iii) Coverage and Representativeness

With this discussion of the reasons for becoming naturalized, and of the kinds of persons who did and did not apply for citizenship, it is now possible to discuss the question of how far those becoming naturalized were representative of the total Scandinavian population in Australia.

A first step here is to estimate what proportions did in fact become naturalized. This can best be done, if no figures on proportions of naturalizations are available, by comparing the 'birthplace' and

¹ Olavi Koivukangas, "Finnish Migration to Australia before World War II; Area of Origin and Migration Characteristics", Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku Finland, ed. Vilho Niitemaa, 4, Turku 1972 (in press)

² Borrie, Italians and Germans, p.191.

'nationality' categories in censuses. When using this method due allowance must be made for those wishing to become naturalized, but have not yet accumulated a long enough residence in Australia to qualify. This point is relevant in more recent times with a qualification of residence of five years (since 1920), and Scandinavians were generally slow to get naturalized.

Though based on incomplete data Table 1.3 reveals that in these colonies only a small proportion of Scandinavians had changed their allegiance by the end of the century. Between the colonies there were conspicuous differences: in Western Australia only few Scandinavians were naturalized as they had arrived recently during the gold rush of the 1890s and were not settled down. Here - as well as in the eastern colonies - a large proportion of Scandinavians were labourers and seamen, and it may be assumed that in Queensland where farming attracted relatively large numbers (in 1901 about half of the total Danish population lived there), and freehold land required citizenship, the number of naturalizations was somewhat higher as appears in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4 is only a rough estimation and can be queried; A is nationality and B is birthplace, it does not take into account mortality or migration. However, it gives some idea of the differences in the rate of naturalization in various colonies, notably indicating that Queensland naturalizations, for reasons discussed above, were well over the averages.

Thus it can be estimated that at the turn of the century every fourth or fifth Scandinavian was naturalized, the proportion being higher for Danes than Swedes-Norwegians. As case studies suggested that Scandinavian gold rush settlers, arriving in the 1850s and 1860s, naturalized relatively numerously, perhaps one in three, it can be assumed that every fourth Scandinavian was naturalized before 1904, and over 7,000 naturalizations give nearly 30,000 Scandinavians to colonial Australia.

The first Commonwealth Census in 1911 gave exact figures of naturalizations; the proportions are presented in Table 1.5.

Table 1.3: Proportions of British Subjects or Unnaturalized Scandinavian-born Males in Colonies where Information is Available, Censuses 1891 and 1901

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>Census</u>	<u>Colony</u>	<u>British Subjects by</u>		<u>Unnaturalized</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
			<u>Naturalization</u>	<u>Parentage</u>			
<u>Denmark</u>	1891	N.S.W.	14.3	0.5	85.2	100.0	1,276
		W.A.	4.8		95.2	100.0	42
	1901	N.S.W.	21.7	1.9	76.4	100.0	1,151
		Vic.	25.4	0.9	73.7	100.0	882
		S.A.	18.3	1.3	80.4	100.0	235
		W.A.	12.8	0.7	86.5	100.0	281
<u>Sweden-Norway</u>	1891	N.S.W.	10.4	0.3	89.2	99.9	3,237
	1901	N.S.W.	17.7	1.9	80.4	100.0	3,010
		Vic.	21.6	2.3	76.1	100.0	2,033
		S.A.	14.7	1.0	84.3	100.0	879
		W.A.	10.6	2.0	87.4	100.0	715
			8.1	2.2	89.6	99.9	405

Source: Birthplace - categories in respective censuses

Note: Slight differences in the Denmark group in some colonies and states, compared with a summary table of I.2 in Appendix I, are due to Danish dominions which were included or left out in census enumerations. This reservation is relevant throughout the study.

Table 1.4: Numbers of Scandinavian Males Naturalized before 1904 and in Census 1901, in Australian Colonies

<u>Colony</u>	<u>A</u> <u>Naturalized</u> <u>before 1904</u>	<u>Danes</u> <u>B</u> <u>Numbers in</u> <u>Census, 1901</u>	<u>C</u> <u>Index</u> $\frac{A}{B}$	<u>Swedes-Norwegians</u>		
				<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
New South Wales	510	1,151	0.443	982	3,010	0.326
Victoria	616	882	0.698	876	2,033	0.431
Queensland	1,845	2,102	0.878	1,148	1,634	0.703
South Australia	128	238	0.538	310	886	0.350
Western Australia	26	281	0.093	110	1,120	0.098
Tasmania	49	99	0.495	41	205	0.200
Australia	3,174	4,753	0.668	3,467	8,888	0.390

Note: Northern Territory in B included in South Australia.

Table 1.5: Proportions of British Subjects or other Nationalities of Scandinavian-born Males in Australia,
Censuses 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>Census</u>	<u>British Subjects by</u>		<u>Unnaturalized</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
		<u>Naturalization</u>	<u>Parentage</u>			
Denmark	1911	78.2	2.5	19.3	100.0	4,266 ^b
Sweden		70.8	2.2	27.0	100.0	5,084
Norway		60.7	2.9	36.5	100.0	3,038
		<u>Other Nationality</u>		<u>Same as</u>		
		<u>than Birthplace</u>		<u>Birthplace</u>		
Denmark	1921	78.7		21.3	100.0	4,479
Sweden		69.2		30.8	100.0	4,542
Norway		63.3		36.7	100.0	2,613
Finland		57.9		42.1	100.0	1,227
		<u>British</u>	<u>Same as</u>	<u>Other</u>		
		<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Nationality</u>		
Denmark	1933	68.8	30.8	0.4	100.0	3,348
Sweden		63.7	35.6	0.6	99.9 ^a	3,487
Norway		50.8	48.7	0.6	100.1	2,337
Finland		39.5	59.1	1.5	100.1	1,607
		<u>Other Nationality</u>		<u>Same as</u>		
		<u>than Birthplace</u>		<u>Birthplace</u>		
Denmark	1947	80.7		19.3	100.0	2,032
Sweden		71.7		28.3	100.0	1,938
Norway		60.7		39.3	100.0	1,745
Finland		67.1		32.9	100.0	1,158

a excludes two cases of nationalities not stated but included in total number.

b Excludes ten males born in Danish dominions.

Sources: For 1911 Table 38 - Male Population of the Commonwealth of Australia, Census 1911, II, p.184. For 1921 and 1947 general birthplace and nationality figures in respective censuses. For 1933 Table 32 - Males classified according to Nationality in conjunction with Birthplace, Census 1933, I, pp 878-79.

These relatively large proportions, compared with the small proportions in the colonial censuses, can partly be explained by the age structure of the Scandinavian population; by 1911, and even more so by later censuses, the population was declining absolutely and the large number of persons who had arrived in the 1870s and 1880s were growing old. As settlers got older they had more reason for getting naturalized - e.g. aliens not being able to vote, or own real property (in some states) or receive various social benefits. Thus the period from the turn of the century to World War I experienced the heaviest Scandinavian naturalization: in the period 1904-15, 5,385 Scandinavians became naturalized, bringing the proportion of naturalized males in the Census of 1911 to 71 per cent.

For the interwar period it is more difficult to estimate the proportions naturalized. In the Census of 1921 birthplace and nationality categories were contrasted and the deficit includes in addition to British all other foreign nationalities, for example Scandinavian-born persons being the citizens of the United States. Fortunately the Census of 1933 in Table 1.5 revealed that this group was no more than one per cent or so. In 1933 the most conspicuous feature was the increase of those not naturalized, due to natural mortality amongst older naturalized persons and further immigration in the 1920s, notably among Finns. However, the tendency was towards more naturalizations, especially after World War II, as appears from the Census of 1947.

The proportions for 1921, 1933 and 1947 are only approximations, as far as naturalizations are concerned, and due allowance must be made for those obtaining British nationality by parentage or, previously, from other Commonwealth countries. However, it suggests that about three-quarters of the Danes, two-thirds of the Swedes, and somewhat less Norwegians became naturalized. Between the wars about half of the Finns were naturalized until World War II lifted their proportion to reach the Swedish-Norwegian pattern of two-thirds.

Table 1.6 is a summary of the estimated coverage of the naturalization data. Before 1904 the proportion of Danes may be somewhat too low and that of Finns too high. For the next period, 1904-15, the proportions were taken as revealed in the Census of 1911,

and for 1916-46 an average of the censuses 1921, 1933 and 1947, however, subtracting estimated three per cent for those British subjects by parentage or by naturalizations outside Australia.

Table 1.6: Estimate of the Coverage of the Naturalization Records

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Total Number Applying for Naturalization</u>	<u>Covers per cent</u>	<u>Number of Persons Arriving in Australia</u>
Danes	<u>before</u>	3,174	25	12,696
Swedes	<u>1904</u>	2,327	25	9,308
Norwegians		1,140	25	4,560
Finns		386	25	1,544
Total		7,027		28,108
Danes	<u>1904-15</u>	1,427	78	1,829
Swedes		2,269	71	3,196
Norwegians		1,151	61	1,887
Finns		538	50	1,076
Total		5,385		7,988
Danes	<u>1916-46</u>	1,304	73	1,786
Swedes		1,250	65	1,923
Norwegians		1,017	55	1,849
Finns		854	50	1,708
Total		4,425		7,266
Danes	<u>Total</u>	5,905		16,311
Swedes		5,846		14,427
Norwegians		3,308		8,296
Finns		1,778		4,328
Grand Total		16,837		43,362

These proportions generally fit in with the patterns of alien naturalizations. Price estimated that every third German in South Australia in the nineteenth century had been naturalized and found naturalization records covering more than 75 per cent of Western Europeans as far back as the turn of the century and somewhat more than 50 per cent of most of the other groups back to 1920.¹ After

¹

C.A. Price, "European Minorities in Australia 1840-1940", Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand, 6, 23, November 1954, p 294.

estimating the coverage of the naturalization records some questions demand consideration.

The first question is: "How good a picture do the naturalization records give of total Scandinavian immigration?" Although they are incomplete and not completely representative of the total Scandinavian population, these records give a fair idea of the more settled population and of the ups and downs of the migration streams before the period of recorded migration statistics. Their main value, however, lies in the fact that they cover both areas of origin in Scandinavia and places of settlement in Australia; in short each document is a brief biography of the migrant up till the date of naturalization - for most Scandinavians ten years after arrival. Thus the naturalization records allow us to make some useful generalizations about Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia as a whole.

The second question concerns possible sampling errors. In colonial times, before 1904, all naturalized Scandinavians were collected and all Finns throughout the study. Danes, Swedes and Norwegians were sampled at the rates of one in three during the period 1904-15 and one in two in the years 1916-46. These sampling ratios are relatively high so that the possibilities of a wide range of sampling errors are small. Nevertheless the possibility that the results revealed by the sample differ somewhat from the results that would have appeared had all records been examined is definitely present. For this reason care has been taken not to press hard on exact proportions, or to make much of small statistical differences between Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Finns, or between the various regions of origins or main occupational or settlement categories. Or, if differences are slight but nevertheless seem important, care has been taken to use a simple significance test, at the five per cent level, before taking the argument further.

(e) Biographical and Similar Material

After official statistics and naturalization records revealed the general patterns and trends of immigration and settlement, biographical material derived from books, diaries, newspapers, and the like, notably the Norden and Suomi, were then taken to illustrate the various kinds of

persons suggested by the patterns. Thus an attempt was made to avoid the error of writing a history of notable persons - a common failing in ethnic histories, that of Jens Lyng being an example - but rather a history covering all migrants, especially settlers, some of whose careers are given at length by way of illustration. Admittedly much of the illustrations are from notable careers, and I wish there was more material available about the lives of seamen, wharf labourers, carpenters and so on. There is, however, very little of this and I have had to rely mainly on naturalization records and census statistics to reveal the importance and spread of these less famous persons. Unfortunately I was able to discover relatively little in Australian literature (historical records, local histories, street directories, newspapers etc.); hence the emphasis on the material produced by Scandinavians.

Selected interviews of Scandinavian immigrants, above all those of Finns, were also used for the same illustrative purpose, though occasionally these provided more general information. Some of the fieldwork was concentrated on collecting records on Finns and after the completion of this thesis and my return to Finland I intend to write a history of Finns in Australia. For this purpose also a questionnaire was sent to Finnish families listed by the Finnish newspaper; Finns are not only the most numerous Scandinavian people at present in Australia but also possess the only newspaper to serve as a basis for questionnaire distribution. The detailed analysis of this Finnish study will be done later.

Final Introductory Remarks

Finally, it seems not inappropriate to write a word on the balance of historical data and demographic material. In this work there is more demography than is usual in a straight history dissertation, and more history than is usual in a straight demographic dissertation. But this kind of topic requires both approaches as the purely historical approach - based on newspapers, organization records, biographical material etc. - would give a very distorted picture of the whole Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia. Conversely a thesis based purely on census, vital and migration records - no matter

how sophisticated were the techniques used in handling these - would give a very barren picture; the outlines might be right but how pioneers lived, how the main body of migrants tackled life in a new country, how settlers coped with problems of adjusting to a new and strange society, would be almost completely absent. The naturalization records, being a sort of mixed historical-demographic set of records, are most helpful here. As this situation is quite common in the study of ethnic groups, social historians may well have to become brave enough to tackle elementary demographic techniques, while demographers may have to learn something of historiography and the art of locating and assessing inconspicuous sources of information.

Chapter II: SCANDINAVIA AND OVERSEAS EMIGRATION;
 MAIN FEATURES OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION

"Our land is poor; will so remain"

Finnish national anthem by
poet J L Runeberg

SCANDINAVIA AND OVERSEAS EMIGRATION

Geography and Climate

Scandinavia is one of the most northerly inhabited regions of the globe, stretching northwards from the southern Baltic to beyond the Arctic Circle.¹ Apart from Iceland, regarded in this study as a Danish dominion, its four member countries form a homogeneous block stretching from the German border to North Cape, and from the Atlantic coasts of Denmark and Norway to the Russo-Finnish frontier. The Baltic is a common thoroughfare of Denmark, Sweden, and Finland while Norway's main interests lie in the Atlantic.

Denmark, being geographically a continuation of the north German plain, forms a land bridge from Central Europe to the other parts of Scandinavia. The peninsula of Jutland and a considerable group of islands give the country the character of an archipelago. The large islands are Zealand² and Fyn, divided from Jutland by a narrow channel, but there are numerous small inhabited islands such as Lolland, Bornholm, Falster, Langeland, and Moen. The coasts are mostly flat and sandy rising slightly to a generally flat interior; the highest point of the country lies only some 565 feet above sea level. The most western shore of Jutland is a succession of sand-ridges and shallow lagoons, very dangerous for shipping; they are backed with sandy plains originally covered with heather but now partly reclaimed for forest and arable. The islands and southern parts of Jutland are rich in beechwoods, corn-fields and meadows, and there are excellent pastures. No major rivers or lakes can exist in a country like Denmark, though there are numerous streams, lagoons, and small lakes. With no mountain barriers comparable with those in Norway communications have always been easy.

Sweden, the largest of the Scandinavian countries, comprises the eastern and southern division of the Scandinavian peninsular proper. The

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Much of the background information derives from contemporary editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

²

In the statistics the Danish form Sjælland will be used.

country can be divided into three main regions: the southern one called Gotaland, the middle part called Svealand or Sweden proper, and the northern part called Norrland. The northern regions of Norrland, as well as the equivalent regions in Norway and Finland, are called Lapland. A continuous mountain range, Kolen (the keel), the backbone of the Scandinavian peninsula forms the frontier towards Norway. A great number of rivers and streams rise in this mountain range, flowing in a south-easterly direction towards the Gulf of Bothnia. Sweden is, however, hilly rather than mountainous and has even some large fertile plains. Low agricultural regions are found in the south while the central parts form extensive tablelands which descend to the east and north. The main part of the country consists of low hills clothed in forests of pine and fir, with numerous valleys containing lakes and wide streams. With the exception of Finland there is no country with as many lakes as Sweden; they constituted about 12 per cent of the pre-World War II Finland and 9 per cent of Sweden. The coasts of Sweden are not broken by as many deep fjords as those of Norway, but are largely skirted by a belt of islands. Two sizeable islands, Gotland and Oland in the Baltic, differ geologically from the Swedish mainland.

Norway, unique and strange in physical features, occupies the western and northern divisions of the rocky Scandinavian peninsula. From a mountainous plateau extending almost over the entire country, rise high summits with valleys, lakes, and fjords between. The most striking feature of Norwegian topography is, however, the deeply indented western coastline. Pre-historic glacial erosion has carved deep valleys in the western face of the country which, after subsequent rises in sea-level, form fjords which penetrate the interior to distances of 100 miles and form a spectacular belt of reefs and islands. Flat lowlands are very rare. The national character and development of Norway owe perhaps more than in any other Scandinavian country to the physical structures and characteristics of the country.

Finland lies along both the northern and eastern extremes of Scandinavia, with roughly a quarter of its area north of the Arctic Circle. The predominantly plateau surface of Finland is a labyrinthine mixture of land and water; hence the appellation 'the land of a thousand lakes'. In addition to the great interior lake plateau Finland has

coastal plains in the south and west and extensive and densely forested uplands in the north. The Baltic Coast resembles that of Sweden and Norway with belts of islands and inlets; they, however, seldom exceed a few miles in length.

Owing to the warmth of the Gulf Stream, and also to the nearby Baltic sea, the Scandinavian climate is more temperate than is the case in the same latitudes elsewhere. Weather conditions, however, vary greatly between the different parts of the area. In Denmark the weather is similar to that in Western Europe, while in Finland the climate is more severe, but generally healthy, resembling the continental climate of Russia. The weather of Norway is relatively quite mild, thanks to the currents of tropical air and the warm waters of the Gulf Stream. However, owing to high altitudes behind the pleasant coasts and lowlands the most extensive glaciers of the European mainland can be found in the interior. Sweden alternates between the above two climates, being continental in the north and interior and more maritime on the coasts. Generally speaking in Scandinavia cold winters alternate with mild ones and dry summers with cool rainy ones. Inclement weather conditions have sometimes caused severe crop failures, giving an impetus to emigration.

Natural Resources

The surface of most of Scandinavia consists of ancient crystalline rocks thinly covered by poor stony morainic soils. Most cultivated lands lie in the coastal areas and low plains, and here also most of the population live.

Denmark is almost entirely devoid of natural resources. Her soil is not particularly fertile, though an exceptionally high proportion is arable and the climate is favourable to agriculture. In addition the country was impoverished by two disastrous wars in the nineteenth century.

Sweden is endowed with comparatively rich and varied natural resources the most important being timber and minerals. The forests grow mainly pine and spruce, the richest timber areas being located in the north. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century improved farming in the southern and eastern plains lifted agriculture to the more prominent role of the principal industry of the country.

In Norway the physical background has been hostile to dense settlement; only a few per cent of the total area being suitable for cultivation. In contrast to the land, the surrounding sea has a high natural productivity making fisheries one of the most important sources of national wealth and providing opportunities for shipping and trade. As in Sweden, the forests and mines of the country already formed a considerable source of wealth in the nineteenth century. These were not, however, before the age of hydro-electricity and rapid industrial development, adequate to maintain a high standard of living. The relative slowness of Norwegian industrial development to a certain extent explains large-scale emigration up to the twentieth century.¹

In Finland the few natural resources offering have been utilized to a higher degree than in the corresponding parts of Sweden and Norway. The soil is comparatively poor and the severe northern climate makes agriculture difficult. The south-western parts and the coast of Ostrobothnia have the best agricultural soils in Finland. In the bulk of the country forest industries have long formed an important source of income for the population.

Speaking generally then, in the period of pre-industrialization, arable or forest land provided the basis for national wealth, though sea-industries and trade were also important. The generally niggard or marshy nature of the terrain, however, forced the population into relatively small and restricted areas of settlement. When these became densely settled, or when disaster hit the crops, the pressure to emigrate became very strong.

Population

Classical physical anthropology recognizes three races in Norden: (a) the Nordic Race with a tall stature, long heads, narrow faces and very light pigmentation; (b) East Baltic Race with a comparatively short stature, short and broad heads and somewhat darker pigmentation; and (c)

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Ingrid Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration in the Nineteenth Century", The Scandinavian Economic History Review, VIII, 2, 1960, p.155.

the Lapps,¹ the North European aboriginals with high cheek-bones, somewhat flat noses, and chestnut hair, known to be in the area in ancient times. In addition some alpine influence is found in Denmark and Norway. The Scandinavian languages, with the exception of the Finnish and the Lappish are very similar, all deriving from the old 'North Germanic' or 'proto-Scandinavian' tongue. Finnish and Lappish are both members of the Finno-Ugric language group; so making them more or less distantly related to Estonian, Hungarian, and various languages in the U.S.S.R.

The settlement has been a direct function of geography, climate, and natural sources, and the major part of population settled in low-lying areas. The density varied greatly: in the Census of 1870 the population of Denmark proper was about 1.8 million giving 130 inhabitants to a square mile. The density was much greater on the islands than in Jutland; Zealand (having Copenhagen) carried nearly 250 persons per square mile. In Sweden the proportion was 28 inhabitants in 1880, 18 in Norway in 1882 and 13 in Finland in 1875. In Sweden, Norway, and Finland the population was even more unevenly distributed than in Denmark. For example, in Sweden the southern Malmöhus County had 193 persons to the square mile, whereas Norrbotten, farthest in the north and the largest county, had only 2.4 inhabitants per square mile. The Norwegian population also had concentrated in the south and along the coast whereas districts more than 600-700 feet above sea level had very few inhabitants. Like the equivalent regions in Sweden and Norway southern Finland was sparsely populated. Of the total population of Finland in 1875, 85 per cent were proper Finns and 14 per cent Swedish speaking, the latter residing mainly on the coasts and islands.

From the early nineteenth century Scandinavia experienced a strong population growth, generally attributed to 'the peace, the vaccine against smallpox, and potatoes'.² In 1800 the population of Sweden, for

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The Lapps are included among the paleo-arctic peoples or alpine group from central Europe, belonging to no single blood group, however being nearest the Finno-Ugric group. Nowadays, according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 22,000 Lapps are found in northern Norway, most of them coastal fishermen with small holdings, 10,000 in Sweden, 2,500 in Finland, and 2,000 in the northern Soviet Union.

²

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 21, 1969, p.498.

example, totalled 2.3 million, and in 1880 4.6 million; in Norway the corresponding figures were 0.8 and 1.9 million. In the 1880s the total population of Scandinavia exceeded 10 million. The increase took place notwithstanding heavy emigration which reached its peak in the 1880s. It was mainly rural population that increased, and the towns were generally small, though urbanization was already under way.

Socio-economic Background and the Causes of Emigration

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Scandinavian social and economic order was overwhelmingly a self-sufficient rural economy, with small farms often on stony soil. Owing to natural conditions and the low level of technology these demanded a lot of hard work and drudgery, but returned only a moderate standard of living. The old order, being comparatively stable in the decades before 1860, could fittingly be called the preliminary phase of emigration.¹ Even in the least agricultural Norway, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, 80 per cent of the population earned its livelihood from crop growing, dairying and forestry; in 1865 more than 64 per cent were still dependent on these occupations.

In the social class structure of this rapidly growing agricultural population a revolutionary change took place in the nineteenth century. In the beginning of the century there were only two main groups: the farmers and their sons on the one hand and the farm labourers on the other. Rapid population growth in the farming group was met by further partitioning of the land and by extension of the area under cultivation. This resulted in small holdings giving only a minimum of subsistence to their owners; in other words, crofters, cottagers, farm labourers and various landless groups grew quickly, soon forming a considerable part of the rural population. They represented a latent outward push of the agricultural population, especially as many innovations in agricultural methods reduced the demand for farm labourers.

After the middle of the nineteenth century the problem of indigent rural population was eased by the expansion of industry, and another

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Semningsen, "Norwegian Emigration", p.152.

outlet was found in emigration. In addition, in the 1860s a series of very bad harvests made life extremely difficult for the great masses of rural people. However, poverty in rural Scandinavia was never as abject as in Ireland or Italy.

In these conditions many persons and families, hearing tales of higher living standards and unoccupied land in America, decided to improve their material and social position by emigrating. Usually emigration started from the regions where people lived on the minimum of subsistence; in Norway from the mountain valleys and in Sweden from the southern and western highlands and forests. In most of the general models of migration it is presumed that the movement is generated mainly by over-population in relation to resources and by consequent differences in wages, standards of living and opportunities of advancement between the countries of origin and of settlement. The complicated phenomenon of large-scale emigration cannot be explained simply by population pressures and economic forces; love of adventure, mental troubles, restlessness and so on are also involved. But many of these causes of emigration cannot easily be quantified and expressed in terms of statistics; in any case some migrants do not themselves understand why in fact they are migrating!¹ One must therefore attempt to apply personal judgement on many unmeasured human motives which might have led people to try their luck in foreign countries.

The basic reason for Northmen emigrating was, however, economic, revealing itself in various economic cycles both in Scandinavia and abroad. For instance, since 1870 in Sweden there was a negative correlation between net emigration cycles and Swedish economic cycles, and a positive correlation between net emigration and American business cycles.² In general it seems that, in terms of cycles, pull factors in America have been more powerful than push factors in Scandinavia.

1

Appleyard, pp.146-147, 178.

2

Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements 1750-1933, New York 1941, p.318; and Harry Jerome, Migration and Business Cycles, New York 1926, p.206.

Nevertheless, there were strong local push factors, as in Bothnia (mainly the County of Vaasa), in Finland. In the nineteenth century this rural area had a great population growth and the farmlands were divided into small plots, often unable to produce a proper livelihood. Sales of forests and the associated lumbering gave new possibilities, though in some places the best forests had been spoiled in earlier decades and centuries by tar making; distillation of tar had long been for rural people the next favoured employment after farming. After the United States Civil War the price of tar dropped, causing economic crises. Furthermore, by the close of the nineteenth century steamships brought an end to the building of sailing vessels. This activity had been an old key industry on the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, but now the northern woodmen and shipwrights had to seek employment outside their own province.¹ Many went to Russian shipyards, many to America, and some even to Australia. Due to this economic change the first pioneers for overseas started departing in the 1850s; the movement being accelerated by crop failures in the following decade. These developments were apparent elsewhere but were most conspicuous in Finland, especially Bothnia, and meant that Finnish overseas emigration overwhelmingly derived from Bothnia.

Basically a similar change took place all over Scandinavia, and often the old means of livelihood and the trades of parents had to be abandoned. Structural changes towards mass production led to increased emigration of old-time craftsmen. In Scandinavia, and especially in Norway, fishing and seamanship had through the ages been of considerable importance and had produced a race of wanderers and emigrants. The transition at this time from sail to steam diminished the demand for seamen and also helped to bring an ever larger number of Scandinavian seamen to the remote coasts of Australia.

1

Eino Jutikkala, "Geographical Distribution of Emigration in Finland", International Population Conference, Wien 1959, pp 640-647; and A. William Høglund, Finnish Immigrants in America 1880-1920, Madison 1960, Chapter I, "Rural Exodus", pp 3-16; and Reino Kero, "The Background of Finnish Emigration", The Finns in North America, ed. Ralph J. Jalkanen, Hancock, Michigan 1969, pp 55-62

In Norway, since 1905, the emigrants themselves have been asked the reason for their emigration. Between 1905-25 nearly four-fifths gave the reason 'lack of opportunity of profitable employment'; especially the males answered so; the proportion being 80-90 per cent before World War I. The females had additional reasons, such as 'travelling to join the family'.¹ These last were mainly housewives and young women; the latter often to be married, travelling on pre-paid tickets sent to them. Travelling to join the family emphasizes the importance of chain-migration.

At the beginning of large-scale Scandinavian emigration religious controversy, persecution, and dissatisfaction with the established State Lutheran Churches brought many individuals to look to America, where complete religious freedom could be enjoyed with superior economic opportunities.² This religious factor, however, does not seem to have been the main reason for many, except perhaps the Norwegian Quakers. In addition stiff bureaucracy and limitations in political activities also encouraged people to think of America as a land of freedom; this stimulated emigration to some extent. Furthermore compulsory military service made many a young man emigrate rather than be conscripted; for example, in the German occupied Schleswig-Holstein but especially in Finland where a three year military service in the Russian army had been introduced in 1878. In addition, oppressive political measures by the Russian government, together with the growth of socialist philosophy, created a favourable atmosphere for emigration. These things brought about the peak of Finnish emigration at the turn of the century.

1

J.E. Backer, "Norwegian Migration 1856-1960", International Migration, IV, 3/4, 1966, p.173 and p.180 Table 8; and Adolph Jensen, "Migration Statistics of Denmark, Norway and Sweden", International Migrations, II, ed. Walter F. Willcox, New York 1931, pp.292-393.

2

Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, p.141; and B.J. Hovde, The Scandinavian Countries 1720-1865, II, New York 1948, p.660; and Gunnar Westin, "The Background of Swedish Immigration 1840-1850", The Swedish Community in Transition, ed. J. Iverne Dowie and Ernst M. Espelie, Rock Island, Illinois 1963, pp 22-30; see also George M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration, Minneapolis 1932.

In conclusion we may quote W.D. Borrie, whose summary of the causes of English emigration also holds good for Scandinavia. His reasons were: continuous population growth and innovations in agriculture and industry (the latter perhaps in lesser degree in Scandinavia), creating a surplus of population, and finally the young colossus of the United States as a magnet attracting both capital and labour.¹ The last point was certainly a major factor to make the Scandinavian emigrant 'the Viking of the Western prairies', as an American scholar fittingly states:

...the real explanation for the heavy Scandinavian exodus to America in the nineteenth century may be found simply by comparing the size of the cotter's plot with the 160-acre homestead that awaited the ambitious farmer in the American West.²

And as a supplement, here is a contemporary statement:

I understand that from 20,000 to 30,000 people go to America from Scandinavia every year, the majority of whom receive tickets from their friends in the United States. The Scandinavian people like to be joined by their friends left at home, and this is probably the principal reason of the extensive emigration which takes place to America.³

Force of letters and visits of overseas pioneers, and pre-paid tickets encouraged others to come resulting in chain settlements: concentrations of people from the same valley or region in Scandinavia. This self-accelerated dynamics of chain-migration was stimulated by extensive advertising of steamship companies providing huge iron passenger steamers to make cheap mass transportation possible. Also land transport, notably railways, developed simultaneously, and the entire society turned dynamic and mobile. All these factors caused the well-known 'American fever' in periods of crop failures and unemployment at home. In short, emigration was a phenomenon of a transition era.

1

W.D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Paris 1959, p.35

2

Wittke, pp.257, 260.

3

"Report of the Agent-General for Queensland for the year 1900", Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly (hereafter V & P, Qld), 1901, p.1059.

Volume and Fluctuations of Emigration

From the Napoleonic wars to the year 1932 the great mass emigration was estimated to have carried about 60 million people away from Europe to overseas countries;¹ between 1846 and 1932 52 million people left Europe for overseas.² Of these 52 million European emigrants, the British Isles supplied 35 per cent, Italy 19 per cent, Austria-Hungary, Germany and Spain about 10 per cent each, and Denmark, Sweden and Norway together about 4.8 per cent.³ In relation to total population there is hardly any country in Europe, with the exception of Ireland, where migration has been proportionately as great through a long period of time as from the Scandinavian countries. According to Isaac, Sweden holds the record in intensity of net emigration with 7 per 1,000 inhabitants, followed by Italy with 6.3 and Finland with 5.5 for 1901-05.⁴

Table 2.1: Intercontinental Emigration from Scandinavia, 1846-1932
(in thousands)

Denmark	1846-1932	387
Sweden	"	1,203
Norway	"	854
Finland	1871-1932	371
TOTAL		<u>2,815</u>

Source: Brinley Thomas, "Migration: Economic Aspects", p. 294, Table 1.

As Table 2.1 indicates, there was a loss by intercontinental migration of about three million persons. Especially in Sweden and Norway the loss was heavy, about one fourth of the natural population

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Isaac, p. 60.

²

Brinley Thomas, "Migration: Economic Aspects", p. 293.

³

Isaac, p. 60.

⁴

Ibid., pp. 64-65.

increase.¹ Table 2.1 also reveals that Scandinavians emigrated at a rate of about one Dane and Finn to two Norwegians and four Swedes.

Table 2.2: Natural Increase and Net Migration from Sweden, Norway and Denmark, 1801-1925 (in thousands)

	<u>1801-60</u>	<u>1861-1910</u>	<u>1911-25</u>
Natural increase	3,002	5,380	1,599
Net migration	-89	-1,784	-173
<u>Net Migration</u> <u>Natural Increase</u> %	3.0	33.2	10.8

Source: Jensen, p.288. Unfortunately figures for Finland were not available.

Table 2.2 with Sweden, Norway and Denmark taken together shows the loss as compared with natural population increase, i.e. excess of births over deaths. The table indicates that in the first period net migration absorbed only a fraction of the population while the intermediate period experienced the Scandinavian exodus. Reaching its climax in the 1880s migration at times nullified, as in Sweden, more than three-fifths of the natural increase.² It seems that Scandinavian emigrants have largely been permanent settlers.³

The era of overseas migration from Scandinavia did not really start with any appreciable volume until the 1840s,⁴ when migration became an

¹ Jensen, pp.286-287.

² D.S. Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects, p.8.

³ For example, between 1908-23 the United States had a net gain of 78 per cent of the arrivals from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Imre Ferenczi, International Migrations, I, ed. Walter F. Willcox, New York 1929, p.132. John S. Lindberg, The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States, Minneapolis 1930, p.242, estimated that about every fifth emigrant returned to Sweden after a longer or shorter stay abroad.

⁴ Information about earlier Scandinavian emigrations from the ancient Viking voyages up to the nineteenth century can be found in general histories and works on emigration. E.g. for Sweden Ingvar Andersson, A History of Sweden translated by Carolyn Hannay, London 1956, pp.375-381; and Florence Edith Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration 1840-1930, Chicago 1931, pp.1-7.

important part of Scandinavian life, continuing up to the decade of World War I. Of course some emigration of seamen, adventurers and merchants had occurred earlier. Also restrictive laws, a part of the mercantile policy of the age, though difficult to enforce, undoubtedly discouraged emigration.¹

In the 1860s the flow increased greatly, especially in the latter part of the decade because of disastrous crop failures, to drop again in the 1870s due to an economic depression in the U.S.A., as appears from Chart I. In the 1880s Scandinavian emigration was at its maximum, reaching its peak in 1882, when 'the emigration rate' per 100,000 of the population, used in Chart I, was 577 for Denmark, 974 for Sweden, and as high as 1,511 for Norway, which was up by more than one per cent of the population each year in the peak period of 1881-85.² The great emigration wave continued for some years in the 1890s. A new flood began with the new century and continued until World War I caused a decline, started again in 1919, and was then reduced by the U.S.A. Immigration Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924. The restriction was most influential among the Finns, representing a later migration to the United States, while e.g. Sweden did not reach its quota before 1926.³ The flow did not stop altogether; some continued but more went to Canada, to the South American countries, and Australia.

Excepting the small seventeenth century emigration to Sweden and the Delaware region in America, Finnish emigration was insignificant until

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In Sweden-Finland a law was passed in 1739 providing that passports had to be attested by the parish pastor or the government official on the farm of the peasant, if the farm labourer desired to leave the country. In the cities it was attested by the magistrate. The emigrant was required to return within two or three years or lose his inheritance and citizenship. Anyone leaving without a passport and not returning within a year, not only lost inheritance, but was liable to punishment upon return. These laws were finally repealed in the 1860s. Janson, p.4. The only evidence found among the Scandinavians to Australia was the case of two Swedes who before emigrating to Australia in 1853 had to obtain the permission from the Swedish king. "En af de Gamle (One of the Old Ones) Johan W. Lundborg", Norden, 197 & 198, 19 December 1903, p.2.

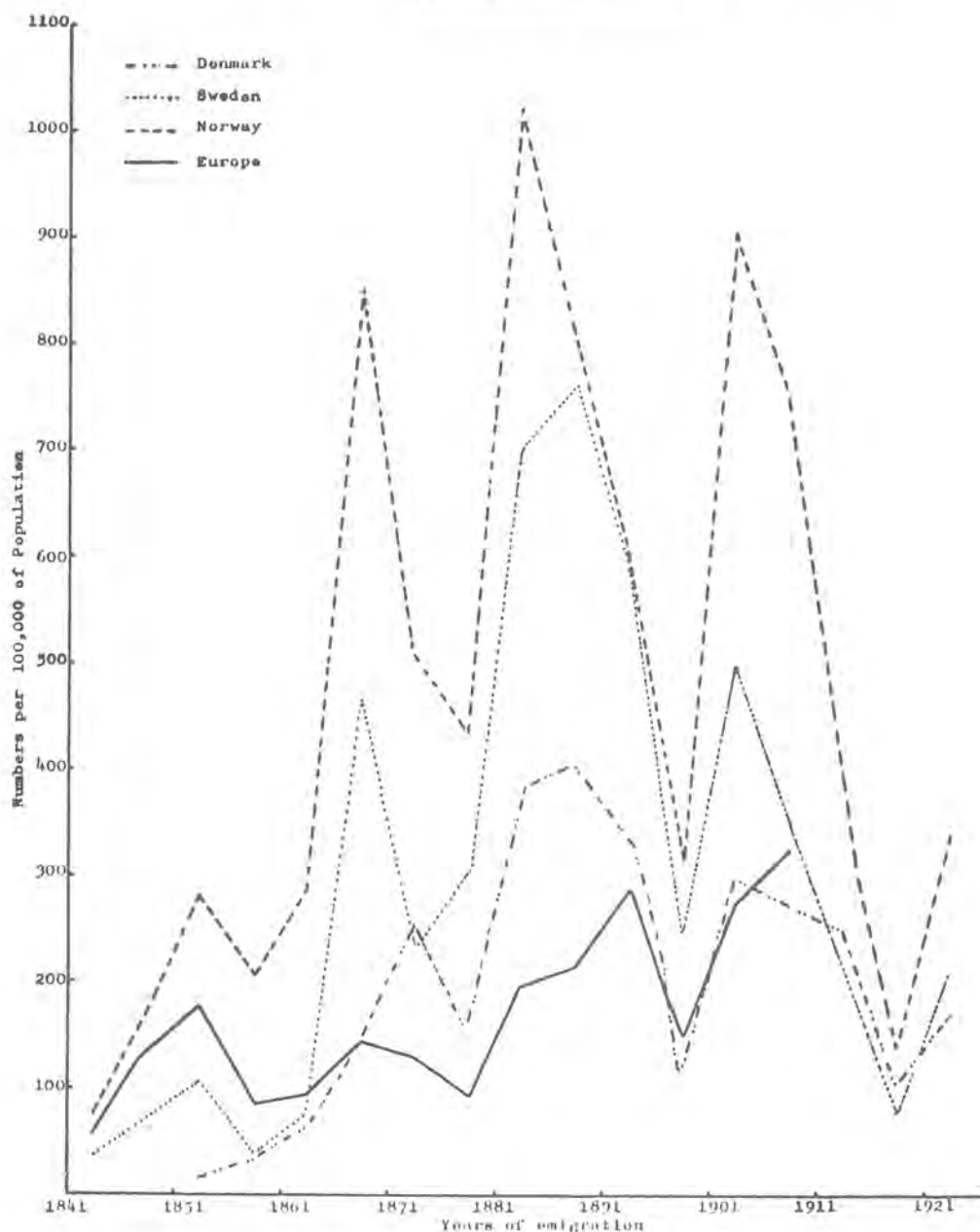
2

Jensen, pp.290-291.

3

Janson, p.12.

CHART I: AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION, 1851-1925 IN FIVE YEAR PERIODS FROM DENMARK, SWEDEN, NORWAY AND EUROPE



Source: Jensen, p. 290, Table 103.

the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when the Great Famine in the 1860s gave an impulse to emigration. While other Scandinavian countries experienced the peak in the early 1880s, most Finns emigrated between the 1890s and World War I; the peak was reached at the turn of the century much due to Russian oppression.¹ Adequate Finnish emigration statistics do not begin before 1893; they show that in 1901-10 the emigration rate per 100,000 inhabitants was 547, in 1911-20 206, and in 1921-25 180;² in short, well above the European average.

Finnish overseas emigration originated from a limited area in Western Finland called Southern Ostrobothnia; this province, which socio-economic development was specially discussed in the previous section, contained in 1890 only a good eighth (13.5 per cent) of Finland's total population but provided nearly a half (about 45 per cent) of the total Finnish overseas emigration during 1860-1930.³

In the 1920s and 1930s Scandinavian emigration ebbed; the main reason for the decline was not so much the quota laws as that the Scandinavian countries had come to the end of the era of emigration. Growing industrialization at home created increased opportunities for employment. After World War II the numbers of emigrants again rose a little, but in the 1950s and 1960s emigration was quite insignificant; in fact parts of Scandinavia, notably Sweden, became areas of immigration.

Destinations

Out of a total of 60 million European emigrants from 1815 to 1932 roughly 60 per cent went to the United States, 2 per cent to Canada and

¹

Finland has often tended to lag behind in general development, and accordingly trans-oceanic emigration, industrialization, and other phenomena usually entered Finland later than the rest of Norden. Smeds, pp.290-291.

²

Siirtolaisuustilasto, 20, Suomen Virallinen Tilasto (Emigration Statistics, 20, The Official Statistics of Finland), Helsinki 1929, p.11, the table.

³

Jutikkala, p.640.

Latin America, 5 per cent to Australia and 1 per cent to New Zealand.¹ Of the Scandinavian overseas emigrants more than 95 per cent went to the U.S.A. There are, however, differences between the individual Scandinavian countries, as Table 2.3 reveals.

Table 2.3: Percentage Distribution of Overseas Destinations; 1871-1925 for Denmark and Norway, 1881-1925 for Sweden

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

Source: Jensen, p.299, Table 107.

^aBecause total numbers were not given in this table, the totals were taken from Table 102, p.289, giving the numbers of emigrants to non-European countries.

In Finland persons obtaining a passport have been asked since 1901 to state the country of their destination. Table 2.4 compiled from these statistics show the similar predominance of 'America' before 1924 when the Quota Acts turned the flow to Canada and partly to Australia.

¹

Isaac, p.62.

Table 2.4: Percentages of Passport Issues to Emigrants by Country of Destination in Finland 1901-40

	<u>1901-10</u>	<u>1911-20</u>	<u>1921-23</u>	<u>1924-30</u>	<u>1931-40</u>
United States)				9.06	17.39
Canada)				79.23	7.70
Central America)	99.73	99.78	99.70	0.20)	3.22
South America)				1.39)	
Australia and New Zealand	0.03	0.13	0.24	3.01	2.05
Asia	0.04	0.03	0.02	0.11)	1.75
Africa	0.16	0.06	0.04	0.18)	
Sweden				3.11	41.74
Russia-Soviet Union				1.51	15.32
Other European Countries				2.18	9.97
Unknown	0.04			0.02	0.86
Total	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>
Total Numbers	<u>158,832</u>	<u>67,346</u>	<u>23,107</u>	<u>35,452</u>	<u>8,844</u>

Source: The Official Statistics of Finland.

After the United States of America, Canada has taken the next largest number of Scandinavians, especially in the early years of the century and again in the 1920s after the promulgation of the United States immigration restriction laws. Emigration to Central and South America has never been favoured by the Swedes and Norwegians, but a number of Danes have gone to these countries, especially to Argentina.

Table 2.5: Emigration from Denmark, Sweden and Norway to Oceania, 1871-1924

	<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Norway</u>	<u>Sweden</u> (includes Oceania, Africa and Asia)	<u>Total</u>
1871-75	3,723	1,471	475	5,669
1876-80	908	679*	348	1,935
1881-85	140	52	776	968
1886-90	363	98	833	1,294
1891-95	235	22	533	790
1896-1900	294	255	644	1,193
1901-05	299	485	543	1,327
1906-10	417	33	430	880
1911-15	624	32	550	1,206
1916-20	38	-	297	335
1921-24	195	36	556	787

*Includes 593 to the Sandwich Islands in 1879. Willcox, I, p.752, Table IV.

Source: Willcox, I, pp.241-50, Table 11.

Table 2.6: Emigration from Denmark and Norway to Oceania, 1867-1879

<u>Year</u>	<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Norway</u>
1867	no. inf.	1
1868	"	2
1869	7	15
1870	205	50
1871	579	221
1872	862	784
1873	1,003	354
1874	950	36
1875	329	76
1876	198	42
1877	107	11
1878	530	30
1879	44	1
Total	<u>4,814</u>	<u>1,623</u>

Source: Willcox, I, pp.670-671, Table III and pp.752-753, Table IV.

Note: Figures for Sweden and Finland are not available.

From Scandinavian statistics it is difficult to obtain any reliable information about Scandinavian migration to Australia. These statistics, revealing only a trickle of emigrants to Australia, are misleading

because much of Scandinavian emigration consisted of seamen deserting their ships in Australian ports; all such migrations remained unrecorded. As the proportion of seaman-migrants generally grows with the travelling distance to the country of destination, this is an important factor in Scandinavian emigration to Australia. For example, in Norway, where the legislation on the supervision of the transport of emigrants did not concern ships sailing direct for overseas ports with less than twenty passengers, only 150 Norwegians were registered travelling to Australia between 1880-89.¹ However, over 800 naturalized Norwegians arrived in 1880-89. Assuming that every third or fourth arrival was subsequently naturalized, altogether about three thousand Norwegians came to Australia in the 1880s. These Scandinavian statistics also often included New Zealand and the Pacific Islands under the heading of 'Australia'. Inaccurate as these statistics are on migration to Australia, they nevertheless clearly indicate the insignificance of emigration to Australia and are useful pointers to the years of ebbs and flows of migrations between the two regions.

* * * * *

MAIN FEATURES OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION

This section gives a brief history of Australian immigration² with special reference to the periods of heaviest Scandinavian inflow. More detailed discussion will appear later when relevant.

The first phase of the history of European Australia commenced in 1788 when the First Fleet of about one thousand souls, mainly convicts,

¹

Ingrid Semmingsen, Veien mot Vest; Utvandringen fra Norge 1865-1915. (The Way to the West; Emigration from Norway 1865-1915), Oslo 1950, pp.313-314.

²

Good short surveys are: Herbert Burton, "Historical Survey of Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1788-1932", The Peopling of Australia (Further Studies), ed. P.D. Phillips et al., Melbourne 1933, pp.35-68; and Borrie, "Immigration", pp.65-75; and W.F. Geyl, "A Brief History of Australian Immigration", International Migration, 1, 3, 1963, pp.157-166.

landed at Botany Bay, so starting the present metropolis of Sydney and the 'Territory of New South Wales'. Before 1830 the major increase in population was derived from convict transportation; the first free settlers arrived in 1793 and by 1830 their numbers totalled only some 14,000 compared with 63,000 convicts. Settlement then expanded, new colonies being founded in Western and South Australia, while Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland became new colonies carved out of New South Wales.

In the twenty years following population not only rose to reach over 190,000 in 1840 and over 400,000 in 1850, but with the expansion of assisted passages the proportion of free settlers increased considerably. However it was the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria in 1851 which made population figures treble in the years 1851-1861. When the goldfields became less profitable many left the country but a number became industrial miners or engaged in farming, railway building, or sailing on the Australian waters, in the process often migrating to other colonies.

Apart from the lure of gold Australia did not attract many migrants. Reaching it involved a long and dangerous voyage, and naturally the emigrants of the nineteenth century preferred a trip of fourteen days to the United States rather than a voyage of three months and more, even if the cost was the same. To overcome the disadvantage of long and expensive voyages, assisted immigration from the British Isles had been adopted at an early stage by the colonies; between the gold rushes of the fifties and the outbreak of World War I the principal object of Australian immigration policy was to encourage immigrants from the United Kingdom enabling them to reach Australia as cheaply as America.¹ Consequently, as Crowley clearly shows, a conspicuous feature of Australian immigration history is that years of substantial immigration invariably coincided with active intervention by the Australian Governments, providing in 1860-1914 nearly half of all immigrants from the British Isles with financial assistance, and making strenuous efforts to attract those who could afford their own fares. In fact, without financial assistance immigration would not have been anything like as

1

Prime Minister of Australia, a speech at the Treasurer's Conference, February 1904, Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP)/SA, 1904, ii 23. Referred in F. K. Crowley, "British Migration to Australia: 1860-1914", Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford 1951, p. 34.

great.¹ Between the gold rushes of the fifties and World War I immigration, together with natural increase, turned the six separate colonies of little more than one million people into a nation of more than five million inhabitants.

The main systems of government assistance were selection, nomination, and land order.

In selection immigrants of particular occupations and for particular purposes were selected by colonial agents in the United Kingdom and all or most of the passage costs provided by the government. Though expensive, this method was widely used by all colonies.

In nomination relatives, friends or potential employers in Australia made a contribution to the cost of the passage, and the government paid the remainder if the migrant was eligible for assistance. This method, also called the 'family system', was less expensive than selection.

Under the land order system migrants who received no actual financial assistance from the government were entitled on arrival to select free grants of Crown lands. The value of the land order was generally equivalent to a government assisted passage. The land order system was most fully developed in Queensland, with its small population and an extensive area of unoccupied or sparsely settled land.²

By these means colonial governments sought to increase their population and labour supply, mainly in prosperous times. Not all colonies had three or all systems at the same time, and no land orders were granted after 1900; the methods adopted depended on politicians, demands of employers, seasonal fluctuations, land available for settlement, etc. But the basic features of the immigration policy in each colony were similar; each made some use of selection and nomination and several of the land order system. In federation the Commonwealth was

¹

Crowley, "British Migration", p.2, 295.

²

See Margaret A. Kleinschmidt, "Migration and Settlement Schemes in Queensland, 1859-1900", Final Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1951, p.14 et passim.

given the power to control migration but not until 1920 did the Commonwealth enter at all actively into it.¹

Largely as a result of deliberate efforts by the colonial governments net gain through immigration was some 766,000 persons in 1861-1900, a large proportion of them being assisted migrants. In the Commonwealth period, 1901-40, net gain through immigration was 593,000.² Before World War I immigration increased and after the war it again revived quickly, to be reduced by the severe economic depression of the 1930s. After the Second World War an extensive immigration scheme was established by the newly founded Commonwealth Department of Immigration. The traditional assisted passages for British immigrants were revived, and for the first time also large-scale non-British immigration schemes were started, including a substantial immigration of displaced persons from Europe.³

Assisted passages have been a conspicuous feature of Australian immigration when it became difficult to recruit migrants from the British Isles, assistance was granted to suitable migrants from the continent, notably in the 1870s and 1880s by the Queensland Government. In the Commonwealth period when traditional British sources started to ebb again, in the 1950s assisted passages were extended also to the Scandinavian countries giving rise to the present flow of migrants, notably from Finland. Thus Scandinavian migration to Australia has basically been a self-supporting movement, occasionally accelerated by assisted passages.

¹ Crowley, "British Migration", pp 39-138. The major findings in Crowley's thesis were published in his article "The British Contribution to the Australian Population: 1860-1919", University Studies in History and Economics, ed. F.K. Crowley, II, 2, Fremantle, July 1954, pp.55-88. For selection, nomination, and land order systems, see pp 68-70.

² Borrie, "Immigration", p 68, Table 5.

³ Charles A. Price, "The Migrants" in Australia - A Survey, ed. V.G. Venturini, Institute of Asian Affairs, Hamburg 1971, is a good account of the twentieth century immigration.

Chapter III: ADVENTURERS, SEAMEN AND EARLY SETTLERS BEFORE
THE GOLD FEVER OF THE 1850s

"We are outward bound
For Melbourne town
Good by, fare you well! Good by, fare you well!
And we will sail
The world around
Hurrah my boys! Hurrah my boys!"

An old Scandinavian sea shanty,
John Grogg (Georg von Schéele),
Fran Hafven och Hammarne (From Seas
and Ports), Stockholm 1889, p.3

Scandinavians with Dutch Navigators

Scandinavian seamen have sailed for centuries under foreign flags. They were especially numerous in the Dutch Fleet in the seventeenth century, the hey-day of the Dutch maritime empire. The trade with East Indian colonies, carried out by the Dutch East India Company, turned out to be particularly profitable. Since the Dutch navigators were the first to visit Australia, some Scandinavians can be traced back to the very discovery of the new continent.

The most famous Dutch explorer of 'New Holland' was Captain Abel Tasman, who in 1642 found a new country later called Tasmania. From his report it appears that a Danish mate, Peter Petersen of Copenhagen, sailed in his ship the Zeehan. The first authentic visit of a Scandinavian to the mainland took place in 1696, when Captain de Vlaming explored the lower reaches of the Swan River, in Western Australia, named Rottnest Island and sailed for Dirk Hartog's Island where he affixed a copper plate telling about the voyages of his ship the Geelvinck; also mentioning that the second in command of the ship was Johannes Bremer - of Copenhagen. Perhaps the first Scandinavian ship to visit Australian waters arrived in 1718, when, as appears in the Batavian records, a Danish frigate, the Fredensborg Slot, sighted a north-western Australian group of islands which were nearly one hundred years later named the Montebellos.¹

Visits by Scandinavians to Australia during the Dutch era of navigation places the beginnings of the history of Northmen in Australia with the Dutch exploration of the unknown waters and coasts of Terra Australis Incognita. When in the eighteen century the maritime hegemony shifted from the Dutch to the British, Scandinavians followed the change. However, not the seamen adventurers but the scientists were next to 'write' a chapter in the story.

1

For Scandinavians with Dutch navigators see A. Kamp, ed., De Danskes Vej; Danske Pionerer og Dansk Virke Under Alle Himmelstrog (The Way of Danes; Danish Pioneers and Danish Achievements throughout all the Corners of the Globe), Odense 1950-51, III, p.9; and Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.15.

Scandinavians with Captain James Cook

During his first voyage to the South Seas, to observe the transit of Venus and to attempt further territorial discoveries, Captain James Cook was accompanied by two Scandinavian scientists, Dr Daniel Carl Solander,¹ a Swede, and Herman Dietrich Sporing, a Finn. Solander (1736-82) was a pupil of the celebrated Carl Linnaeus; he went to England in 1760, secured employment with the British Museum, and later became 'the ablest botanist in England'.² For this particular voyage he was engaged by Sir Joseph Banks,³ as a scientific assistant, and together with Banks belonged to the nearest escort of Captain Cook as the following quotation indicates.

We saw several of the natives on both sides of the harbour as we came in, and a few hutts, women and children in the north shore, opposite the place where we anchor'd, and where I soon after landed with a party of men, accompanied by Mr Banks, Dr Solander, and Tupia.⁴

Lyng duly emphasized that a Scandinavian put his foot on Australian soil simultaneously with the discoverer himself.⁵ Dr Solander was honoured, i.e. by having named after him a group of small islands on the New Zealand coast and a cape south of Sydney near the spot where Cook, Banks, and Solander explored the coast. The islands were tiny and rocky, but the point near Botany Bay keeps his name alive still today. In 1914 his

1

Dr Solander's name is spelled 'Sollander' in most Scandinavian sources. Following Cook and other authorities, the ADB, Melbourne 1967, 2, pp.456-57, spells his name with one 'l'. This latter practice is followed throughout the text with the exception in straight quotations, when the actual spelling used is adhered to.

2

J.C. Beaglehole, ed., The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery, I, The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-71, Cambridge 1955, p.cxxxv.

3

Swedes recall that even Sir Joseph Banks, the 'father of Australia', was the great grandson of a Swede who settled in England. Einar Lindquist, "Australia and Sweden", Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, p.187; and Saxon, p.13.

4

"Extract from the log-book of lieutenant James Cook, in the 'Endeavour', during part of his first voyage round the world in the handwriting of lieutenant Cook", HRNSW, I, 1, Sydney 1893, p.19.

5

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p. 24.

countrymen in Australia erected a monument for this famous Swedish botanist.¹

While Dr Solander is well known in the Cook literature, the first Finn to arrive in Australia, Herman Dietrich Sporing, has not received the attention due to him.² Sporing was born about 1730, probably at Turku (Åbo), the most prominent town of Finland at the time. His father, bearing the same name, was a professor of medicine at the local university and a correspondent of Linnaeus. The son studied in Turku, during the years 1748-53, and then in Stockholm where he was occupied with surgery. Later his interests in the natural sciences led him to England, and he never returned to Scandinavia. It is not known who recommended him to Banks. From the long voyage there are only a few records of Sporing. He was regarded as a Swedish assistant naturalist, "a draughtsman of great ability", and artist on the voyage;³ some of his drawings are still on view in the British Museum. Sporing's most valuable act on the voyage was performed when aborigines on Tahiti stole and broke a valuable quadrant and he was subsequently able to repair it; Cook himself mentions this incident in his journals.⁴ A few months later Cook gave Sporing's name to an island off Tolago Bay, on the eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand (lat. 38° 22' S; long. 181° 14'). Unfortunately very little is known about Sporing, a quiet and unassuming man. He died on the return trip from a tropical disease, in the sea of Java, on 25 January 1771 aged about 40 years.⁵

1

"How the Solander Monument was erected", by 'Eye-witness', Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, pp.375-6.

2

Sporing has been unknown in the annals of both Australia and Finland. In 1963 a Finnish migrant in Australia published an article about Sporing in a Finnish magazine, the information was mainly based on the journals of James Cook. Paavo Vennonen, "Suomalainen Loytoretkeilija 200 vuoden takaa (A Finnish Explorer 200 years ago)", Suomen Kuvalehti (The Pictorial of Finland), 33, 17 August 1963, pp.8-10, 46.

3

Beaglehole, I, p.cclxvii.

4

Beaglehole, I, p.89, note 1.

5

Beaglehole, I, pp.cclxvii, note 6, 447

On the second voyage by Cook another Swedish scientist by the name of Anders Sparrman belonged to his retinue;¹ emphasizing the close co-operation of the Scandinavian and British people in discovering and exploring the new continent. All these persons, however, were only visitors to Australian waters. The first permanent settlers were adventurers and seamen in the early days of Australian history.

Jorgen Jorgenson

The most famous Scandinavian ever to come to Australia was a Dane, Jorgen Jorgenson,² Monarch of Iceland, naval captain, revolutionary, British diplomatic agent, author, dramatist, preacher, political prisoner, gambler, hospital dispenser, continental traveller, explorer, editor, expatriated exile, and colonial constable;³ shortly described by Marcus Clarke as "one of the most interesting human comets recorded in history".⁴

This gallant figure of stirring romance and adventure was born in Copenhagen in 1780. He went early to sea sailing under the British flag. In 1798 he travelled in a whaling-ship to Cape Town and in 1800 he sailed for Sydney and became the second mate of the Lady Nelson. He remained with this famous surveying vessel for three and a half years, became her chief officer and attended the founding of Newcastle, the

1

J.C. Beaglehole, ed., The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery, II, The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772-1775, Glasgow 1969, passim. Of his experiences Anders Sparrman wrote A Voyage round the World with Captain James Cook in H.M.S. Resolution, London 1953.

2

In many sources his name was spelled 'Jorgensen' or even 'Jurgensen'. Following the spelling used in the ADB, the name is spelled 'Jorgenson' in this study.

3

James Francis Hogan, The Convict King; being the life and adventures of Jorgen Jorgenson, London 1891, the title page.

4

Australian Encyclopaedia, 15, 1965, p.145. Jorgenson's autobiography was published in the Hobart Town Almanack, 1835 and 1838. He has been the subject of numerous works; an extensive biography, The Viking of Van Diemen's Land; the Stormy Life of Jorgen Jorgenson, by Frank Clune and P.R. Stephensen, Sydney 1954, has an appended list of 153 items of 'Jorgenseniana'. For a short biography see the ADB, 2, pp.26-28.

establishment of the site of Launceston and the founding of Hobart - where he was to return some twenty years later as a convict. In 1804 he became, at the age of 24, a captain and then as chief officer on the vessel the Alexander, subsequently became the pioneer of the Tasmanian whaling industry and sailed for London with a full cargo

Jorgenson returned to Copenhagen in 1807 and was given the command of a brig of 170 tons to fight the English. An English man-of-war captured the ship and the crew were taken as prisoners-of-war, but in England Jorgenson was engaged by a local merchant to take a vessel with provisions to Iceland. Being obstructed by the Danish governor, he arrested the latter, assumed the title of 'Protector' and took charge of the money chest of the Danish state. Everything would have gone well had not a British warship arrived, and after the rule of nine weeks 'the King of Iceland' was taken to London to account for his conduct.

After being engaged in literary work in the latter half of the Napoleonic Wars, Jorgenson was sent by the British Government to the Continent as a spy, observed the battle of Waterloo and the Paris Peace Conference, travelled through France and Germany on foot after losing his money in gambling, met Goethe and other personalities and wrote reports for the British Government.

Jorgenson was a confirmed gambler and in 1820 found himself in debt. He pawned some furniture from his lodgings, was arrested and sentenced to seven years exile. Not having left England within a month as ordered he was re-arrested, charged with being a convict illegally at large, and was sentenced to death in 1822. The sentence was commuted to exile for life, but he succeeded in remaining in England for another three years, obtaining a position as an assistant to the surgeon in Newgate prison until the antagonism aroused by one of his religious publications forced the Home Secretary to send him to Van Diemen's Land.

On the voyage he became a surgeon's assistant and arrived in Hobart in 1826, as one of 150 convicts. This was twenty three years after his first visit, when Hobart had been founded. He was now appointed as a clerk. But routine work did not suit him, and so he was attached to the Van Diemen's Land Company to explore and open unknown territories. In 1827 he was given a ticket of leave so enlisted as a constable in the

Field Police, catching criminals and being engaged in the operations of the famous 'Black War' against the Tasmanian aborigines. As a reward for his services he was given a conditional pardon and a grant of 100 acres of land, only to lose it by gambling. He resigned from the police force and in 1835 was granted a full pardon, but he preferred to remain in Tasmania acting as a journalist and author, thus making valuable contributions to early Australian literature and history. He married an Irish convict woman in 1831 and:

...embarked on the greatest adventure even of his adventurous life. He was married to a stout elderly lady, who, it is recorded, would frequently chase the ex-King through the streets of Hobart with any weapon on which she could lay her hand, from a rolling-pin to a broom handle. At the age of sixty-five he died, a broken down and unknown old man, in a bed in the Hobart Public Hospital, and was buried no one now knows where.¹

Jorgenson was much more than an adventurer; he was master of several languages and a literary man of considerable achievements; author of half a dozen books, manuscripts and articles. He was "one of the most remarkable convicts ever to be consigned to Australia's shores".²

Other Early Settlers

Jorgenson was not the only Scandinavian convict to arrive in Australia. Lyng, for instance, examined the convict list of Portsea for 1838 and found two Scandinavians: Samuel Wolff, a watchmaker of Copenhagen, transported for unlawful pawning; and William Linivold, a Swedish ships-carpenter, for stealing a gun.³ These convicts cannot be

1

A.J. Villiers, Vanished Fleets, London 1931, p.109. This lively description contains a couple of errors. First, Jorgenson was not married to an "elderly lady"; in fact his wife was 20 years younger than he and died shortly before him after an excessive drinking bout. Second, Jorgenson died at the age of 60 years nine months on 20 January 1841, of "inflammation of the lungs", and not at the age of 65. Clune and Stephensen, pp.453, 458. Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.19, says incorrectly that Jorgenson died in 1845, accordingly at the age of 65, but most sources give the year of his death rightly as 1841.

2

Clune and Stephensen, p.460.

3

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.17.

found among the early naturalizations. But a certain Charles Wolff of Copenhagen, who gave 1842 as the year of his arrival, was naturalized in 1850, and resided at Geelong, Port Phillip. He may possibly be of the same family.¹ Foreigners brought before a British court were often deported with British subjects and this, together with deserted seamen, perhaps explains the Scandinavian names in the early colonial postal registers.

The recipients of Letters of Denization also include a few Scandinavians. Out of 19 New South Wales letters, granted in 1834-47, two were for Danes, namely Henry Ludvig Miller, from Altona, Denmark, denized in 1834, residing in Castlereagh Street in the parish of Saint James, Sydney, and for "some years resident in the colony"; and Severin Kanute Salting, from Copenhagen, who was denized in 1844.² An application for denization in Van Diemen's Land in 1838 gives an illustrative life story of an early Scandinavian settler. In his application to Her Most Excellent Majesty Victoria, Charles Suisted, a native of Sweden, stated that he had resided in the colony since December 1836, was then living in Launceston, was a master mariner and 28 years of age. Since 1830 he had been trading from London to the East Indies, China and America as a mate, or chief officer, and had commanded the barque Governor Stirling on her voyage from London to Swan River (Western Australia) and from there to Batavia. In 1833 he was married in London to an English girl with whom he had one child. In 1836 Suisted left London with his wife and other passengers in the brig Albatross, captained by Westmoreland and bound for Van Diemen's Land arriving at Hobart in December 1836. Since his arrival Suisted had been engaged as chief officer on board a schooner trading out of Launceston. Now he intended to become a settler and reside permanently in the colony and had "recently been appointed Master of the Schooner, . . . But the Officers of

1

Vic Nat., 1850/24, Commonwealth Archives (hereafter abbreviated to CA), Canberra; and NSW Nat., 1850/1/157, New South Wales Archives Office (hereafter abbreviated to NA), Sydney.

2

Letters of Denization, 1834-47, NA 4/1172; the first person naturalized in Australia was an American in 1825. "Citizenship and Naturalization", Australian Encyclopaedia, 2, 1965, p.386. Thus Henry Miller, in 1834, was one of the first denizens.

Your Majesty's Customs at Launceston have refused to allow Your Petitioner to take charge of the said Schooner until he shall have obtained Letters of Denization".¹

The first settlers often went to Sydney, as the denization of Henry Miller in 1834 indicates. Probably his original Scandinavian name was Muller or Moller, and perhaps another early Danish settler, Julius Ditlev Moller, was of the same family. Julius Moller was born in 1814 in Denmark, arrived in Sydney in 1838, whence he went to the Port Phillip District (the present Victoria), became a station manager, then selected land, first near Port Henry, and later at Leopold where he farmed till his death in 1865.² In the 1830s a few Scandinavian families lived in Sydney and Parramatta. Lyng mentions a Danish Jew by the name of Jacobsen who arrived together with his two sisters in 1837 and carried on an ironmongery business in Pitt Street. Jacobsen had an apprentice, Wilhelm Olsen, born of Danish parents in Parramatta.³ A well-known Scandinavian-born (in 1819 in Elsimore, Denmark), although of Scottish parents, was Sir Edward Knox. He studied commercial subjects and arrived in Sydney in the early 1840s, founding in 1855 the Colonial Sugar Refining Company which was to become the biggest private business in the country employing 1,200 persons at the turn of the century.⁴ For his services Knox was knighted in 1898 and died in 1901.

Victoria attracted only a few Scandinavians before the gold period. Lyng, who arrived in 1891, found information of hardly half a dozen people who had come in the 1840s. One of these was a Norwegian seaman, Thores Torkelson, who after the wreckage of his ship in 1844, had to

1

Denizations of Tasmania, Supreme Court, G.O. 33/29, pp.376-382.

2

Lyng, "Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australia", Norden, 717, 28 June 1924, p.5; and Vic. Nat., 1850/20.

3

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.30.

4

Christmas, pp.195-196. Although Sir Edward Knox was of Scottish origin, he was regarded as a Dane in J.G. Holmes, "The Influence of Foreign Settlers in the Development of Australia", p.22.

falsely claim that he was a native of the then British island of Heligoland in order to get a permit to stay in the colony.¹ A contemporary writer publishing in 1862 tells how he met a Danish settler, the earliest arrived Dane he had met in Australia. This man was from Christianshavn, had deserted his ship apparently in the late 1830s or about 1840, had married an Irish girl and now enjoyed a good economic standing. Although he possessed a good Danish name here he was called Nelson.²

The naturalization records revealed some early Scandinavian settlers in Victoria, such as Julius Ditlev Moller, who arrived in Sydney in the late 1830s but moved to Victoria, and Otto Henry from Holstein who had arrived in 1840; these two Danes were naturalized in 1850.³

Little information exists about early Scandinavians in South Australia. In the 1830s and 1840s a number of German settlers, leaving their country more or less for religious reasons, arrived in this colony. There is no evidence that Scandinavians had joined the Germans, although the second contingent of the German emigrants were carried over by a Danish ship, the Zebra, in 1838.⁴ The development of the South Australian economy, particularly the export of farm products, created the demand for seamen and wharf-labourers, and a Swede who arrived in 1848, said that in Adelaide he met many Scandinavians, all seamen, working in the port.⁵

In Adelaide there also started the Australian career of another famous Scandinavian settler, Baron Sir Ferdinand Jacob Heinrich von Muller, a botanist and explorer. He was born in Germany in 1825 of a German father and Danish mother.⁶ When eight years old the parents died;

1

Lyng, Scandinaverne i Australien, pp.26, 29.

2

Bob (Robert Watt), Fra Australien; Reiseskizzer af Bob (From Australia; Travel Sketches by Bob). Kjobenhavn 1862, p.11. Some details about the author, a gold rush man himself, will be given in the next chapter, p.97, note 2.

3

Vic. Nat., 1850/20 and 23. Moller was previously discussed in the connection of the Scandinavians in Sydney.

4

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.71.

5

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.34.

6

A Lodewyckx, Die Deutschen in Australien, Stuttgart 1932, pp.108-112, considered Muller justly German.

Muller was educated in Denmark by his mother's relatives, and he became a Dane by naturalization. He studied botany and received the degree of doctor of philosophy when 21 years. Having been advised to go to a warmer climate he sailed for Australia with two sisters, arriving in Adelaide in 1847. He found employment as a chemist, shortly afterwards obtained 20 acres of land near Adelaide, but soon returned to his former employment. In 1852 he moved to Melbourne and was appointed government botanist. He classified the whole continental flora and made many inland explorations eventually becoming the most prominent botanist of Australia. In the 1860s he was created a baron by the King of Wurttemberg, and once more changed his nationality to become a German nobleman. A mountain in Victoria, a range in Western Australia, a glacier in New Zealand and a street in Canberra still keep his name alive.¹

In Queensland the most famous early settlers from Scandinavia were the Archer brothers. They were of Scottish origin but had become Norwegians by naturalization or birth. Norwegian was their native tongue and they cherished the Norse culture throughout their lives. The father migrated to Norway in 1826 and reared nine sons and four daughters in Larvik. All the sons eventually found their way to Australia, the first, David, arriving in 1833 in Sydney at the age of 17. In 1841 David, with his two brothers, drove 5,000 sheep to the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales, later to become part of the new colony of Queensland, and started extensive grazing on the Brisbane River. Here they established Durundur and Cooyar stations, moved to the Upper Burnett where in 1848 they formed Eidsvold station, named after a township in Norway where the Norwegian Constitution was adopted in 1814. In the middle 1850s the Archer brothers took up Gracemere station near Rockhampton and were "soon to become - in more ways than one - the first family of Central Queensland".² Particularly Thomas Archer, later Agent General for Queensland in London, played an important part in exploring and opening

1

Percival Serle, ed., Dictionary of Australian Biography, Sydney 1949, II, pp 167-170; and Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, pp.68-70.

2

Vivian Voss, "Early Pastoral Settlement in the Coastal District of Central Queensland", Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings, XXXIX, VI, 1953, p.282.

up the country, and this capable Scotch-Norwegian family became prominent landowners and influential people.¹

The Archer brothers were not the only early Scandinavians in Queensland. A Dane, Berthelsen, is said to have owned the Bonara cattle station near Maryborough in the later half of the 1840s.²

Shipping

In the first half of the nineteenth century, with the growth of the Australian wool and wheat industries, and the growth of the Australian population, an extensive trading activity started from Europe to Australasia. Many Scandinavians sailed under foreign flags in those times, especially with the British merchant fleet; deserting or leaving their ships in the Australian ports either to sail on the Australian coast or to work on the wharves of rapidly growing Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. A considerable number of seamen became masters of sailing-ships and small craft, sometimes as part-owners, a few were employed in the pilot service etc.

The development of whaling and sealing industries also brought Scandinavian seamen to the Australian waters, as the case of Jorgenson indicates. The first whaling vessel, the Emilia, entered the Pacific in 1790 returning to London with a full cargo of sperm oil. Numerous ships were since sent to Australia as the oceans around it were opened to British whalers.³ However there are no records of Scandinavian ships, and a reliable testimony is a letter by Jorgen Jorgenson from Hobart in 1835 to his brother in Denmark:

¹ Australian Encyclopaedia, 1, 1965, p.228; and the Dictionary of Australian Biography, I, pp.17-18; and William Clark, "The Founding of Rockhampton and the Archer Brothers", Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland, I, 6, April 1919, pp.327-337; and Voss, "Early Pastoral Settlement", pp.281-347.

² Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.30.

³ J.S. Cumpston, Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Sydney 1788-1825, Canberra 1963, pp.6-7.

I observe with regret that Denmark - though in every way well placed for commerce - lacks the spirit of commercial enterprise which alone can raise a nation to prosperity. The fact that the Danish flag is not seen in these waters is a matter of surprise to me.¹

Scandinavian ships visiting Australian ports can be traced back to the latter half of the 1830s and became fairly common in the next decade.² According to the Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, Scandinavian ships started to frequent Sydney in the 1840s. The first one mentioned was a Swedish brig called the Mary Ann, a 135 ton vessel, Werngren being her master. She put into Sydney in May 1840, carrying a crew of nine and a cargo of iron and timber, and left for Valparaiso, via Newcastle, loaded with coal.³

Conclusion

Table 3.1: Naturalized Scandinavian Male Settlers who Arrived in Australia before 1852

<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
Before 1850	22	11	4		37
1850	5	5	2		12
1851	6	9	8	1	24
Total before 1852	33	25	14	1	73

Source: Colonial Naturalization Records.

Note: It is risky to estimate how large a proportion of all the Scandinavians arriving in this period were subsequently naturalized; probably only an insignificant proportion.

¹

Quoted in Clune and Stephensen, p.438.

²

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.19, 71. In Cumpston, no Scandinavian ships to Sydney in 1788-1825 were found.

³

Sydney General Trade List, 329, VII, 30 April 1840, NA; and "Some Notes on the early Trade between Sweden and Australia" by the editor (G.M. Lindergren), Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, p.385; and by the same author: "The Swedish Chamber of Commerce for Australasia and South Sea Islands", journal cit., p.192.

Australian gold was officially discovered in 1851, but the news took some time to affect Europe and not before 1852 was there a sharp rise in Scandinavian arrivals because of it (see Chart II of arrivals). The slight rise among the Swedish and Norwegian arrivals in 1851 may be due to those already in Australian waters, seamen being quick to leave their ships for the goldfields. In the naturalization records the total figure of Scandinavian arrivals before 1852 was only 73, compared with 74 in 1852 and 743 in 1853, when the 'pull' of gold was already operating at full force. The 73 'pre-gold' Scandinavians came from densely populated seafaring regions. From Denmark most came from Copenhagen and the various Danish islands, with only a few from southern Jutland and only one from the rest of the mainland. In Sweden and Norway, the main places of origin were the southern coastal areas, where seafaring was a major occupation.

It would be interesting to know what kind of life the first Scandinavians in Australia lived. A detailed survey of the Jorgenson and Archer literature might reveal something of their every day life, but unfortunately this was beyond the scope of this study. About the leisure time activities of pre-gold Scandinavian settlers little is known except that the ex-king of Iceland, Jorgen Jorgenson - and particularly his Irish-born convict wife - used to sit at the tap in hotels in Hobart;¹ hereby setting a good example to later Scandinavians. The early Scandinavian settlers were few in number and obviously lived fairly isolated lives, occasionally meeting each other in Sydney, Hobart and other major towns.

The above fragmentary data confirms that the Scandinavians, although not numerous, have nevertheless contributed to the discovery and development of Australia from the very beginning. The first Northmen coming to Australia were adventurers, scientists and other individual pioneers. The first naturalized permanent settlers were from the most densely populated seafaring regions of Scandinavia. Of these most were Danes; those often pursued trades other than shipping, this being more favoured by the Swedes and Norwegians, attracted by trade and whaling to the Australian ports and waters. It seems that by the end of this period

¹

Clune and Stephensen.

already a few hundred Scandinavians had found their way to the Australian colonies, until the years of gold saw the first bigger inflow of Scandinavians to the Australian continent.

Chapter IV: THE GOLD RUSH OF THE 1850s AND 1860s

"Hurrah my boys tremendous yields,
Ten pounds weight to the dish,
Away! Away! to those golden fields.
On Victoria's plains it is."

Claus Gronn, "Erindringer fra mit
Guldgraverliv" (Reminiscences from
my Gold-digging Life), Norden,
210, 11 June 1904.

Coming of Scandinavians

Tales of fabulous fortunes made on Australian goldfields spread rapidly all over the world from port to port and village to village in 1851 causing the first major influx of non-Britishers to the Australian colonies. Thousands of men were crossing the oceans from all parts of the world to form a most motley mixture of humanity on the goldfields. The most famous and alluring goldfields were in the colony of Victoria.

The colony of the Port Phillip District was founded in 1835 and the separation from New South Wales, under the title of Victoria, took place on 1 July 1851.¹ The total population of Victoria was only 77,345 in 1851; in 1852 there were 94,644 new arrivals and in 1857 410,766 persons were found in the colony.² In all the Australian colonies the population grew from 405,400 to 1,145,000 between 1851 and 1861, three-quarters of the increase coming from net immigration. In Victoria the natural increase was only 14 per cent. Of the increase of almost 600 per cent in Victoria in 1851-61 the United Kingdom supplied about 80 per cent;³ the rest were Chinese, Germans, Scandinavians and other nationalities. Prior to the discovery of gold nearly the entire population of Australia had been of British stock. But already in 1854 more than five per cent, and in 1857 nearly eleven per cent of the population of Victoria were found to be of foreign nationality.⁴

The news of Australian auriferous wealth also stirred the interest of many sons of Viking race, both in California and the old countries, to make them after the Germans the most numerous European group on the goldfields. Wandering Scandinavians were quick to enter the newly found fields, especially the seamen employed in the Australian waters and on the wharves. Continuously increasing trade and emigrant shipping brought

¹

For a good general history of Victoria and its 'golden decade' see Geoffrey Serle, The Golden Age; A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861, Melbourne 1963.

²

Censuses of Victoria, 1851 and 1857.

³

D.R.G. Packer, "Victorian Population Data, 1851-61", Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand, 20, 5, May 1953, p. 321.

⁴

Henry Heylyn Hayter (Government Statist.), "General Report on the Census of Victoria...", Census of Vic., 1891, p. 61.

them in crowds to the Antipodes. The Norwegian-Swedish consul in Sydney sent an invitation to the Californian Swedes and Norwegians to come to Australia, and many of them followed this suggestion. Many a late-comer to California wanted now to be among the first on the new and unexploited fields.¹ Seamen quickly spread the news of discoveries all over the world. In Sweden some seamen showed around lumps of gold they had brought from Australia - which further excited young adventurous men.² Books on Australia were translated into the Scandinavian languages and general emigrant guides were published on California and Australia.³ Often these guides were very detailed, giving advice on the required equipment and the best time for the voyage (from April to October) and describing the most important goldfields;⁴ in short, they were very useful for emigrants.

1

Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860, Northfield, Minnesota 1931, p.284; and Kenneth O. Bjork, West of the Great Divide; Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Coast 1847-1893, Minneapolis 1958, p.35.

2

"En af de Gamle (One of the Old Ones), Johan W. Lundborg", Norden, 197 and 198, 19 December 1903, p.2.

3

Blegen, pp.285, 344, note 43, presents some of these emigrant guides: E. Skouboe, Oplysninger for Udvandrere til Australien (Information for Emigrants to Australia), published in 1853; and Veiledende Bemaerkninger, for den der agte at emigrere til Australien samt nogle Ort om Emigrationen til Amerika (Guiding Remarks for those who Intend to Emigrate to Australia, with some Words about Emigration to America). This pamphlet of 26 pages was published in Frederickshald, Norway, in 1853 by a shoemaker, Henriksen, who had spent seven months on the Australian goldfields. Blegen, p.285, gives the year of publication as 1854, which is probably right as Henriksen stayed on the goldfields until July 1853, though the title page of the pamphlet gives the year 1853. The only known copy, in the Library of the University of Oslo, was microfilmed for this study. Ch.A. Kann, Australien og dets guldegne; en angivelse af Alt, hvad der er nødvendigt at vide, naar man udvander til Australien, med hensyn til Overfart, Ankomst, Nedsattelse og Guldgravning (Australia and its gold regions; an account of Everything that it is necessary to know when one emigrates to Australia concerning the Voyage, Arrival, Settling and Gold-digging), Kjobenhavn 1853; in Swedish, Gotheborg 1853.

4

Henriksen, pp.21-22, recommended to travel via London, the fare being £25-30 in the middle deck, told to contact countrymen in Melbourne after obtaining addresses from the Consulate. The guide also explained the most important English terms used in gold-digging.

Interest in the Australian goldfields was greater in Denmark than in the other Scandinavian countries. An important reason for this was the big seaport of Hamburg, close to the Danish border. Hamburg, not Copenhagen, was in those days the commercial and seafaring centre of Jutland, and from there ships for any part of the world were easy to catch. Secondly, after the Three Year War of Schleswig-Holstein part of the Danish Army was disbanded in the autumn of 1851. The spirit of restlessness caused by the war and the accompanying difficulties in settling down to a normal life - although the rebels of Schleswig-Holstein had been given a general pardon - made many an ex-soldier proceed first to Hamburg and from there to America or Australia. The same thing again happened in 1864 when Denmark had to cede the counties of Schleswig and Holstein to Prussia-Austria; a great number of young Danes preferred emigration to Prussian citizenship, which also entailed compulsory military service. Again the majority went to America, but some came to Australia where the lure of gold was still strong and where many already had relatives and friends. Among the Danes in Australia a well known fact was that the oldest Danes were old warriors.¹

On the long voyage to remote destinations one could soon find young gentlemen of the best Scandinavian families, together with some criminals and obscure men, all eager for adventure and hungry for gold. Often they were intellectuals, adventurers and pioneers who preceded the next wave of emigrants, that of farmers and ordinary working class people.² Many Scandinavians sailed from Hamburg, but according to the available voyage descriptions the majority arrived in British vessels³ and only a small part in Scandinavian ships.⁴

¹ Lyng, Scandinaverne i Australien, p. 30.

² Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, p. 277.

³ In 1856 a Swede recommended sailing from Sweden to England and avoiding Germany and German ships. A letter from Mac Ivor, 20 May 1856, by Peter Wideman, Norden, 150, 22 February 1902, p. 7. See Appendix II, Wideman's life story.

⁴ Cronqvist, p. 40.

Often Scandinavians came in groups, mainly due to the long and dangerous voyage and language difficulties. In February 1853 an advertisement published in Norway recommended joining a Danish party bound for Australia, and in the summer of 1854 a three-masted ship was advertised sailing soon from Denmark for Australia.¹

A Danish fortune seeker, Waldemar Bannow, tells about his departure for the Australian goldfields in the following words:

It was in the early part of 1853, when the glowing accounts from the Australian gold-fields were filling every newspaper and turning every brain, that I also took the infection and determined to try foreign parts for a change of luck.²

Bannow had just finished his commercial education, but the recently ended Schleswig-Holstein War had disarranged all the ordinary means of advancement. Through the press he got into contact with seven other aspirants for fame and fortune, and being the only one with some knowledge of the English language became the leader of the little group. They had a large tent made, bought a complete outfit of cooking utensils and sailed via Hamburg to Hull and Liverpool. In the beginning of April 1853, they embarked on the long voyage to Melbourne. In the sailing vessel there were 35 Scandinavians for whom Bannow had to act as an English interpreter. After a week in Melbourne they went to Bendigo which was at the time known as a favourite goldfield for 'new chums'.³

When Scandinavians, after the voyage of some 100 days, arrived in Melbourne, they often went to see their countrymen already settled in the town, to get some advice. Danes went to a Danish businessman who kept lodgings for new arrivals. After a week or two in Melbourne the journey was continued to the goldfields.⁴ In 1853 a Norwegian wrote from Melbourne telling about an expedition of some eighty Danes which he had

¹ Blegen, p. 285.

² Waldemar Bannow, Guide to Emigration and Colonization: An appellation to the nation, London 1887, p. 13.

³ Ibid., pp. 13-15.

⁴ Julius Sturup, Tre Aar fra Hjemmet; En Rejse i Australien (Three Years from Home; A Travel in Australia), Odense 1876, p. 13.

joined. They were on the march: "A wagon drawn by ten oxen followed by eighty men in woolen shirts and trousers caught in long boots, with wide hats, and pouches fastened around their necks".¹

Many Scandinavians, especially Swedes and Norwegians, arrived as seamen and were paid off or simply deserted their ships. In Port Melbourne in the 1850s lay as a rule some 120-150 ships from every corner of the world. Scandinavian vessels were bringing mainly Baltic timber which constituted a profitable trade.² The wonderful gold discoveries at Ballarat made seamen desert their ships for the benefit of the goldfields, almost to the last man. At one time nearly one hundred vessels were unable to sail for Europe for lack of hands, though as much as £70 was offered to each sailor for the run home.³ Contemporary Cronqvist tells how often the entire crew, including the captain, left the ship for the goldfields. While a wharf labourer had earlier been paid only 6-7 shillings a week, they now received £4-5 a day.⁴

The life of a gold-digger was particularly attractive to seamen who saw in it a life of great independence compared to that on board a ship. Due to the increasing numbers of seamen on the goldfields a Foreign Seamen's Act was introduced in New South Wales. According to it, foreign seamen could be arrested and expelled for desertion or other misconduct, at the request of the Consul concerned, who was to pay the expenses. In February 1855 Swedish and Norwegian vessels came under the Foreign Seamen's Legislation in New South Wales,⁵ but obviously this did not have

1

Quoted in Blegen, pp.284-285.

2

An Englishman, William Kelly, chose a Danish vessel for Port Phillip, attracted by its seaworthiness and cleanliness. It carried only six cabin passengers. William Kelly, Life in Victoria, or Victoria in 1853, and Victoria in 1858, London 1859, I, pp.5-27.

3

W.E. Adcock, The Gold Rushes of the Fifties, Melbourne 1912, p.37.

4

Cronqvist, pp.66-69.

5

N.O. Pyke, "Foreign Immigration to the Gold Fields (N.S.W. and Victoria)(1851-61)", M.A. Thesis, The University of Sydney, February 1946, pp.87-88, 354.

much effect as no records of arrests of seamen at the time have been found.

After the first pioneers had arrived letters were sent to relatives and friends to join them. A Dane, F.C. Gronvald (born in 1835) received a letter from his friends on the goldfields, where a couple of them had been lucky and praised the free and lusty life of the gold-digger, however, adding that the work was hard. Consequently Gronvald was caught by 'travel fever' and via Kiel, Hamburg, and Hull he arrived in Liverpool, where he took a sailing vessel for Sydney, as in those days steamboats went only once a month and were expensive.¹

Two strong chain-migration cases, those of the Jorgensen and Cohn families, are presented in detail in Appendix II, as revealed by the Naturalization Records and literature. It appears that the Danes originated mainly from larger towns such as Copenhagen and also many came from Schleswig-Holstein, Swedes came from Stockholm and from and around the seaport of Gothenburg, most Norwegians and Finns came from the southern and western coasts.² Also literature, when occasionally giving the places of origin of diggers, revealed them most often coming from seaport towns.³

The Numbers of Scandinavians

The numbers and nationalities of Scandinavians in the gold rush in Victoria are not known; contemporary Cronqvist estimated a total of 2,800 or at least 2,500 as follows: 1,500 Swedes, 1,000 Danes and 300 Norwegians.⁴ This estimate was considered somewhat exaggerated as continental Europe, excluding Germany and France, in the Census of 1857

¹

"En af de Gamle (One of the Old Ones)", Norden, 159, 28 June 1902, p.1.

²

Naturalization Records. See Table 8 in Appendix I showing regions of origin cross-tabulated with years of arrival.

³

Henriksen, p.17.

⁴

Cronqvist, p.40. Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.21-22, estimated some 2,000 Scandinavians in Victoria, most of them at mines, and 500 in New South Wales and put the number of Scandinavians taking part in the gold rush at about 5,000.

totalled only 4,976 persons.¹ However, Cronqvist's total of some 2,500 may not be far from right, though his proportions of nationalities, especially between Danes and Swedes, may in the light of the naturalizations be somewhat misleading.

Table 4.1: Naturalized Scandinavians - Males - who Arrived in Australia
1850-69

	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Scandinavians</u>
1850-59	400	223	105	14	742
1860-69	<u>303</u>	<u>269</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>715</u>
Total	<u>703</u>	<u>492</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>1,457</u>

Source: Naturalization Records.

Remembering that Danes generally had a higher percentage naturalized than Swedes, Table 4.1 indicates that half of the permanent Scandinavian settlers who arrived in the two gold decades were Danes. Assuming that a third, or at least a quarter, of Scandinavians settling in Australia were subsequently naturalized,² some 600 Scandinavian settlers arriving in 1852-57 give a total about 2,000 for the peak period and according to Table 4.1 some 5,000 permanent settlers for the 1850s and 1860s. It is impossible to estimate the number of those who for shorter or longer periods visited the goldfields. It appears from the literature that a considerable proportion, especially the seaman element, left the goldfields and Australia, but many also died during the two decades. The first census to reveal the numbers of Scandinavians in Victoria, that of 1871, showed some 2,300 Scandinavians, almost half of them Danes.

¹

Gilson and Zubrzycki, p.13, note 32.

²

Based on the available census figures it was estimated in the introduction, p.33, that at the turn of the century every fourth Scandinavian was naturalized. These censuses, 1891 and 1901, however, represent the aftermath of heavy Scandinavian seamen-immigration in the 1880s (see Chart II), and it seems safe to assume on the basis of case studies, that the proportion of naturalizations was somewhat higher among the goldrush settlers than the immigrants (often seamen) of the late nineteenth century.

Table 4.2: Scandinavian-born in Victoria, Census 1871

	<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Sweden</u>	<u>Norway</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	934	816	389	2,139
Females	<u>80</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>115</u>
Total	<u>1,014</u>	<u>845</u>	<u>395</u>	<u>2,254</u>

Numbers for New South Wales in 1871 are not available; anyway there were considerably less than in Victoria. According to the Census of 1871 in New South Wales the number of persons born in foreign countries, excluding the United States, France, Germany, China and islands in the South Pacific, was 2,596 males and 266 females. Presumably less than half of these males hailed from Scandinavia with few Scandinavian-born women; this estimation gives about a thousand Scandinavians in New South Wales in 1871. These probably lived in Sydney or were scattered all over the colony leaving little record for posterity. In the other colonies, notably in Queensland, a few hundred more were found; many coming from Victoria and New South Wales, often in search of gold. Thus this estimation, based on the censuses, also gives some 4,000 Scandinavians in Australia about 1870; the number, however, excluding those dead and those who left Australia.

Very few Scandinavian females ever went to the Australian goldfields; indeed there were very few elsewhere, as is clear from the Victorian Census of 1871. Mrs Appel was the only Danish woman at Campbell's Creek and Cronqvist relates that it was very rare to meet a Swedish woman. This happened mainly at ports, as captains often had their wives with them. He estimated that in the whole of Australia there were no more than six Swedish females.¹

On the Goldfields

As shown earlier, Scandinavians, for their safety and the lack of command of English and for a natural desire to be with people of their own land, often arrived in groups to the goldfields. For the same reasons they stayed together to work in groups and protect themselves against

¹

Cronqvist, p 61

unlawful actions so common on the fields especially at the early stage of each rush. A typical group was that of the Norwegian Henriksen in early 1853 at Forest Creek, Mount Alexander: two Englishmen, nine Germans, three Swedes, three Norwegians and a Dane, altogether 18 men.¹ The Scandinavian gold-diggers mainly concentrated on the three biggest goldfields, Ballarat, Bendigo and Castlemaine, though some were to be found at Maryborough, Daylesford and other fields.

Ballarat

This rich goldfield was found in December 1851 and soon developed into one of the biggest mining centres. The great days of Ballarat were those of alluvial digging with 'Californian cradles', followed by quartz mining by big companies. Cronqvist estimated that about a third, or some 800 of the Scandinavians lived in Ballarat. Although this estimate may be exaggerated, Scandinavians were sufficiently numerous there to have many ethnic social activities (see pp.94-96). The famous Eureka Stockade took place on the Ballarat goldfield in 1854 when discontent with the licensing system led to a fight between gold-diggers and troops. Scandinavians, being numerous in the Ballarat area, were obviously more or less involved in the incident, though not much information exists.²

Bendigo

After Ballarat, the most important agglomeration of Scandinavians was found in Bendigo (at the time known as Sandhurst), where gold had been discovered in January 1852. As the gold at Ballarat lay deep underground, many late-comers without capital went to Bendigo where only a pick and shovel were needed.³ In addition the work was much more

¹

Henriksen, p.17.

²

Th. Berg, the biography of L.F. Vestblad, Norden, 52, May 1898, p.9. Vestblad was born in 1831 in Varmland, Sweden. His father was a farmer with a large family and prospects in Sweden were not promising. In 1853 Vestblad sailed for the Australian goldfields, became involved in license troubles leading to the Eureka Stockade, married an Irish widow, and finally about 1880 settled on land with his brother and sons.

³

Sturup, pp.23-24.

pleasant than in the deep mines of Ballarat. According to Cronqvist there were 400-500 Scandinavians, most of them Danes, in Bendigo.¹ As late as the second half of the 1860s, 30-40 Danish gold-diggers would gather on a Saturday night at the Old Prince of Wales Hotel conducted by a countryman, and a similar number would forgather in the new Prince of Wales Hotel conducted by another countryman. Their spiritual needs were attended by a former minister of the Swedish Church, Peter Wideman, himself a gold-digger (see his biography in Appendix II).² Quite a number of Scandinavians were in business, the most prominent being the Cohn brothers from Denmark. In 1857 they founded the first brewery of the district and became prominent citizens. The details of the chain-migration of this family are given in Appendix II.

Castlemaine

Originally this rich goldfield was known as Mount Alexander and already in the early part of the 1850s there were a couple of hundred Scandinavians at Campbell's Creek, Forest Creek, Fryer's Creek and other goldfields around Castlemaine. At Forest Creek a place called a Scandinavian Lead, found by two Norwegian brothers named Olsen (see Appendix II), was well known. Most of the diggers hailed from Schleswig. One, Hans J. Appel, married the widow of a fellow digger and bought a hotel at Fryers Creek. Later he bought the Five Flag Hotel at Campbell's Creek, which became a second home for many young Schleswigers. At least fifty of them at a time could be seen there regularly, mothered by Esther Appel, the only Danish woman on the field. In the 1870s when the alluvial gold-digging became less profitable, many of the later arrivals went to New South Wales to work at tank sinking, house building and fencing for the Riverina squatters, but they always returned to the Five Flak Hotel and to Campbell's Creek to spend their Christmases. Besides this Danish hotel there were two shanties owned by Schleswig-Danes, Claus Gronn (his biography, based on his reminiscences, is in Appendix II) and

¹ Cronqvist, p. 59.

² Lyng, "Deeds and Doings", Norden, 711, 5 April 1924, p. 7.

Hans L. Muller. A hay and corn store and a blacksmith shop, conducted by a Dane, was called 'Copenhagen', a name retained to the days of Jens Lyng, who in 1924 still found three old Danish gold-diggers at Campbell's Creek.¹

Mac Ivor

This goldfield is nowadays known as Heathcote from the town standing in the middle of the field. In 1858 some two hundred Scandinavians, mostly Swedes, were thought to have been there.² This was probably the most important Swedish speaking agglomeration on the goldfields. In a letter dated 20 May 1856, the Swedish clergyman Peter Wideman tells that he belonged to a group of them consisting of 25 Swedes, a few Danes and two Finns, called Haggblom.³

In his book of 1859 Cronqvist devotes a chapter to these two brothers, Alfred and Wilhelm Haggblom,⁴ who were sea captains and had been ashore for four years and were now returning to Finland. A great farewell celebration, lasting eight days, was arranged for them, culminating in a party at the local hotel on the wintry day of 17 June 1858. Toasts were proposed and some thirty men shed tears at the time of departure. A song, specially written to the tune of the Finnish national anthem, was sung, ending with the words:

Better is our old North
than this land of gold.⁵

The Haggblom brothers are the only Finns on the goldfields about whom records were found. Probably there were only a handful of Finns,

¹

Lyng, "Deeds and Doings", Norden, 711, 5 April 1924, p.7; and Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.22-23.

²

Cronqvist, pp.85-87.

³

Norden, 150, 22 February 1902, p.7.

⁴

Cronqvist called the brothers only Alfred and Wilhelm H. Their surname was revealed by Peter Wideman in his letter dated 20 May 1856 published in the Norden, 150, 22 February 1902, p.7.

⁵

Cronqvist, pp.88-90, translation.

mainly Swedish speaking, who were generally counted as belonging to the larger Swedish group.

Other Goldfields

Scandinavians were found on all the goldfields of Victoria and New South Wales. In Gippsland the names 'The Rose of Denmark', 'Scandinavian Creek' and 'Walhalla' represent some footprints left by the Scandinavian gold-diggers.

Life on the Goldfields

What kind of life did these sons of Vikings have on the goldfields?

The first winter at Ballarat I do believe I shed tears and fairly cried through pain; and on another occasion I fairly broke down with my hands hanging in rags, but I never despaired. I kept from drink and intemperance of all sorts and pulled through my eighteen years' residence in Victoria without a days sickness, and with none but kindly feelings towards the colony.¹

Corfitz Cronqvist once asked a Scandinavian for his opinion of the country. "Roughly what I expected", the digger replied, "hard work without sweet pomegranates, but pleasant, more pleasant than anybody believes...when one only finds gold!!! Besides a good climate, though a bit warm at summer. Sometimes poor as a church mouse...But honestly, this is a country for slaves and tough seamen, not for people who are used to any better...But neither me or any of us goes home without a thousand pounds".² And an old colonist gave Robert Watt the most important piece of advice: "Make money - as honestly as you can - but make money".³ Life on the goldfields was basically a gamble. The average digger worked hard for often much less than ordinary wages; yet there was always present the hope of making a fortune.

¹

Bannow, p 17.

²

Cronqvist, pp.52-53

³

Bob, Fra Australien, p 11.

The reminiscences of Scandinavian gold-diggers¹ speak on the one hand about hard labour, often with scant results, and on the other hand about the free and jolly life of a digger. They were moving quickly from rush to rush and from place to place. If they stayed in one place for a longer time, and the group grew bigger, they used to gather around a camp fire at night after the day's toil to talk and sing or perhaps to have a drink together.

The most common meeting place for Scandinavians, however, were hotels; here not only could drinks be bought but papers could be read and the latest news heard. There were also women and dancing every night until 11 o'clock (on Saturday 12 o'clock). Sunday was a solemn day: women were dressed in silk, men wore their best, and children were made up. It was a jolly life - even more pleasant than contemporary student life as reported at the time² - and a Scandinavian gold-digger who returned back to his home country wrote: "If I had not had wife and children I would have stayed there forever".³

Many Scandinavians were educated men; Gronn relates having met doctors, lawyers, sea captains and businessmen together with criminals from the old countries.⁴ But Cronqvist considered the educational level of the Scandinavians on the whole extremely low, giving the following account:

More than half of them are deserted or paid out seamen... 20 per cent are various laborers, 15 per cent Danish peasants,

1

Cronqvist; and Sturup; and Carl A. Olsen, En Guldgravers historie (A History of a Gold-digger), Christiania 1882; Claus Gronn, "Erindringer fra mit Guldgraverliv" (Reminiscences from my gold-digging days, Norden, 207, 30 April 1904 - 222, 26 November 1904. This series of articles was later published in a book form as Erindringer fra So og Land (Reminiscences from Sea and Ashore), Melbourne 1906.

2

Wideman, Norden, 145-146, 21 December 1901 - 150, 22 February 1902.

3

Sturup, p.85, for leisure time activities, pp.80-85.

4

Gronn, Norden, 216, 3 September 1904, p.8. Previously mentioned Peter Wideman was not the only Scandinavian clergyman on the goldfields. Bob, Fra Australien, p.11 relates that a Danish group included a Candidate of Theology who had been a teacher before. Also Ludv. Saxe, Nordmand Jorden Rundt (Norwegians Around the World), Kristiania 1914, p.134, told that Cand. Theol. T. Asche, the father of famous actor Oscar Asche, from Christiania, Norway, went to the goldfield and later had a hotel in Melbourne and Sydney.

15 per cent artisans, and no more than 200 have received any higher education, and only some 30 possessed any theoretical or practical training¹

The author, after the failure of his newspaper at Ballarat in 1857 (see pp. 96-97), was dissatisfied with his fellow Scandinavians and this probably influenced his attitudes.

Whatever the exact number of educated men may have been, there were clearly sufficient to sponsor a number of formal social activities. Scandinavians were most numerous around Ballarat, and here in 1857 the first known Scandinavian society in Australia was founded. Very little would have remained known about this early Scandinavian society had its secretary not published a book on his experiences in Australia.² Cronqvist's account of the society, and especially of the executive committee, may not be quite objective. He was bitter, blaming his countrymen for insufficient support given to his newspaper. However, it can be regarded as reliable concerning the activities pursued in the society.

The beginnings of formal social life were the religious needs of Scandinavians. The first known Scandinavian to preach the gospel in his mother tongue in Australia was a Swedish gold-digger - a former clergyman - Peter Wideman, who arrived in Victoria in 1855. He moved about the gold-diggings preaching for his countrymen in leisure hours. His interesting biography, largely based on his long letter from Mac Ivor in 1856,³ is presented in Appendix II. In this letter Wideman relates how he preached at Easter, calling it the first Swedish divine service in Australia.

At Ballarat religious needs resulted in two general meetings to establish a Scandinavian congregation and church. Though these plans

1

Cronqvist, p. 40.

2

Notably the chapter "Skandinaviska foreningen i Ballarat" (The Scandinavian society in Ballarat), Cronqvist, pp. 40-46. Lyng was not aware of this book and received his scarce information from a Danish colonist by the name of Bulow. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp. 137-138.

3

Published Norden, 145-46, 21 December 1901 - 150, 22 February 1902.

came to nought, out of these meetings a Scandinavian society was founded, with an executive committee of two Danes, two Swedes, and two Norwegians. The aim of the society was to act for the general benefit of Scandinavians by advice and deed and to bring about a congregation and the building of a church.¹ This was partly perhaps to satisfy some members of the community, as after the original church attempt had failed some Scandinavians dropped out of the activities.

The membership fee was one pound, and a wooden house was bought in Bridge Street. Here Scandinavian books were preserved and there lived also the secretary, Cronqvist (spelled Krohkvist by Lyng). Larger meetings were held in the Adelphi Hotel, conducted by a Norwegian. Most of the members were said to have been Swedes.²

The society, notwithstanding the two first general meetings held for the building of a church, showed signs of life only during the first few months of 1857. At that time Cronqvist used to give lectures in the club room every Sunday. Swedish and Danish poetry and literature were also recited there to cherish national sentiments. Often the room, according to Cronqvist, was full of participants, which in his opinion proved that had the committee really wished it the society could have succeeded.³

An impetus for dissolution was given by a proposition to invite a Scandinavian pastor. Some, including the Danish merchant Tuxen, supported the move; others, including the Danish colonist Bulow and a Norwegian, Baron Wedel Jasberg, objected strongly. The main argument of the opposition was that the Scandinavians, as mobile as mercury rushing after gold, could not support permanent pastors. The proposition came to nothing, but it caused a permanent split. In the end the society died and the house was sold,⁴ probably after Cronqvist had left Ballarat. He sold his library of 150 books to the society cheaply, and complained that after his departure lectures were discontinued, the premises became

1

Cronqvist, p.44, note.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.137-138.

3

Cronqvist, pp.43-44.

4

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.138; and Scandinavians in Australasia, p.88.

empty, and only the committee gathered there once a week; meanwhile the two pubs owned by Norwegians were full of Scandinavians who loved a pub more than a society.¹

This Scandinavian society in Ballarat flourished only a couple of months. The major cause of its break-up was friction between the religious and secular elements; tension between the nationalities did not appear to have been as dominant as in many later societies. No doubt the lack of Scandinavian women also militated against stability. However, the major reason was the widely scattered Scandinavian settlement and the nomadic life of the gold-diggers.

The only other record of social activities by Scandinavians at Ballarat refers to 1869, when a ball was arranged to celebrate the marriage of the Danish Crown Prince and a Swedish Princess.² By the end of the century the number of Scandinavians on the goldfields had declined greatly, due to departures and deaths, and obviously the remaining Scandinavians restricted their social activities to local hotels.

Little is known about social life of Scandinavians on other goldfields; presumably it was rather like that on the Victorian fields, though less concentrated.

Another Scandinavian institution struggling to emerge in gold-rush days was the ethnic press. The Scandinavian press in Australia goes back to the year 1857 when the Swedish compositor, Corfitz Cronqvist, founded a paper, the Norden, in Melbourne. As at the time Scandinavians were most numerous at Ballarat he moved the paper there, probably after receiving some promises of assistance from the local Scandinavian society. The paper was sold on a cash payment of one shilling per copy. The price probably was not too high, but the Scandinavians were widely scattered and often without any fixed abode, and the paper did not last more than three months. The editor became very bitter with his countrymen and pessimistically prophesised that probably never will a similar attempt be

¹ Cronqvist, p 44.

² Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.138, 238.

made in Australia.¹ No copy of this early Scandinavian paper exists, only some quotations remain in Cronqvist's book.

Scandinavians in Melbourne

Not all Scandinavians lived on the goldfields. Before the main rush started a few had already settled permanently in Melbourne, and it was often through their homes that new arrivals found their way to the goldfields. In the 1850s a Danish merchant called Melchior had a business in Flinders Lane and employed there a cousin and a storeman, Jorgen Jorgenson, whose house in Russell Street became a home for recently arrived countrymen. Jorgenson gave the Danes money and his time, and answered inquiries made from Denmark. On the verandah of the house Danes used to gather to talk about their far-off home country.²

While most of the Danes went to the goldfields and later settled on the land in considerable numbers, many Swedes appear to have been tradesmen, notably tailors and woodworkers, often settling in Melbourne (probably after first visiting the goldfields).

An interesting feature is that Claus Gronn and many other old pioneers of Ballarat, Bendigo, Castlemaine etc. knew practically no Scandinavians in Melbourne in the 1850s. Fortunately in 1907 Lyng came across a certain Mr Wilson from Greymouth, New Zealand, being originally a Norwegian (from Kragero) who had lived in Melbourne (in the 1850s) until he left for New Zealand in 1861.

"Were there any Scandinavians in Melbourne at that time", Lyng queried.

1

Cronqvist, p.43.

2

Bob, Fra Australien, p.12. Bob's or R. Watt's second book, I Verandaen; Billeder af Livet i Australien (On the Verandah; Pictures of the Life in Australia), Kobenhavn 1864, got its name from these meetings. In this book, p.150, Watt tells that he was regarded as a true-born Briton, due to his name and fluent English. Claus Gronn in his memoirs tells about 'Bob the Bellman', who was an eccentric; nobody knew who he really was or where he came from. He was a genius, who had apparently seen better days and was said to have been even a professor at Cambridge University. Gronn, Norden, 216, 3 September 1904, p.8.

"In crowds", the old man replied, "but most of them were seafolk sailing on the coast",

"But permanently settled?"

"Yes, we had a deal: merchant Melchior's people, two Swedes there had a jewelry business in Bourke Street, a Swedish shoemaker, Sandstrom, in Bourke Street, another Swede, Oscar Astbeck, had a commission business. I had a lodgings house in Collins Street, a Swede, under the English name of Wilson, and two Danes had also lodgings houses etc. . . There was no Scandinavian society in Melbourne at that time, everything was so new".¹ Also a contemporary author confirms that "we did not have any club but a certain place where gathered those who either came from inland or home land".² These gathering places were private homes and particularly the shops of Scandinavian merchants, which were regularly visited by Scandinavian sea captains in the port. There the local residents could learn news of their home countries. The local residents were also in the habit of visiting Scandinavian ships, where the captains often had their wives with them. Cronqvist related that on one occasion there were seven Swedish ships in the port and a social gathering on board was attended by six Swedish ladies and 20 gentlemen.³

Lyng, however, refers to a Scandinavian society in Melbourne in the fifties.⁴ No details of this society were found except a reference that a dozen of the thirty or so Swedes then in Melbourne formed a 'society' and used to meet in a shop owned by a Swede.⁵ How formal a society this

1

Jens Lyng, "Scandinaverne i Melbourne i 50-aarene" (Scandinavians in Melbourne in the 50s), *Fra vor egen midte* (Among Ourselves), *Norden*, 296, 5 October 1907, p. 9. Information about the early Scandinavians in Melbourne can also be found from an interview of Mrs Lemme, a Dane married to a German, who arrived in Melbourne in a ship of merchant Melchior in the early 1850s. "Nogle Faa Skandinaviske Navne Fra Victorias Forste Dage" (A few Scandinavian Names from the first Days of Victoria), *Norden*, 44, January 1898, p. 7; Bob, *Fra Australien*, p. 11, related that many Danish artisans had obtained an independent position in Melbourne; and Sturup, p. 90.

2

Bob, *I Verandaen*, p. 167

3

Cronqvist, pp. 60-62.

4

Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand*, p. 54.

5

Cronqvist, p. 60

was is impossible to say, but Cronqvist's term 'formed a society' supports Lyng's statement, though the term can also mean a concentrated settlement of Swedes.

Aftermath; from Gold to Land

After a shorter or longer period on the goldfields some Scandinavians - like the Jorgenson brothers - made their fortunes, many - like the Olsens - returned to the lands of their birth; some sought other claims or engaged in a similar quest in New Zealand after 1860,¹ or even in South America; some went back to the sea, but many remained in the Australian colonies. About 1870 the deposits of alluvial gold began to diminish, and after a further decade few gold-diggers were left. Scandinavians started to scatter all over the colony: some became wage earners employed by the quartz mining companies, some returned to their old trades, some went into business in Melbourne or elsewhere, and the remainder settled on the land and quickly merged into the agricultural population of Victoria; a change aptly called 'from mines to soil'.

Sturup related that the mines were overcrowded, but the migrant had no other choice but mines. Many a young man, after collecting money for some years, was eager to buy land and settle permanently in the colony, but to start farming he needed even more capital. Land could be bought but rich squatters tried by all means to prevent land selling. However, five miles from Melbourne there was uncultivated land, and Sturup stated that if the American principle had been followed, they would not have to walk for a day from one house to another.²

At about this time the Victorian Government made available for selection some fertile, well-watered, but heavily timbered hill country in Gippsland. Some Scandinavians availed themselves of this opportunity to get cheap land; many were of rural origin and wanted to settle down on farms. Here at East Poowong arose in the late 1870s a compact colony of thirteen Danish families and one Norwegian. The majority of the Danes at East Poowong, as well as in another settlement at Muckleford near

1

W.D. Borrie, "Immigration to New Zealand since 1854", Dunedin, New Zealand, 1937-38, p.296.

2

Sturup, pp.98-100.

Castlemaine, originated from Schleswig-Holstein.¹ Notwithstanding these and a few other agglomerations, the gold rush Scandinavians interspersed amongst the mixed populations of Victoria and the other colonies - even those few group settlements assimilated quickly by the end of the century² - disappearing from the eyes of later historians.

¹ Christmas, p. 223.

² See pp 149, 152 in the next chapter.

Chapter V: THE CREST OF THE WAVE; 1870-WORLD WAR I

"What a motley crowd we were: Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, a Russian Finn and an Icclander...None of us knew anything about Queensland...what the country was like and what we were going to do there. There was not a single individual among the passengers who understood English..."

A Danish Emigrant (T.P.L. Weittemeyer),
Missing Friends, London 1908, pp.19, 23.

INTRODUCTION

The major influx of Scandinavians to Australia took place in the decades immediately before and after the economic depression of the 1890s, as the highest peaks in Chart II, Appendix I, indicate. The former peak coincided with the large-scale Scandinavian emigration after the crop failures of the late 1860s and culminated in the early years of the 1880s, as revealed in Chapter II. Between 1870 and World War I Scandinavian migration to Australia was characterized by assisted passages to Queensland and by relatively voluminous Scandinavian immigration to all colonies, especially the immigration of seamen.

The majority of Scandinavians migrating to Australia originated from coastal seafaring and agricultural areas. In Map I (at the beginning of the thesis) which shows the birthplaces of the Scandinavian male settlers who became naturalized before 1947, the most conspicuous feature is the high proportions coming from large seaports: Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Stockholm, Oslo, Bergen, Turku, etc. This seaport and coastal origin is to a great extent explained by the fact that it was so much easier for seamen to reach Australia than for an ordinary immigrant, often of farming background. The Scandinavian population was concentrated along the coast, and one would expect therefore large numbers of coastal migrants among those emigrating; an even larger number than expected, often with urban background, did in fact come from these areas. Numbers of other Scandinavians, however, also came, notably Danes. Though many came from Copenhagen, a rural background was more characteristic of Danish settlers, and seafaring more common among the three other nationalities.

Information on the occupations of Scandinavian emigrants is, unfortunately, incomplete and unreliable because of differences between the various countries, changes in classification, and failure to state the country of destination in documents. However, it seems that most Scandinavian emigrants were labourers, or had been engaged either in agriculture or industry.¹ Norwegian emigrants had most often been employed in agriculture, forestry, or fishing, and since about the turn

1

Jensen, pp 305-306

of the century also in manufacturing and trade.¹ With a larger proportion of seamen there is no evidence of Scandinavians migrating to Australia differing from general economic and social background patterns. In short, Scandinavian migrants came from the lower social groups, and their motives of migration were economic, though there were sometimes other causes as a Danish migrant, born in 1858 near Flensburg, in Schleswig-Holstein, wrote:

When I was 20 years old I was conscripted for the German army, which I did not relish, and meeting a friend who privately informed me that I could get away with him to Queensland, we went to an emigrant agent, who arranged all details. It was not possible to get away in my own name, but my stepmother's brother, 8 years older, had a free pass from military service and could leave Germany. I came away in his name.²

For a Scandinavian migrant to Australia - as elsewhere - the main goal was to obtain an independent economic position. Confronted with a choice between available opportunities the situation of the pioneer settler was different from that of the later arrival coming to join relatives and friends already settled. For the pioneer it was essential first of all to learn the local economic conditions. Often he found the key to employment problems in matching the experiences he had brought with him with the prospects Australia offered,³ not infrequently starting his career as a general labourer, or remaining in his old calling, perhaps as a seaman. The latecomer often arrived simply to join his countrymen and followed their successful example when obtaining his initial employment. Although many Scandinavians remained in low status occupations, some of them in due course advanced to better economic positions, thus making it easier for their relatives and friends later to

1

Statistisk Sentralbyrå (Statistical Central Bureau), Ekteenskap, Fødsler og Vandringer i Norge 1856-1960 (Marriages, Births, and Migrations in Norway 1856-1960), Samfunnsøkonomiske Studier 13 (Socio-Economic Studies 13), Oslo 1965, pp 173-177, English summary, p.218.

2

"An Old Pioneer", Norden, 953, 20 January 1934, p. 6. Settlers from South Jutland were considerably younger at arrival than the Danish average. See p 223.

3

Price, Southern Europeans, p.142.

join them; for example, a sugar cane farmer could invite a relative to assist him in clearing more land for cultivation.

The following paragraphs discuss Scandinavian immigration and settlement after 1870 separately in each colony. In this context also ethnic societies, churches and press - often integral parts of adjustment - will be treated. The end of the chapter will have an Australian-wide review of the colonial settlement and occupational distribution. The last section will then summarize immigration, settlement and occupations from the turn of the century to World War I.

QUEENSLAND

Assisted Migration to Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s

The Open Land

White settlement on the shores of the Brisbane River started in 1824 in the form of convict camps. Soon afterwards New South Wales squatters moved their flocks north, occupying the south-eastern pastoral lands by the middle of the 1840s. These pioneers included the previously mentioned Archer brothers from Norway. In 1840 the prison settlement on the Brisbane River was abandoned, the squatters were chronically short of labour, and experiments with Kanakas from the South Sea Islands and Coolies from India and China had not really begun. The gold discoveries in the southern colonies of the continent caused the floating population rapidly to drift there. In fact, Queensland did not at first attract many immigrants, mainly because of a climate uncongenial to Europeans and land laws which at the time favoured pastoral pursuits.

The colony of Queensland was separated from New South Wales in 1859, with a white population of 23,000 persons and a territory of 670,000 square miles. Measures were taken to encourage immigration to the colony to create closer settlements. The Immigration Act of 1863 provided free passages for farmers, farm labourers, artisans, domestic servants and other favoured categories of people, while some additional groups were given partial assistance. The scheme was extended beyond the British Isles to Germany, though the number of German settlers was restricted to 2,000 each year. Fully assisted immigrants received 40 acres on arrival.

while on the fertile Darling Downs 160 acre blocks were made available. These were prosperous times, until after a boom of Government investments an economic slump occurred in the mid-sixties. Fortunately, "in September 1867 the miracle came, for in that month were discovered the rich gold deposits at Gympie";¹ rushes came from the southern colonies, and business recovered quickly. The revived prosperity enabled the government to take steps to increase the population, and at this stage the immigration field was extended to the Scandinavian countries.

Before the Scandinavians, a number of Germans had found their way to Queensland, starting with missionaries in 1838, and some of these eventually turned to farming. Many Germans came from the South Australian settlements established in the 1830s and 1840s. In all, Germans totalled over 2,000 in the Census of 1861. To promote German immigration a German merchant was sent to Europe as an immigration agent, and by 1871 the Germans had increased to more than 8,000 while the Scandinavians had hardly started to arrive. During the years 1871-80 another 10,000 or so German settlers arrived, mainly from the northern parts of Germany.² Other non-British Europeans were few, in the Census of 1861 only 285. Lyng considered about half of these to be Scandinavians, and that by 1868 these had increased to about 600.³ In August 1871 the sailing vessel, the Freideburg (sometimes spelled Friedeburg), landed the first contingent of Scandinavians from Hamburg.⁴ As the census was taken on the night of September 1, the number of

1

T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia, Melbourne (MacMillan of Australia) 1969, First Print 1918, II, pp.899-900.

2

Otto F. Theile, One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland, Brisbane 1938, p.75.

3

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.121; and "Et 50 Aars Jubileum"(A 50 years Celebration), Norden, 672, 30 September 1922, p.1.

4

In the Friedebourg (thus written) arrived altogether 353 immigrants, of whom 153 were single men, 43 married men, 44 married women, 33 single women, and the rest children. "Report of the Agent General for Emigration", V & P, Qld 1872, p.1434.

Scandinavians in it consisted mainly of earlier settlers. Thus it can be estimated on the basis of Table 5.1 that about 800 Scandinavians arrived in Queensland by 1870.

The Way to Queensland

For the gentleman, adventurer, and seaman, the way to Australia had always been open, but for the poor emigrant the crossing of oceans was expensive and the chances of obtaining any sort of passage were uncertain. To most emigrants the oceans were regions of storms and shipwrecks, rather to be avoided.¹ The Scandinavians going to Queensland and New Zealand by assisted passages were poor and often rootless people. Like many Germans who lived under a system which prevented them from ever becoming independent owners of land, the Scandinavians had nothing to lose but everything to gain. However, had they been in a position to pay their passages, the bulk of them would have gone to the United States. But under the assisted passage scheme the voyage to Queensland was practically free; only a small honorarium of £2 had to be paid to the agent. Married couples were allowed to take two children with them. People over 50 years of age had to pay £16 but they were given a certificate for a land grant of 40 acres of land.²

The Queensland offer of assisted passages and grants of land was advertised - as was a similar New Zealand offer - in the Scandinavian countries, and a good number of letters sent from Queensland were circulated. Some difficulties were met with in Norway where the Director of Police at Christiania (Oslo) tried to prohibit emigration to Queensland and thus 30 full-paying and assisted passengers were prevented from proceeding by the John Bertram. Thanks to the Agent-General and the

1

The dread of the sea was most openly expressed by the women, their hesitation, however, often resting upon a fear of life in frontier lands and backwood cabins awaiting them beyond the sea, contrasting with the pleasant community life they were used to. Thus many a husband discovered a strong objection to emigration. A popular emigrant guidebook advised the husband to be patient and temperate but firm and, if needed, to plan to go without her. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, pp. 165-166. This partly explains the lack of Scandinavian women also in Australia.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 40.

British Consul General for Norway, the permission for the continuance of emigration was eventually obtained.¹

Emigrants from the Scandinavian countries first went to Hamburg. There an agent took charge, guiding them to German sailing vessels chartered by the Queensland Government. To illustrate the story of this migration there follows a detailed description of the voyage of one Danish emigrant.²

Thorvald Weitemeyer was born in Copenhagen in 1850, son of a builder who ruled his children with an iron hand. At the age of twenty-one the boy escaped from home and went to Hamburg. There he found only poorly paid hard work as a joiner, so he was saving money to leave the place, when:

One Sunday evening as I walked about the streets, I saw in a window a large attractive placard on which was printed in red letters: "Free Emigration to Queensland, Australia". I am certain I had never heard the name Queensland before, and my impression of Australia was that it was the place to which criminals were sent; I had also read something about gold-digging in Australia, but it was in the form of novel and I did not believe it.³

The next day he asked the office for information. The ship would sail in a fortnight. Did he want to go? "Two pounds sterling please. Only three or four tickets left". He was also promised food for the whole journey, and bedclothes, and "your own knife, spoon and fork", which all would become his property on arrival in Queensland. After arrival he was promised accommodation in a first class hotel for two or

1

Wm. Kirchner, "Report of the Emigration Agent for Germany", V & P, Qld 1872, pp. 1439-1440.

2

A Danish Emigrant (T.P.L. Weitemeyer), Missing Friends; Being the Adventures of a Danish Emigrant in Queensland (1871-1880), London 1892, 2nd ed. 1908. The book was published anonymously. In a copy of the 1892 edition a pen writing gives the author's name; and Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland", III, Norden, 894, 13 June 1931, p. 7; also gives the same name. The book Missing Friends is a reliable record and the author writes: "I doubt if ever a book was written with more regard to truth. I have added nothing to the original manuscript (written about 1885)". Op cit., pp. vii-ix.

3

A Danish Emigrant, p. 7

three weeks, free of all cost until work could be provided. He was guaranteed at least two years work in road building. Of course he could also get work as a carpenter and joiner, and the wages would be at least one pound a day. But as the quota for carpenters was already filled he had to be officially listed as an agricultural labourer. The clerk suggested gold-digging, and further told him that the cattle over there are running wild, just waiting to be shot, and that game was in equal abundance - kangaroos, parrots, and all sorts. He was also promised eighty acres of the richest agricultural land in the colony. When asked the informant told him that he had personally never been in Queensland.

Young Weitemeyer felt very undecided. He did not buy any ticket nor did he go to work that day. He kept roaming around the streets, thinking about Queensland and the information he had received. "Wages a pound sterling per day! - cattle running wild - large goldfields! - and eighty acres of their best land would they give me if only I would go!" Then he began to wonder if the fellow in the office would have been prepared to tell him, if asked, that by careful cultivation houses would grow out of the ground by themselves in that country. However, he decided to go just to see the land in which swans were black and rivers were running from the ocean inland. He had wild ideas about the dangers and he decided, if he did go, to take with him some firearms to be the captain of a gang of warriors, half robbers half goldminers, roaming over the continent of Australia.

Our budding author further tells how the Queensland Government tried to promote emigration. The agents, whose only qualification was a gift for glib talking, knew little or nothing about Queensland, and Weitemeyer continues:

Fancy a home-bred peasant coming into such a place with the care of a family on his shoulders, and a little money in the bank, and think of a clerk talking to him about goldfields and firearms and statistics, all the time admitting he never was in the colony himself! I think it is quite enough to prevent anyone going out. And yet people of that class are the only class of poor men who really can do well in Queensland, and they are almost the only desirable sort of emigrants for the country itself. On the other hand the towns out here are crowded with men who seek for light work, and I have no hesitation in asserting that for certain people, such as junior clerks without influence, grocers' and drapers' assistants, second-class tradesmen etc., it is quite as difficult, if not

more so, to obtain a living in Queensland as in Copenhagen. The land order I obtained, and which entitled me to eighty acres of land, I threw away; so did the other emigrants on the ship.¹

Weitemeyer made up his mind to go, took a holiday, bought the ticket, a revolver, ammunition and a long knife - and squandered away the rest of his money, much to his regret later on. The time for departure came, and the emigrants were lodged in German sailing vessels chartered by the Queensland Government. Describing the human cargo Weitemeyer noticed that:

...in the majority of cases extreme poverty was evident in their dress and stamped upon their faces, and it was easy to see that the same spirit of recklessness which filled me had somehow also been instilled into them...²

Nearly everybody had guns, revolvers and knives which were, however, taken from the passengers when they stepped on board. There was excitement at departure, the Germans sang in their own language of the Fatherland they left, and most of the men were drunk (the author sadly states by that time he had no more money left for schnapps).

The prospectus said that the best and most wholesome food would be served in abundance. But during the first day they got nothing at all and many were unspeakably hungry. At the break of the next day the cook brought hot potatoes. In Weitemeyer's cabin there were 14 Danes and 12 Germans. The latter rushed the potatoes and put them all into their pockets and shirts and anywhere, so there was nothing left for the Danes. The author believed it was a premeditated assault on the potatoes by the Germans, especially as the Germans gave nothing up, to the marked dissatisfaction of the Danes. Throughout the journey the food was so wretched and insufficient that it was scarcely possible to keep body and soul together. Weitemeyer tells us of having later asked many people how

¹

A Danish Emigrant, pp.13-14. However, the land offer excited considerable interest in Queensland, p.14.

²

Ibid., p.19.

they fared in other ships and concluded that his ship was the worst.¹ Sometimes they were on the point of despair because of hunger. They got their week's supply of biscuits served out once a week. Those who were unable to practise self-restraint generally ate them in a couple of days, and for the rest of the week subsisted on the so-called dinner which consisted of a couple of mouthfuls of salt pork or mutton, with a little sauerkraut to keep it company. The ration of sugar was a small tablespoonful per week for each man. Because of the food there was an amount of dissatisfaction aboard verging sometimes on open mutiny. The water was also fearfully bad, with inches of froth on it, but as bad as it was, they would drink it as soon as they got it and then feel like dying of thirst until the next ration. A canary bird died of thirst because some of the passengers would steal the drop of water in its glass!

The prospectus also said that bed-clothes would be supplied. The mattress and pillow were adequate. The sheets were no good at all for their purpose - but the blanket, the only thing passable as a cover at nights on a voyage lasting four months, was smaller than the size of a little dining table when spread out, or about the size of a saddle-cloth, but much inferior in quality to anything worthy of the name of blanket. Weitemeyer had seen before or since. As a consequence those who had, like our author, put their faith in promises, and so had no other bed-clothes, were compelled at night to put on all their clothes and to sleep in them. "I slept every night for months at a stretch in my overcoat, a woollen comforter around my neck, and the blanket, the all sufficient bed-clothes, rolled round my head!"²

1

Already in the 1860s the conditions on board German ships were found to be frightful: dietary scale was at starvation level, provisions of water were insufficient, medical comforts were almost non-existent, and the ships were overcrowded and filthy. Mainly for these reasons the Queensland Government decided to stop German assisted immigration about 1865 to be revived at the turn of the decade, especially as a boom followed in the colony causing a scarcity of pastoral labour and domestics. See Kleinschmidt, pp 34-35, 57, 62.

2

A Danish Emigrant, p. 20.

The Germans aboard had just come from the Franco-German war and some of the Danes were also old soldiers. Even the doctor in uniform came straight from the war. The Germans were not at all bad fellows, but the Danes could not for a long time forgive them the assault on the potatoes. It has nearly become a proverb in Queensland to say that a German will grow fat where other men will starve.

Under such circumstances the sea voyage of four months became extremely tedious, especially as none of the passengers understood English. Although Weitemeyer had been learning English for seven years at school in Copenhagen, he could hardly make himself understood when they came ashore. Notwithstanding his unfavourable first impressions of the emigrants he later found them generally honest, hard-working people. They did not know anything about Queensland; the only idea they had was that they were to begin a new life somewhat freer than in the old world, in the hopes of being able to dispense with the formalities of the old countries.

After a couple of months there was an incident aboard. The doctor, who was in command of the emigrants, virtually made himself the boss of the ship, either he thought he was in command of a convict ship or else his military training got the better of him. One day he went too far and for some reason roped a girl to the mast in full view of all 600 aboard. The men got so excited that there was almost a mutiny. As a result Weitemeyer wrote out a complaint to the Danish Consul in Australia, which almost all passengers signed. The matron in charge of the girls was only an ordinary emigrant selected by the doctor, while on British emigrant ships usually an educated lady was engaged as a matron.

One can imagine the joy of the immigrants when, after months of semi-starvation, sheep, fruit and potatoes were finally put on board at Moreton Bay (Brisbane). The ship sailed further on to Port Denison where a few scattered wooden cottages were lying on the beach. There a Government agent boarded the ship and made a speech to the new immigrants. The passengers were asked by the officials if they had been well treated on the voyage, and on this occasion the complaint was handed over.¹

1

The above narrative is based on A Danish Emigrant, pp.1-57

After landing Weitemeyer first worked at Bowen for six months as a carpenter, then went to Townsville and in the latter part of his book relates his experiences in Queensland. He apparently became a successful settler.¹

The situation in Queensland in 1871, or the net result of all this migration to Queensland - both assisted and unassisted, as well as the internal migration of a number of Scandinavians already in Australia and attracted north by gold and land offers - is shown in Table 5.1.

From Table 5.1 appears a net of some 5,000 Scandinavian-born arrivals (plus those dead) in Queensland between 1871 and 1886 when the assisted passages, with a few standstills, were granted to Scandinavians. In the late 1880s assistance was curtailed and soon completely abandoned, resulting immediately in a drop in the Census of 1891. At the turn of the century assistance for Scandinavians was revived for a while.

Although Queensland paid the passage money, a great many Scandinavians did not appear in the census figures, as many immigrants tended to treck south to cooler climates.² This group totalled perhaps a thousand or two, and the growth of Scandinavian population in New South Wales and Victoria can partly be attributed to the assisted passages to Queensland. The number of Scandinavians coming to Australia would have been larger, had not the New Zealand Government had a similar scheme for Scandinavians at the same time; this won some 5,000 Scandinavians in the

1

A certain Charles Weitemeyer was naturalized in Queensland in 1880. He was residing at St George, was 29 years old and gave his occupation as cabinet maker. Queensland Naturalization Records, 1880/4916. As the age and occupation fit, he was probably the author of Missing Friends.

2

Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Australia", Norden, 938, 1 April 1933, p.4. Also Thure Malmgren, Under södra hemisfärens himmel eller slafhandel i den femte världsdelen (Under the sky of the southern hemisphere or slave trade in the fifth continent), Uddevalla 1879, p.8, tells that many of the migrants only made use of the free passage and moved soon to cooler regions in New South Wales and Victoria. While Scandinavians (excluding the Finns) in New South Wales and Victoria numbered only about 4,000 in 1871, by 1891 they had increased to upwards of 10,000, mainly, however, due to seamen immigration in the 1880s.

Table 5.1: Scandinavian-born in Queensland, Censuses 1871-1911

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
<u>Denmark</u>						
Males	418	1,440	1,885	1,956	2,102	1,735
Females	136	783	1,004	1,115	1,056	909
Persons	<u>554</u>	<u>2,223</u>	<u>2,889</u>	<u>3,071</u>	<u>3,158</u>	<u>2,644</u>
<u>Sweden</u>						
Males	225	456	2,370 ^b	1,491 ^b	1,634 ^b	840
Females	28	127	417 ^b	464 ^b	508 ^b	214
Persons	<u>253</u>	<u>583</u>	<u>2,787^b</u>	<u>1,955^b</u>	<u>2,142^b</u>	<u>1,054</u>
<u>Norway</u>						
Males	96	285				478
Females	22	157				207
Persons	<u>118</u>	<u>442</u>				<u>685</u>
<u>Finland</u>						
Males	11 ^a	30 ^a	79 ^c	109 ^a	152	180 ^a
Females	-	-	1	3	45	50
Persons	<u>11^a</u>	<u>30^a</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>112^a</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>230^a</u>
<u>Total</u>						
Males	750	2,211	4,334	3,556	3,888	3,233
Females	<u>186</u>	<u>1,067</u>	<u>1,422</u>	<u>1,582</u>	<u>1,609</u>	<u>1,380</u>
Persons	<u>936</u>	<u>3,278</u>	<u>5,756</u>	<u>5,138</u>	<u>5,497</u>	<u>4,613</u>

a Estimated from the 'Russia' group.

b Includes Norway.

c In addition 1 from Aland (Ahvenanmaa), Finland, and 1 from Lappland, either from Finland, Sweden or Norway.

1870s.¹ Unfortunately the naturalization records in Queensland give neither the years of arrival nor places of origin. Table 9 in Appendix I indicates the increase of Scandinavians in the 1870s to drop after 1890 and again to revive at the turn of the century. It seems that many Scandinavians, often settling on land, were naturalized a few years after

¹

See Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand*, pp 157-207; and W.J. Davidson, "Scandinavian Settlement in New Zealand", M.A. Thesis, New Zealand University, Wellington, published in the *Danneviske Evening News*, 23 January-3 February 1940; and W.D. Borrie, "Immigration to New Zealand since 1854", pp.295-306; and Lochore, pp.16-21

arrival. Thus assuming that every third Scandinavian in Queensland was naturalized the close to 2,000 naturalizations in the 1870s and 1880s give a total estimate of 5,000-6,000 arrivals and by the turn of the century some 9,000. Deaths and re-migration, including re-migration to other Australian colonies, reduced this estimate of arrivals to the census totals of Table 5.1.

As the colonial Queensland naturalizations do not specify the places of origin it is impossible to find out exactly where the Scandinavians in Queensland came from. From other evidence, and from the information about those who delayed naturalization till the Commonwealth period (when details of birthplace were given) it appears that most immigrants came from Denmark and Norway; in Denmark many originated from the southern parts of the country near Hamburg. In Norway many came from Frederikstad and the vicinity, in Eastern Norway, especially in 1871, much attributed to an energetic local agent.¹

The incomplete data militates also against the study of chain migration. Already in 1875, when assisted passages were temporarily suspended because of an economic crisis in the colony, 60 Scandinavians made a petition to the Queensland Government to "avail ourselves of the remittance system, in order to assist our friends to come here...as... many of our countrymen are anxious to emigrate here..."² The suggestion was rejected as the Government found continental immigration extremely expensive.³ Later, notably in the 1880s, assistance was again given to suitable Scandinavians. In Appendix III is presented the life story of a Danish artisan, A. Nielsen of Rockhampton, who in 1882 brought over some forty assisted Danish migrants, all relatives and friends.

Scandinavian Life in Sunny Queensland

After the long voyage the assisted immigrants of the 1870s were landed in Brisbane, Maryborough, Mackay, Townsville and Bundaberg. In

¹ Semmingsen, Veien mot Vest, p. 310.

² "Scandinavian Immigration (Petition)", V & P, Qld 1875, 2, p. 595.

³ Kleinschmidt, p. 70.

these places many stayed forming the largest Scandinavian population in Queensland.¹ The first contingent landed in Maryborough in August 1871, as the Census was taken on September 1, 1871, and in Table 5.2 Maryborough shows much the largest number;² probably many were still living at the immigration depot. From these depots the Scandinavians scattered over the coastal belt and the Darling Downs, employed by private employers or by the Government. Most of the migrants made an employment agreement for one year, generally for £30 a year and rations. The women earned between £20 and £25. Obviously the newcomers were often poorly paid in the beginning, and in Weitemeyer's opinion many of them were brutally treated and exploited.³ According to Lyng most of the immigrants arriving in Brisbane in 1871 on board the Freideburg had to take jobs in the country at ten shillings a week, with ration and whatever shelter, if any, was provided; only few obtained work in their own trade.⁴ Most of the Scandinavians, and especially the Danes, being of rural and agricultural origin, were attracted by the land offer of the Queensland Government and hoped to become independent farmers. Sooner or

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"As a rule, the foreign immigrant wanders not far from the port of debarkation. His ignorance of the language and customs of the country impel him to congregate with his fellows, and within easy access of his consul, who alone, in many instances, is his mouthpiece or his adviser". T.A. Coghlan, General Report on the Eleventh Census of New South Wales, Sydney 1894, p.182. This statement may be more relevant to southern Europeans than to Scandinavians, but generally a recently arrived immigrant was eager to get a job, often near the place of landing.

2

Lyng believed that the first Scandinavians arrived in Brisbane in August 1871 aboard the Friedeburg. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.174; "Et 50 Aars Jubileum" (A 50 Years Celebration), Norden, 672, 30 September 1922, p.1; and Jens Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland, XI. A few out of the many who succeeded", Norden, 902, 24 October 1931, p.5. The first ship, the Freideburg, probably only visited Brisbane and landed the majority of the Scandinavians in Maryborough. If, however, the final landing took place in Brisbane, the Scandinavians were transported to Maryborough, but this is less probable. Table 5.2, compiled from the Queensland Census of 1871, revealed only 86 Scandinavians (excluding the probable few Finns) in Brisbane while the corresponding number in the Census District of Maryborough was as high as 194. From Wm Kirchner, "Report of the Emigration Agent for Germany", V & P, Qld 1872, p.1439, it appears that during the year 1871 five vessels were despatched from Hamburg: two for Maryborough, one for Rockhampton, and two for Brisbane.

2

A Danish Emigrant, pp.96-97.

3

Lyng, Norden, 902, 24 October 1931, p.5.

Table 5.2: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in Queensland, Censuses 1871-1901

Places of Settlement	1871						1881						1886						1891						1901					
	Denmark		Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Sweden & Norway		Finland		Denmark		Sweden & Norway		Denmark		Sweden & Norway		Finland			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M ^a	F	M ^a	F	M	F	M	F	M ^a		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M ^a	F	M ^a	F
Brisbane	14	13	15	4	13	17	116	94	101		54	231	141	265	70	18	235	167	249	91	180	127	220	99	32					
Bundaberg							116	56	41		9	131	75	66	30	1	168	93	86	37	164	86	93	52	5					
Caboolture	18	5	7		8		31	17	12		18	57	33	34	15	2	60	34	46	23	36	17	35	16	46					
Clermont	12		2		3		77	17	38		9	41	17	32	3	1	46	15	30	1	51	10	44	2	1					
Darling Downs																														
Central	7		14		6		26	11	3		3	22	10	6			24	11	8		41	21	19	7						
East			4		1		53	34	3		2	63	38	26	25	1	78	42	55	30	92	40	65	38	2					
Gympie	24	6	27	1	7		36	15	24		5	70	41	34	4	3	67	48	24	4	79	56	42	2	4					
Kennedy	16	1	12		8		62	31	35		45	92	33	62	23	2	74	41	85	35	86	50	74	29	3					
Mackay	4		3		2		85	44	19		57	120	62	15	32		99	62	32	23	97	46	35	18	1					
Maryborough	104	53	31	4	2		121	88	33		19	104	109	53	8	8	99	88	31	7	86	58	41	8	3					
Moreton East	27	7	11		6	2	13	1	10		9	28	4	38	3	6	40	16	50	5	45	19	11	7	9					
Moreton West	14	7	3		1		60	41	17		8	73	41	40	12		84	53	29	11	99	47	34	11						
Oxley	10	4	9	1	8		44	25	10		12	77	35	57	29	6	35	24	46	15	36	25	37	12	3					
Rockhampton	38	11	15	1	3		34	29	23		11	47	34	37	10		42	31	28	10	45	29	38	11	1					
Tiaro							89	53	12		11	79	52	31	12		86	63	19	10	64	28	22	8						
Townsville	10	6	2	1	1		66	30	30		42	73	26	90	33	6	73	29	69	32	89	30	116	46	22					
Westwood	16	3	10		4		60	34	15		16	67	43	28	13		56	3	33	7	55	38	38	7						
Wide Bay	18	1	5	2			55	43	12		10	100	59	31	7	1	106	63	23	8	122	80	41	9	1					
Rest of the Colony	86	19	55	14	23	3	296	120	145		102	410	151	1,405	88	25	484	232	548	115	635	249	629	126	64					
Total	418	136	225	28	96	22	1,440	783	583		442	1,885	1,004	2,370	417	80	1,956	1,115	1,491	464	2,102	1,056	1,634	508	197					
							456	127	285		157														152	45				
	554		253		118		2,223		583		442	2,889		2,787		80 ^b	3,071		1,955		3,158		2,142		197					

^a Includes females.^b In addition in Moreton East 1 from Aland and in Oxley 1 from Lapland, either Finland, Norway, or Sweden, and among Danes 1886 1 from the Danish West Indies and in 1891 and 1901 1 and 2 respectively from Iceland.

Note: Finns estimated in 1871 11 males, 1881 30 males, and 109 males and 3 females in 1891 based on the numbers given for Finns in 1886 and 1901 and on the 'Russia' figures in the respective censuses.

later many of them selected land, often after getting some experience in Queensland farming, and formed small Scandinavian settlements.¹ Many others, especially those skilled in handicrafts eventually got back into their old trades as skilled artisans, were in much demand. Yet others, a considerable number, engaged in gold-digging at Charters Towers, Gympie, Mount Morgan, and the Palmer. Many Scandinavians came also from the goldfields of Victoria and New South Wales, especially during the Palmer rush in 1874. Other Scandinavians, mainly Swedes and Norwegians, entered coastal seafaring and in the 1880s the number of Scandinavian seamen increased remarkably in the other Australian colonies, as well as in Queensland. Thus in 1882 a Norwegian scientist, bound for Herbert Vale to collect specimens of natural history for the Christiania (Oslo) University, met on board a Norwegian seamen from Christiania. In Townsville the seaman pointed out that the captain of the next little steam ferry was from Horten, Norway.²

Scandinavians confronted many difficulties in their new environment; they had to learn a new language, they found the climate often very uncomfortable, they were ravaged by typhoid, fever, dysentery and other maladies. This was one reason why so many of them moved south, greatly adding to the Scandinavian populations of New South Wales and Victoria.

Nevertheless there were Scandinavians who remained for a considerable length of time in Queensland; there were, too, many who settled there for the rest of their lives. These, together with more mobile visitors, grouped together here and there to find comfort in each others' company.

When the first assisted Scandinavians arrived in Brisbane in 1871 they used to gather on Saturday nights at a pub conducted by a German. After a Norwegian opened a hotel they moved there. In July 1872 a ball was arranged, and an idea of founding a Scandinavian society was mooted.

1

See Appendix III for the life story of A. Nielsen of Rockhampton. He was a Danish artisan who was one of the first to select land in the later Danish settlement of Pialba. His attempt, however, turned out to be a failure, and he returned to his old trade of coach building.

2

Carl Lumholtz, Among Cannibals, London 1889, pp.66-67.

The society, called Heimdal (Home Valley), started well, but in a couple of months members were neglecting the meetings, and soon there were only half a dozen left. However, the society then revived, obtaining some 40 members. Women first had the right of membership, but after a couple of years were excluded, probably by British influence. In the beginning the association was conducted as a friendly society, but was afterwards turned into purely a social club. This Scandinavian society, the Heimdal, enjoys the honour of being the oldest still existing Scandinavian society in Australia. Swedish-Norwegian societies, founded in 1878 and 1898, lasted only for a while, as well as a Danish society started in 1887. It appears that the Scandinavians in Brisbane co-operated well. This was perhaps due to the overwhelming majority of the Danes; even the name of the first society was changed from the Scandinavian Society Heimdal to the Danish Society Heimdal.

Scandinavian societies were also founded in some other towns of Queensland. In Maryborough a society was started as early as 1871 or 1872. Originally it was, like many other Scandinavians societies, an organization to help members in times of sickness. Before long, however, it found it too difficult to compete with Australian mutual benefit societies and became a purely social organization. In its heyday it had some 60 members, was affiliated with the Brisbane society, but finally died out.

In Rockhampton, a Scandinavian society was founded in 1873, also as a friendly association. It flourished for a few months, but then came the Palmer gold rush drawing members away; the few Scandinavians who later returned could not revive the society. In the mining town of Charters Towers, a Scandinavian society was started in the 1880s which had 40 members at its maximum, but by 1897 had only seven members left.¹

1

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp 174-81; and Scandinavians in Australasia, p. 89; and "Scandinavisk Forening 'Heimdal' 1872-23 September 1922. Et 50 Aars Jubileum" (The Scandinavian Society 'Heimdal' 1872-23 September 1922. A 50 Years Anniversary Celebration), Norden, 672, 30 September 1922, pp 1-2; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.147-153.

In Bundaberg a group of Scandinavians made an attempt to found a society, but had little success.¹

The scattered nature of Scandinavian settlement, and long distances with primitive means of transport, also severely hampered religious activities. When the number of the Scandinavian increased in the 1870s, two Norwegians were the first to serve the religious needs of the Scandinavian immigrants. Pastor Gaustad, originally trained in Norway and Germany and later a missionary in India, arrived in Brisbane in 1869 after being called by a German congregation. When the number of Scandinavians in Brisbane increased, he preached in Norwegian in the German churches. Later Gaustad moved to Mackay where he organized both a German and a Scandinavian congregation; about 1880 he left for New Zealand. Pastor I.H. Hansen, a former ship's captain who lived at Maryborough, conducted services in the vicinity of that town. In addition a third Scandinavian, by name Sass, conducted divine services, mainly at Nikenbah, before he proceeded to New Zealand. Thus about 1880 there were no ordained ministers except lay preachers in half a dozen small Scandinavian congregations.

This was the situation when a Danish seaman missionary, J.C. Petersen (sometimes written Pedersen), arrived in Brisbane from Brazil. Petersen extended the church work throughout Queensland, gathering and organizing dispersed Scandinavians. Some new congregations were founded, and a missionary, Ditlev Hansen, was invited from Denmark to serve the Maryborough district. Petersen also translated Luther's catechism into English to promote Sunday school work amongst the children of Scandinavian parents.² Pastor Petersen suffered ill-health, and in 1886 left for Denmark, and later proceeded to the United States. Just before he left in 1885 the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland was formed, the congregations which remained outside formed in the same year the United Germany and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland. In the first years the annual meetings of this Synod took place in the Danish

¹

P. Bentzon, "Skandinaverne i Queensland", Norden, 58, August 1898, pp. 1, 7; and Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 184.

²

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 206

Church at South Brisbane. Both Synods were organized along the same lines and the division was a source of constant friction.¹

With the departure of Pastor Petersen, Scandinavian church life began to decline, never to recover fully. There were not enough ministers to go around, their livelihood became more and more precarious, and no others were attracted to come out. The Scandinavian immigrants were slowly but irresistibly being assimilated.² To make things worse, in 1889 the Danish congregations severed their connection with the United German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod and continued as separate and independent units.

In Brisbane Pastor C. Christensen succeeded Petersen. When he moved to Maryborough a couple of years later he was followed by Pastor Larsen. By 1895 Christensen and Larsen had returned to Denmark. Shortly afterwards Pastor Ries, the President of the Scandinavian Lutherans in New Zealand, came across to Queensland to stimulate his countrymen to new activities. The congregation in Brisbane affiliated with the Synod in New Zealand and called Pastor Bjelke Petersen from there to take up the pastorate in Brisbane, which he served for six years and then returned to New Zealand. After his departure there was no pastor until 1910 when Pastor Sass, who had left Queensland 37 years earlier, returned to Brisbane and tried to build up a congregation. Two years later Pastor Mensing of the German Lutheran Synod succeeded him, only to leave Queensland in another two years.

Assisted Migration to Queensland at the Turn of the Century

The barometer of Queensland immigration was the weather. A drought or flood upset the whole economy which was based on land. Prosperity of the grazier and farmer meant prosperity for the whole colony, and in boom years immigration was highest. The most severe depressions of 1866

¹

Theile, p 22; and Th. Hebart, The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia U.E.L.C.A; Its History, Activities and Characteristics. English version ed. by Johs J. Stolz, Adelaide 1938, p 116; and C. Schindler, "Non-British Settlement in Queensland", The Historical Society of Queensland Journal, 1, 2, February 1916, p 72.

²

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p. 140.

and 1892 were also years of drought.¹ Assisted immigration, which had brought so many settlers during the seventies and eighties to Queensland was reduced in 1887, abandoned in 1892, but revived on a modest scale in 1897 when the economy of the colony recovered.²

Assisted passages were soon extended to the Scandinavian countries and on the first of May 1898, August Larsen, apparently a Scandinavian, was appointed to encourage Scandinavian immigration to Queensland. He visited all Scandinavian countries, except Finland, interviewed local immigration agents and gave his report; this suggested that there be appointed a certain number of head agents for different districts to supervise and control sub-agents. The main difficulty was that Queensland was unknown in Scandinavia. The importance of chain migration was well realized, as appears from a letter from Finland:

Should I be successful to earn a good living, at least thirty families will immediately follow my example and emigrate to Queensland.³

Accordingly the agents pointed out that in America there were 2,000,000 Scandinavians and nearly every emigrant had relatives and friends there, in contrast to Queensland at the time. The greatest obstacle, however, was the expense of reaching Queensland, and consequently many went to the United States and Canada on account of the low price of the passage. In addition Canada had systematically advertised in the Scandinavian countries for six or seven years and was now winning a good proportion of Scandinavian emigration. As a reservoir of immigrants the Queensland agents considered Scandinavia the best source as people there lived in poor conditions and had relatives and friends abroad making them familiar with the idea of emigration.

For building up emigration to Queensland it was thought most important to give more information about the colony. The first advertisements in the Scandinavian press were inserted in the name of the

1

Kleinschmidt, p.157.

2

Borrie, "Immigration", p.68; and Coghlan, Labour and Industry, IV, pp.2009-2010.

3

"Scandinavian Emigration", Agent-General's Report for 1898, V & P, Qld 1899, I, p 1055.

Agent-General for Queensland, and all inquiries were answered from London, but later partly by newly appointed local head agents. Thousands of circulars and booklets were circulated in the Scandinavian countries ¹

As a result of all this, the first full paying passenger, a Swede, went to the colony on 27 July 1898, followed by three Swedes on 28 September, a Dane and a Danish woman on the 28 October, two Norwegians, a woman and a child on the 9 November, making a total of 12 persons for the year. In fact the results were not great, but the work was considered almost of a preparatory nature. The preliminary work was soon expected to bear fruit, especially as the Queensland Government, in December 1898, authorised free and assisted passages to the Scandinavian farming class. ²

The first Scandinavian emigrant who was granted a free passage went to Queensland on 1 April 1899 ³ The first complete year of Scandinavian emigration to Queensland in 1899 gave the following figures, "full-fare" being persons paying their own passage costs and "free and assisted" being persons whose passages were paid entirely or largely by the government.

1

The following literature was circulated in Scandinavia: 5,000 Swedish Illustrated Guides, 10,000 Norwegian Illustrated Guides, 5,000 Leaflets to Farmers in Norway, 2,000 Circulars in Norwegian - "Information to Emigrants", 2,000 Circulars in Norwegian concerning the Climate of the Colony, 2,000 Circulars in Swedish, 2,000 Diagrams in Norwegian, 5,000 Circulars in Norwegian, with copy of testimonials from Scandinavians in Queensland, 2,000 Circulars in Norwegian, with information for farm Labourers.

2

Most of the quoting sources, including footnote 1, appears from "Scandinavian Emigration", V & P, Qld 1899, I, pp.1055-1056.

3

August Larsen, 4 September 1899, from London to the Agent-General for Queensland, QA, No. 8502, in-letter 10455/1899, PRE/A 41

Table 5.3: Numbers of Scandinavian Migrants to Queensland in 1899

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Full-fare</u>	<u>Free and Assisted</u> <u>Passages</u>	<u>Total</u>
Danes	8	149	157
Swedes	21	63	84
Norwegians	18	141	159
Finns	14	165	179
	<u>61</u>	<u>518</u>	<u>579</u>

Source: Agent-General's Report for 1899, V & P, Old 1900, II, p.572.

Table 5.4: Marital Status of Scandinavian Migrants to Queensland in 1899

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Full-fare</u>	<u>Free and Assisted</u> <u>Passages</u>	<u>Total</u>
Single men	57	293	350
Single women	-	33	33
Married men	1	50	51
Married women	1	50	51
Children	2	92	94
Total	<u>61</u>	<u>518</u>	<u>579</u>

Source: Agent-General's Report for 1899, V & P, Old 1900, II, p.572.

In 1899 tens of thousands of "Guides to Queensland", application forms for the free passage and other circulars were distributed in the Scandinavian languages, and the cost of advertising was £433.8.1. In September and October 1899, August Larsen made a tour in Scandinavia. The greatest difficulty was the laziness of the local agents; three-quarters of the 1,230 applications for free passage had in fact been obtained by direct correspondence with London. The Agency in Denmark was therefore cancelled, and direct work from London started; though agencies were still maintained in other Scandinavian countries. As direct advertisement and direct communication proved especially successful in Denmark, the colony was convinced that this was the best way of obtaining emigrants. It was difficult to get experienced emigration agents to take any interest because they were afraid that the

Queensland emigration would soon come to an end and they preferred American emigration agencies.¹

Despite the publicity, the lack of knowledge about Queensland remained a major difficulty; the offer was still being received with suspicion. A common question was: "If we accept a free passage, is it true that we shall not become slaves when we arrive?" One man stated that he had been told that on arrival in London he would be forced to join the English Army and fight against the Boers instead of going to Queensland. It was considered that these false reports were invented by emigration agents who wanted people to go to other countries. Also some newspapers were cautioning people against emigration.

Letters from successful colonists were found to be the most useful tools, and these were printed and circulated. An emigrant, Rolf Olsson, went out as a free passenger on 1 September 1899. He wrote home to his father giving a splendid account of the country. As a result, his brother left in February 1900, in order to prepare homes for three families, all relatives, consisting of twenty-one persons, who were expected to go to Queensland during 1900. Generally the results of the first years (579 emigrants in 1899) were considered satisfactory.²

In 1900 the Queensland offer was again advertised in newspapers for £210.7.2. As an example, an advertisement published in Sweden is given in contemporary translation:

Ownership of Land,
can be obtained by any one in Queensland, Australia; and
gardens can be bought cheap. The fertility of the soil is
great, and the climate excellent. Persons intending to
emigrate should first make inquiries as to the state of things
in this country.

The passage-money from Sweden will amount to about Kr.300
(about £16 13 4) Good farm labourers, dairy-men, and servant
girls can obtain a free or assisted passage without incurring

¹

"Scandinavian Emigration", Agent-General's Report for 1900, V & P, Qld 1901, IV, p 1058

²

"Scandinavian Emigration", V & P, Qld 1900, II, pp.572-573.

any obligation. Gardeners also are assisted. Wages are good. Apply for illustrated guide-books, which will be sent gratis together with any information required from
The Queensland Depot, Helsingborg, Sweden.¹

In addition, most of the following literature was circulated during the year:

10,900 typewritten letters
8,000 application forms
4,000 explanations to applicants
173,900 circulars of various kinds.

Besides the laziness of the local agents another major difficulty was still the unfavourable newspaper articles contributed by migrants in Queensland to Scandinavian newspapers, containing warnings not to emigrate on account of lack of available work (see two contemporary articles in Appendix III). As people had been deceived several times by emigration agents, they hesitated to accept free passages when articles bearing the signatures of their countrymen stated that they ought not to go.

There were also wild rumours concerning the Queensland offer. It was still believed, as mentioned before, that young men, on their arrival in London, were forced to enter the British Army to fight the Boers in South Africa. Consequently it was noticed that many emigrants were most cautious in London about going out in the streets - some stayed for days in the Scandinavian Sailor's Home. One rumour was that the Scandinavian emigrants would not be allowed to write home and tell their real opinion about Queensland, or their letters would be opened and destroyed if they contained any bad accounts about the colony. Although ridiculous, such reports greatly influenced intending emigrants.²

¹

A contemporary translation of an advertisement in the Swedish press, QA, No. 11831, in-letter 11831/1900, PRE/A 75.

²

Agent-General's Report for 1900, V & P, Q1d 1901, IV, pp 1057-1059.

Table 5.5: Numbers of Scandinavian Migrants to Queensland in 1900

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Full-fare</u>	<u>Free and Assisted Passages</u>	<u>Total</u>
Danes	11	367	378
Swedes	8	94	102
Norwegians	9	97	106
Finns*	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	<u>29</u>	<u>558</u>	<u>587</u>

* The small number of Finns was due to the suspension of their immigration in January 1900.¹

Source: Agent-General's Report for 1900, V & P, Qld 1901, IV, p.1056.

Table 5.6: Marital Status of Scandinavian Migrants to Queensland in 1900

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Full-fare</u>	<u>Free and Assisted Passages</u>	<u>Total</u>
Single men	22	392	414
Single women	1	25	26
Married men	2	42	44
Married women	3	41	44
Children	<u>2</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>60</u>
Total	<u>30*</u>	<u>558</u>	<u>588</u>

* Includes one Austrian for some reason.

Source: Agent-General's Report for 1900, V & P, Qld 1901, IV, p.1056

Severe drought and consequent economic difficulties caused the Queensland Government to abandon the assisted scheme in 1901. On the 31 March, August Larsen's appointment as agent came to an end. Further enquiries for passages to join relatives in Queensland were told to pay the full price for tickets; ten men and four women went through Larsen's office, paying full fares, before his engagement expired, while many others bought their tickets from agents in Scandinavia. Larsen said that there were large numbers of farm labourers and domestic servants

¹

The next part deals with the special features of Finnish immigration.

interested in emigration to Queensland, but the price of the ticket was too high. In his opinion emigration should not have been discontinued altogether, but it should have been possible to afford a free passage for a small number of farm labourers and domestic servants to keep the interest in Queensland alive. Larsen was ready to go on in his work if emigration was continued in the future.¹

More than one thousand Scandinavians arrived during the Queensland assisted passage scheme of 1898-1901 (in addition to those coming in other ways or as seamen). The majority of them were single men, many of them Danish dairy experts² and young men of farming class. The small number of Scandinavians soon became absorbed into the Queensland population. The translation of a letter by a Danish immigrant to August Larsen, though perhaps biased in favour of Queensland and its immigration plans, gives an account of the experiences of a Scandinavian immigrant as follows:

Many thanks for what you have done for me. I find the country very good and it exceeds my expectations. The soil is exceedingly fertile, consequently I consider Queensland an excellent country for agriculture.

I have visited several farmers, especially Danes, who are all what we call well-to-do - in Denmark we would call them rich. There are many Scandinavians here and they are nearly all in a good position. In a very few years they have worked themselves up to an independent position and fortune.

With regard to myself I am manager of a dairy, as it would be called in Denmark. My salary to commence with was £2 per week and free board, lodging and washing. Had I been well acquainted with the language I should have been able to earn double that amount, as I had several offers. I can see from this that there is a want of really capable dairymen. Even if I could get 4 a week I think it would be preferable to take a farm. I shall have a farm of my own in a short time.

I have written to my brother and sister, asking them to come out to Queensland (it is a particularly good place for girls) a good Scandinavian servant is wanted in almost every home. I hope you will show them the same kindness as you have

¹

Agent-General's Report for 1901, Queensland, 1902, Parliamentary Papers, hereafter abbreviated to QPP, I, p. 1074. Votes and Proceedings, Queensland was changed to Queensland Parliamentary Papers in 1902.

²

This was noticed by the editors of the Norden when writing that hardly anywhere else abroad would there be relatively as many Danish dairymen as in Queensland. "Danske Mejerister i Queensland" (Danish dairymen in Queensland), Norden, 156, 17 May 1902, p. 1

shown me, and if possible I should be glad if they could come by a ship without too many passengers, and I should also like my sisters, if possible, to have a cabin to themselves, by paying the extra cost of same. I hope they will be able to obtain free passage as I cannot send for them before six months have passed since I came to the country

My brother's address is -

Perhaps you will be kind enough to send him particulars, which he would then give to others.

The passage was really enjoyable and the living most satisfactory. For those who have not friends to go to, all that is possible will be done for them at the Emigration Depot. No, there is no risk of any kind incurred in going to Queensland.

Again thanking you, and with kind regards.

I remain,

Yours truly,

P. Peterson¹

Manager

Although this letter may be too favourable - even plainly dishonest - for Queensland (see unfavourable letters in Appendix III), it appears also that the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes made a good impression on Queenslanders, but that the Finns did not. Referring to the bad experiences with the Finns the Queensland Immigration Agent gave the following testimony on the other Scandinavians:

Speaking English, more or less, as many of these do, and being more ready and apt to fall in with the ways and conditions of living in Queensland, they quickly find favour with employers and are easily absorbed into our rural population. Many Scandinavians are expert dairy farmers, cheesemakers, etc., bringing with them excellent certificates from the many agricultural schools or colleges of their native land.²

When the Queensland Government suspended assisted immigration in 1901, it was still possible for some persons to obtain help with their

¹

P Peterson to August Larsen, 28 July 1899, from Clifton, Queensland, QA, No 8502, in-letter 10455/1899, PRE/A 41. Peterson was the first Scandinavian emigrant who was granted a free passage leaving for Queensland on 1 April 1899. The aim of this letter does not seem to be to give an honest account of life in Queensland but rather to please Larsen in return for free passages for Peterson's relatives. Larsen intended to circulate copies of the letter in the Scandinavian press. August Larsen to the Agent-General for Queensland, 4 September 1899, from London, loc. cit.

²

Agent-General's Report for 1899, V & P, Q1d 1900, V, p.676.

passage costs. According to the nomination system a person who had resided for six months in the colony could recommend relatives and friends in Europe for government assistance towards their expenses by paying a certain nomination fee;¹ this procedure to some extent facilitated chain migration, but unfortunately it is impossible to get any information of their numbers.

Finnish Migration to Queensland

In practice Finnish migration to Queensland was somewhat different to that from the rest of Scandinavia. The free passage scheme of the 1870s and 1880s did not attract many Finns; until the close of the century only a few dozen Finns, mainly seamen, came to settle in Queensland. More Finns were attracted by the publicity of 1898-1900; the first Finns availing themselves of assisted passages arrived in August 1899. Altogether 175 Finns landed in Queensland during the ten months while the assisted passages for Finns were granted,² including some eighty supporters of utopian socialism arriving to establish a settlement of their own. Then the assisted scheme was suspended, a telegram being sent from Brisbane to London early in 1900:

Suspend emigration Finns until further orders, result of experience so far unsatisfactory owing to intractability of.³

1

P. Olsson-Seffer, Queensland, framtidslandet i Australien (Queensland, the land of future in Australia), Brisbane 1902, pp. 164-165. This book was written on request of the Queensland Government to attract Scandinavian immigrants.

2

Immigration Agent's Report for 1899, V & P, Qld 1900, V, p. 676. In the Registrar of migrants arriving on immigrant ships entering Queensland 5 January 1899-30 March 1906, QA, No. 46/16, during the period discussed 174 Finns plus one unspecified name, typically Finnish, were found, thus giving the total number of 175. According to Tables 5.3 and 5.5 180 Finns were dispatched from London. The difference, five persons, were either missed from statistics or they disembarked somewhere else, notably of those 14 paying a full fare.

3

Queensland Government Office, London, to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 15 January 1900, "Ackg telegram re suspension of Finn Emigration", QA, No. 2214/1900, PRE/A 48.

Obviously there had been some difficulties in finding employment for Finns as on 29 December 1899 the Immigration Agent in Brisbane asked the Assistant Agent in Bundaberg to report what objection employers had to the Finns. The answer, dated 6 January 1900, was as follows:

The opinion of all these Employers who have engaged any of the above is to the effect that they are a very undesirable class, being a discontented, lazy, and impudent lot; nothing will induce them to try any more, and those who had not tried them, on being told that some were open to engagement declined having anything to do with them stating that they had heard such bad accounts of them. The last lot of six (6) that came up under your advice dated 8th ult although receiving every consideration at the Depot gave the Wardsman more than once cause to tell them that he would have to send for the police if they continued to threaten him by their manner (and once by action on the part of one) as they did. I think that William Rajaniemi was the cause of all this trouble, he being evidently an agitator. It will be no use sending any more of this class up here. Whilst the last six were in the Depot you will remember that I placed very nearly 30 Danes at work.¹

Because employers would not take on Finns, the Immigration Agent suggested that Finnish immigration be suspended at once until such a time as those already there or on the way had proved themselves desirable colonists.² In his annual report the Immigration Agent explained the suspension of Finnish immigration in the following way:

The difficulty with Finns seems to be their slowness in adapting themselves to colonial conditions. In special instances their knowledge of farming, coupled with much steadiness of character and conduct, have earned them golden opinions with employers, but certain peculiarities of temperament and temper, added to a singular inability to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge of English, have made many employers cautious about entering into engagements with them.³

I

Department of Immigration, Brisbane, to the Assistant Immigration Agent in Bundaberg, 29 December 1899; and consequently Assistant Immigration Agent, Bundaberg, to the Immigration Agent, Brisbane, 6 January 1900, "re dislike to engage Finns", QA, No 464, in-letter 2214/1900, PRE/A 48.

2

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 8 January 1900, QA, No 364, in-letter 2214/1900, PRE/A 48

3

Immigration Agent's Report for 1899, V & P, Qld 1900, V, p 676

The Melbourne based Scandinavian newspaper Norden commented on the discontinuation of Finnish immigration to Queensland saying that though the paper had representatives all over Queensland it had heard no complaints against the Finns. The Norden suggested political pressures behind the move, recalling that England had recently disallowed her consuls in Finland, although they were Finnish nationals, any participation in agitation against Russia. In conclusion the Norden expressed its view that more took place behind the scenes than was believed.¹ Unfortunately, at the moment I am not in a position to say what was the truth in this issue.

On their arrival the Finns found temporary accommodation in the immigration depots and were given railway passes to various parts of the colony. For most Finns employment was found in mining or railway construction, or in growing sugar cane in northern Queensland. Many Finns took up farming in the Nambour district where their close settlement was called 'Finnbour'. Already by September 1900 a group of eleven Finns had taken up cane growing allotments and were anxious to apply for the Government nominated system of immigration to get their relatives there.² This agglomeration became the principal Finnish settlement in Queensland, and chain migration brought new blood there for decades.

A Finnish Utopian Settlement Attempt³

Not all Finns coming to Queensland at this time were persons responding to Queensland's advertisement about great economic opportunity. Nearly 80 came for rather different reasons, to found a utopian settlement.

¹

"Fra vor egen midte" (Among ourselves), Norden, 101, 7 April 1900, p. 6.

²

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 24 September 1900, "Re Finnish Immigration", QA, No. 10134, in-letter 11278/1900, PRE/A 73; and Norden, 116, 3 November 1900, p. 1.

³

Because the Australian sojourn of these utopian socialists is almost completely unknown in the Finnish history, and to correct Lyng's, Non-Britishers in Australia, in 1935 Ed., pp. 139-141, inaccurate account, this section will discuss in detail their settlement attempt.

At the turn of the century the Russian oppression in Finland made many a Finn seek political freedom and better economic opportunities in overseas countries. Among these were early supporters of the rising movement of socialism, who found it difficult to pursue their ideas in Russian occupied Finland. Of the several ideological branches of early Finnish socialism the utopian was extolled by Matti Kurikka, an author, editor, and - above all - a utopian political leader.

Matti Kurikka (1863-1915) was born of fairly well-to-do Finnish parents in Ingria, near St Petersburg, Russia.¹ He studied at the University of Helsinki and became intensely interested in socialism. He published a few books, visited Denmark and Germany and became editor of a Finnish newspaper in Viipuri. Being impractical in matters of finance he soon became bankrupt and in 1896 he moved over to the Tyomies (The Worker), the leading Finnish labour newspaper. In the following year he was appointed the editor of the paper and became the recognized leader of the labour movement. The newspaper, which took a strong nationalistic line, so prospered that it incurred the displeasure of the authorities. Because the Marxist wing of the socialist movement also fought his position and influence, the celebrated leader soon found himself pushed out of the leadership of the labour movement. Disappointed, but still able to rally a number of faithful supporters, Kurikka decided to go overseas to found a miniature model of his utopian community.

The first problem was to find a suitable place for the venture. Ultimately the choice narrowed down to Canada or Australia, and in the spring of 1899 Matti Kurikka decided to go to Australia to investigate possibilities there. His information about Queensland came mainly from a Swedish pamphlet circulated by the Queensland Agent-General and from German newspapers, both of which made him aware of the free passages offered by the Queensland Government. His further reasons Kurikka summarised on his arrival in an interview:

1

South-east of the Finnish border, near St Petersburg, in the Ingria area there are still living descendants of an ancient Finno-Ugrian tribe, who inhabited the area over a thousand years ago. Later some Finns settled among them; Matti Kurikka's parents apparently were such Finns.

...your country in points of climate, soil, and circumstances generally seems to offer more substantial and pleasing prospects. Canada, in many of its features is too like our own country, part of which is within the Polar circle: we want something more genial in climate and generous in soil.¹

Although dropped from the leadership of the socialist movement, Kurikka still had considerable influence in Finland. A letter written by Queensland immigration agent, August Larsen, who visited Finland at the time of Kurikka's departure, dated Helsingfors (Helsinki) on 16 September 1899, ran as follows:

I learn that several hundred people here are ready to emigrate to Queensland if the report of the country which now is awaited from Matti Kurikka, who left by the Orient steamer August 11 for Brisbane is a favourable one. The labour party here seems to have great confidence in him and what he writes to the Press here will have great consequences. I should therefore propose that a telegram was sent at once to the Immigration Agent at Brisbane or some other person to meet Mr Kurikka and give him every assistance to see the country....At my hotel there is a large number of persons calling for information, but the Finns are very suspicious, and they nearly all say: "We shall wait now and see what Mr Kurikka writes".²

Taking up Larsen's suggestion the Queensland Government Office in London sent the following telegram to Brisbane:

Larsen reports passenger Kurikka in "Oroya" due 30th September influential person in Finland. Render every assistance in order to enable him to inspect and report on Colony.³

Kurikka was well received in Brisbane and in the interview he gave the following account of his mission to Queensland:

I have come to this country partly on my own account and partly as the agent of a body of Finnish farmers who are desirous of

1

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 3 October 1899, "Emigration from Finland to Queensland", QA, No. 8344, in-letter 9063/1899, PRE/A 37.

2

August Larsen to the Agent General for Queensland from Helsingfors, 15 September 1899, QA, No. 9063/1899, PRE/A 37.

3

Queensland Government Office, London, to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 22 September 1899, "Confirming telegram re Mr Kurikka", QA, No. 9063/1899, PRE/A 37.

learning the conditions of land settlement in Queensland with a view to establishing a system of cooperative farming.¹

Kurikka also intended to act as a correspondent for some Finnish newspapers and to write a book, for which, by an agreement with Larsen, he should be allowed £120.² He was full of hope and faith in the future.

Soon Kurikka's supporters started to disembark, though later he complained that they turned up too quickly, before proper arrangements were made.³ How many arrived is difficult to estimate. In a letter written about the end of 1919 or the beginning of 1920 an immigrant gave their number as 78,⁴ which means nearly half of the 175 Finns arriving at the time.

Employment was found for the Utopians. Kurikka himself worked near Chillagoe with a group of some twenty men cutting sleepers for the railway. The work was conducted on a cooperative basis, and all mutual matters were discussed in weekly meetings presided over by Kurikka. In the beginning everything seemed to go well; Kurikka was especially delighted with the freedom of the country. His intention was to save some ten pounds per man, and then take the best men to buy a block of land by the sea and establish their his utopian community.⁵

In Queensland there still live a couple of old Finnish migrants who arrived in the Kurikka group as children. Mrs Hirmukallio, nee Kotkamaa, was five years old when her family arrived on 23 January 1900. Consequently most of what she knew she heard from her mother. Her

1

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 3 October 1899, "Emigration from Finland to Queensland", QA, No. 8344, in-letter 9063/1899, PRE/A 37.

2

Ibid.

3

Arno Linnoila, "Matti Kurikkan sosialismi" (Matti Kurikka's socialism)", M.A. Thesis, The University of Helsinki, 1947, p.123. Also his brother, another grandson of Matti Kurikka, has written his M.A. Thesis on Kurikka's social and political activities, The University of Helsinki, 1933.

4

Antti Harjukoski to Mr Boijer, who was in charge of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, Sydney. This undated letter was sent probably at the end of the year 1919, as Boijer's answer was dated 28 January 1920, The Archives of Finnish Seamen's Mission, Brisbane.

5

Linnoila, pp.121-122.

father, Frans Johan Kotkamaa, from Haapavesi, Finland, was an eager follower of Matti Kurikka. Other families, for instance, the Hannus and Vuolle families, the latter later known as Anderson, stopped at Nambour, where they obtained cheap land. But Kotkamaa went on to Townsville and from there still further on with a banana ship either to Cairns or Cooktown, where Kurikka was waiting with horses. Through forests they went to Kurikka's canvas camp between Cooktown and Normanton (probably further south near Chillagoe), where Finns were cutting sleepers for the railway. Matti Kurikka had named the camp, consisting of some half a dozen big tents, El Dorado.¹

Soon difficulties began to arise. The work on the railway line proved to be extremely heavy in the hot climate. Kurikka made some poor contracts and by error softwood was cut instead of hardwood. The radical Sydney Bulletin accused the Queensland Government of employing Finns in cutting sleepers at a rate which local labourers would not accept. The Finns were said to earn not even Chinamen's wages - 2/6 per man per day. The newspaper further quoted Kurikka as having said that a number of sleepers were condemned without cause and afterwards used without payment.² After reading this, editors of the Norden in Melbourne began asking the Queensland Government about the fate of the Finns. The Queensland Immigration Department gave assurance that the Finns were well received and treated. Concerning the Bulletin's allegation that Finns could earn only 2/6 per day contract work cutting sleepers near Chillagoe, a letter from a Swede from the same district was quoted asserting that "Nobody works here for less than 10/- a day, all piece-work". A gentleman at Chillagoe had also stated that "Finns have been found unable to keep stroke alongside other workers at railway building and kindred occupations".³ According to Mrs Hirmukallio, Kurikka's

1

The interview of Mrs I. Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970, Brisbane. Being an important source of information she was interviewed twice to give her time to recall old things after the first visit of the author.

2

"Finland-Queensland-Canada", Sydney Bulletin, 21 July 1900, p.6.

3

Jens Lyng's enquiry No. 11279 and consequently Department of Immigration to Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 24 September 1900, "Re Finnish Immigration", QA, No. 10134, both in letters of 11278/1900, PRE/A 73. The letter was published in Norden, 116, 3 November 1900, p.1.

contracts were so bad that only 5/- per day for each family was received. Life was by no means easy, but they were not starving. When Kurikka was short of money he used to play the piano in the pubs, a hat going around for money. The group consisted mainly of young people, many of whom were not accustomed to heavy toil, so Kurikka tried to find easier work at Cooktown and Cairns.¹

Although available resources were now scarce, some sources suggest that Matti Kurikka and his group made an attempt to establish a settlement somewhere at the Gulf of Carpentaria.² From the very beginning their task proved to be extremely difficult. The journey out was long and laborious, the grass being taller than man and unsuitable for animals. Not accustomed to these circumstances and the heat, the Finns probably did not get very far with their farming. They lived in tents with a termite heap as an oven. Soon they were starving and began collecting honey to keep themselves alive. When they shot a wild pig, they were fined by the authorities. Chinamen gave them fruit, but of the Australians only the wife of a pub keeper helped. Kurikka himself was starving, and some women gave him food. Dissatisfaction grew among the group, the leader was blamed, and many left the community cursing Kurikka and his scheme.³ The hitherto optimistic Matti Kurikka then fell into despair, as his letter published in an Australian newspaper reveals:

I have been here now eight months. What did I find here? Disappointments - only disappointments! All the prospects of possibility for the immigrants to gain money in a short time and get their own land which the Government of Queensland had represented in their pamphlets, have vanished as soap-bubbles. All my essays to open the eyes of the Government to comprehend the great advantage to this indebted country of the bending of the large Finnish emigration from America to Queensland, got lost. My task for the "Huguenots" of Finland was impossible to realise in that way. Allright, did I think, I

¹ Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970.

² Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970; and her husband Leo Hirmukallio, "Pientä pakinaa Suomen siirtolaisuudesta Australiaan" (Small talk about Finnish emigration to Australia), Suomen Silta (The Bridge of Finland), 2, 1945, pp.63-64. Both the sources were based on information by Maria Kotkamäe, the mother of Mrs Hirmukallio.

³ Ibid.

will try the other, although harder way. I will become an ordinary worker, become a good member of the Labor Party, win in that way an influence in the party, and begin then anew the realisation of my great idea. But, after the experience I got in Brisbane, in some other places, and at last by the Chillagoe railway, I have already given up this programme, too. Meanwhile, I collected some experiences of a worker. I learnt to know that the laborers in Queensland - there are, of course, exceptions - are too drunk, too vulgar, and too hateful against all foreigners that are sober, friendly, and honest as the Finns, to think that they could become equals with them striving for the same holy ideals....But that has not pulled me apart from Queensland and abolished all the dreams of an active future in this society. Called lately by many Finns to America to order there a Finn-colony, I say as a real representative for the Labor party of Finland my farewell to the brothers of Queensland. I and my fellows - for after me truly all Finns will leave this beautiful country - will in future still meet together under the English flag. In the present age it is better than all others, assuring freedom and higher evolution to humanity, and I will be one true defender of it.

My friendly hope is only that the people of Queensland as soon as possible will rise to the same level of civilisation as the other cultured peoples of the world.

Matti Kurikka¹

This letter suggests that the Utopians did not get further than the Chillagoe tent camp. Anyway no land selection, at least under Kurikka's name, was found. On the other hand the sources based on Mrs Hirmukallio's mother strongly suggest a more permanent farming settlement. The discrepancy between this tradition and Kurikka's contemporary letter is obvious. Though the contemporary letter in some respects can be considered a more reliable source, it is possible that Kurikka did not mention the settlement venture as to him it was a failure. Also it is possible that some farming attempts were made in connection with the Chillagoe camp, or after Kurikka had left Australia. This problem remains for further research on Finns in Australia.

For the Utopians Australia, after a promising beginning, had proved to be "a lovely country of rascals",² and Kurikka decided to go to Canada

¹

"Finland-Queensland-Canada", Sydney Bulletin, 21 July 1900, p.6. According to the article the letter originally had been published in the Cairns Advocate, but this copy could not be found, so the quotation is from the Bulletin.

²

Linnoila, p.124.

where the Government gave more assistance to the immigrants.¹ Between 1880 and 1900 a considerable number of Finnish immigrants had settled in the mining communities on the western shores of British Columbia. The heavy work of coal-mining with its attendant accidents and inadequate wages became disliked by many. At the same time socialistic ideas - especially utopian variants - were spreading among the Finnish miners, making them yearn for "a new communal home apart from the capitalist world, where man would not exploit man, all would labour for the common good, and life would be cooperative, just and harmonious".² One of the first tasks was to find a forceful and gifted leader. The best man equal to the mission appeared to be Matti Kurikka, then in Australia. Early in the year 1900 three Finns had left Queensland for the Extension Mines on the island of Vancouver. They had with them some booklets written by Matti Kurikka. These booklets were given to one of the local Finnish leaders for reading.³ On 8 April 1900 they sent a letter to Kurikka requesting him "to lead his Canadian brethren into the promised land".⁴ The letter came as a godsend to the disappointed dreamer. In his answer of acceptance, dated at Mareeba on 7 June 1900, he complained of the impossibility of building a utopian community in Queensland for the few Finns who were either too busy struggling against great poverty, or did not understand the importance of the matter. He was ready to leave Australia, but being as poor as a church mouse he asked for the necessary funds.⁵ After receiving the requested funds Kurikka set sail for the new continent, arriving in Nanaimo, Vancouver, late in August 1900, with the

1 Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970.

2 John Ilmari Kolehmainen, "Harmony Island; A Finnish Utopian Venture in British Columbia", British Columbia Historical Quarterly, V, 2, April 1941, p.112.

3 Matti Halminen, Sointula, Kalevan Kansan ja Kanadan suomalaisten historiaa (Harmony Island, the History of the Kaleva People and the Canadian Finns), Mikkeli 1936, p.16; and Jorma Pohjanpalo, "Matti Kurikka ja Australia" (Matti Kurikka and Australia), Suomen Silta, 1, 1965, p.26.

4 Halminen, p.16; and Kolehmainen, "Harmony Island", p.113.

5 Halminen, pp.16-18.

idea of founding a more successful utopian settlement. Finally a longer lasting community was established on Malcolm Island, called the Harmony Island.¹ Mrs Hirmukallio recalled that nine young men and three families sailed with Kurikka, but her own family was too poor to buy tickets as many of the children would have had to pay the full fare.² More Finns left Australia later to join Kurikka and his group.

The Queensland Government viewed Kurikka's attempt as only one of the many cooperative attempts to fail. Kurikka himself was considered "an honest well-meaning theorist and enthusiast; in short as far as the matter in hand goes, a hopelessly unpractical faddist". The Government was also reluctant to give assistance "for the purpose of providing socialistic or other experimentalities at the nation's expense".³

Although one reason for the failure was insufficient Government assistance, the main causes can perhaps be found in Matti Kurikka himself and in his group. Writing about the similar attempt in Canada, Professor Kolehmainen gives the following account of the personality of Matti Kurikka:

...he was a gifted leader, possessing remarkable powers of persuasion, and a keen intellect. But overbalancing these attributes were serious shortcomings. Kurikka was obstinate and headstrong, impatient and restless. He loved to write, speculate, and argue, but he was sadly lacking in practical ability to translate his ideas into action. He was inept and clumsy as an organizer and administrator. It was easy for Kurikka to make enemies, difficult for him to hold friends. Irreconcilable differences of opinion over questions of policy, the constitution of the colony, the status of private property, the position of women, the education of children, and other questions divided the leader from many in his flock.⁴

¹ Pohjanpalo, "Matti Kurikka ja Australia", p.26; and Kolehmainen, "Harmony Island", pp.113-114.

² Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970.

³ Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 24 September 1900, QA, No. 10134, in-letter 11278/1900, PRE/A 73; and Norden, 116, 3 November 1900, p.1.

⁴ Kolehmainen, "Harmony Island", p.121

One of the reasons for the failure of Kurikka's Australian attempt was, according to Mrs Hirmukallio, his attitude to women. Kurikka liked women, and women liked him - but their husbands had different ideas about it, and the confused love affairs caused much friction.¹

Matti Kurikka's group was heterogenous, coming from all walks of life. Many of his followers were young men of urban background, who did not take life too seriously, being adventurers and political refugees and who were not used to hard toil; consequently they soon became disillusioned at the Gulf of Carpentaria. They were unable to speak English - even Kurikka's English was poor although he spoke many other European languages.² This obviously was one of the reasons for the employers' dislike of his group.

Though Kurikka and many of his supporters left for Canada, the remainder of his group later became successful settlers, boosting the number of Finns in Queensland in the Census of 1901 to 152 males and 45 females, from the 80 males and 1 female shown by an earlier Census of 1886. Some of the Kurikka's group settled at Nambour, fifty miles north of Brisbane, and even today descendants of his contemporaries can be found there.

This was the story of Matti Kurikka and his group, and all that they left for posterity was a song, recalled by one of the youngest members of the group some 70 years later.³

The Song of Matti Kurikka

We went to Australia
We went to Australia-
We went to Australia
To be treated as slaves.

1

Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970.

2

Ibid.

3

Mrs Hirmukallio, Brisbane, 19 April 1971, a letter to me after I had sent to her the first draft of this section. Now she was able to recall the whole poem while almost a year ago in the interview she could remember only a few verses. The song is a translation from Finnish by Mrs Hirmukallio.

We had to fight-
 With all our might,
 For the right-
 to be their equal and brothers.

When Aussies saw,
 We were no longer their slaves,
 They helped us if we were-
 their long lost brothers.

We came to Australia,
 Came to Australia,
 We came to Australia,
 The land of gold and riches.

We found no gold,
 We found no riches,
 Only dried up rivers
 and dried up ditches.

We left Australia,
 Left Australia,
 We left Australia
 And your God forsaken riches.

Goodbye Australia-
 Goodbye Australia-
 Goodbye Australia-
 You land of hell!

The oldest known Finnish societies in Australia, though the later Finnish community in Australia was not aware of this, date back to the days of Matti Kurikka at the turn of the century. Kurikka's community itself was undoubtedly the first Finnish association operating in Australia. In the weekly meetings Kurikka himself presided and Jussi (John) Kotkamaa, the brother of Mrs Hirmukallio, wrote the minutes.¹ Although short lived it did not disappear without trace, and without sowing the seeds of later similarly short lived associations.

Some of Kurikka's followers, who later settled at Nambour, were enlightened people perhaps having some experience in organized political and social activities in their home country, and in 1902 they founded the Erakko (Hermit) society of 28 members. The minutes of the Erakko society of 29 June 1902-6 November 1904 were recently found at Sointula (Harmony Island) in Vancouver, where Matti Kurikka founded his utopian settlement

¹

Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970.

after leaving Australia in August 1900. The minutes are held in the Institute of General History, the University of Turku in Finland.

TASMANIA

The Tasmanian Land Offer in the 1870s

A less ambitious but very similar scheme to that of Queensland was an offer by the Tasmanian Government to provide immigrants with free land. Though Queensland and New Zealand were more attractive a number of Danes took up the offer and settled in Tasmania.

From the early days of the colony in Tasmania there had been Scandinavian pioneers, for example, Jorgen Jorgenson and Charles Suisted, mentioned earlier (pp.69-73). Also during the Victorian gold rush period some Scandinavians visited the island,¹ a few to settle permanently.² Their number, however, cannot have been very large as the Census of 1870 revealed only 15 born in Denmark, 28 in Sweden and 16 in Norway, compared with 506 in Germany.

In the late 1860s the Tasmanian Government appointed Frederik Buck, a German or a Dane, who had been in Tasmania for fifteen years, to act as an immigration agent to attract Germans and Danes to the colony. He wrote an emigrant guide, and the Danish version was published in Copenhagen in 1870.³ The pamphlet gave general information about

1

A prominent Swede in Adelaide, E.F. Fromen, published in the Norden an extract from his father's diary telling about his visit to Tasmania in 1855. In Hobart, Fromen, his friend Olson, and some other seamen deserted the ship. The Swedes worked on a farm for thirteen weeks and then went back to sea, sailing in the Australian waters. Later Fromen worked in Victoria on the roads and goldfields, again went to sea and finally returned to Sweden obtaining his captain's certificate. "Echoes of Early Days", Norden, 845, 29 June 1929, pp.10-11.

2

Census of Tasmania, 1901, Part IV, Table XI, p.99 shows length of residence of foreigners (according to the country of birth) residing in Tasmania, 31 March 1901. The table indicates that the first Scandinavians, still alive, had arrived 48 years ago or about the year 1853.

3

Frederik Buck, Handbog for Udvandrare; Den Britisk-Australiske Koloni Tasmanien (A Guide for Emigrants; British-Australian Colony Tasmania), Kjøbenhavn 1870, p. 55.

Tasmania, promised free land to immigrants and authorized Frederik Buck to grant land orders. The certificate was £18 for a person over 15 years and £9 for children between 12 and 15 years paying their fares on the middle deck. These orders could be used in buying or selecting land in the colony. In addition every first and second class passenger, who already did not have a certificate, was entitled within 12 months to obtain an order for 30 acres of land. If he was married, an additional 20 acres was given to his wife and 10 acres for every child. The pamphlet gave an example of a family with four children - 2 over and 2 under 15 years. After arriving in Tasmania the family had the right to choose land worth £90 or 90 acres. They only had to pay their fares to the colony and could use the rest of their money for settling down as the land was free.¹ Buck emphasized that in some colonies free land was offered to immigrants, but in Tasmania the migrant himself was allowed to do the selection.²

The Tasmanian offer was taken up by German and Danish agricultural people (as the offer in practice provided farming). The postscript to the guide said that on 20 April 1870 the first ship the Victoria had sailed from Hamburg to Hobart with 187 colonists, mainly farming people, and that the next ship was expected to leave on 1 June 1870.³ The immigrants were mainly from Northern Germany and Southern Denmark; in short from the vicinity of Hamburg. Many of the Danes were probably from the areas ceded to Prussia-Austria after the war of 1864. The exact number of the Danes is difficult to estimate. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show that the main inflow of the Danes, especially the women, took place about and after the year 1870, increasing their total number from 15 in 1870 to 136 in the Census of 1881.

The offer of free land in Tasmania attracted a number of Danes (and Germans) to the colony in the early years of the 1870s. Many of these immigrants took up land near Hobart at a place called 'Bismark', where half of the settlers were Germans and the rest Danes. As the agent was a

¹ Ibid., pp.29-30.

² Ibid., p.30, note.

³ Ibid., p.55

Table 5.7: Periods of Arrival of Scandinavian-born Residing in Tasmania 31 March 1901

Period of Arrival	Country of Birth								
	Denmark			Sweden or Norway			Total		
	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
1900-01	4	3	7	22	1	23	26	4	30
1896-00	11	2	13	32	7	39	43	9	52
1891-95	11	5	16	20	2	22	31	7	38
1886-90	8	4	12	31	2	33	39	6	45
1881-85	12	5	17	34		34	46	5	51
1876-80	8	4	12	16		16	24	4	28
1871-75	31	30	61	10	1	11	41	31	72
1870 and before	6		6	8		8	14		14
Not stated	8	4	12	30	1	31	38	5	43
Total	99	57 ^a	156 ^a	203 ^a	14	217 ^a	302	71	373

a These figures are slightly different from those in other tables, see Table 5.8; an example of inaccuracies in colonial censuses.

Source: Census of Tasmania, 1901, IV, Table XI, p.99.

Table 5.8: Scandinavian-born in Tasmania, Censuses 1870-1911

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
<u>Denmark</u>					
Males		77	83	99	78
Females		59	54	56	43
Persons	15	136	137	155	121
<u>Sweden</u>					
Males		64	182 ^a	205 ^a	107
Females		2	12 ^a	14 ^a	12
Persons	28	66	194 ^a	219 ^a	119
<u>Norway</u>					
Males		23			42
Females					1
Persons	16	23			43
<u>Total</u>					
Males		164	265	304	227
Females		61	66	70	56
Persons	59	225	331	374	283

a Includes Norway.

German, he gave the name to the place against the wish of the Danes. Later the Danes tried several times to have the name changed, the dispute culminating in a fight at the beginning of World War I. Finally 'Bismark' was changed to 'Collins Vale'.¹

The place was situated 4,000 feet above the sea, accessible only by a narrow difficult track. Everything had to be started from the very beginning. Christian Moller, himself a Dane, visited Tasmania for a short period in 1878, was delighted with the island, met the pioneers of this Danish settlement and was told that most of them had been only 3-4 years in the colony. In the mountains he visited a Danish family then doing well, although on arrival they had only two half-shillings - later kept as souvenirs.² Some Danes persuaded their relatives to join them there,

¹

J.J., "De Danske i Tasmanien" (The Danes in Tasmania), Norden, 484, 24 April 1915, p.4; and Lodewyckx, p.64.

²

Chr. Moller, Tasmaniens Egne; Erindringer fra en Reise til Australien (Tasmania and its Regions; Reminiscences from a Trip to Australia), Kjobenhavn 1881, pp.95-97.

so starting a small migration chain.¹ After many years of toil the German-Danish colony became a flourishing farming and fruit-growing centre, developing also into a population tourist place.²

This Danish group settlement is found in Table 5.9 in the electoral district of Glenorchy. Nowadays this place is a part of metropolitan Hobart; this partly explains why 63 per cent of Danes naturalized before 1904 resided in metropolitan Hobart compared with some 20 per cent of Swedes and Norwegians; see Table I.4 in Appendix I. Nevertheless Hobart was an important centre for Swedes and Norwegians, the next most important concentration being the mining centre of Lyell.

The number of Finns in Tasmania was never very large. The Census of 1870 revealed only five persons born in Russia, but in the 1870s and 1880s a few more Finnish seamen settled in Tasmania, such as the Karlson brothers from Turku. Johannes Stefanus, or 'Steve' Karlson, was one of the original discoverers of the rich Mount Lyell mines in 1883, but in a change of control that smacked of treachery he and his brothers lost their shares; Steve Karlson, "the kindly Finn", died in 1904 a poor man.³ His naturalization papers have not been found, but his brothers Charles and Peter were naturalized in the mid-1880s, giving their years of arrival as 1874 and 1880 respectively and their occupations as mariners and miners residing in Heemskirk.⁴

The Scandinavian settlement in colonial Tasmania consisted of two major elements: first, a Danish farming population with relatively even sex distribution resulting in family settlements⁵ and some ethnic

¹ Moller, p.62.

² "Danske Frugtdyrkere i Tasmanien" (Danish Fruitgrowers in Tasmania), *Norden*, 446, 11 October 1913, p.7.

³ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Peaks of Lyell*, 2nd Ed., Melbourne 1959, *passim*, especially the chapter "Karlson's Hard Luck", pp.33-39.

⁴ Colonial Tasmanian Naturalization Records.

⁵ Some Scandinavian families settled early in Tasmania. From an application for naturalization it appears that a Swede had a wife born of Swedish parents in Hobart in or about 1861. Oiden, Nicols, August Herman, Application 1917/18508, The Naturalization Records, CA.

Table 5.9: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in Tasmania, Censuses 1881-1901

<u>Places of Settlement</u>	<u>1881</u>		<u>1891</u>		<u>1901</u>		<u>1901</u>		<u>1901</u>	
	<u>Denmark</u>		<u>Denmark</u>		<u>Sweden & Norway</u>		<u>Denmark</u>		<u>Sweden & Norway</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Hobart (City)	12	13	9	10	45		9	10	42	2
Launceston	9	1	8	5	29	1	5	2	15	
Campbell Town	6	7	3	2					1	
Cumberland			2	1	22	1				
Fingal	6	5	10	7	9	2	8	8	12	2
George Town	4	1	7	1	1		4	2	3	
Glenorchy	13	15	17	15	4	1	18	12	2	
Kingsborough	5	5	7	8	5	2	5	3	2	1
Lyell	a	a	a	a	a	a	8	3	40	6
Ringarooma	a	a	7	3	12		10	4	12	1
Wellington	3		3		17		4		4	1
Rest of the Colony	19	12	10	2	38	5	28	12	72	1
Total	77	59	83	54	182	12	99	56	205	14
		136		137		194		155		219
Urban Districts	a	a	14	13	74	1	14	12	57	2
Rural Districts	a	a	69	41	108	11	85	44	148	12

a Not available.

agglomerations; second, a group of Scandinavian seamen, mainly Swedes and Norwegians, and miners originating from Scandinavian seaports.

Unfortunately no references to social life and leisure time activities of Scandinavians in Tasmania were found. However, there must have been social gatherings in places such as the Danish settlement near Hobart, where the Danes fought the Germans to change the name of the settlement (Bismark). In this ethnic agglomeration - similarly to those in Victoria and Queensland - settlers gathered in private homes to see each other, had family celebrations or religious or other meetings; even arranged picnics.

Scandinavians Elsewhere in Australia

Other colonies were not so anxious to obtain Scandinavian settlers that they extended schemes of assisted passages, or free land grants, to them. Some did come, however, many being paid out or deserted seamen who in their own ways settled in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. In the 1870s and 1880s Scandinavian ships brought mainly timber cargoes, and according to a contemporary 20-40 Scandinavian sailing ships could be seen in Port Melbourne at a time. Most vessels were Norwegian and Swedish though also Danish and Russian flags on board Finnish ships were found.¹ Though the largest proportions were in Queensland, the southern colonies had also a considerable number of Scandinavians, notably Swedes and Norwegians, engaged often in shipping. As appears from Chart II this voluminous Scandinavian (seaman) immigration took place mainly in the 1880s and consequently the highest number of Scandinavians in Australia was reached in 1891, to decrease continuously until World War II. The decline of Scandinavian immigration in the 1890s can first be attributed to the economic depression in Australia and secondly to the ebbing of general Scandinavian emigration after the peak years of the 1880s.

1

C.A. Adelskold, "Nagra Minnen fran ett tidigare Melbourne" (Some Reminiscences from an earlier Melbourne), Norden, 841-842, 18 May 1929, pp 7-8

VICTORIA

Victorian Settlements after the Gold Rushes

The first census to give the numbers of Scandinavians in Victoria, in 1871, revealed a couple of thousand of them, Danes making up almost half of the group. More than a third of the Scandinavian population lived in Melbourne and its suburbs, and many Swedes and Norwegians were engaged in shipping. A considerable proportion still lived on the goldfields (see Table 5.10); roughly every third Dane and nearly every fifth Swede or Norwegian. Relatively numerous Danish women in Ballarat and Sandhurst (Bendigo) may bear some evidence of a more permanent Danish settlement as a continuance of the gold rush days.

Table 5.11 showing the development of settlement patterns between 1871 and 1911, reveals the inflow of Scandinavians in the 1880s, when the number of Swedes and Norwegians doubled and Danes increased by almost a third. The main feature was the concentration in Melbourne and its suburbs, most notably among the women.

Outside the goldfields a major concentration of Scandinavians was found in Gippsland, where in 1881 lived 104 Danish males and 17 females and 90 Swedish-Norwegian males, but no females. Here at East Poowong was situated the best known Scandinavian settlement in colonial Australia. The pioneers were half a dozen Danes from southern Jutland who had left Denmark after the war of 1864 and had worked at the gold diggings in Bendigo. In 1878 they selected land at East Poowong. A settler later told that it took them six weeks to get through the forest and take possession of their land, although the distance from Melbourne was no more than 60 miles.¹ A couple of years later there were six women and a number of children, and a compact colony of thirteen Danish families and a Norwegian developed quickly. When Lyng visited the colony in 1895 he counted some 70 persons but did not think it was increasing. He found "magnificent homesteads, luxuriant gardens, well-stocked

¹

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.40

Table 5 10: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in Victoria, Census 1881

<u>Places of Settlement</u>	<u>Danes</u>			<u>Swedes & Norwegians</u>			<u>Total</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>
Melbourne and Suburbs	<u>259</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>306</u>	<u>471</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>509</u>	<u>730</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>815</u>
<u>Goldfields</u>									
Ararat	14	1	15	11		11	25	1	26
Ballarat	45	11	56	50	3	53	95	14	109
Beechworth	37	3	40	26		26	63	3	66
Castlemaine	63	5	68	35	3	38	98	8	106
Gippsland	10		10	9		9	19		19
Maryborough	59	2	61	56		56	115	2	117
Sandhurst	<u>71</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>137</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>299</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>329</u>	<u>242</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>251</u>	<u>541</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>580</u>
Places outside local jurisdiction	47	6	53	132	2	134	179	8	187
(Shipping)	(21)	(3)	(24)	(115)	(1)	(116)	(136)	(4)	(140)
Rest of the Colony	313	38	351	474	7	481	787	45	832
<u>TOTAL VICTORIA</u>	<u>918</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>1,039</u>	<u>1,319</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>1,375</u>	<u>2,237</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>2,414</u>
<u>Percentages:</u>									
Melbourne and Suburbs	28.2	38.8	29.5	35.7	67.9	37.0	32.6	48.0	33.8
Goldfields	32.6	24.8	31.7	18.3	16.1	18.3	24.2	22.0	24.0
Outside local jurisdiction	5.1	5.0	5.1	10.0	3.6	9.7	8.0	4.5	7.7
Rest of the Colony	<u>34.1</u>	<u>31.4</u>	<u>33.8</u>	<u>35.9</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>35.2</u>	<u>25.4</u>	<u>34.5</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 5.11: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in Victoria, Censuses 1871-1901 (per cent)

Places of Settlement	Census	Danes						Swedes and Norwegians						Total					
		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons	
Melbourne and Suburbs	1871 ^a	38.5		52.5		39.6		34.7		71.4		35.7		36.4		58.3		37.5	
	1881	28.2		38.8		29.5		35.7		67.9		37.0		32.6		48.0		33.8	
	1891	40.1		60.1		42.6		42.1		68.2		43.7		41.5		64.4		43.4	
	1901	37.2		55.8		39.7		40.6		68.4		42.8		39.6		62.8		41.8	
Towns and Boroughs	1871 ^a																		
	1881	12.7		14.0		12.9		2.9		10.7		3.5		6.9		13.0		7.4	
	1891	8.2		5.8		7.9		3.5		6.5		3.7		4.9		6.1		5.0	
	1901	9.8		2.9		8.8		5.7		4.6		5.6		6.9		3.8		6.6	
Shires	1871	55.6		47.5		54.9		53.4		28.6		52.7		54.3		41.7		53.7	
	1881	53.9		42.1		52.6		51.4		17.9		50.0		52.4		34.5		51.1	
	1891	48.5		33.5		46.7		45.7		24.9		44.4		46.5		28.9		45.1	
	1901	50.9		41.3		49.6		44.8		25.9		43.3		46.7		32.7		45.3	
Outside Local Jurisdiction (mainly shipping)	1871	5.9				5.4		12.0				11.6		9.3				8.8	
	1881	5.1		5.0		5.1		10.0		3.6		9.7		8.0		4.5		7.7	
	1891	3.1		0.7		2.8		8.7		0.5		8.2		7.1		0.5		6.5	
	1901	2.2				1.9		8.9		1.1		8.2		6.8		0.6		6.2	
Total Victoria & Numbers	1871	100.0	934	100.0	80	99.9	1,014	100.1	1,205	100.0	35	100.0	1,240	100.0	2,139	100.0	115	100.0	2,254
	1881	99.9	918	99.9	121	100.1	1,039	100.0	1,319	100.1	56	100.2	1,375	99.9	2,237	100.0	177	100.0	2,414
	1891	99.9	1,216	100.1	173	100.0	1,389	100.0	3,013	100.1	201	100.0	3,214	100.0	4,229	99.9	374	100.0	4,603
	1901	100.1	882	100.0	138	100.0	1,020	100.0	2,033	100.0	174	99.9	2,207	100.0	2,915	99.9	312	99.9	3,227

a Includes cities, towns and boroughs taken together.

Note 1. In 1871 Norwegians were separated from Swedes making 32 per cent of the two nationalities (389 males and 6 females). However, in shipping Norwegians were more numerous than Swedes.

Note 2. In 1881 migratory population (1,951 persons) were distributed by proportions amongst the other numbers and for this reason the total differs slightly from other statistics for 1881. Also among the Danes the Danish dominions were sometimes left out or included causing slight differences, e.g. in 1891 the Danish possessions 7 males and 3 females from Iceland, Greenland, Faroe Islands and St Thomas were excluded.

paddocks, and happy families".¹ Scandinavian settlers at East Poowong, and those in another settlement at nearby Muckleford, were conducting dairyfarming and had a co-operative dairy of their own.²

A settlement very similar to that of the Danes at East Poowong was a Swedish group settlement at Emerald. Because this settlement is the only known purely Swedish farming group in Australia, it deserves close attention. The following paragraphs present the story of a Swedish pioneer settler, Carl Axel Nobelius, both to give some understanding on how a group of Swedish settlers gathered around a single pioneer and to indicate the kind of contribution a Scandinavian settler could make to Australian industry.

C.A. Nobelius was born in 1850 at Tampere, Finland, of Swedish parents, and arrived in Australia in February 1871.³ Where he lived in Sweden is difficult to ascertain; the most reliable information comes from his marriage announcement in 1877 giving his native place as Gefle (nowadays Gävle), Sweden.⁴ As a lad he had been trained as a nurseryman, and when he reached Melbourne he soon found employment in the nurseries of South Yarra and Toorak. Being ambitious to have a place of his own Nobelius found that the red soils of the Dandenong Ranges were specially suitable for making good rooting systems in fruit trees. He took up a large area of heavily timbered land at Emerald, on the northern slope facing Warburton, then miles from any transport service.

He was a handsome man, tall, strong and very athletic, a hard and faithful worker. He worked well at the nurseries in

¹

Lyng, Emigrantnoveller og Skitser (Emigrant Short Stories and Sketches), Melbourne 1901, pp.100-105; the quotation from Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.42; the best description is M.C.L. Hansen, "Pioneers of the Danish Settlement at East Poowong", The Land of the Lyre Bird; A Story of Early Settlement in the Great Forest of South Gippsland, Melbourne 1920, pp.385-389; also Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Australia", Norden, 937, 18 March 1933, p.7; and Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.26.

²

Christmas, p.224.

³

Vic Nat., 1894. Most literary sources, to be quoted later, give birthplace and year of arrival incorrectly.

⁴

Australasian, 27 January 1877, (122 e) Marriages: Nobelius - Brightwell

Melbourne all the week, and then boarded the midday train on Saturday for Narre Warren. He would walk the sixteen miles to Emerald, over a rough and hilly bush track. He cleared patch after patch of the heavily timbered land, walking back the sixteen miles to Narre Warren on Sunday night to catch the return train.¹

Gradually the hillsides were cleared and burned off, and by 1880 Nobelius could make his home there and open up a nursery.

At first it was a matter of rearing seedling fruit-trees for known customers, but he was led into experimenting with European trees that give good shade in summer. Part of his place was turned into an acclimatisation garden, a sort of laboratory. In the hot little townships growing up in the north, there was need for trees of leafy foliage that would absorb the dust. To the shire councils of such places came circulars from the nursery at Emerald, telling what could be supplied in the way of 'ornamental' trees that would give shade in summer, and let the sun through in winter.²

Thus Nobelius, being a true pioneer, established a great organization that was then the finest fruit tree nursery in the Commonwealth. He was one of the best known figures in early Emerald and virtually 'uncrowned king' of the district. It may justly be said that he placed Emerald on the map, for in its hey-day, around the turn of the century, his nursery provided employment for virtually all local residents.³ Under the name 'Gembrook Nurseries' Nobelius traded with South Africa, South America, India, New Zealand, Japan, Europe etc. In 1903 he advertised one million trees for sale. In 1908 he bought 600 acres on the Tamar River in Tasmania, where he planted 40,000 fruit trees, thereby creating the largest one-block privately-owned orchard in the world.⁴ When the industry was at its height in 1914 the stock amounted

¹ Edward E. Pescott, "The Pioneers of Horticulture in Victoria", The Victorian Historical Magazine, XVIII, February 1940, p.13.

² Nettie Palmer, The Dandenongs, Melbourne 1953, pp. 35-36.

³ Helen Coulson, Story of the Dandenongs, 1838-1958, Melbourne 1959, p. 224.

⁴ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp. 31-32. Also Coulson, p. 225, relates that "The nursery (at Emerald) became the largest in the Southern Hemisphere". See also Holmes, "The Influence of Foreign Settlers in the Development of Australia", p.22.

to two million trees covering 450 acres, and during the war years this increased considerably.

Nobelius' business collapsed during World War I when it was impossible to export stock. When the nursery was sold after his death in 1921 in accordance with the terms of his will, the property was bought by a syndicate of businessmen and the nursery was later sold to A.M. Nicholas, who in turn sold it to C.L. Nobelius. The latter retained the nursery until its sale to S. Linton and Son of Clayton in 1955.¹

The importance of C.A. Nobelius - in addition to being a pioneer of the Australian fruitgrowing industry - lies in the fact that around him gathered the only known Swedish farming group settlement in Australia. Even an Australian source relates of G.F. Rydberg, "one of three Swedes who came to Emerald 70 years ago to assist Nobelius in clearing his land"² The Swedish settlement was, however, larger, and from contemporary pages of the Norden it appears that by the 1920s a dozen Swedish families had settled there.³

In addition to these group settlements there were other batches of Scandinavian settlers, as in the Corumburra district where a number, mostly miners from Campbell's Creek, settled down as farmers. But generally the Scandinavians interspersed amongst the general population of Victoria and soon became absorbed into it. Even in the few group settlements assimilation was quick. At East Poowong the English language and customs were prominent by the 1890s; the Danish language was used only as a curiosity, the older children understanding it but using it reluctantly, and while the Divine Service was conducted in English.⁴ Another contemporary observer reported that the Danish, German and English languages were used in religious meetings,⁵ indicating that the

¹ Coulson, p.226

² Ibid., p.225.

³ "Makarna Westlund's Guldbröllop" (Spouses Westlund's Golden Wedding), Norden, 661, 29 April 1922, p.4.

⁴ Lyng, Emigrantnoveller, p.98.

⁵ H.L. Hansen, "The Danish Settlement", Kirketidende (Church News, a short term Scandinavian-Australian religious paper), 9, 7 October 1898, p.130

transition was under way, and when Lyng visited the colony in 1925 all the Danish he found left were a few person's names.¹

While the Danes preferred goldfields and later often settled on the land many Swedes and Norwegians preferred Melbourne and they were more numerous engaged in shipping than the Danes. In general, the Scandinavians in Victoria consisted of two elements: on the one hand the Danes, mainly deriving from the goldrush period and often with peasant background and an inclination for close settlements; on the other hand the more dispersed Swedes and Norwegians, often with a seafaring background, whose main immigration took place in the 1880s (when their number more than doubled in a decade) and with few co-national women. The few Scandinavian females, especially the Swedes and Norwegians, preferred Melbourne and its suburbs while the Danish women were more scattered with their menfolk in rural areas.

In the late nineteenth century Finnish settlers were obviously not numerous in Victoria; in 1881 there were only five Russian-born males engaged in shipping, the major occupation of the first Finns in Australia. Their 'seaman' immigration pattern followed closely that of the Swedes and Norwegians. The Victorian census of 1901 did, somewhat unusually, show Finns separately, revealing 74 males and 3 females born in Finland, but it must be borne in mind that whenever Australian censuses before 1921 enumerated the Finns separately as in this census and in Queensland in 1886 and 1901, other Finns may have reported themselves as Russians.

Scandinavian Life in Victoria

Information about social life of Scandinavians in Victoria during this period is scarce. A Scandinavian society in Melbourne was stated to have existed for a time in the 1870s; Lyng had only heard of it and did not know many details. Consequently in his early works he considered that a Scandinavian society founded in 1880 was the first one in Melbourne.²

¹

Lyng, "Danskerne i Sydney" (The Danes in Sydney), Norden, 751, 31 October 1925, p. 8.

²

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp. 139, 157-158; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p. 55. Further references appear at the end of this section.

Whatever this early society had been it had obviously long been dead when in 1880 some 35 Scandinavians founded a society in the Prince of Wales Hotel. During the first year the membership rose to 70, and a dancing school and balls were arranged. Because of lack of suitable premises, and because many of the members were visiting Melbourne only temporarily for the great exhibition, activities were suspended. The society never revived.

Somewhat later a Scandinavian vocal society was founded, which was more than a choir. Singing was considered a uniting and harmonising force among the discordant Scandinavians. The only document Lyng found about this association was a membership list with 53 names, most being unknown to him. He arrived in Melbourne nine years later and the fact that he heard of so few of the 53 is a good indication of how mobile the Scandinavians were and how difficult it was to establish stable organizations.

When the leader of the choir became gravely ill the singing society collapsed, and in its place, before the death of the choir leader, a new Scandinavian society was founded. It bought the library of the former society and seemed to flourish. While the Danes had formed the nucleus of the singing society, the Swedes and Norwegians had the majority in the new society. The length of the life of this society is not known, as all the papers were lost, but it obviously faded away in the late 1880s. This was the last Scandinavian society in Melbourne; the Swedes found their own society in 1887 as they found the Scandinavian society too Norwegian, and the Danes followed their example two years later.

The most successful of these clubs proved to be the Danish society Dannebrog, though fumbling for the first two years until the rules were constituted. In the beginning the Norwegians were given membership, and women were allowed to attend every second meeting, but soon the doors were closed both to Norwegians and to women. The first meetings were irregularly held at the Literary Institute, as the rules did not allow gathering in a hotel. But for the society to survive the rules had to be changed and then, though some lectures on literature and other topics were arranged, most of the time was spent with toasts and national songs. When the Scandinavian society died out in 1891, its library became the possession of the Danish society. For a couple of years the Dannebrog

did well, its membership rising to over 70, and there was a good co-operation with the Swedish society. Soon, however, the society started to decline, and in 1894 an attempt was made to join the British Kangaroo Club where some Scandinavians were in prominent positions. A major reason for the decline was the economic depression in the early 1890s; at this time numerous Scandinavians left Melbourne for the goldfields of Western Australia. Another reason was the arrival of a Norwegian pastor, Soren Pedersen, who regarded these societies as the institution of the Devil, as naught but immoral drinking and gambling places. The Scandinavian society fell into line but the Danish and Swedish societies opposed him. In the end, however, Pedersen with his enormous energy drew all the Scandinavians not belonging to the societies, as well as newcomers (including Lyng himself), into his following. To fight the societies Pedersen founded a temperance society,¹ a Christian youth organization, library, and an employment office, and also arranged excursions etc.; in short, he gave everybody something to do. When Pedersen returned to Norway in 1895 all his toil came to nothing, and the sun was again shining in Melbourne as in the good old days! The disciples fell into the traps of the world, balls were started again, the temperance society died an unlamented death. Even a religious Scandinavian-Australian paper noted the disappearance of this unnecessary organization with satisfaction.²

Because of Pedersen and the economic depression, the activities of the Dannebrog were suspended about the year 1894. Ignorant of its existence a small band of recently arrived Danes who used to meet once a week to play cards formed another Danish society in 1896. From the very beginning there arose the question of whether the Swedes and Norwegians should be accepted; Lyng's proposition for their admittance was voted down by eight to two.³ Tension arose when the Danes who had belonged to

1

The main aim of the temperance society was to make Scandinavian seamen absolutists. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 188; and Saxon, p. 273.

2

Kirketidende, Melbourne 19, 7 September 1898 and 20, 20 October 1898.

3

The minutes of the general meeting, 17 December 1896, the Archives of the Danish Club Dannebrog, Melbourne. The archives were made available by the courtesy of the Club. This made it possible to compare with Lyng's information. E.g. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 151, gave the voting result five versus three.

the Dannebrog argued that their society was still alive. However, membership of the new society soon reached 30, and in 1898 the two Danish societies amalgamated under the name of the Danish Society Dannebrog. The meetings were held mainly in hotels conducted by Danes. In the Empire Hotel, Latrobe Street, the society obtained a spacious hall with a stage for concerts and plays, the library was augmented, and the old Danish sport 'bird-shooting' was introduced combined with annual picnics. Also a benefit fund was introduced for the temporary relief of Danes in distress. While in the Empire Hotel the membership rose to over 80, with a couple of non-Danes as supporting members.

The distinction between the old and new societies mirrored a division among the Danes. The old Dannebrog was dominated by Jutlanders with their peasant background; in the new society the 'intellectuals' from Copenhagen formed the nucleus and soon seized power. The Copenhagen wing had close contacts with the Germans. Balls were now arranged in the hall of the German Turn Verein, instead of, as previously, in a British hall. Some Danes, particularly those from South Jutland, protested against this German orientation.¹

The real problem, however, was not the German influence, but the old question of whether Swedes and Norwegians should be accepted. At the turn of the century the three nationalities temporarily came closer to each other, and together arranged some Scandinavian carnivals and other events. At this time the leader of the 'Copenhagen Click' visited Denmark and the influence of that group decreased (Lyng himself came from Jutland). The situation was then that the Danes had an active society but poor premises, while the Swedish society had a better location in Russell Street. Many Swedes belonged to the Danish society and vice versa, as did Lyng himself. Co-operation between the three nationalities, including the Norwegians who since the turn of the century had their own small society, was widely hoped for. Finally it was agreed to co-operate in the matter of premises. Many of the Copenhagen group

1

It appears that political situations in the home countries affected much of the social activities of the Scandinavians, the feature most notable among the Swedes and Norwegians was the dissolution of the union of these countries in 1905.

opposed the proposition, which was first approved by the Danes, but even the Danes rejected the proposed Federated Scandinavian Club at an extra general meeting in 1904, though Lyng was supporting it strongly. On their side the Norwegians rejected co-operation, mainly because of their political subjugation to Sweden; which meant that again the three societies withdrew to their own national activities.¹

Partly because of all these troubles the Swedish and Norwegian societies continued to languish. The Danish society, however, maintained considerable activity. In 1909 it secured its own premises with a club licence at the corner of Collins and King Streets, around which many Danes had their businesses, and the club was on the way to becoming the centre of Danish businessmen and their friends. Then the name was changed from 'society' to 'club', and the rules were altered to make the club less exclusive to non-Danes.² These steadily increased but as they did so tension arose between them and the original Danish members. The competition between the Danish and non-Danish element was to become the feature of the inter-war period when the club was changing more and more Australian (see pp.209-210).

The Swedish club in Melbourne continued to operate in the original hotel (1887) until it obtained its own premises, including a library. The peak year was 1891 with some 50 members, but soon after, under the influence of Pedersen, the society declined and at the turn of the century had only about a dozen members. As it tended to be very conservative and exclusive a new and more liberal Swedish Society was founded in 1900, which attracted some 50-60 members including some Danes and Norwegians.³ The Swedish Consul preferred this new society and

1.

Later the Scandinavian societies had some co-operation like a Progress Association in the early twenties as a co-ordinating body.

2.

Sources for this section: Jens Lyng, "Foreningen Dannebrog" (The Dannebrog Society), an article series, Norden, 376, 10 December 1910-381, 18 February 1911; and "The Danish Club in Melbourne", Norden, 600, 22 November 1919, p.5; and "Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia", Norden, 720, 16 August 1924, p.5; and a good summary "The Danish Club 'Dannebrog' 1889-1939", Norden, 1083, 5 August 1939, p.4; and Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, passim; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.55-56; and the Archives of the Danish Club Dannebrog, Melbourne.

3.

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.144-145.

recommended it to newcomers such as Per Johnson who arrived in Melbourne in 1902. By this time the society, according to the Consul's report to Johnson, had 160 members and met every Saturday afternoon; the membership fee was one shilling and English was the only language used. As a newcomer Johnson tried to make Swedish the society's language, but in vain; it did, however, have a reading room with Swedish books and papers. The commonest activities were social; singing and music always following official meetings. Johnson describes a Christmas celebration held according to the old Swedish traditions: fish, porridge, dancing plays and christmas presents in Swedish style. Soon Johnson received the honour of becoming elected to the Swedish Club, which had only 16 members consisting of the most influential members of the Swedish community.¹

Later the two Swedish societies amalgamated but, perhaps just because they did so, began to languish. Eventually the premises had to be given up, and club activities moved to a little room in William Street. Soon even this had to be vacated and in 1913 the society asked and was allowed to meet in the reading room of the Swedish church.² In the end it became a not very virile appendage to the Swedish Church, and by the beginning of World War II it had practically ceased to exist.³

Lyng did not know any purely Norwegian society existent in the nineteenth century. This is not surprising as Norwegians were mainly seamen moving from port to port.⁴ In April 1900 the Kirketidende reported that a Norwegian club was planned in Melbourne;⁵ in July 1900 it was officially founded with some 20 members who used to gather in private homes.⁶ Later the club obtained its own premises and was continually fighting for its life.

¹ Per Johnson, Mina Upplevelser i Australien (My Experiences in Australia), Kristinehamn 1908, pp.77-80, 97-98.

² The minutes of the Church Council, 1 April 1913, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

³ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.55.

⁴ Lyng, Skandinaverne in Australien, p.137.

⁵ Kirketidende, 26 April 1900, p.262.

⁶ Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.155-56.

On the Victorian goldfields the religious needs of Scandinavians had given an impetus to social activities (see pp.94-95). Also among the Scandinavians in Melbourne there were some religious needs.

A lay preacher, Henrik Hansen, originating from Schleswig, arrived in Melbourne in 1859 from Adelaide where he has belonged to a German sect called 'Die Alte Lutheranen', members of which since the 1830s had settled in South Australia. He preached in German and Danish and soon gathered a small congregation, mainly Germans. At that time the Government used to give free sites for churches. Supported by the then Scandinavian Consul he eventually succeeded in getting a grant of land for a Scandinavian church in 1870.¹ Now the real problems began as the Scandinavians, who had received the land, did not want to give it to Hansen and 'his Germans'. After many disputes between the Scandinavians and the Germans the site was handed back to the Government as "there was no need for Scandinavians to obtain a church of their own". The German-Scandinavian congregation went on gathering in the Literary Institute until shortly afterwards Hansen died, and the Scandinavian section of his congregation dispersed.² The incident reveals that the general Scandinavian public was either antagonistic or at least indifferent to the movement. It also reveals the poor relations between the Scandinavians and the Germans, probably due to the Schleswig-Holstein question.

Some years later in 1880 the Norwegian Synod in the United States sent a minister, Lauritz Carlsen, to Melbourne. He frequently visited the goldfields, the Danish settlement in Gippsland and the Danish population of Sydney and Adelaide, often when Scandinavian vessels were unloading timber and taking on cargoes of wool and wheat; he frequently held Scandinavian services in ports and on board vessels. His

1

Some 30 years later Lyng complained that there were none to recall what had happened, none of Consul Were's papers contained anything. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.189-90. This again indicated how unstable the Scandinavian settlement was.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.190-191; Scandinavians in Australasia, p.95; Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.45.

congregation consisted mainly of seamen, most of them Norwegians, but in 1883 he founded a permanent Scandinavian congregation in Melbourne and started a fund to build a church. In 1887 Carlsen returned to America to settle disputes in his old congregation. He did not at once return to Australia so a new minister from Norway, Soren Pedersen, was called when 25 persons, most of them Norwegians, entered into a bond guaranteeing £100 a year to him. Pedersen arrived in December 1889, to be shortly followed by Carlsen who again claimed the congregation. He was refused, left for Sydney where he tried in vain to collect Scandinavians together into a new congregation, and finally left for America working his passage as a coaltrimmer.¹

Pedersen's period, the first half of the 1890s, was the heyday of the Scandinavian religious activities in Melbourne due to Pedersen's exceptional energy. His first object was to start a church building fund by arranging bazaars, concerts, picnics etc. and obtaining donations. A reading room was opened for Scandinavian seamen, and a labour bureau was conducted in connection with it. The Danish settlement in Gippsland was made an annex to the congregation and visited once a month. A Scandinavian Y.M.C.A. and a temperance society were formed. The latter, a Blue Ribbon Association, was primarily organized for the purpose of persuading Scandinavian seamen to become total abstainers. Never were there in Melbourne so many Scandinavian abstainers as in Pedersen's days. This kind of activity was widespread amongst Scandinavians abroad. Among the young single men in the Scandinavian communities, most notably in metropolitan areas, homesickness and dreary work often caused immorality and drunkenness. Consequently a clean-up campaign was often the first task undertaken by new ministers, this in turn leading migrant churches to very strict puritanism, a feature especially notable in the United States.² Although on the basis of material available this cannot be

1

Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien*, pp 192-195; and *Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand*, pp.45-46.

2

When e.g. the Swedish Lutheranism was introduced to the United States, it at once assumed a pietistic and puritanical form. Dancing, cards, drinking etc. were denounced as inventions of the Devil, and the church became even more orthodox and rigid in the Swedish-American communities than it was at home. Wittke, pp 269-270.

quite said of Australia, nevertheless there was something of the same element; Pastor Pedersen though was probably more liberal than many of his colleagues, as he had left Norway because of his conflict with the State Church and returned to a liberal congregation in Oslo.

Everything seemed to go well until the economic depression of the 1890s. Many of the worshippers had to leave Melbourne and the small congregation became unable to raise the pastor's modest salary. In the middle of the 1890s Pastor Pedersen accepted a call from Oslo, and when the ship left Melbourne it was recorded that several old men and women were crying like children.¹

While enquiries were made in Scandinavia to get a new minister a Swedish lay preacher, Axel Nilson, took charge of the congregation. The most favourable offer was received from a foreign mission organization in Sweden and in December 1896 Pastor Hultmark arrived; Nilson then left for Western Australia. The following years were prosperous and harmonious, and a couple of years later the congregation was in a position to buy a church of its own. A conspicuous feature was, according to Lyng, religion moving more to the background and more emphasis on national feelings. The interest of the church was now on a wider basis and it lost much of the religious emphasis of Pedersen's period. Due to Hultmark's liberalism Scandinavian flags could be raised while previously the church had fought national institutions. In short, the Scandinavian Church was adopting a function of amusement² providing scope for celebrations of a nationalistic and recreational kind.

National feelings, however, finally proved fatal to the Scandinavian Church. After the turn of the century dissention culminated between the three nationalities. The church was inconveniently sited, and the Danes

1

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.199.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.202. However, it appears from Ake Sundelin, "Svenska Melbourne-Kyrkan 1908-48" (The Swedish Melbourne Church 1908-48), p.1, a manuscript in the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne, that Pedersen, being a patriotic man "seldom forgot to remind about the old land in the North".

found it difficult to understand the Swedish language. When the political union between Sweden and Norway came to an end in 1905 the Scandinavian congregation broke up, and the Swedes formed a church body of their own by a readjustment of arrangements with the mission institution in Sweden. The Scandinavian church at West Melbourne was finally sold in 1913, the money being divided according to the proportion of support given in the past: 50 per cent went to the Norwegians, 30 per cent to the Swedes, and 20 per cent to the Danes.¹

At a general meeting of some 20 Swedes on 5 November 1907, Pastor Hultmark presented the reasons for founding a separate Swedish church under two headings: (1) the present (Scandinavian) church was too far from the city and seamen; and (2) there were difficulties due to language and nationality differences. Not even in the religious field had co-operation proved successful.² In the following year a purely Swedish congregation was established, and a church with a reading room erected in South Melbourne. However, other Scandinavians, especially Norwegians, were admitted as members and given the right to vote.³

NEW SOUTH WALES

As in many other colonies the Scandinavians in New South Wales were most numerous in 1891; their number having almost doubled in the preceding decade. Conspicuous was the concentration in Sydney and suburbs - in 1881 more than a third and in 1901 almost a half. Also in this colony many Swedes and Norwegians were engaged in shipping, in 1891

¹

The best source for this section is Otto Romcke, "Reminiscences of the Scandinavian Lutheran Church in Melbourne", Norden, 722, 13 September 1924, pp 7 or 8, on which Lyng's information was mainly based. Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp 47-48

²

The minutes of a general meeting, 5 November 1907, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

³

The minutes of the Church Council and general meeting, 11 June 1910, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

almost 18 per cent; this contrasts with a Danish figure of only 7 per cent.

Outside Sydney the most important Scandinavian settlements were in Newcastle and Broken Hill. In Newcastle and suburbs many Scandinavians were in seafaring occupations; in 1901 there were about 300 Swedes and Norwegians, and of these some 200 were in shipping. In the same year at Broken Hill there were 74 Swedish-Norwegian males, but only five females, and 36 Danish males and 27 females. The large number of Danish women in this mining centre may indicate a more permanent Scandinavian settlement there.

Among the Russians a high proportion of shipping people (130 out of 459 males) may indicate that a number of Finnish seamen had settled in the colony. A Finnish seaman who first arrived in 1874 and a second time in 1879, said that there were many Finnish seamen in Sydney (obviously in the 1880s) and on many ships there were 4-5 Finns. Once there were about 75 of them at a time in Sydney. "Then I thought they are more numerous than the Englishmen", said the old sailor.¹ After Sydney the Finns were most numerous in Newcastle where in 1901 Russian seafaring people consisted of 50 out of 67 male population. The Finns were also noticed by the New South Wales statist, who wrote: "The Russians comprised many Finns who followed a maritime calling, and perhaps some Jews, who did not so return themselves".² New South Wales was the most important colony for Finns, and the first census to enumerate Finns all over Australia in 1921 found some 40 per cent of them living in this state.

It is interesting to note that Scandinavians in New South Wales had a relatively active social life though no assisted passages for Scandinavians were granted. In New South Wales Scandinavian ethnic social life was concentrated in Sydney³ where the first known Scandinavian

1

Jorma Pohjanpalo, "Australian kantasuomalaisia Johan Wuoti" (A regular Finn in Australia Johan Wuoti), Suomi, 19, 5 September 1928.

2

Coghlan, General Report, p.183.

3

Only in Newcastle a Scandinavian society was recorded to have existed for a while in the 1880s. Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.173.

Table S.12: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in New South Wales, Censuses 1881-1901

Places of Settlement	Census	Danes						Swedes and Norwegians						Total					
		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sydney and Suburbs	1881	306	32.8	75	55.6	381	35.6	501	30.0	65	74.7	566	31.9	807	31.0	140	63.1	947	33.3
	1891	490	38.4	120	56.6	610	41.0	1,100	34.0	113	70.6	1,213	35.7	1,590	35.2	233	62.6	1,823	37.3
	1901	538	46.7	114	52.5	652	47.7	1,478	49.1	125	69.4	1,603	50.3	2,016	48.4	239	60.2	2,225	48.8
Rest of the Colony	1881	628	67.2	60	44.4	688	64.4	1,167	70.0	22	25.3	1,209	68.1	1,795	69.0	82	36.9	1,897	66.7
	1891	711	55.7	92	43.4	803	54.0	1,541	47.6	46	28.8	1,587	46.7	2,252	49.9	138	37.1	2,390	48.9
	1901	570	49.5	103	47.5	673	49.2	1,252	41.6	53	29.4	1,305	40.9	1,822	43.8	156	39.3	2,008	44.1
Shipping	1881	a				a		a		a		a		a		a		a	
	1891	75	5.9			75	5.0	596	18.4	1	0.6	597	17.6	671	14.9	1	0.3	672	13.8
	1901	43	3.7			43	3.1	280	9.3	2	1.1	282	8.8	323	7.8	2	0.5	325	7.1
Total New South Wales & Numbers	1881	934	100.0	135	100.0	1,069	100.0	1,668	100.0	87	100.0	1,775	100.0	2,602	100.0	222	100.0	2,844	100.0
	1891	1,276	100.0	212	100.0	1,488	100.0	3,237	100.0	160	100.0	3,397	100.0	4,513	100.0	372	100.0	4,885	100.0
	1901	1,151	99.9	217	100.0	1,368	100.0	3,010	100.0	180	99.9	3,190	100.0	4,161	100.0	397	100.0	4,558	100.0

a Not available.

society was founded in 1874. It soon boasted some 50 members, most of them Danes, and survived for nine years. A dissension arose on the question of introducing a sick-pay system and though a separate friendly society started in 1880 neither it nor the main society long survived; by 1883 both had ceased to exist.

Meanwhile in 1877 the Swedes had founded a society, the Valhalla, this, however, died in infancy. After the failure of the Scandinavian society in 1883 another exclusively Swedish society, Vikingen, was founded, but later Danes and Norwegians were admitted to membership. This led to strife, the aliens were excluded and the society once more became purely Swedish. Gradually interest in the society waned and about 1890 it ceased to function.

In 1888 a Scandinavian literary society was formed and was merged with a new Scandinavian society two years later. The society did not last long, neither did another Scandinavian society founded some years later. Instead a Danish society, Thor, had a longer existence. The number of Swedes and Norwegians was not allowed to exceed 25 per cent of the membership. This Danish society was the Sydney equivalent of the Dannebrog in Melbourne and saw similarly both good and bad days.

In 1898, certain Danish families in Sydney founded a 'Vagabond Club', to meet on Sundays and admit ladies to membership; after a while the name was altered to 'Danish Sunday Club'. Soon friction arose, and the minority formed a new organization, a Scandinavian club, but both organizations were short lived.¹

A new Swedish society was founded in 1910 and reconstructed in 1914. The greatest achievement of the society was the erection of a monument for Dr Solander, Captain Cook's celebrated Swedish companion.²

No evidence about Norwegian societies in Sydney has been found, but in 1906 the Norwegian Consul, Olav E. Pauss, started to invite a dozen

1

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.28; and Scandinavians in Australasia, p. 89; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp. 56-58; and Christmas, pp. 219, 221.

2

"How the Sollander Monument was erected by 'Eye-witness'", Swedish Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, pp.375-376

Norwegians once a month to talk Norwegian in his office. Also the 17 May, the Norwegian national day, was celebrated with ladies and Australian friends.¹ The Finns in Sydney did not have any organized social activities before the Finnish Seamen's Mission was established there in 1916.

No Scandinavian congregations were founded in New South Wales in the nineteenth century, though several attempts were made. Scandinavian pastors in Melbourne used to visit Sydney, and after a visit in 1902 Pastor Hultmark reported to the Church authorities in the homeland on the crying need for a seamen's mission. In the same year a missionary was sent out and a Scandinavian Sailor's Home was opened with a Swedish woman in charge. The Home became self-supporting, had a good reading room and accommodation for seamen. On Sundays church services were conducted by lay readers.²

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Though already in the first half of the nineteenth century some Scandinavians had settled in the colony, not until 1881 is there statistical information about them. It appears from Table 5.13 that while Danes dominated in many other colonies, especially in Queensland, South Australia contained relatively more Swedes and Norwegians. The peak year was 1891 when the Swedes and Norwegians had increased considerably, while the Danes maintained the same number as in the previous census. The concentrations of Swedes and Norwegians in Port Adelaide and in shipping indicate that a large proportion of them were engaged in occupations connected with seafaring. The importance of the Scandinavians to the South Australian trade is shown by the fact that in 1891 Swedes and Norwegians made up a quarter of the total seafaring population in the colony.

¹ Ludv Saxe, "Nordmand i Australien" (Norwegians in Australia), Nordmands-Forbundet, 1912, p 33.

² A.G. Andin, "Social Activities of the Swedes in Sydney and Melbourne", Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, p 380

Table 5.13: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in South Australia, Censuses 1881-1901 (per cent)

Places of Settlement	Census	Danes						Swedes and Norwegians						Total					
		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons		Males		Females		Persons	
Port Adelaide	1881	13.9		11.1		13.6		15.8		36.0		16.5		15.4		23.1		15.7	
	1891	13.8		3.4		12.7		13.7		26.2		14.3		13.7		18.9		14.0	
	1901	12.2		14.8		12.5		17.8		25.0		18.2		16.6		21.5		16.9	
City of Adelaide and Corporated Towns minus Port Adelaide	1881	8.0		37.0		11.0		4.9		40.0		6.0		5.6		38.5		7.3	
	1891	25.1		44.8		27.2		16.1		32.8		16.9		17.7		36.7		18.9	
	1901	29.0		40.7		30.2		23.7		42.3		24.7		24.8		41.8		26.0	
Rest of the Colony	1881	62.4		40.7		60.2		61.5		24.0		60.3		61.7		32.7		60.3	
	1891	44.5		48.3		44.9		34.8		41.0		35.1		36.6		43.3		37.0	
	1901	41.6		44.4		41.9		28.0		28.8		28.0		30.9		34.2		31.1	
Northern Territory	1881	0.8				0.8		2.4				2.4		2.0				1.9	
	1891	2.4				2.2		0.8				0.8		1.1				1.0	
	1901	1.3				1.1		0.8				0.7		0.9				0.8	
Shipping	1881	14.8		11.1		14.4		15.4				14.9		15.3		5.8		14.8	
	1891	14.2		3.4		13.0		34.7				32.8		30.9		1.1		29.0	
	1901	16.0				14.3		29.7		3.8		28.3		26.8		2.5		25.2	
<u>Total South Australia and Numbers</u>	1881	99.9	237	99.9	27	100.0	264	100.0	740	100.0	25	100.1	765	100.0	977	100.1	52	100.0	1,029
	1891	100.0	247	99.9	29	100.0	276	100.1	1,096	100.0	61	99.9	1,157	100.0	1,343	100.0	90	99.9	1,433
	1901	100.1	238	99.9	27	100.0	265	100.0	886	99.9	52	99.9	938	100.0	1,124	100.0	79	100.0	1,203

It seems that in Port Adelaide there was a more permanent settlement of Swedes and Norwegians; or at least this is suggested by the numbers of Scandinavian-born women. In 1881 nine out of 23 Swedish-Norwegian women over 15 years old in South Australia lived in Port Adelaide, while ten years later the corresponding numbers were 14 out of 52; in 1881 out of 20 Danish women in the colony over 15 years only two lived in Port Adelaide and in 1891 only one out of 25. While there were no conspicuous differences in the concentrations in Adelaide it seems that proportionally more Danes were found in occupations not connected with the port. The small number of Scandinavian-born persons under 15 years of age (in 1881 six out of 759 and in 1891 18 out of 1,139) indicate that there had not been any extensive family migration recently.

Although Adelaide was the main centre of the Scandinavian settlement, a number of others were in the counties of Victoria, Daly and Frome. In the Northern Territory also some Scandinavians were found. A Norwegian scientist, Knut Dahl, who visited the Territory at the close of the nineteenth century, says that in about 1882 copper was found on the Daly River and that five men started digging on the spot where the Daly Copper Mine was later situated (1894); one of these was a Dane called Oxoll. Later the aborigines killed four of them, among them Oxoll. Dahl also met a Swede on the Shaw River on a very primitive sheep station; "the Swede got very excited at meeting a Scandinavian".¹

In the 1890s the Scandinavian population in South Australia diminished, the decrease being most conspicuous in the shipping population. A major reason for this was the gold found in Western Australia; the Scandinavians in South Australia, the nearest colony, were the first to join the rush to the 'Golden West'.

The Scandinavians who were attracted to Adelaide because of its seaport first made moves to form a society in 1880 when a Mr Welin contacted the Scandinavian society in Sydney asking if the planned Scandinavian society in Adelaide could become a branch of the Sydney society. Sydney answered that due to the distance this was impossible,

¹ Knut Dahl, In Savage Australia, London 1926, pp.32-33, 190.

but that it would give all help possible. The matter then rested and it was not until 1883 that, according to Lyng, the first Scandinavian society in Adelaide was officially founded. Because the majority of the members were seamen and wharf labourers, the society soon moved to Port Adelaide. Dancing was not allowed in the society, however, so many wharf labourers left it. Lyng considered that this was the main cause of the society's failure soon afterwards.¹

The Scandinavian Club of South Australia was founded in 1891, and it soon obtained some 60 members. Premises were secured, papers received from Scandinavia, balls and picnics were arranged, and English was the language used most commonly. Most of the members were Swedes, seamen and wharf labourers, who had deserted their ships. They were not very keen on social activities or interested in literature and, when drinking and card games were no longer provided, left the society; this succumbed after a couple of years. Norwegian Wang, Lyng's source of information, was convinced that all similar attempts would fail.²

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The Gold Rush of the 1890s

Dutch sailors had discovered and explored the shores of Western Australia, but the history of European occupation dates only from the 1820s. The development was slow; by 1850 there were only four pockets of settlement but in the next two decades convict transportation increased the population to 25,000 in 1870. However, Western Australia remained a Cinderella community until the 1890s when gold brought life and prosperity to the colony. When in 1892-93 extensive goldfields were

1

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.35, 162-163, 186. Exceptionally here, p.184, Lyng revealed that he received his information from a Norwegian by the name of Wang, who joined the social life of Scandinavians in Adelaide in 1891. Also Saxe, "Nordmand i Australien", p.35.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.184-186.

discovered at Coolgardie and other places, thousands of diggers, mainly from other Australian colonies, poured into Western Australia.

Not unnaturally, amongst the first to arrive in the colony were Scandinavian miners and seamen from the other colonies; partly lured by this 'New Eldorado' and partly responding to the greatly increased demand for sea transport and crews. As appears from Table 5.14, by 1881 only a few dozen Scandinavians, most of them obviously seamen, had found their way to the colony. In the 1880s their numbers, especially that of Swedes and Norwegians, increased, coinciding with general voluminous migration to Australia, until the gold of the following decade caused the inflow of a couple of thousand Scandinavians to the 'Golden West'. Many mobile fortune seekers came from the eastern States, at that time suffering from a serious economic depression, but many came from Scandinavia or elsewhere. Some stayed in Fremantle and other seaports but most remained or spent a shorter or longer period on the goldfields, many later to settle on land; in short, a development much similar to that of the Victorian gold rush some decades previously.

Table 5.14: Scandinavian-born in Western Australia, Censuses 1881-1911

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>Census</u> <u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
<u>Denmark</u>				
Males	11	42	281	349
Females	-	1	39	69
Persons	11	43 ^a	320 ^c	418
<u>Sweden</u>				
Males	21	202 ^b	715	700
Females	-	2	39	40
Persons	21	204	754	740
<u>Norway</u>				
Males	18		405	386
Females	-		15	40
Persons	18		420	426
<u>Total</u>				
Males	50	244	1,401	1,435
Females	-	3	93	149
Persons	50	247	1,494	1,584

a Includes 1 male from Greenland and 1 female from Iceland.

b Includes Norway

c Includes Iceland and probably other dominions.

Table 5.15 shows Scandinavian settlement at the turn of the century. The majority were on the goldfields, especially Danes, while more Swedes and Norwegians were in Fremantle and other seaports; the developing Western Australian economy demanded extensive shipping and naturally attracted Scandinavian seamen. Scandinavian women were most numerous on the goldfields.

Confirming¹ Table 5.15 is a letter from Fremantle, published in the Norden in 1900, saying that the majority of Scandinavians who arrived in the colony in the 1890s went to the goldmines but that some remained in Fremantle and, with visiting seamen, formed a local Scandinavian community. The writer emphasized the numbers of seamen: "whenever one talks with a Scandinavian it almost always appears that he is a former seaman". Most Scandinavians worked in the port, and in the stevedore lists there were dozens of Scandinavian names. Only a few had better economic positions: a Swedish architect, a Norwegian Captain and Consul, two Danish ballast agents, and some who had bought land near Fremantle; though land was easy to get it was difficult to develop rapidly without capital.² However, many of the Scandinavian miners settled on the land at the beginning of the twentieth century when gold mining declined and the western wheat belt was developed to make Western Australia an important exporter of wheat.³

Finns were not numerous in colonial Western Australia. Only a handful of the 'Russia' category were seamen - i.e., were probably Finns - in the seventies and eighties, and not many more were attracted by the gold of the 1890s. Lyng speaks of a Finn by the name of 'Otto' who made £4,000 on the Western Australian goldfields, went to New Guinea in 1896, lost his fortune, and returned to Western Australia.⁴

1

Colonial naturalization records from Western Australia are too incomplete (many of them lost or destroyed) to provide much information.

2

HH, "Fra vor egen midte" Skandinaverne i Fremantle" (Among Ourselves; Scandinavians in Fremantle), Norden, 114, 6 October 1900, p.6.

3

Gordon Taylor, "Group Settlement in Western Australia", The Peopling of Australia (Further Studies), ed., P.D. Phillips, Melbourne 1933, pp. 294-295.

4

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 85.

Table 5.15: Settlement of Scandinavian-born in Western Australia, Census 1901

	Denmark		Sweden		Norway		Total	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Goldfield Areas</u>								
Ashburton	1		2				3	
Coolgardie	16	4	36	1	9	1	61	6
Coolgardie East	45	11	89	7	41	1	175	19
Coolgardie North	20	3	33	3	9		62	6
Coolgardie North-East	7	1	16	1	7		30	2
Dundas	4		8	1	3		15	1
Gascoyne			4		3		7	
Kimberley								
Mount Margaret	7	1	33	2	16		56	3
Murchison	12		27		6	1	45	1
Murchison East	11		20		7		38	
Peak Hill	2		5		4		11	
Phillips River	3		3				6	
Pilbarra	7		16				23	
Yalgoo	2		6		2		10	
Yilgarn	2		1	3	2		5	3
<u>Total Goldfields</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>299</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>547</u>	<u>41</u>
Fremantle	51	3	156	5	99	5	306	13
Perth	36	8	72	7	28	1	136	16
Rest of the Colony	55	8	188	9	169	6	412	23
<u>Total</u>	<u>281</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>715</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>405</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>1,401</u>	<u>93</u>
		<u>320</u>		<u>754</u>		<u>420</u>		<u>1,494</u>
<u>Percentages</u>								
Goldfields	49	51	42	46	27	20	39	44
Fremantle	18	8	22	13	24	33	22	14
Perth	13	20.5	10	18	7	7	10	17
Rest of the Colony	20	20.5	26	23	42	40	29	25
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Another Finn to settle in Western Australia during the gold era was Joseph Johnson (originally Joseph Herranen) born in 1861 at Kalvia. He emigrated to America in 1877 at the age of sixteen, became engaged in construction work on the Canadian Pacific Railway, came on to Australia about 1885, and resided at Bowral, New South Wales, accepting work on the Prospect Reservoir. He also spent a few peaceful years as a hotel proprietor but due to the economic depression lost his money and found it difficult to get work. He therefore joined the gold rush to Western Australia and arrived in Southern Cross in 1893. For close on seven years he was engaged in mining until a series of accidents forced him to hospital in Perth where for months he was seriously ill.

After recovering Johnson had no wish to return to mining so late in 1899 boarded a south bound train and stayed on it until the last stop at Bridgetown. He went on to Bumbury and from there set out with a land guide, eventually selecting a holding "which today (1935) stands as a monument to indomitable perseverance and boundless courage".¹ Here, by a beautiful creek, he erected his tent and decided to embark on apple growing. He was one of the first settlers in the area, and when occasionally passing riders learnt about his plans they thought: 'Big man but little sense!' and wisely shook their heads. One morning neighbours heard sounds of explosions coming from Johnson's place and sent riders to see what happened; there Johnson was blowing up big trees to enable him to burn them more easily. His mining experience here stood him in good stead, and he was the first to use explosives to facilitate clearing operations. He became known 'as the man who brought gelignite to the South-West', his innovation being so successful that the blasting of trees preparatory to burning off soon became universal throughout the district.

Johnson cleared acre after acre, often working for wages in the daytime and spending nights on his own fields. His health and former strength steadily recovered and he soon built a hut and then more rooms. His expectations with apples proved sound and all the money he obtained

1

"Menestynyt ulkosuomalainen kuollut; J. Johnson" (A well-known emigrant Finn dead; J. Johnson), Suomi, 3, 20 March 1935. The obituary was quoted from the local newspaper.

he invested in land. Later he married an Irish girl and had a family. As time passed more settlers arrived, the railway was built south of Bridgetown and the borough of Manjimup was established only five miles from Johnson's farm. This made the marketing of the apples easier. By now Johnson had 50 acres of best orchard - locally known as 'the Gully Orchard' - and had 5,000 trees. His property was regarded as one of the model orchards in Western Australia, exporting apples as far as Finland, while Johnson himself was known as 'Apple-Johnson' or 'Apple-King'.

Although Johnson had forgotten his Finnish mother tongue he always felt himself to be a Finn and once visited his birthplace as well as his wife's birthplace in Dublin. Eventually he sold his property to his son-in-law and retired, passing away in 1935.¹

Johnson, it seems, was not a typical Scandinavian settler in Western Australia. Scandinavian settlement there started as a community of seamen, much as in South Australia, the major concentration being in Fremantle. Then during the 1890s gold attracted well over a thousand permanently settled Scandinavians, including also a number of women, and at the turn of the century there were nearly 600 located on the goldfields. Though Danes were proportionally most numerous on the goldfields, numerically Western Australia was dominated by Swedish and Norwegian seamen and miners.

Many Scandinavians following the gold rush to Western Australia in the 1890s came from the eastern colonies where they may have had some experience of the Scandinavian societies. However, it was not before 1900 that any Scandinavian societies came into being. Then within a year

¹ "Joseph Johnson", The Archives of the Finnish Embassy, Canberra, File 19, Jo; and pseudonym 'Ahasverus', "Suomalaisia Australiassa" (Finns in Australia), Suomi, 11, 1 June 1927, and 12, 15 June 1927; pseud. 'Ahasverus' was a Finnish immigrant in Western Australia by the name of Heikki (Henry) Nore, as appears from his letter to Pastor Otto Kaksonen, in charge of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, and also the editor of the Suomi, dated 31 July 1926. In this letter Nore told about his intention to visit an old Finnish migrant who had been in Australia for 48 years and could not speak a word of Finnish. As a result of the interview the article quoted was published in the Suomi; also his obituary cited earlier, Suomi, 3, 20 March 1935.

two were founded, one at the port of Fremantle and one at the mining town of Boulder.¹

In 1900 it was reported from Fremantle that though there were no Scandinavian societies, yet there were future plans to have a club. The greatest difficulty for social activities was considered the lack of Scandinavian women (in Fremantle only 13 Denmark-, Sweden- and Norway-born women compared with 306 males in the Census of 1901), but an improvement in the matter was expected in the future.² When the Scandinavian club premises in Fremantle were opened in May 1901, it appeared from a speech held that the society had some 40 members. However, according to the speaker, hundreds of other Scandinavians lived in Fremantle but were 'ashamed' of being Scandinavians; they definitely insisted on being English.³

Though no details are available, according to Lyng the Scandinavians in Perth had a society of their own which, like that in Fremantle, used to meet in hotels.⁴

On the goldfields at Boulder a Scandinavian Literary and Social Club was founded in June 1900 by a dozen Scandinavians in a mining camp. Half a year later a fire destroyed the club, but new premises were obtained soon after. Though many Scandinavians left Boulder for other fields or moved back to the coast, some 20 members stayed on to form a nucleus. The club was said to be free of jealousy between the nationalities, English was the language used "because of the members who had been out for 10-20 years", and also to avoid giving any Scandinavian language a

¹ Chr. Nielsen, "Den Skandinaviske Klub i Boulder" (The Scandinavian Club in Boulder), Norden, 132, 15 June 1901, p.1.

² HH, "Fra vor egen midte; Skandinaverne i Fremantle" (Among Ourselves; Scandinavians in Fremantle), Norden, 114, 6 October 1900, p.6.

³ HH, "Fra vor egen midte; Skandinavisk Klub i Fremantle" (Among Ourselves; a Scandinavian Club in Fremantle), Norden, 130, 18 May 1901, p.6; and Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.89.

⁴ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.58.

privileged position. The general meetings were open to everybody, and many Australians joined the club.¹

THE SCANDINAVIAN PRESS

The Scandinavian-Australian press was often concentrated in Victoria. The first attempt was that of Cronqvist in 1857 (see pp.96-97). Since then almost two decades passed before the next attempt was made in Australasia and this was not in Victoria. In New Zealand a paper, the Skandia, was published in 1875 for six months and in 1887, thirty years after Cronqvist, the Skandinavien, a fortnightly paper, was founded in Sydney by a Dane and a Swede but did not celebrate its first anniversary. When some time later Lyng, engaged in founding his paper in Melbourne, visited one of the editors for some advice, the Dane answered: "I can give you only one piece of advice. Don't do it". Obviously, Lyng assumed, editing the paper had not been spinning silk.²

Before Lyng, however, Pastor Pedersen, the energetic Norwegian clergyman in Melbourne, edited in the Temperance Society a handwritten bi-annual paper, the Hjemlandstoner (Voices from Home), which was read at meetings. The paper was later printed on 3 July 1893, the pastor himself editing the first issue. From this developed the idea of obtaining a Scandinavian paper and then "by request of Mr Jens Lyng (then private secretary to Baron von Muller) we assembled at Collingwood Coffee Palace in the year 1894, for the purpose of establishing a Scandinavian Newspaper under the name of Hjemlandstoner".³ Lyng edited the paper until the end of the year 1895 and the next year it was followed by the new Norden.

This change of paper occurred as the Hjemlandstoner appeared only twice a year and a desire arose to have a paper published at more

¹ Chr. Nielsen, "Den Skandinaviske Klub i Boulder" (The Scandinavian Club in Boulder), Norden, 132, 15 June 1901, p.1

² Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.217-19.

³ A. Ohman, "En Röst från Väst-Australien" (A Voice from Western Australia), Norden, 841-842, 18 May 1929, pp.6-7

frequent intervals. Consequently a fortnightly paper (in the beginning appearing monthly), the Norden, was established under Lyng. A company with 200 ten shilling shares was founded and on 6 June 1896 the first number appeared. The paper was printed in the three Scandinavian languages, and to avoid dissensions Scandinavian political controversies - as well as religious disagreements - were banned. The aim of the paper was to promote all the interests of the Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand by tying them closer together and acting as a bridge between them and their homelands. With the first issue Lyng was sent to Sydney and Brisbane to promote the paper and obtain subscribers.

From the very beginning the struggle for existence started. To produce the paper cheaply Lyng himself had to do type-setting and other work so that only the printing had to be paid for until a small second-hand printing machine could be purchased. Although the circulation steadily increased the lack of advertisements was a serious problem. Without assistance received, e.g. by arranging concerts in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, the paper soon would have become bankrupt.¹

Jens Lyng carried on the Norden for ten years until 1906. Then he faded into the background, remaining, however, still one of its strongest supporters and contributors. After that the story of the paper was a continuous struggle, and it was kept going only by the sacrifices of patriotic Scandinavians, by arranging socials, giving donations and even assigning legacies to the paper.² After enduring for more than 43 years, the Norden finally succumbed in 1940.

The Norden did not reach the majority of the Scandinavians. The Board of the paper complained in 1907 that though it was said 20,000 Scandinavians were in Australia, the paper was sent to some 400 only.³ To a great extent the circulation was concentrated in Melbourne, though representatives were in Sydney, Brisbane, and in other Scandinavian

¹ Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p. 223.

² Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp. 62-69.

³ Norden, 283, 6 April 1907, p. 1

settlements. As with social and religious activities the immense distances hampered the venture.

Another reason was that the Norden, being a secular paper, did not achieve the support of religious minded people. Not infrequently - according to Lyng - the clergy were fighting it, particularly in New Zealand.¹ The religious bigotry culminated at the turn of the century when in Melbourne a Dane, H.L. Nielsen, founded the Kirketidende (Church News) appearing first fortnightly and later monthly. In the first issue, 15 May 1898, the editor asserted that the paper did not want to become a competitor to the Norden, but simply wanted to fulfil a need for a religious paper.² However, from the very beginning the competition was keen, and the personal relationship between Lyng and Nielsen was strained. The Kirketidende soon moved into 'Lyng's area' by publishing general news, information about the Scandinavians in Australia, and by obtaining advertisements. Also Nielsen had to do all the editing work himself. The circulation obviously was not large, most of which went to New Zealand and Brisbane; in Melbourne the Kirketidende was not successful, according to Lyng, as here "Nielsen was known too well",³ To get more support Nielsen in March 1900 visited New Zealand, where the Scandinavian pastors were strongly against the Norden, selling his shares and obtaining subscribers. Nielsen decided now to move his paper to Brisbane from the beginning of 1900.⁴ In Brisbane, however, the success was even less than in Melbourne, and after a couple of numbers Nielsen had to leave the colony on foot and under debts. The trip to Queensland killed the Kirketidende, and after a few more numbers in Melbourne Nielsen lost his faith in the attempt, and the last number (32)

¹ Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.226-228.

² Kirketidende, 1, 15 May 1898.

³ Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.229.

⁴ Ibid., p.230. In Queensland there were no Scandinavian papers, though already in 1881 a Dane, F. Jensen, contemplated starting a paper "Den Skandinaviske Queenslander" (The Scandinavian Queenslander), but the plan came to nothing, which was hardly the worst that might have happened to Jensen. Ibid., p.217.

appeared in October 1900. His paper had lived from May 1898 to October 1900, or some two and a half years, and not only "less than twelve months".¹

At the death of the Kirketidende the Norden obtained the list of its subscribers, and a special religious issue of the Norden was sent to the old subscribers of the Kirketidende. Pastor Hultmark promised to continue to edit the religious supplement if some 50 subscribers were obtained. Only two returns were received.²

Nevertheless some need for a religious paper existed as Pastor Ligaard began to publish in the 1920s in Brisbane a small church paper, the Messenger, which moved with him to Sydney in 1940.

The Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Sydney, established in 1911, published a journal³ concerned mainly with business and trade but containing other information very similar to that in the Norden.

The beginnings of the Finnish press in Australia can be traced back to Matti Kurikka's remaining settlers. The minutes of the Erakko society in 1902-04 at Nambour revealed that the society had a handwritten publication, the Orpo (Orphan), which can be regarded as the oldest known Finnish paper in Australia. Mrs Hirmukallio, who spent her childhood at Nambour, did not know anything about the paper but said that her older brother used to write with red ink something that might be called a handwritten paper.⁴ This early Finnish paper did not last long - even the society succumbed after a couple of years (see p.141), and for over two decades until the Suomi was established in Melbourne Finns had no local Finnish periodicals to read in Australia.

* * * * *

¹ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.62.

² Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p 227

³ See the titles, p 22, Note 3.

⁴ Mrs Hirmukallio, 15 and 17 June 1970

REVIEW OF COLONIAL SETTLEMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Reviewing Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia in the nineteenth century the most conspicuous feature was its relatively thin dispersal all over the continent. Danes had some group settlements mainly in Victoria and Queensland, often connected with farming and mining pursuits. In addition, in Port Adelaide, Fremantle and some other seaports, clusters of Scandinavian seamen and labourers were found, notably those of Sweden and Norwegians.

A census summary of the distribution of Scandinavians in Australia, presented in Table 2, Appendix I, shows that in colonial times approximately a third of the Scandinavians (of males only over a quarter) lived in Queensland. Table 4, Appendix I, however, reveals that no less than 44 per cent of the Scandinavians naturalized before 1904 settled in Queensland, the difference between the tables arises from the facts that, first, the Scandinavians in Queensland applied for citizenship more often than elsewhere as ownership of freehold land required citizenship and, second, a large proportion of Scandinavians in Queensland, particularly Danes, settled on the land, whereas in other colonies there were relatively more seamen, miners and general labourers who were not as settled as farmers. The Swedes, Norwegians and Finns preferred New South Wales and Victoria, but their rate of naturalization was much lower; in 1901 over 30 per cent of Scandinavians lived in New South Wales but only 23 per cent of those naturalized before 1904 lived there; the pattern was much the same in Victoria.

The Danes congregated in Queensland; no less than 58 per cent of settlers naturalized in Queensland before 1904 were Danes, while Swedes and Norwegians preferred New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia at the turn of the century. Scandinavian women were overwhelmingly concentrated in Queensland, notably Danes.

Colonial naturalizations are often misleading as to the areas of origin of immigrants, except for the totals in each nationality, because of the incomplete Queensland data and the small numbers of migrants originating from the same areas, and it would be misleading to go to smaller than regional units, such as Jutland, East Jutland etc. It appears, however, that in some cases migrants from the same regions

tended to concentrate in the same Australian state, metropolis, or smaller rural area. Thus for example, emigrants from South and West Jutland congregated in Victoria. There immigrants from these areas have since the middle of the nineteenth century engaged in mining on the goldfields and also settled in farming, the major concentrations being found in Bendigo and Gippsland.

The second part of Table 4, Appendix I, gives the numbers and proportions of the naturalized Scandinavians living in each state capital. Before 1904 about 37 per cent of these settlers lived in metropolitan areas. Swedes and Norwegians particularly preferred the six state capitals while the large numbers of Danes in rural Queensland resulted in a lower metropolitan proportion for Danes. Well over half of the Scandinavians in New South Wales lived in the Sydney area, but in Victoria the Danish mining and farming population made the corresponding figure somewhat lower. In South Australia all four nationalities were heavily concentrated in Adelaide (69 per cent). In Tasmania the Danish group settlement in the Hobart area made up 63 per cent of the Danes of Tasmanian metropolitan residents; the other three nationalities had there a representation of only 20-30 per cent. While Danes often settled in rural areas the impression of the New South Wales Statistician in 1891, that foreign population preferred the town to the country, the seaport to the inland town, and the metropolis to any other place,¹ held particularly good for the Swedes, Norwegians and Finns in colonial Australia.

This survey of geographic distribution, based both on the censuses and naturalization records, has revealed that Scandinavian settlement differed from the general distribution of the Australian population.² The major reason for this was economic opportunity and we must now consider this topic in more detail.

Occupational distributions of the naturalized Scandinavians appear in Table 5.16, showing that the Scandinavians in colonial Australia

¹ Coghlan, General Report, p.183.

²

For example, the Queensland proportion of Scandinavian population was well over that of the total Australian population; and conversely for Tasmania.

Table 5.16: Occupations of Scandinavian Settlers - Males - Naturalized before 1904 (per cent)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>(1) Main Groups</u>					
PROFESSIONAL	2.2	2.0	1.2		1.9
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	2.8	1.9	3.2	0.3	2.4
CATERING AND RETAIL	4.4	3.3	3.7	2.6	3.8
FARMING					
1. Farmers	20.3	11.9	10.9	10.4	15.4
2. Farm and Forest Workers	4.2	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.5
PUBLIC SERVICE	0.7	0.7	0.4		0.6
CRAFTSMEN	18.5	12.5	11.7	11.7	15.0
SEMI-SKILLED	3.3	2.4	1.9	1.6	2.7
LABOURERS	18.1	21.2	22.8	22.3	20.2
LAND TRANSPORT	3.2	3.7	3.7	2.1	3.4
SERVICE	1.4	2.1	1.8	0.3	1.6
MINERS	7.7	7.7	7.5	4.9	7.5
<u>SEA OCCUPATIONS</u>					
1. Seamen	8.4	22.0	22.7	31.3	16.5
2. Related (wharf lab., fishermen etc.)	1.8	3.2	3.6	8.5	2.9
NOT IN WORK	0.2		0.2		0.1
NOT STATED	2.9	2.6	1.6	0.8	2.4
TOTAL	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.2</u>	<u>99.9</u>
NUMBERS	<u>3,174</u>	<u>2,327</u>	<u>1,140</u>	<u>386</u>	<u>7,027</u>
<u>(2) Farming Occupations</u>					
Graziers	1.3	0.9	1.9	1.8	1.3
Farmers	76.8	70.5	68.8	60.4	73.5
Horticulturists and Market					
Gardeners	4.7	9.4	6.9	13.2	6.5
Total	<u>(82.8)</u>	<u>(80.7)</u>	<u>(77.5)</u>	<u>(75.5)</u>	<u>(81.3)</u>
Station Workers	2.6	2.3	5.6	1.8	2.8
Bush Workers	5.0	3.8	10.6	15.1	5.8
Farm Labourers	9.6	13.2	6.3	7.5	10.0
Total	<u>(17.2)</u>	<u>(19.3)</u>	<u>(22.5)</u>	<u>(24.5)</u>	<u>(18.7)</u>
Grand Total	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.8</u>	<u>99.9</u>
Numbers	<u>779</u>	<u>342</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>1,334</u>
<u>(3) Maritime Occupations</u>					
Master Mariners & Officers	16.8	11.9	13.7	11.0	13.4
Engineers	5.9	3.9	4.3	2.6	4.3
Ship Craftsmen	1.6	1.5	4.0	5.2	2.5
Firemen and Stokers	4.0	1.9	1.7	1.9	2.3
Seamen	54.3	67.9	62.7	57.8	62.4
Total	<u>(82.6)</u>	<u>(87.2)</u>	<u>(86.3)</u>	<u>(78.6)</u>	<u>(84.9)</u>
Ship Agents	0.9	0.7	1.0		0.7
Shipwrights	5.3	2.9	3.0	11.7	4.5
Wharf labourers	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.2	4.0
Riggers	3.4		1.3		1.1
Fishermen etc.	3.4	5.1	4.3	6.5	4.7
Total	<u>(17.4)</u>	<u>(12.8)</u>	<u>(13.7)</u>	<u>(21.4)</u>	<u>(15.1)</u>
Grand Total	<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.9</u>
Numbers	<u>322</u>	<u>586</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>1,362</u>

belonged to the lower occupational strata. The fact that so many Danes were engaged in farming and that Swedes, Norwegians and Finns were concentrated in maritime occupations suggests that many Danes came from a rural background while the other Scandinavians, taking less advantage of the assisted passages, arrived in Australia by private resources, many as seamen. This difference in form of migration largely explains the fact that generally the Danes were more skilled than other Scandinavians in Australia. The difference was most conspicuous before 1904 when a quarter of the Danes settled in farming and related pursuits as compared with about 14 per cent of the other three nationalities. On the other hand only a tenth of the Danes were found in maritime occupations compared with a quarter of the Swedes and Norwegians, and almost 40 per cent of the Finns. Another noteworthy difference was that the Danes included more craftsmen, and consequently less unskilled workers than the other Scandinavians. The Danes were also more numerous in professional and commercial occupations, with the exception of the Norwegians in industrial-commercial pursuits, a feature noticed by a Swedish sea captain visiting Melbourne in the 1880s. A sea captain told that in 1883 many Swedes in Melbourne visited his ship. He found the Swedes in Melbourne engaged in various occupations, but none of them had reached any prominence and only a few had an independent position. At best they were hard workers, but most of them lived from hand to mouth while the Germans and Norwegians were more provident.¹ The Finns had the lowest status with hardly any persons in professional and commercial occupations.

Parallel with the above differences between the four nationalities there were also distinctive dissimilarities as to the places of origin within each country.² Among the Danes, before 1904, settlers from

1

Grogg, pp. 43-44.

2

While interpreting these proportions from various Scandinavian regions before 1904 it must be borne in mind that these figures refer only to settlers outside Queensland and excluding also a few naturalized persons in Western Australia. In these two states the place of origin was not stated. This reservation is very important as 44 per cent of colonial naturalized Scandinavians lived in Queensland, the proportion for the Danes being as high as 58 per cent and for the Finns 23 per cent as the lowest. Consequently, for example, the Danish agricultural population of 31.5 per cent in Queensland raised the Danish farming group in all of Australia to as high as 25 per cent or so, and on the other hand the odd 5.5 per cent of the Danes engaged in seafaring in Queensland lowers the total percentage for this group to a mere 10.

Sjælland, of whom over 70 per cent originated from the capital, Copenhagen, represented the most economically developed areas in Scandinavia; many attained a relatively high occupational status in Australia in professional and commercial occupations, noticeably exceeding the Scandinavian and Danish averages. In catering and retail they comprised almost ten per cent compared with just over four per cent for all the Danes, for settlers from Copenhagen itself the figure was as high as 11 per cent. On the other hand the farming group contained less than nine per cent of the immigrants from Sjælland, and a mere five per cent of those from Copenhagen, compared with some 25 per cent for the whole of Denmark. In the skilled and maritime occupations settlers from Sjælland stood well above the average, and well below average for unskilled labouring. Many other Danish islands, like Bornholm and Fyn, largely followed the Sjælland pattern with more than average numbers of men employed in seafaring.

Among settlers from the Danish mainland a distinct feature was a disproportionally small representation from those in West and South Jylland in maritime occupations. The farming group was not large either. A considerable proportion of the settlers from Jylland were craftsmen or general labourers, these two groups covering over 40 per cent of settlers from Northern Jylland. An especially interesting group was that from South Jylland representing the oldest Scandinavian migration to Australia. Of these settlers ten per cent were engaged in catering and retail, compared with the Danish average of some four per cent, and as many as 31 per cent worked as miners; the Danish average being less than eight per cent.

Among the Swedes no such distinct geographical differences in occupational distribution existed as among the Danes. However, it appears that more maritime settlers originated from the southern and central parts of the country than from the north. As to farming, the best agricultural areas of Sweden were also situated in the south rather than in the highlands or the northern regions. More than half of these naturalized Swedes settled in New South Wales and Victoria. They were more numerous than the Danes in seafaring, the proportion in Queensland being 18 per cent. Nevertheless, every fourth Swede in Queensland was in farming, emphasizing the importance of the place of settlement played in selection of an occupation.

Comparing the different regions of Norway, some correlation between the places of origin and occupations can be found, although the numbers of migrants coming from many areas are small. Like Copenhagen, Oslo sent only a few farmers, but it provided more people belonging to the unskilled group, almost 30 per cent, compared with the Norwegian average of less than 23 per cent. Ostlandet, Sorlandet and Nord Norge provided the largest numbers of those in maritime occupations; from the last region more than a third compared with the Norwegian average of a quarter. Here again the Queensland settlers, less than 19 per cent of whom were engaged in maritime occupations, pull the proportion for Australia down. Conversely, the fact that every fourth Norwegian in Queensland was engaged in farming lifts the total farming proportion to 14 per cent. The economically well developed Ostlandet had only 5.5 per cent of its settlers in farming; the remainder were sea occupations, 31 per cent; general labouring, 26 per cent; craftsmanship, 12 per cent; and minor proportions in other occupations. The seafaring and fishing region of North Norway sent only 17 naturalized settlers and none of them were recorded as farmers when naturalized.

About 40 per cent of Finns in colonial Australia had maritime occupations, most of these hailing from the Western and Northern counties; seamen made up almost 43 per cent of those from Oulu county, almost all originating from the seaports of Oulu and Raase. This extensive migration of seamen from the coasts of Western Finland was due to a decline in commercial and seafaring prospects in the second half of the nineteenth century, and to an almost complete collapse of the traditional shipbuilding industry of these areas.¹ It does not seem mere chance that of 39 settlers recorded as coming from Oulu county six gave their Australian occupation as shipwrights; altogether almost five per cent of naturalized Finns were shipwrights. Similarly, of the eight settlers recorded as originating from the south-easternmost province of Viipuri, five were engaged in seafaring occupations in Australia; but numbers are too few to give any reliable conclusions. From the islands of Ahvenanmaa only five of the fifteen settlers recorded were in maritime occupations, which is interesting because, though numbers are small, the

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See p. 50.

area of origin had been traditionally a seafaring region and we might have expected a higher proportion of seafaring settlers in Australia. Maybe this arose from the fact that though the Ahvenanmaa Isles maintained considerable economic and commercial activity during this period they did not send numerous sailing vessels to Australia before the 1920s.

* * * * *

FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO WORLD WAR I

After a small-scale assisted passage scheme to Queensland at the turn of the century an important feature of the Australian immigration in the early twentieth century was the absence of assistance until again provided in New South Wales in 1906, in Victoria in 1910, in South Australia in 1911 and in Tasmania in 1912. The gain through immigration, both assisted and unassisted, was increasing when immigration was cut short by World War I.¹ In this period Scandinavian immigration was not characterized by assisted passages but by unassisted arrivals; this meant that Scandinavian immigration, though falling a little, remained comparatively high. To a great extent this is explained by chain migration and the increase of Scandinavian trade and shipping to Australia; thus this period can aptly be called seaman (and labourer) immigration.

In 1902 the newly formed Commonwealth Government started to publish statistics of the nationalities of all persons arriving in Australia. Unfortunately departures were not recorded and consequently Table 5.17 may give an impression of a considerable immigration. Departures, however, were also numerous, especially among the seaman and labourer element. According to a consular report from Melbourne in 1911, 1,443 Swedes and Norwegians arrived in Australia and of these 952 left the country. Two years later, in 1913, 765 Norwegians were reported to have arrived and 615 left Australia.²

¹

Borrie, "Immigration", pp.68-69.

²

Semningsen, Veien mot Vest, pp.320-321.

Table 5.17: Arrivals of Scandinavians 1901-13 (excluding Finns)

<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Nationality</u>
		<u>Swedes and Norwegians</u>
1901	52	
1902	94	221
1903	103	382
1904	125	320
1905	259	281
1906	280	776
1907	227	1,173
1908	272	825
1909	268	891
1910	393	1,210
1911	371	1,384
1912	444	1,303
1913	478	1,285
Total	<u>3,366</u>	<u>10,051</u>

Source: Demography Bulletins

Naturalization records revealed the following numbers of male settlers arriving in 1902-13:¹

	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
Numbers	822	1,013	678	391	2,904
Annual Average	68	84	56	32	242 ²

Assuming that two-thirds of the Scandinavians arriving in this period subsequently became naturalized, net immigration was about 4,500 males. In spite of this relatively voluminous immigration the Scandinavian population in Australia declined, as appears from the Census figures 1901 and 1911:

<u>Census</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Denmark-born</u>		<u>Males</u>	<u>Sweden-Norway-born</u>	
		<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>		<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>
1901	4,749	1,532	6,281	8,881	982	9,863
1911	4,276	1,397	5,673	8,122	915	9,037
Decrease	<u>473</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>608</u>	<u>759</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>826</u>

¹

See Table 6 in Appendix I for comparison of annual averages in different periods.

²

Average of the total Scandinavian group - not the sum of the national averages.

In addition to a considerable outward movement the decline was mainly due to mortality, as people of the peak arrivals of the 1870s and 1880s grew old. This decrease took place in spite of chain migration and the keenness of the Australian governments to encourage Scandinavian immigration.

Just before World War I the Government of Victoria tried to attract Scandinavians, especially farmers with some capital, to the newly established irrigation areas along the river Murray and its tributaries. The scheme was effectively advertised in the Norden promising land with a deposit of three per cent of the land price (varying from £8 to £20 per acre). The purchase could be paid over 31½ years, payments to be made twice a year with an interest rate of four per cent. The offer included a cheap voyage from England: £8 per adult, children 3-12 years £4, one child under three years gratis and for more £2 each.¹ Immigration agents were sent to Scandinavia, receiving in Sweden a somewhat hostile reception,² until the outbreak of the war brought their activities to an end. The agent in Sweden returned to Australia, but one remained in Denmark.³ The total result of the Victorian immigration scheme was only a few dozen young Danish farmers settling mainly in the irrigation districts.

The outbreak of World War I stopped Scandinavian immigration, but according to the naturalization records the decline had started already about 1911. The main reason for this was that Australia did not now have very strong pull factors, while on the other side, Scandinavian emigration was gradually ebbing with the growth of industrialization.

The second settlement stage, from the turn of the century to World War I, saw the geographic distribution of the Scandinavians altering

1

For an advertisement see Norden, 470, 3 October 1914, p.3. Obviously also Jens Lyng was somehow working for the scheme as appears from his article which was richly illustrated by pictures from the Commonwealth Statistician. Lyng, "Smaaavink til Emigranter" (Little Hints to Emigrants), Norden, 450, December 1913, pp.7-12. Later, when Lyng visited Denmark in 1923, he worked for the Government of Victoria to attract Danish immigrants. Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp.28-29.

2

Esme Howard to the Department of External Affairs on "Emigration from Scandinavian Countries", Stockholm 16 April 1914, "Swedish Immigration" CA, A 1, 14/10339.

3

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.28-29

considerably. The most significant change here, speaking of those becoming naturalized as distinct from those residing in the country at census time, was a sharp fall in the proportion settled in Queensland; from some 44 per cent in colonial times to less than 14 per cent in the years 1904-15. However, because of those already naturalized and a substantial number of Scandinavian aliens, Queensland still remained one of the major states of settlement. According to the Census of 1911, 25 per cent of Scandinavian males and 58 per cent of females lived there; see Table 3, Appendix I; of the Danish males over 40 per cent and two-thirds of the female population were found in Queensland. The dwindling of new settlement in Queensland is explained by the fact that no further assisted migration schemes were launched for Scandinavians; consequently immigration and settlement patterns changed.

Another important new feature was the increasing concentration of settlers in the six state capitals. More than half of those becoming naturalized after 1903 lived in metropolitan areas; the Swedes and Norwegians more so than others. The census proportions, as revealed by Table 5, Appendix I, were lower, 33 per cent for males and 37 per cent for females in 1911; partly because the metropolitan areas used for assessing naturalization data are larger than the 1911 areas and partly because the censuses include those already naturalized in rural areas. The census totals also contain the migratory population. Table 5, Appendix I, shows that this group was just under 10 per cent of the total Scandinavian-born population in 1911 and 1921; though many were visiting seamen, the majority apparently sailed permanently in the Australian waters and when ashore, in most cases, were metropolitan residents.

Though considerable changes in settlement patterns had taken place, many special features of the previous period still remained. Immigrants from the best agricultural areas of Scandinavia continued to favour Queensland, in contrast to those from the more technically developed industrial or seafaring regions. In the case of Denmark it remained true that fewer settlers from her many islands than from the peninsula of Jutland became naturalized in Queensland. Immigrants from the eastern and southern parts of Norway also remained more numerous in Queensland and Western Australia while the settlers from the western and northern regions of Norway preferred New South Wales and Victoria. The survival

of old tendencies was most obvious among the Finns. Settlers from the county of Vaasa, as well as those of Oulu bordering it, often possessed agricultural backgrounds and still settled numerously in Queensland and Western Australia; as a contrast none of the 33 settlers from the seafaring islands of Ahvenanmaa went to live in Queensland. The Finns were overwhelmingly (42 per cent) concentrated in New South Wales, nearly two-thirds of these living in metropolitan Sydney - a proportion somewhat higher than for the Danes but considerably smaller than for the Swedes and Norwegians (72 per cent). Very like the Scandinavian seafarer communities found in colonial times in Adelaide, Fremantle and elsewhere, the Finnish seamen's settlement in the dock area of Pyrmont, Sydney, was a typical group community: 47 out of 159 Finns naturalized in Sydney lived there, most of them originating from Turku, Helsinki, Oulu and other Finnish seaports; 35 out of the 56 settlers recorded from Oulu county lived in New South Wales, 23 of them in Sydney, and ten of these at Pyrmont.

Concurrently with the shift of preference from Queensland to other states, considerable changes took place in the occupational distribution of settlers becoming naturalized. The biggest change was a decline in the number of those giving farming or a skilled trade as their occupation. This may partly be explained by heavy naturalization of farmers in the previous period in Queensland, where freehold land could not be acquired without citizenship, and partly by the fact that in this period there were no assisted passages from Scandinavia; the assisted passage schemes earlier had tended to attract mainly farmers and skilled workers. When this selective practice was discontinued after the turn of the century, the proportion of incoming seamen and unskilled workers correspondingly increased; in this sense the earlier assisted passage schemes had tended to raise slightly the occupational level of immigrants and to affect occupational stratification.¹

1

Naturally quite a number of the settlers of this period (1904-15) had arrived before and it is quite possible that the change had started already in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, with the exception of a short term of assisted passages to Queensland at the turn of the century.

Table 5.18: Occupations of Scandinavian Settlers - Males - Naturalized
1904-15 (per cent)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>(1) Main Groups</u>					
PROFESSIONAL	1.9	1.2	1.0	0.2	1.2
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	4.2	2.0	3.3	0.2	2.7
CATERING AND RETAIL	6.3	2.6	3.6	1.5	3.7
<u>FARMING</u>					
1. Farmers	11.1	6.7	7.2	5.9	7.9
2. Farm and Forest Workers	3.7	3.4	4.2	5.4	3.8
PUBLIC SERVICE	0.2	0.3		0.2	0.2
CRAFTSMEN	10.2	8.9	8.6	9.3	9.2
SEMI-SKILLED	4.6	2.1	1.6	1.5	2.6
LABOURERS	22.5	26.5	25.4	30.9	25.6
LAND TRANSPORT	3.9	4.1	2.9	2.6	3.6
SERVICE	2.1	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.3
MINERS	9.4	7.7	7.5	6.5	8.0
<u>SEA OCCUPATIONS</u>					
1. Seamen	14.3	25.8	26.7	26.8	23.0
2. Related (wharf lab., fishermen etc.)	5.3	7.0	6.8	7.6	6.5
NOT IN WORK	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.4
NOT STATED		0.1	0.3		0.1
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.8</u>
<u>NUMBERS</u>	<u>1,427</u>	<u>2,269</u>	<u>1,151</u>	<u>538</u>	<u>5,385</u>
<u>(2) Farming Occupations</u>					
Graziers	1.4	1.3			0.9
Farmers	53.6	51.1	42.7	42.6	49.4
Horticulturists and Market					
Gardeners	19.9	14.0	20.6	19.8	16.9
<u>Total</u>	<u>(74.9)</u>	<u>(66.4)</u>	<u>(63.4)</u>	<u>(52.5)</u>	<u>(67.2)</u>
Station Workers	5.2	1.3	4.6	1.6	3.3
Bush Workers	4.3	17.9	9.2	29.5	12.7
Farm Labourers	15.6	14.4	22.9	16.4	16.8
<u>Total</u>	<u>(25.1)</u>	<u>(33.6)</u>	<u>(36.6)</u>	<u>(47.5)</u>	<u>(32.8)</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>211</u>	<u>229</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>632</u>
<u>(3) Maritime Occupations</u>					
Master Mariners & Officers	5.7	4.4	6.2	2.7	4.9
Engineers	13.3	3.5	1.6	1.6	4.5
Ship Craftsmen	4.3	2.4	2.3	1.1	2.6
Firemen and Stokers	2.2	8.6	2.3	6.5	5.7
Seamen	47.7	59.8	67.3	65.9	60.2
<u>Total</u>	<u>(73.1)</u>	<u>(78.8)</u>	<u>(79.7)</u>	<u>(77.8)</u>	<u>(77.9)</u>
Ship Agents					
Shipwrights	1.8	1.1	1.6	2.7	1.5
Wharf Labourers	19.7	13.7	12.5	10.8	14.1
Riggers	3.2	3.2	0.8		2.3
Fishermen etc.	2.2	3.2	5.5	8.6	4.2
<u>Total</u>	<u>(26.9)</u>	<u>(21.2)</u>	<u>(20.3)</u>	<u>(22.2)</u>	<u>(22.1)</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>279</u>	<u>744</u>	<u>385</u>	<u>185</u>	<u>1,593</u>

The change was most noticeable among the Danes, or at any rate amongst those coming from some of the main Danish areas of origin. Sjælland and Copenhagen, as it happened, retained their previous patterns, i.e. people coming from there continued to occupy a proportion above the Danish average in professional and commercial callings and were scarcely represented in farming. Similarly the island of Bornholm sent no farming people among her 27 settlers, of whom a third were labourers and a fifth in maritime occupations. Those from the island of Fyn, closely following the general Danish pattern, had more seamen and unskilled persons while from the Lolland-Falster group of islands well over half the 50 settlers were seafarers, a third were farming people, and the rest were miners or semi-skilled workers; on the whole these represented the lowest social strata of the Danes.

The Danish mainland had relatively more in farming and less in sea occupations than the islands; from economically undeveloped West Jylland 27 per cent or so of settlers were found in farming compared with the Danish average of 14 per cent. On the other hand more developed East Jylland had some 12 per cent in industry and commerce compared with the Danish average of only four per cent. Settlers from southern Jylland had a relatively high occupational status but also, as before, a relatively large proportion in mining; 20 per cent of south Jyllanders naturalized at this time were involved in mining compared with less than nine per cent for the rest of Denmark.

Swedes becoming naturalized during these years belonged to somewhat lower social strata than their Danish contemporaries or, for that matter, their countrymen naturalized in colonial times. As with the Danes the biggest increase took place in the maritime group; now every third person becoming naturalized belonged to this category compared with every fourth earlier. Unskilled labourers also increased while craftsmen and farming people decreased. Settlers from agricultural South Sweden surpassed the Swedish average in farming while the central parts of the country with large commercial seaports such as Gothenburg and Stockholm, sent more settlers who engaged in seafaring. The northern regions had the fewest seamen, but respectively more semi- and unskilled workers; these probably included a number of former seamen.

Among the Norwegians the major change was the increase in the proportions of those declaring their occupations to be in seafaring and general labouring; every third Norwegian to be naturalized was a seaman and every fourth an unskilled worker; farming and skilled craftsmanship decreased considerably. In professional and commercial pursuits the Norwegians were somewhere between the Danes and Swedes; in industry and commerce, however, they exceeded the Scandinavian average with 3.3 to 2.7 per cent. Continuing the pattern of the previous period settlers from the southern parts of the country preferred sea related occupations (e.g. from Sorlandet almost half of the 152 male settlers were in such occupations) or they were numerous in labouring. From the northern regions relatively more were found in skilled and semi-skilled trades, and even in farming. However, in the last group the majority of the northern Norwegian settlers were declaring themselves to be farm labourers while from other parts they included more independent farmers.

Due to the relatively small number of Finns naturalized in Queensland before 1904 their transition from farming and skilled work to seamanship and labouring was not as noticeable as that among other Scandinavians. On the contrary the proportion of seamen declined from 40 per cent to 34 per cent; about the same proportion were general labourers, and the remaining third consisted of farmers, rural workers, craftsmen, miners, etc.; and only a few were found in professional or commercial occupations. The traditional seafaring counties of Turku-Pori, Viipuri and Ahvenanmaa had the largest proportion in sea-related occupations: 40, 37 and 36 per cent respectively. In addition the isles of Ahvenanmaa had a considerable 'labourer' group but only a few in farming. Another county in transition, although in the opposite direction, was Vaasa, settlers from which in colonial times had followed the pattern of other counties but now had almost as many in farming as in seafaring. Though settlers from Finnish inland counties were few, it appears that they preferred farming to any other pursuit.

Chapter VI: THE WAVE RECEDES - WORLD WAR I TO WORLD WAR II

Scandinavian countries had come to the end of an historic era - that of emigration.

THE COURSE OF IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

During World War I immigration to Australia almost stopped but afterwards revived quickly. Extensive plans were embarked upon to redistribute more evenly the white population of the British Empire, to strengthen the 'White Australia' policy in the face of China and Japan. British ex-servicemen and their families, in particular, were encouraged to emigrate to Australia; between 1921 and 1925 an annual average of 23,100 assisted immigrants arrived, and between 1926 and 1929 an annual average of 24,200. Then the economic depression caused the schemes to be abandoned. When things were slightly better in the late 1930s plans to revive assisted immigration were implemented but had just started to take effect when the war intervened.¹

In this period Southern Europeans started to arrive in Australia in large numbers while Scandinavian immigration was insignificant, with the exception of Finns in the 1920s, mainly because of the absence of assisted passages. However, the main reason for the decline was the aftermath of the Scandinavian emigration - the strength of emigration had ebbed.

Table 6.1 reveals that during World War I Scandinavian immigration was negative to recover somewhat in the 1920s, notably from Finland. Unfortunately, Finnish arrivals and departures were not recorded before the middle of the year 1924. The estimated net migration for Finns between 1920 and the middle of 1924 was about 300, their net immigration totalled 1,100 or almost half of the total Scandinavian net immigration. Because of the United States of America Quota Acts Finns found it difficult to enter into the United States in the 1920s, and instead many of them sailed for Australia, notably to Queensland.

A method of estimating net gain or loss through migration by age-groups for intercensal periods is to apply the relevant Australian Life Table to the Scandinavian-born groups, assuming that their mortality has been similar to that generally in Australia. According to this technique

¹

Borrie, "Immigration", p.70.

Table 6.1: Arrivals, Departures and Net Immigration of Scandinavians 1914-39 (Finns from the second six months of 1924)

Nationality	Year	Arrivals			Departures			Net		
		Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons
<u>Danes</u>	1914-19	998	148	1,146	1,003	252	1,255	-5	-104	-109
	1920-24	615	201	816	345	82	427	270	119	389
	1925-29	607	259	866	412	183	595	195	76	271
	1930-34	203	119	322	268	133	401	-65	-14	-79
	1935-39	254	167	421	226	135	361	28	32	60
	Total	2,677	894	3,571	2,254	785	3,039	423	109	532
<u>Swedes</u>	1914-19	1,808	48	1,856	1,804	9	1,813	4	39	43
	1920-24	616	90	706	490	30	520	126	60	186
	1925-29	395	121	516	276	96	372	119	25	144
	1930-34	209	73	282	228	58	286	-19	15	-4
	1935-39	221	96	317	209	96	305	12	-	12
	Total	3,249	428	3,677	3,007	289	3,296	242	139	381
<u>Norwegians</u>	1914-19	2,469	62	2,531	2,525	17	2,542	-56	45	-11
	1920-24	653	54	707	483	22	505	170	32	202
	1925-29	379	117	496	231	68	299	148	49	197
	1930-34	119	46	165	161	62	223	-42	-16	-58
	1935-39	152	68	220	154	59	213	-2	9	7
	Total	3,772	347	4,118	3,554	228	3,782	218	119	337
<u>Finns</u>	1924 ^b	(269	9	278)	(13	3	16)	(256	6	262)
	1925-29	646	118	765	175	35	210	471	83	554
	1930-34	100	41	141	187	33	220	-87	8	-79
	1935-39	176	56	232	143	25	168	33	31	64
	Total	1,191	224	1,415	518	96	614	673	128	801

Table 6.1 (continued)

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Arrivals</u>			<u>Departures</u>			<u>Net</u>		
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Persons</u>
<u>Total</u>	1914-19 ^a	5,275	258	5,533	5,332	278	5,610	-57	-20	-77
	1920-24	2,153	354	2,507	1,331	137	1,468	822	217	1,039
	1925-29	2,027	615	2,642	1,094	382	1,476	933	233	1,166
	1930-34	631	279	910	844	286	1,130	-213	-7	-220
	1935-39	803	387	1,190	732	315	1,047	71	72	143
	Total	<u>10,889</u>	<u>1,893</u>	<u>12,782</u>	<u>9,333</u>	<u>1,398</u>	<u>10,731</u>	<u>1,556</u>	<u>495</u>	<u>2,051</u>

a Excludes Finns

b Second six months only. Finns were previously included in Other Europeans and/or Russians.

Source: Demography Bulletins.

the Scandinavian-born populations were survived for intercensal periods - 1911-21, 1921-33, and 1933-47 (Finns from 1921) - using a single year of age distribution derived from the five year age groups given in the censuses. The results give the expected number of survivors in each group, assuming there has been no migration; the difference between the expected and the actual at the next census gives an estimate of net gain or loss by migration.

Table 6.2 first reveals a considerable net immigration for Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in 1911-21. As Table 6.1 showed, a slightly negative net migration in 1914-19, this net immigration took place in 1911-13, peak years of Scandinavian migration to Australia, as appears from Chart II. Danes had a gain in all age groups, but Swedes and Norwegians suffered a conspicuous loss in older ages. A gain in some older age groups, notably among the Danes, suggests some immigration of retired people, perhaps elderly dependants, though the Life Table method is usually less reliable with very advanced ages and one should not press this point concerning elderly dependants too hard. The second period, 1921-33, revealed a similar trend; a gain in all nationalities, heaviest among Finns, a preponderance of younger age groups, a decline amongst those aged 55-74 years, and again an apparent gain mainly among Danes, in the ages 70-84. The last period, 1933-47, experienced a negligible Scandinavian migration, but followed the main pattern of the two previous intercensal periods.

For comparison, Table 6.2 gives also net migration using mortality as recorded in death certificates and also net migration as recorded in the annual migration statistics. While the numbers in 6.2.2 (deaths) are relatively close to those in 6.2.1 (survival), a larger discrepancy between 6.2.1 (survival) and 6.2.3 (net migration) is to a great extent explained by the fact that census numerations included visiting Scandinavian seamen in Australia at the night of the census, and among the Scandinavians this 'migratory' population was a considerable element. Also as pointed out in Note 3, Table 6.2, migration statistics are based on nationality while the other two are birthplace categories. But generally the findings of the three methods of estimating net migration corroborate each other, and the Life Table method suggests that most

Table 6.2: Net Migration of Scandinavian-born Males, 1911-47

Age Groups	Denmark			Sweden			Norway			Finland			Total		
	1911-21	1921-33	1933-47	1911-21	1921-33	1933-47	1911-21	1921-33	1933-47	1911-21	1921-33	1933-47	1911-21*	1921-33	1933-47
(1) 0-4	+3	+2	+2	+2			+3		+2		+2	+1	+8	+4	+5
5-9	+13	+6	+1	+5		+1	+3	+6			+9		+21	+21	+2
10-14	+13	+6		+6	+7			+10	+1	+10	+7		+19	+33	+8
15-19	+19		+7	+39	+7	+15	+48	+32	+20	+9	-1		+106	+48	+41
20-24	+72	+38	+14	+99	+46	+30	+103	+80	+48	+51	+4		+274	+215	+96
25-29	+187	+115	+39	+175	+103	+51	+106	+155	+125	+244	+5		+468	+617	+220
30-34	+139	+103	+20	+138	+78	+32	-6	+126	+64	+257	+20		+271	+564	+136
35-39	+91	+37	+9	+56	+33	+6	-17	+53	-7	+96			+130	+219	+8
40-44	+44	+37	+17	+49	-9	-24	-43	+2	-1	+25	-42		+50	+55	-50
45-49	+41	+18	-7	-16	-17	-11	-9	-2	-16	+4	-26		+16	+3	-60
50-54	+70	+22	+2	-28	+1	-42	-18	-7	-34	+2	-35		+24	+18	-109
55-59	+87	-17	-48	+17	-8	+7	-32	-13	+12	-12	-31		+72	-50	-60
60-64	+114	-23	-19	+3	-33	-36	-25	-27	-14	-10	-17		+92	-93	-86
65-69	+137	-35	+10	-17	-22	-36	+1	-14	-2	-29	-9		+121	-100	-37
70-74	+73	+10	+5	+24	-22	-14	-7	-12	-14	-4	+1		+90	-28	-22
75-79	+74	+24	+8	-7	+65	-17	+13	-11	-6	-3	-12		+80	+75	-27
± 80-84	+37	+22	+4	+3	-12	-24	-5	-6	-11		-1		+35	+4	-32
85+	+21	-7	-2	+2	+3	-13	+1	-2	-1	-3	-4		+24	-9	-20
Total	+1,235	+358	+62	+550	+220	-75	+116	+370	+166	+648	-140		+1,901	+1,596	+13
(2)	+1,289	+299		+686	+456		+214	+523		+782			+2,189	+2,060	
(3) Nationality	+927	+373	+16	+339	+193	+16	+299	+241	-15	+926	-1		+1,565	+1,733	+16

- * Denotes gain
- Denotes loss
* Excl. Finland

(1) Estimates based on intercensal survival of cohorts.

(2) Using actual registered deaths of Scandinavian-born males; these do not show age.

(3) According to migration statistics; these do not include crews of foreign vessels in Australia at census time. Also, these are statistics of nationality, not birthplace, and may be affected by naturalization.

Source: (1) Censuses and Life Tables, (2) and (3) Demography Bulletins.

Note: In (2) deaths were not available for the whole period of 1937-47. In (3), as the departures were not given before 1914, net migration for 1911-13, and for Finland from 3 April 1921-30 June 1924, were estimated.

Scandinavians arrived in their early manhood; a pattern similar in general Scandinavian emigration.¹

* * * * *

Between the two world wars no assisted passages were available for Scandinavians, though Australian immigration officials were interested in Scandinavian immigration. In Melbourne Jens Lyng was requested to sit on the committee of the New Settlers League, where he "made use of the opportunity to agitate for the invitation to settle in Australia being extended to young men and women from the Scandinavian countries",² Before visiting Denmark in 1923 Lyng made a land application for a Danish settlement of about forty families. A suitable area was granted in South Gippsland on liberal terms: the Government would build the houses and provide money for fences and roads. In turn each Danish family should have £400 when landing in Melbourne. The plan failed, however, the reasons according to Lyng being:

Things were booming in Denmark when I arrived there, and there was no desire amongst people with capital to migrate. In addition, the Danish consular representative in Australia, who happened to be in Denmark, reported unfavourably on the project to the Foreign Office. It consequently fell through.³

In the 1920s southern Europeans commenced to pour into Australia and especially to the sugar cane fields of Queensland, partly due to the Immigration Quota Laws of 1921 and 1924 in the United States. Late in 1924, as a result of unemployment among southern Europeans (especially Albanians, Greeks and Yugoslavs) who had recently arrived with very little money and with insufficient English to obtain jobs easily, the Government

1

E.g. of a million and a quarter Swedes who emigrated between 1820-1930 some 75 per cent were between the ages of 15 and 35. Wittke, p.262. A more detailed discussion of ages at arrival, revealed by the Naturalization Records, will be given in the next chapter.

2

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.28.

3

Lyng, "Den Danske Koloni der icke blev til noget" (The Danish Colony which came to nothing), Norden, 700, 27 October 1923, pp.1-2; the quotation from Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.29.

decided to prohibit the entry of any alien not possessing a written guarantee from some sponsor in Australia or £40 of his own.¹ This and other restrictive measures in practice had little depressive effect - in fact immigration increased, the majority of southern Europeans obtaining assistance from relatives and friends already successfully settled in Australia.²

The landing money of £40 did not, according to Lyng, affect the number of Scandinavians but rather the quality, "as the kind of people Australia was most in need of did not possess that sum".³ However, the evidence of Finnish immigration suggests that young men emigrating to Australia generally obtained the necessary funds either borrowing from relatives, banks, or from other sources.

The main feature of this period was Finnish immigration. They were mainly sons of farmers bound for northern Queensland by chain-migration, first to work on sugar cane fields and later to settle on the land. A parliamentary report comments as follows:

Among the Northern Europeans a number of Finns have recently arrived in the Cairns district. A few of these are farmers, others are field workers, carpenters and mechanics. Generally they are a well educated, clean living, and industrious people.⁴

The authors of the Ferry Report interviewed the spokesman of the Finns, Nestori Karhula, who is said to have left for Australia in 1921 on the advice of the Finnish Consul in Sydney and was managing a sugar cane farm at Redlynch. Karhula gave the following account of his countrymen:

Most of the Finns came to Australia with the intention of taking up land and settling here. Many of my countrymen

¹ Price, Southern Europeans, p.88.

² Ibid., pp.90, 98-99.

³ J. L(yng), "Australia's Immigrant Population", Norden, 986, 8 June 1935, p.2

⁴ Thomas Arthur Ferry, "Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire and Report on the Social and Economic Effect of Increase in Number of Aliens in North Queensland", QPP, 1925, 3, p.45. For the nature of the source see p.263.

already have their families here, and a few more are on their way out. All we desire is to get from the Government a few thousand acres of wild scrub land somewhere in the North of Queensland or elsewhere. If this is granted the Finns will never become a burden to the Government, and they will never increase the unemployed, but, on the contrary, will do their small part to get this wide and fertile country opened up and developed.¹

Many of these settlers originated from the rural northern parts of the Vaasa county, called Central Ostrobothnia.² From here, born at the parish of Lohtaja, came perhaps the most prominent Finnish leader in Australia, Nestori Karhula. He was a university student when in 1915 he left for Germany to obtain military training, and after the Finnish Civil War of 1918 he was appointed Commander of the Finnish voluntary military organization in his home district. In 1921 he resigned,³ left for Australia and worked as a foreman at Redlynch near Cairns on a farm, called 'Suomi' (Finland), which he and his Finns cleared. Karhula had been a well-known man in his home region, and by the middle of the 1920s a couple of hundred Finns had gathered around him, finding employment in sugar cane growing. They formed a compact settlement and had an active social life and a formally organized ethnic society. In the second half of the 1920s the group settlement started to disperse, Karhula himself buying a farm near Brisbane and settling there permanently as his wife found the weather in Cairns too hot.

Other Finns settled elsewhere forming compact clusters in places like Atherton-Mareeba, Tully, Long Pocket near Ingham and later in the 1930s in the mining town of Mount Isa. Typical chain settlements were established in these places, for example, out of 18 naturalized settlers from Lohtaja no less than 10 lived either at Long Pocket or at nearby

1

Ibid.

2

A region by the Gulf of Bothnia consisting of the northern part of Vaasa and southern part of Oulu counties. See Map I.

3

When resigning from the Finnish army Karhula was a lieutenant; in the Reserves he was promoted to captain. I was able to interview Karhula on 7 April 1969 before he died in early 1971.

Ingham, and 4 were settled in the neighbouring settlement of Tully; only two lived outside Queensland. This chain settlement started in 1889 when a group of five young men from Central Ostrobothnia, three of them from Lohtaja, left for America. On their way through Stockholm they heard that times were bad in the United States and so decided to sail for Australia instead. Three of them returned after a few years but two from Lohtaja remained.¹ Antti Kluukeri (known as Anders or Andy Klugeri) settled at Long Pocket near Ingham. Here on the Stone River lived a pioneer Finn, Johan Fredrick Sjoroos, a former seaman known as Russian Jack.² Later, Kluukeri's brother and other Finns from the same place of origin arrived to form a compact group settlement.

While Lohtaja was the origin of many Finnish speaking settlers, the parish of Munsala, also in the county of Vaasa, was the origin of many Swedish speaking Finns. Their most important group settlement was established at Mullumbimby, northern New South Wales, where many of them were engaged in banana growing.

This tendency for many of the Vaasa migrants of this time to settle in farming can be seen from the naturalization records; these indicate that a third of the settlers from Vaasa became farmers. Vaasa county was traditionally a seafaring region, and in colonial times over 40 per cent of settlers therefrom were engaged in sea occupations. The change started before World War I and by the 1920s only seven per cent were found in sea-connected occupations. This shift is probably due to the differences in pre-migration socio-economic backgrounds; in colonial times most settlers originated from seaports; now most migrants came from rural areas.

An alternative to farming for these settlers was mining, particularly at Mount Isa and other mining centres in Queensland; over 13 per cent of

1

Jori (pseud.), "Amerikkaan lahdettiin Australiaan paadyttiin" (They left for America ended in Australia), Keskipohjanmaa (Central Ostrobothnia, a newspaper), 3 May 1969. An interview of an 82 year old Finn, whose father made a five-year trip to Australia from Lohtaja in 1889; also the Naturalization Records.

2

Sjoroos' first application to select a homestead dates back to the year 1884, QA, LAN/AG 369, No. 545.

the Vaasa migrants became miners, and the proportion was still higher for the adjoining northern county of Oulu; the national average was less than eight per cent.

While settlers from the county of Vaasa shifted from seafaring to farming the Isles of Ahvenanmaa continued to send numerous seamen settlers, of whom over 40 per cent remained in sea-related occupations. In the 1920s Sea Captain Gustaf Erickson produced the biggest sailing fleet in the world, and his vessels transported Australian wheat to European ports.¹ The windjammers were often training-ships for young boys to become seamen. In comparison with steam and motorships the crews of sailing vessels were generally poorly paid. Consequently many Finns, as well as other nationalities serving in Erickson's fleet, deserted in large numbers their ships in Australian ports. This explains why settlers from Ahvenanmaa, naturalized between 1916-46, were considerably younger than the Finnish average (see p.226), and settled mainly in Melbourne and other seaports. Due to their form of migration, over 30 per cent resided in New South Wales, another 30 per cent in Victoria, 20 per cent in South Australia, but only six per cent in Queensland. Being qualified seamen they found employment on Australian ships or stayed in ports, as many as seven per cent of them working as wharf labourers.

Speaking then in general, in the beginning Finnish immigration was a movement of young single men and even those married often left their wives at home, possibly to come later. In the age structure pyramids, Chart IV, the increase among the females, especially in the younger ages, indicates that by 1933 many Finns had been able to bring their wives and female relatives to Australia; a trend similar to that found among the Italians and other southern Europeans.² Many Finns intended to return to

1

The fascinating story of the Finnish windjammers and their crews, often engaged in the famous wheat race to Europe, can be found passim, e.g. in the following books: A.J. Villiers, By Way of Cape Horn, London 1930, and The Set of the Sails; The Story of a Cape Horn Seaman, London 1949. Villiers was an Australian journalist who sailed in Finnish sailing ships; and Elis Karlsson, Mother Sea, London 1964.

2

Price, Southern Europeans, pp.83-139, gives a good account of the migration process of southern Europeans, especially in the form of 'chains'; also Frank Lancaster Jones, "The Italian Population of Carlton", Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, March 1962, passim and particularly pp.220-221.

their home country after making a fortune in Australia; they returned in shoals - with or without fortunes - when towards the end of the 1920s the world depression reached Australia, giving a negative Finnish net migration between 1930 and 1934 to recover slightly by World War II.

Mainly because of Finnish immigration, between the world wars Queensland increased its share of Scandinavian settlers from 14 to 19 per cent (among the Finns from 11 to 25 per cent). Also Victoria had a minor increase while New South Wales and South Australia had relatively fewer settling than before.

Another feature was a decline, at any rate amongst those becoming naturalized, in the strength of metropolitan settlers. As appears from Table 4, Appendix I, the Swedes, Norwegians and Finns in metropolitan areas dropped from well above a half to less than half; the Danes, however, decreased little (to 46 per cent) under their previous relatively low level (47 per cent). Notwithstanding this drop among those becoming naturalized, the long term tendency for the total Scandinavian population was to concentrate in metropolitan areas; only Finns experienced a decline between 1921 and 1933, as the census figures in Table 5, Appendix I, reveal, and by 1947 almost half the Scandinavians - as well as of the total Australian population - lived in metropolitan areas.

Though the patterns of previous epochs continued in occupational distribution (in Table 6.3), there were some changes, the most spectacular being the increase of farmers among those becoming naturalized, here reflecting those settling down in Queensland. Nevertheless this growth was of rural labourers rather than landowners, the ownership of land being less easy to obtain than in previous decades as so much of the land had already been taken up and the price was higher. The second major change was the decrease of Scandinavian maritime population, although still a considerable group (22 per cent).

Because of economic difficulties, assisted immigration for British migrants was ended and the entry of foreigners further controlled by the landing permit system after 1931-2.¹ Later in the 1930s entry conditions

¹

Price, Southern Europeans, p.90, note 12.

Table 6 3: Occupations of Scandinavian Settlers - Males - Naturalized
1916-46 (per cent)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>(1) Main Groups</u>					
PROFESSIONAL	2.8	1.0	2.0	0.6	1.6
INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	4.8	2.9	3.7	2.3	3.5
CATERING AND RETAIL	6.1	4.7	2.6	1.5	4.0
<u>FARMING</u>					
1. Farmers	14.6	5.9	6.1	12.4	9.8
2. Farm & Forest Workers	7.7	9.6	8.3	8.4	8.5
PUBLIC SERVICE	1.1	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.8
CRAFTSMEN	12.7	8.3	9.8	11.5	10.6
SEMI-SKILLED	5.1	4.0	3.7	4.9	4.4
UNSKILLED AND LABOURERS	19.9	24.7	24.0	22.0	22.6
LAND TRANSPORT	3.8	2.2	3.5	2.0	3.0
SERVICE	3.2	2.2	2.9	0.6	2.4
MINERS	4.1	6.9	5.5	7.6	5.9
<u>SEA OCCUPATIONS</u>					
1. Seamen	9.2	18.1	17.3	15.7	14.8
2. Related (wharf lab., fishermen, etc.)	3.7	8.2	8.9	9.3	7.2
NOT IN WORK	1.2	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.9
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>NUMBERS</u>	<u>1,304</u>	<u>1,250</u>	<u>1,017</u>	<u>854</u>	<u>4,425</u>
<u>(2) Farming Occupations</u>					
Graziers	0.7	3.1	1.4	1.1	1.5
Farmers	47.6	23.7	24.7	47.8	37.7
Horticulturists and Market					
Gardeners	17.2	11.3	16.4	10.7	14.2
<u>Total</u>	<u>(65.5)</u>	<u>(38.1)</u>	<u>(42.5)</u>	<u>(59.6)</u>	<u>(53.5)</u>
Station Workers	5.5	11.3	9.6	3.4	7.2
Bush Workers	6.9	18.6	17.8	12.4	12.9
Farm Labourers	22.1	32.0	30.1	24.7	26.5
<u>Total</u>	<u>(34.5)</u>	<u>(61.9)</u>	<u>(57.5)</u>	<u>(40.4)</u>	<u>(46.5)</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>194</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>178</u>	<u>808</u>
<u>(3) Maritime Occupations</u>					
Master Mariners & Officers		2.4	2.2	2.3	1.9
Engineers	11.9	7.3	4.5	2.8	6.4
Ship Craftsmen	4.8	0.6	0.7	1.9	1.6
Firemen and Stokers	4.8	9.8	2.2	4.2	5.6
Seamen	50.0	48.8	56.2	51.6	51.6
<u>Total</u>	<u>(71.4)</u>	<u>(68.9)</u>	<u>(65.9)</u>	<u>(62.9)</u>	<u>(67.2)</u>
Ship Agents	2.4	0.6	0.7		0.8
Shipwrights	1.2		3.0	3.8	1.8
Wharf labourers	13.1	15.9	15.0	13.6	14.7
Riggers	3.6	7.9	8.6	8.5	7.5
Fishermen etc.	8.3	6.7	6.7	11.3	8.0
<u>Total</u>	<u>(28.6)</u>	<u>(31.1)</u>	<u>(34.1)</u>	<u>(37.1)</u>	<u>(32.8)</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.8</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>
<u>Numbers</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>328</u>	<u>267</u>	<u>213</u>	<u>976</u>

were eased, but Scandinavian migration to Australia was quite negligible in the years preceding World War II - in fact until the middle of the 1950s when Australia began to grant assisted passages to Scandinavians. This coinciding with economic difficulties in Scandinavia, notably in Finland and Denmark, gave new impetus to Scandinavian migration to the Antipodes.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Between the world wars the ethnic social life of Scandinavians was in two stages: the surviving Danish, Swedish and Norwegian ethnic institutions were in a continuous process of decline (at least as far as ethnic features were concerned) while the Finnish institutions, because of new immigration in the 1920s, were in the first stages of adjustment possessing a considerable ethnic unity and strength.

Victoria

The process of Australianization can best be seen in the Danish club Dannebrog in Melbourne. The non-Danish members tried to get more influence within the club; the Danish-born resisted this by proposing that the executive committee should include only Danes. In this they had their way, the 1932 rules making only one concession by counting sons of Danish fathers as Danish-born. The resulting increase in the Australian-born element was economically profitable and the club became self-supporting. It did mean, however, that the club became more and more concerned with business and less and less concerned with the preservation of national sentiments. These, in fact, grew steadily weaker, though a 1923 proposition to turn it into a businessmen's club was eventually voted down. Between the world wars the membership was a couple of hundred and the English language was dominant. In 1938 the present premises were bought, a magnificent mansion by the sea in Baconsfield Parade, and the author had the opportunity of participating in a very happy King's Birthday celebration in 1970 - at that time the club's activities were typically Australian: golf, squash, etc. The only Danish activity to survive, apart from a few national commemorations, was

the annual Danish bird-shooting. Out of 850 members only 170 were reported as being Danish.¹

The same process of Australianization appeared also in the Norwegian society; this had a varied existence until the economic depression of the early 1930s forced it to suspend activities. These were revived at the end of the decade² and even today the Norwegians in Melbourne have a small society. The change to an Australian type of club was rapid; in the late 1920s at least two-thirds of the participants were reported to be Australian. This, according to the Norwegian Consul General, was advantageous for some newcomers and seamen, but was also a reason why many Norwegians did not go to the society.³

The social life (outside the pubs) of Finns in Melbourne, who were few in number compared with the other Scandinavians, had largely concentrated in the Scandinavian societies. This was particularly so among the Swedish-speaking Finns. But not infrequently the Finnish-speaking element, due to the language difficulties, shunned the other Scandinavians.⁴

The first Finnish society in Melbourne was founded in 1916. It held only social functions: dances, picnics, meetings in private premises, and had a small library. The society survived only a couple of years because, with the beginning of World War I, many Finns left Melbourne in the fear of conscription. Another reason was the small number of Finnish women. When Oskari Salonen, later President of the society, arrived in Melbourne in 1911 he found only two Finnish women there,⁵ at any rate among those connected with the society.

1

The Archives of the Danish club Dannebrog and information received from the President and the Manager of the club.

2

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.56.

3

Nordmands-Forbundet, 1938, p.225.

4

The Diary of Kalervo Groundstroem (in Finnish), pastor of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, Sydney, 31 December 1923, The Archives of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, Helsinki.

5

Oskari Salonen, an undated letter to the author in 1970 from Frankston, Victoria

With frequent visits of Finnish ships the number of Finns in Melbourne at any one time increased considerably in the 1920s, many of them originating from the Isles of Ahvenanmaa.¹ At that time the Scandinavians in Melbourne had a Progress Association for co-operation. Mainly to get a Finnish representative onto the committee, a new Finnish society was founded in July 1924 at the instigation of Pastor Guldbrandzen of the Swedish Church.² Members were mainly Swedish-speaking Finns, and later this bilingualism became a major problem. When in 1924 the Finnish Seamen's Mission was moved from Sydney (since 1916) to Melbourne, the social and religious activities of the Finns concentrated around the Finnish minister, Pastor Groundstroem. When Pastor Guldbrandzen left Melbourne the society, which had centred very largely around him, was soon abolished and the remaining funds used to establish the first Finnish newspaper, the Suomi, in 1926. In 1938 the Seamen's Mission and the paper were moved to the far greater Finnish concentration in Brisbane and association life became dormant. It revived again in the fifties, when numerous new arrivals made it possible to found a new society.

The centre of Scandinavian religious activities in Melbourne was the Swedish Church. Pastor Hultmark returned to Sweden in 1920 and Pastor Guldbrandzen arrived to take his place. After his departure the small congregation was for a while without a minister until Pastor Sigland arrived in 1929. He, like Guldbrandzen, had wide Scandinavian sympathies and tried to get close co-operation. "Since the days of Soren Pedersen, Pastor Sigland became the greatest influence for good the Scandinavian colony in Melbourne had seen".³ Since then other Swedish pastors were

1

Pastor Guldbrandzen, Melbourne, 20 August 1923 to Pastor Groundstroem, Sydney, No. 278/23, the Archives of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, Brisbane.

2

Gunnar Karlson, Carl Lindstrom, Jalmari Sjoblom, "Finska Andliga och Fosterlandsk Samling i Melbourne fore 1924" (The Finnish Religious and Patriotic Society in Melbourne before 1924), Norden, 742, 27 June 1925, pp.5-6.

3

Lyng, "The Scandinavians in Australia, The Swedish Lutheran Church", Norden, 1988, 6 July 1935, p.2; and Lyng, 1939, p.50. Also Saxon, 1929, p.282, gave a good mark to Sigland and his preaching ability by stating that if in Sweden there were similar ministers churches would not be empty; also "The Swedish Church in Melbourne" by the Editor Lindergrén, Swedish-Australasian Trade Journal, XVIII, 6, June 1931, p.379; and Sundelin, Manuscript cit.

sent out, and finally in 1940 the Swedish Seamen's Mission took over the care of the small congregation.

The Scandinavian Church of Melbourne shows some interesting trends. Since the days of Carlsen in the 1880s the Church had changed from seamen's mission, into a migrant church, then again into a seamen's church between the world wars. During the Sigland period in the late 1920s the Church was half a seamen's church and half an ordinary congregation with some sixty members, of whom many lived in distant suburbs or on the land.¹

Another feature was the continuous process of Australianization. In the Swedish Church from the very beginning (1909) Divine Services were conducted in English by British pastors once or twice a month. Moreover, from very early times English gradually worked its way into the organization: first English words and phrases appeared in minutes and by 1913 the annual report was read both in Swedish and English. The trend may well have been faster had not there been a succession of new pastors from Sweden whereas in the United States ministers were often second and third generation Scandinavians.

The Australian environment was also shaping the Church. Divine Services has to be conducted on Sundays at 7.30 a.m.² as, according to the new Australian way of life, Sunday was often spent out of the city. Another example was that of dancing. When this matter was discussed in 1937 it was said that, as dancing was practiced among the local churches (and thereby produced consequent income for the church) and as seamen needed dancing for relaxation, the membership would drop drastically if dancing were forbidden; at least 95 per cent insisted on dancing.³

The education of the younger generations was an integral function of many migrant churches, especially in the United States. Likewise in 1924 a council for a Swedish school in Melbourne was planned, having one

1

Saxon, pp 279-280, tells how seamen used to sit half sleeping in the church to get a cup of coffee after the service. But often captains came in front of their crews.

2

Saxon, p. 282

3

Minutes of a general meeting, 12 January 1937, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

member from the Church Council, one from the Swedish society, and the local Swedish Consul.¹ This proved to be only an attempt, but in the 1930s Pastor and Mrs Stjernquist organized Swedish school classes in conjunction with social activities, and at times as many as 25-30 second generation Swedes, most of them between 20 and 30 years of age, studied Swedish. In addition, lectures and films of Sweden were provided.² Thus the church helped to preserve the Scandinavian culture and when Pastor Stjernquist left Melbourne in 1945 the role of a migrant church was expressed in a farewell article as follows: "He has made us all feel how strong are the bonds that still hold us to our native country, to its life and culture and the Church, that are all part of it".³

New South Wales

The social ethnic activities of Scandinavians here were even more languid than in Victoria, the Danish society was failing, with only occasional activities, but the Swedish one, founded in 1910 and reconstructed in 1914 and 1917, did a little better. According to Lyng its days were numbered in 1924 when it was plain there could be no immediate revival of a strong Swedish spirit in Sydney. But, after most of the Swedish members had left the society, it carried on under the name of the Anglo-Swedish society until the Swedish society was again revived in 1925. Three years later this society had some 30 members - mainly from the middle class - while "the better Swedish society" gathered around the Swedish Chamber of Commerce.⁴ The society had no special meeting place, it met twice a month, had picnics etc., and fought bravely for existence, surviving the economic depression and being

1

The minutes of the Church Council, 6 June 1924, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

2

The Annual Reports, e.g. for the years 1937 and 1938, the Archives of the Swedish Church, Melbourne.

3

"The Reverend Rudolf Stjernquist Pastor of Swedish Church in Melbourne Soon to Leave", Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal, XXXII, 10, October 1945, p.313.

4

Sven Haglund, Fran Masterhugget till Melbourne (From Masterhugget (a place in Sweden) to Melbourne), Stockholm 1928, p.144.

able to celebrate its fourteenth anniversary in 1939.¹

Before World War I the Finns in Sydney did not have any organized social activities until during the war a Seamen's Mission was established in this metropolis, largely because Sydney was so favoured by Finnish seamen. The idea of a Finnish Seamen's Mission in Australia goes back to 1889, but not before 1916 could the work start in Sydney. The Mission was first conducted by a layman until in 1922 the first pastor was sent out from Finland. The Mission was moved to Melbourne in 1924² and again to Brisbane in 1938. In Sydney a reading room was provided, and in 1929 a Suomi-Home was opened for seamen and migrants.

From the very beginning the Mission became the centre of Finnish life and when that was moved to Melbourne in 1924 the Finnish Consulate became a major meeting place.³ By the initiative of the Finnish Consul, Mr Harald Tanner, a Finnish-Estonian society was founded in July 1924; it arranged a few meetings, picnics etc., but soon succumbed. A dozen Finnish women founded a sewing circle in 1929, which soon converted itself into a Finnish society. About the same time a 'Suomi-Koti' (Finland-Home) was established by the then Melbourne based Seamen's Mission, and the society found premises for meetings. However, with the economic depression, and many Finns settling on the land, the society had a quiet existence until the large-scale immigration of the late 1950s brought more life into it again.

The Seamen's Mission in Sydney had an important function as a uniting bond of dispersed Finns. During World War I, when the Russian Consulate was discontinued, the Mission acted as unofficial representative of Finland, it even issued certificates of nationality

¹

"Social Activities of the Swedes in Sydney and Melbourne", p.380; and "The Swedish Club in Sydney", Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal, XXVI, 7, July 1939, p.316.

²

Toivo Waltari, Suomen Merimieslahetystoimi 1875-1925 (Finnish Seamen's Mission 1875-1925), Helsinki 1925, pp.302-317.

³

Sulo-Weikko Pekkola, Ylistetty Etela (The Praised South), Jyväskylä 1929, p.38

until the Finnish Consulate was established. With the Seamen's Mission the Finns gained a permanent institution which was to fulfil many of their needs. They could address their correspondence to the Mission, send money home through it, obtain papers and books and even information about work available.

Although the church had started off as a Seamen's Mission, due to the numerous permanent arrivals of the Finns in the 1920s, it turned more and more into an immigrant church. The pastor visited Finnish settlements around Australia, but having an extraordinary large and scattered congregation he could not fulfil all their religious needs. During the depression the Finnish Seamen's Mission could not afford to send a pastor; and only in 1935 did Pastor Hytonen arrive. Then came World War II and the Finnish pastor, with many of his countrymen, was interned for security reasons.

Except for the Finnish Seamen's Mission in Sydney in the early 1920s no Scandinavian churches existed in New South Wales in the inter-war period. Scandinavian pastors from Melbourne and Brisbane occasionally visited Sydney and other areas of Scandinavian settlement. Finally a Scandinavian congregation in Sydney was founded in 1940 when Pastor P.C. Ligaard, since 1915 the parson of the Danish Church in Brisbane, was transferred to Sydney.¹

Queensland

Most of the Scandinavian societies of the previous period in Queensland failed to survive into the 1920s. Only the Danish society, the Heimdal, in Brisbane survived, obviously experiencing a similar process of Australianization as did the Danish club Dannebrog in Melbourne. Unfortunately the time available did not allow for adequate study of the archives of the Heimdal society, but the fact that hardly any information could be found from the pages of the Norden indicates that the society did not do very well.

¹

"Pastor Stjernquist's visit to Sydney", Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal, XXVII, 11, November 1940, p.390; and "The Danish Church in Sydney", jour cit, XXXI, 1, January 1944, pp 22-24.

After the Nambour society of Matti Kurikka's period had succumbed (see pp.141-142), the later Finnish community in Australia was not even aware of the society and considered the oldest Finnish society in Australia to be the Queenslannin Suomen Heimo Seura (the Finnish Tribe Society of Queensland), which was founded in Brisbane in December 1914 and officially launched in March 1915. The membership, including some Estonians, reached 62 by the end of 1915. In the beginning it was very active, establishing a library and an affiliate, a sport society by the name of Vapauden Veljet (The Brothers of Liberty) at Nambour. The society itself succumbed quite soon, but in the 1920s there was still an organization at Nambour, Leo Hirmukallio being an active secretary. In Brisbane and Nambour the spirit of socialism of Matti Kurikka and his contemporaries was an active element, stimulated by the settlement at Nambour in 1911 of a former socialist member of the Finnish Parliament. Consequently in 1916 a decision was made to give up political neutrality and support the labour movement; co-operation with the local labour organizations was therefore started. Those with different opinions, however, then left the society, so weakening it considerably; later the society returned to its original political neutrality, but this did not help much. However, the society survived to celebrate its 25th anniversary in 1939. Then it died out quietly.¹

While the older Finnish element in Queensland since the days of Kurikka was strongly inclined to socialism, the Finns arriving in the 1920s were mainly on the political right, many of them having fought for the independence of Finland in 1918. They first congregated around Nestori Karhula, then at Cairns, and founded there a society of a couple of hundred members. When their leader, Karhula, moved to Brisbane in 1926 he soon began to plan a society similar to that founded earlier at Cairns. After an attempt to co-operate with the Suomen Heimo Seura had failed, largely due to differences in political and social attitudes, the Suomi Athletic Club was founded in 1927.² This gave a new impulse to the

1

"Australian vanhin suomalainen seura 25 vuotias" (The oldest Finnish society in Australia 25 years), Suomi, 22-23, 4 December 1939; and the interview of Mr Matti Kolkka, a member of the first executive committee in 1915, Brisbane, 11 June 1970.

2

The interview of Nestori Karhula, Brisbane, 7 April 1969.

old society, and the following period was characterized by mutual rivalry,¹ though there was some co-operation, as when celebrating national anniversaries. During and after the depression both societies were fighting for their existence; the Athletic Club proved to be the stronger, surviving to give the basis to the present Finnish society in Brisbane which has been active since the late 1950s.

Quite a lot could be written about the Finnish group settlements of northern Queensland and the various ethnic societies within them. During fieldwork I studied their archives, had minutes microfilmed and interviewed old settlers. Though a detailed account remains for the history of Finns in Australia, the main features are presented below.

The first Finnish society in northern Queensland was founded about 1923 at Cairns by some 150 Finns gathered around Nestori Karhula.² The society was not only nationalistically but also regionally minded as most of the migrants hailed from the county of Vaasa. It arranged picnics and athletic meetings, planned to order books from Finland for a library, and arranged to run a course in the English language.³ This Finnish concentration dispersed after Karhula left for Brisbane in 1926, most settling in farming and the society faded away.

Many of the members of this Cairns society then settled at Tully and here in late 1928 a dozen men (there were no Finnish women at the time) founded a society, which still exists. From the beginning it had a choir and a library and was especially active in supporting the Suomi paper, though the membership was only 56 in 1930 and 33 in 1939, many of them women who arrived in the thirties.⁴

In another farming settlement at Long Pocket a reading circle was established in 1929 to provide a library and in the following year a

¹

It is interesting to note that among the Finns in the United States and Canada similar fights occurred between socialist and nationalist elements.

²

For Finnish immigration and group settlements, see pp.203-205.

³

Suomi, 15 March 1926 and 15 February 1927

⁴

Suomi, 15 February 1930 and 28 January 1939.

sports society called Yritys (Attempt) was founded; five years later these two amalgamated. The sports society built a hall and arranged numerous gatherings and sports meetings; at times it also produced Finnish plays and a conversation circle.¹

During the depression of the early 1930s many Finns left Tully, Long Pocket and other group settlements for Mt Isa. After the stimulus provided by a visiting pastor from the Finnish Seamen's Mission in 1935 a society was founded, a library was inaugurated and social functions arranged. There were also plans for a hall, but the war intervened and not before 1955 was a hall erected.

In other Finnish settlements in Queensland there was also active communal life though formal societies did not come into being. These active informal activities, as well as geographical proximity, did much to keep a sense of 'Finnishness' alive for decades.

To sum up the social activities of Finns in northern Queensland, the reasons for active ethnic social life were: (1) Finns had arrived recently and were not only in the first stage of adjustment but being generally unable to speak English; (2) they had experiences of social activities in youth organizations in their home country and their nationalist feelings were stimulated by the independence of Finland after 1917; and (3) the main reason was perhaps the monotonous life of a farmer or rural worker in the tropics, where after heavy work only a few were energetic enough for sport or other activities. It seems that these Finnish immigrants were laudable, mainly of good peasant background - somewhat different from that of Matti Kurikka's group.

In the thirties the membership of the societies at Tully and Long Pocket decreased when the economic depression drove many Finns to Mt Isa and even the mobile life of more permanent settlers was hampering them. From Long Pocket it was reported that almost half of the Finns were moving like migratory birds, leaving the settlement at the turn of the year for 4-5 months, then returning for sugar cane cutting; when they

¹

Suomi, 13 August 1940.

returned social life again revived.¹ The fact that these societies (with the exception of that in Cairns) have survived up to date indicates their importance to Finnish settlers in the Australian tropics.

Scandinavian religious life in Queensland was languid by World War I, mainly due to the lack of any Scandinavian pastors. When in 1915 Pastor P. C. Ligaard, who was born in Denmark and was trained in theology in the United States, came to Brisbane church activities revived once more. The old wooden church at Kangaroo Point was sold and a new one erected in South Brisbane. Sunday schools, youth organizations and a seamen's mission were organized and scattered Scandinavian settlements were again visited. However, it became more and more evident that some outside support was needed. As a result of Pastor Ligaard's visit to the United States the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America adopted the 'Queensland Mission' as a branch. Considerable financial support was granted and a second pastor was sent to Queensland in 1920 to work in the Kingaroy and Maryborough districts. But within less than three years this pastor returned to America, and soon the Danish Church there withdrew its financial assistance. This was a fatal blow to the Brisbane congregation and Ligaard, too, prepared to leave Queensland. The church property was sold, and the congregation decided to spend the money by paying Ligaard's fare to Denmark to find some help there. His mission turned out to be a success, and the National Church of Denmark, under a branch called the Church of Denmark Abroad, took the congregation under its wing, Ligaard being appointed as an emissary to Queensland. He returned via America and again took up the work in Brisbane with renewed vigour.² Between the two wars the congregation was kept alive only with the utmost difficulty, and in 1940 Pastor Ligaard had to move to Sydney.

¹ Suomi, 13 September 1937.

² Theile, passim and especially pp. 29-31, 145, 164, 246; and Hebart, pp. 116-120, 195-196, 329; and Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp. 203-209; and Scandinavians in Australasia, pp. 96-97; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, pp. 137-146.

A major reason for the failure of the Scandinavian congregations in Queensland was obviously the scattered settlement with only a few weak concentrations and the scanty means available for maintaining clergymen. Another reason was the insufficient education of the pastors, of whom only a few had attended mission school; otherwise they were lay preachers.¹ As in Melbourne it appears that in Queensland also only a minority of the Scandinavians took active part in the Scandinavian church life; the majority was dispersed all over Queensland beyond the reach of the Lutheran Church and either dropped religion or joined the Church of England, Methodist or other churches

In the inter-war period the religious needs of the Finns in Queensland were only occasionally catered for by the pastor of the Finnish Seamen's Mission. A visit from Sydney or Melbourne took place sometimes at five year intervals and in the first half of the 1930s there was no pastor at all because of the economic depression. Things got better for Finns in Queensland when a new pastor arrived in 1935 and the Seamen's Mission was moved to Brisbane in 1938. Soon, however, the war broke out and the pastor could not serve his large congregation from an internment camp

Elsewhere in Australia

No evidence about Scandinavian societies in Western Australia has been found, but in Adelaide there was a Scandinavian society in the late 1920s.² As news about it did not appear in the Norden it does not seem to have been very successful. In South and Western Australia the Scandinavians were decreasing in numbers and were in a later stage of assimilation - a situation very different from that of the Finns in Queensland

The Press

A similar situation to that found amongst the Scandinavian societies appears also in the Scandinavian-Australian press in the 1920s and 1930s.

¹

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, p.210.

²

Nordmands-Forbundet, 1929, p.200

The Norden, continuously fighting for its life, became more and more Australian and published more and more in the English language. After existing for more than 43 years it finally succumbed in 1940.

Because of the Finnish immigration in the twenties there developed a need for a Finnish paper in Australia; in 1926 the Finnish Seamen's Mission undertook to publish a paper, the Suomi (Finland), which became a lasting bond for Finns in Australia. Though the paper was found useful by Finns there were many difficulties in keeping it going, especially in the 1930s when there was no pastor at the Seamen's Mission and the paper was carried on by a layman. The Suomi was published in Melbourne until it was moved to Brisbane in 1938. During World War II it was discontinued but was started again in 1950. At present the paper is doing better than ever (because of recent Finnish immigration) and has a circulation of over 2,000 copies.

Concluding Comments

To sum up it appears that Scandinavian societies, churches and the press were much weaker - with the exception of the Finnish ones - than in the period before World War I. However, it must be borne in mind that these two periods were very different. While from 1870 to 1914 the Scandinavian societies and churches originated from the real needs of newly arrived migrants (loneliness, insecurity, language difficulties, etc.) many clubs of the 1920s and 1930s were those of businessmen and other well settled people of Scandinavian origin. This development was mainly due to the lack of new arrivals to maintain ethnic identity and national feelings. It is interesting to note that the Finns arriving in the 1920s were in the same stage as the other Scandinavians in the 1870s and 1880s, and that their societies, religious activities and an Australian-wide paper stemmed from the demands of the first stage of settlement.

Chapter VII: SOME DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS

"Immigration is selective of age, sex, and other characteristics and produces an abnormal population distribution..."

Lavell and Staff, p.22.

AGE AT ARRIVAL

Age of the immigrant at the time of arrival is a main factor substantially influencing his adjustment and assimilation. Table 7.1 and Charts III.A-C, Appendix I, present the age at arrival of those males who became naturalized prior to 1947 in cases where information was available. The data is presented in three sequential periods by arrival: those who arrived before 1890, between 1890-1919, and between 1920-41.

Scandinavian settlers who arrived before 1890 were predominantly young adults; nearly three-quarters of them were between 18 and 29 years of age. Very few arrived as children and practically none as retired (only two Danes over 60 years). In spite of basic similarities, there were some differences between the four countries of origin. Relatively more Danes arrived as children, particularly from the agricultural areas of northern Jutland, suggesting a considerable early family migration from this region. Among arrivals from the other three countries young men were proportionally more numerous. An interesting feature is the disparity of ages of Norwegians and Finns; while the Norwegians were the younger, probably because of their common seafaring occupations, the Finns were considerably older at arrival. An exception was the Isles of Ahvenanmaa, where boys went to sea at an early age with their fathers and brothers; the calling of a seaman was often taken as granted, very much as in Norway, while on the Finnish mainland there were more opportunities to try other jobs before going to sea.

An interesting correlation may be found between age at arrival before 1890 and some Scandinavian conscription ages. In Chart III.A a peak of 20 years for Danes, and to some extent a smaller peak of 22-23 years, can perhaps be partly ascribed to compulsory military service in Germany and Denmark. For Danes in Schleswig-Holstein German conscription at the age of twenty was a relevant cause of emigrations; settlers from southern Jutland, mainly consisting of Schleswig-Holsteiners, arrived younger than the Danish average; over 40 per cent of them were between the ages of 15 and 21, the corresponding figure for the whole of Denmark being only 30 per cent. A minor peak of 22 and 23 years was probably partly due to the military training in Denmark starting at the age of 22 and continuing for eight years for the line and reserve.

Table 7.1: Age at Arrival of Scandinavian Males, Naturalized before 1947, on whom Information is Available

Nationality	Periods of Arrivals	Age at Arrival (per cent)										Total	Nos.
		0-14	15-17	18-19	20-21	22-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50+		
<u>Danes</u>	before 1890	5.8	4.7	10.8	15.3	21.8	24.1	10.1	4.5	2.3	0.5	99.9	2,183
	1890-1919	3.2	2.9	9.5	15.2	22.8	25.6	10.6	5.1	4.4	0.7	100.0	1,489
	1920-1941	3.8	3.8	6.0	13.2	21.4	19.8	15.4	8.2	6.6	1.6	99.8	364
	Total	4.7	4.0	9.9	15.1	22.1	24.3	10.8	5.1	3.5	0.7	100.2	4,036
<u>Swedes</u>	before 1890	2.2	4.3	9.6	14.4	23.9	26.6	11.4	4.6	2.7	0.2	99.9	2,820
	1890-1919	1.6	2.4	5.7	14.9	22.9	27.8	14.4	6.0	3.2	1.0	99.9	1,959
	1920-1941	1.3	2.0	9.8	9.2	18.3	25.5	13.7	9.8	7.8	2.6	100.0	306
	Total	1.9	3.4	8.1	14.3	23.2	27.0	12.7	5.5	3.2	0.7	100.0	5,085
<u>Norwegians</u>	before 1890	2.8	3.9	10.2	15.3	22.7	24.7	11.8	5.2	3.0	0.3	99.9	1,330
	1890-1919	1.6	4.5	11.2	16.8	23.3	21.1	10.2	5.7	4.1	1.5	100.0	1,201
	1920-1941	2.3	2.3	10.5	17.0	19.9	28.7	12.3	3.5	2.3	1.2	100.0	342
	Total	2.2	4.0	10.6	16.2	22.7	23.7	11.1	5.3	3.4	0.9	100.1	2,873
<u>Finns</u>	before 1890	1.6	4.0	6.3	13.0	25.8	30.8	13.2	3.5	1.2	0.5	99.9	569
	1890-1919	0.9	2.3	9.8	17.7	24.1	24.4	9.9	5.3	3.0	2.6	100.0	694
	1920-1941	0.7	2.5	9.9	12.0	31.7	25.7	9.9	3.7	1.6	2.3	100.0	435
	Total	1.1	2.9	8.7	14.7	26.6	26.9	11.1	4.3	2.1	1.8	100.2	1,698
<u>Scandinavians</u>	before 1890	3.4	4.3	9.8	14.7	23.2	25.8	11.2	4.6	2.5	0.4	99.9	6,902
	1890-1919	1.9	3.0	8.6	15.8	23.1	25.2	11.8	5.6	3.7	1.3	100.0	5,343
	1920-1941	2.0	2.7	9.1	12.9	23.5	24.9	12.6	6.1	4.4	1.9	100.1	1,447
	Grand Total	2.7	3.6	9.2	15.0	23.2	25.5	11.6	5.2	3.2	0.9	100.1	13,692

Finland compulsory military service after 1878 was similarly a cause of emigration, explaining perhaps partly the extensive peak at the age of 23 years. One is tempted to suggest that for Finns - as well as for the Schleswig-Holsteiners - who emigrated for political reasons and to avoid conscription, Australia was a safe place from the authorities of the old country - though presumably America was as safe.

Migrants leaving to avoid military service generally came straight to Australia, but many Scandinavians often spent years on the high seas before settling down in the fifth continent. Many seamen, after sailing for years, were ready to settle down permanently soon after reaching twenty, an age coinciding with the Scandinavian conscription age.

The few older migrants that arrived had often spent decades in New Zealand, Canada or other countries. With these exceptions the Scandinavians to Australia before 1890 were young men in their early manhood ready to contribute their best years to their adopted country.

The second period, 1890-1919, is very similar to the first; the majority were young adults, mostly in their twenties. The proportion of children was still highest among the Danes but was smaller than before 1890. It may well be that fewer persons arrived as children between 1890 and 1919 as very little assisted migration took place from Scandinavia, as shown earlier, compared with the heavier assisted immigration of Scandinavians in the 1870s and 1880s. On the other hand, the smaller number of children obtained from naturalization records may be a result of the first Federal Naturalization Act of 1903, which made provision for naturalization of minors residing with naturalized parents.

Between the four nationalities a conspicuous difference is that the Norwegians and Finns were generally young while the Swedes represented slightly older age groups. A high proportion of Norwegians and Finns were seamen, and this obviously enabled them to arrive in Australia younger than, for example, the sons of peasants. Consequently the migrants from Trondelag and Nord Norge, of northern Norway, where seafaring and fishing were the main occupations, were younger than the Norwegian average. Similarly in Finland the seafaring people from Ahvenanmaa were the youngest to arrive - a feature more striking after World War I when sailing ships from Ahvenanmaa started to frequent Australian ports.

The proportion of older immigrants, especially that of persons arriving at the age of 50 and over, became higher after 1890. Many of these were arrivals from other countries, mainly from North America, but also second or third time migrants from the Scandinavian countries.

Many Scandinavians who arrived in the last period, between 1920 and 1941, were naturalized after 1947 and we therefore have little information about them. Although the numbers are small, the distribution in Table 7.1 generally conforms to the pattern shown in the two previous periods: the majority arriving in early manhood. The proportion of older age groups increased again slightly. Again the Swedes were somewhat older than the other Scandinavians. In Chart III.C, Appendix I, the peak for the Norwegians at the age of 21 and for the Finns at the age of 23 can partly be explained by military service; especially the Finns in the 1920s often emigrated shortly after completing their army training.¹

Another conspicuous feature among the Finns was the high proportion of young arrivals from Ahvenanmaa - a repetition of an earlier pattern. Altogether just over three-quarters of the settlers from these islands were between 18 and 24 years, while those from the whole of Finland in this age group represented just over half, and those from total Scandinavia just under half of the arrivals. The explanation for this was that there were a great number of sailing ships with young crews coming to Australia from these islands between the two world wars (see p.206).

The above discussion concerned those permanently settled; for the whole Scandinavian population, since 1911 for Danes, Swedes and Norwegians and since 1921 for Finns, the best available method of estimating net migration in various age groups is to apply Australian Life Tables to the census populations of Scandinavians² (see pp.197-202).

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Interviews in Queensland, fieldwork 1970; and the questionnaire to Finns in Australia, 1970.

2

A colleague, Choi Ching Yan, in his thesis "Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia with Special Reference to the Chinese in Melbourne", The Australian National University, August 1970, pp.96-99, had exclusively to rely on the Life Table calculations because naturalization was not granted to the Chinese between 1904 and 1956.

The results of this method confirm that most Scandinavians were young adults at arrival.

SEX AND AGE COMPOSITION

A survey of the sex composition is essential for the analysis of marriage patterns, ethnic cohesion and assimilation. Long distance migrations have typically been sex selective, and the early Scandinavians to arrive in Australia were predominantly males. However, there were a few Scandinavian women among the first permanent settlers, notably in Sydney, even before the middle of the nineteenth century and also later on the goldfields. Probably most of the Scandinavian females were Danes; a contemporary author estimated that in the whole of Australia there were no more than half a dozen Swedish women, and he had met four of them in his extensive journeys.¹ Then in the 1870s the number of Scandinavian women increased considerably, notably in Queensland and Tasmania, because of assisted passages.

Table 7.2 shows the sex composition of the Scandinavian-born populations in each state in the censuses from 1871 to 1947 denoting females per 100 males. In Victoria in 1871, representing the aftermath of the gold rush period, there were 8.6 females per 100 males born in Denmark and only 3.6 and 1.5 per 100 males born in Sweden and Norway respectively. In 1881 the proportion of the Scandinavian women was negligible outside Queensland and Tasmania, in these two colonies the rate for women was exceptionally high for the Danes. No separate figure exists for Finns except the Queensland Census of 1886 revealing some 80 males and only one female born in Finland.

Between 1890 and World War I the proportion of females increased steadily, noticeably in Western Australia. In Queensland the rate of women decreased somewhat after the Census of 1891, a major reason being that assisted passages were given to Scandinavians only for a short while at the turn of the century. It has been argued by Jensen that the excess

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Cronqvist, p 61

Table 7.2: Sex Composition of Scandinavian-born Persons Residing in each State at the Date of each Census, 1871-1947 and 1966 showing Females per 100 Males

	Census	New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Tasmania	Australian Capital Territory	Northern Territory	Australia	Total Numbers
Denmark-born	1871	a	8.6	32.5	a	a	(1870) a			a	
	1881	14.5	13.2	54.4	11.4	0	76.6			31.1	4,742
	1891	16.6	14.3	57.0	12.0	2.4	65.1		0	32.9	6,409
	1901	18.9	15.6	50.2	11.6	13.9	56.6		0	32.3	6,286
	1911	19.8	16.9	52.5	12.3	19.9	55.1	0	0	32.7	5,673
	1921	25.2	24.0	50.4	14.5	22.0	43.0	50.0	25.0	34.0	6,002
	1933	25.7	25.3	50.6	14.1	21.3	52.0	28.6	0	33.9	4,484
	1947	23.9	33.2	54.1	20.2	32.4	45.2	50.0	0	35.8	2,759
	1966	53.9	66.8	54.6	59.3	39.4	52.1	55.8	25.6	55.6	5,401
Sweden-born	1871	a	3.6	12.4	a	a	(1870) a			a	
	1881	5.2	4.2 ^b	27.4	3.4 ^b	0	3.1 ^a			9.9 ^b	5,048 ^b
	1891	4.9	6.7 ^b	31.1 ^b	5.6 ^b	1.0 ^b	6.6 ^b		0	9.8 ^b	10,121 ^b
	1901	6.0	8.6 ^b	31.1 ^b	6.0 ^b	5.5	6.8 ^b		0	11.0 ^b	9,870 ^b
	1911	7.0	7.2	25.5	5.8	5.7	11.2		0	9.9	5,586
	1921	7.7	9.2	25.8	6.7	6.8	6.3	0	0	10.6	5,025
	1933	9.4	12.8	20.5	9.2	7.7	4.5	0	0	11.7	3,895
	1947	11.8	18.6	19.3	10.6	8.0	23.1	0	0	14.0	2,209
	1966	45.1	50.4	31.2	14.9	22.0	26.1	104.0	21.1	38.6	2,558
Norway-born	1871	a	1.5	22.9	a	a	(1870) a			a	
	1881	b	b	55.1	b	0	0			b	b
	1891	b	b	b	b	b	b			b	b
	1901	b	b	b	b	3.7	b			b	b
	1911	7.1	11.2	43.3	3.7	10.4	2.4		0	13.6	3,451
	1921	8.8	14.0	43.6	7.3	11.1	0	0	0	15.7	3,014
	1933	10.6	15.5	31.5	7.3	9.3	0	0	0	14.7	2,680
	1947	12.4	17.7	25.4	8.0	15.3	5.9	25.0	0	16.0	2,024
	1966	31.4	37.0	28.6	23.7	20.5	17.3	64.6	3.2	30.3	3,166
Finland-born	1886			1.3							
	1901		5.5	29.6	(Included in Russia)						
	1911										
	1921	8.7	7.6	25.1	4.6	10.3	0	0	0	10.7	1,358
	1933	14.9	12.4	16.6	0.8	13.6	0	0	0	13.7	1,825
	1947	17.8	13.9	29.1	1.0	17.0	0	0	12.5	18.6	1,373
	1966	72.9	74.3	71.2	70.6	42.5	109.8	98.4	19.4	73.1	5,925

a No information available.

b Norway included in Sweden.

Note: For actual numbers see Table 2, Appendix I.

of males varies with the fluctuations of the immigration rate; the preponderance of males is greatest when the stream starts to grow, while women join the movement later, partly urged by husbands and relatives and partly as the movement assumes more the character of family emigration. Consequently the numbers of females rise in the periods of small migration and declines when migration (proportionally) is increasing.¹ Jensen's statement about the fluctuations of migration on sex balance may hold good in general, and particularly in the United States, but with Australia the situation was different. The majority of the early Scandinavians to Australia were young single men with few commitments, and thus chain-migration was not as important as may have been the case in the United States, although there is evidence that many Scandinavian seamen who settled in Australia later brought their wives out to them. The prerequisites for effective chain-migration are a developed communication system and reasonable passage fees; to a great extent Scandinavian migrants to Australia with wives (and families) - as well as single women - could only afford or dared to emigrate to Australia by assisted passages, feeling safe among a number of other countrymen.

Another reason for the decline of the Scandinavian female population in Queensland - as well as for that of males - was the movement to cooler southern states; the growth of the Scandinavian female numbers in New South Wales and Victoria can partly be attributed to internal migration.

The Queensland Census of 1901 revealed almost 30 females per 100 males born in Finland. This high proportion is explained by the free passages offered by the Queensland Government which attracted almost two hundred Finns in the years preceding the Census. The 5.5 females per 100 males born in Finland recorded in the Victorian Census of 1901 may be a more realistic indication of the Finnish masculinity trends in the other states.

Compared with some earlier periods no extensive Scandinavian migration to Australia took place in the 1920s and 1930s, with the

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Jensen, pp.299-300.

exception of the Finns. However, the male populations being constant, a minor increase of the Scandinavian women slightly supports Jensen's argument that the proportion of females rises in periods of slight migration. Nevertheless it must be borne in mind that in the twentieth century communications and other relevant factors were quite different from those in the previous century.

To sum up the sex distribution of the Scandinavians presented in Table 7.2, before 1890 there were some three Danish males for each Danish female, ten Swedes and Norwegians for one female, and the first Finnish women had only just arrived. The proportion of females was highest, especially among the Danes, in Queensland and Tasmania, where many Scandinavians were engaged in farming pursuits. Between 1890 and World War I the same pattern continued, the proportion of women appearing to be somewhat higher among the Norwegians than the Swedes. With the exception of Queensland after the turn of the century very few females born in Finland could be found in Australia. The inter-war period saw no conspicuous changes, and up to World War II the sex composition of the Scandinavian population was found very unbalanced: over three females per ten males born in Denmark and from one to two females per ten males born in Sweden, Norway or Finland.

For comparison with some other ethnic groups the following figures show the sex rate in 1891, when the number of Scandinavians was highest in Australia:¹

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Females per 100 Males</u>
Denmark	32.9
Sweden-Norway	9.8
Germany	53.2
France	32.5
Italy	14.6
Other European-born	21.9
Total Population	86.3

A comparison of the sex distribution of the Scandinavians in Australia with the general sex composition of Scandinavian emigrants

¹

Borrie, "Some aspects", p.8.

reveals a small proportion of Scandinavian women in Australia compared with relatively heavy Scandinavian female emigration, which naturally was directed mainly to the United States. According to the statistics from 1871 onwards the percentage of males of the total emigration to non-European countries was from the respective countries as follows:

<u>Years</u>	<u>Denmark</u>	<u>Norway</u>	<u>Sweden</u>
1871-75	61.5	54.2	53.6
1876-80	62.2	59.1	59.0
1881-85	59.8	55.9	55.3
1886-90	60.8	58.6	56.9
1891-95	57.4	58.0	53.9
1896-1900	57.8	61.0	49.0
1901-05	63.1	63.6	57.7
1906-10	62.9	62.1	63.0
1911-15	61.2	57.7	56.5
1916-20	59.7	49.5	48.8
1921-25	65.0	66.0	65.7

Source: Jensen, p.300, Table 108.

Because the excess of males being greatest from Denmark, Jensen suggested that Norwegians and Swedes emigrated more in families than the Danes;¹ the case being quite opposite among the Scandinavians in Australia.

The unbalance of the sexes is illustrated in Chart IV since the first Federal Census of 1911 to the Census of 1947 giving also the age structure in five year age groups. The Scandinavian populations were found in the late middle years in 1911, the majority being over 40 years, particularly the Danes and Swedes. The Scandinavians were aging rapidly, and in 1921 most of the Danes and Swedes had passed their 50 year mark, the Norwegians having a more uneven age structure, but the young male Finns, with a negligible number of females, were just starting to arrive. The Census of 1933 showed a further decline in numbers, and aging of the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians, and by 1947 the majority of the Scandinavians discussed in this study had reached such ripe old ages that the survival method becomes distorted and dangerous.

While the other Scandinavians appeared to be dying out the Finns who arrived in relatively large numbers in the 1920s had a somewhat different

¹ Jensen, p.300.

story. Chart IV for 1921 shows on the one hand a peak after 55 years, similar to that of the other Scandinavians; much of this may be attributed to seamen migrations, and on the other hand the preponderance of young age groups. The difference from the other Scandinavian populations is well illustrated by the Census of 1933 revealing younger age structure than 1921 and an increase of women, though during the economic depression many had returned to Finland.

CONJUGAL CONDITIONS

An Index of Assimilation?

The central thesis of this section is that because of the uneven sex distribution and because a considerable proportion of Scandinavians remained unmarried, marriage outside the national group, especially to women of British origin, was a major factor facilitating assimilation.

Many kinds of terminologies for mate selection have been developed, but the most common divides marriages into endogamous and exogamous marriages. The former, 'in-' or co-marriage', takes place inside a certain group (ethnic, religious, etc.) while the latter, 'inter-' or 'out-marriage', is marrying outside an in-group. In this study 'in-marriage' refers to marrying within an ethnic group (i.e. a Dane marrying a Dane), and 'inter-marriage' to all other marriages. The latter group (Other) in some tables includes also mates born in other Scandinavian countries, often too few for a separate category.

Although marriage is a highly individual matter, certain consistent patterns make this factor a valuable indicator of intra-group cohesion and inter-community mixing. The opinions about the importance of marriage on assimilation are far from unanimous.¹ However, some authorities agree that intermarriage is a sensitive index of assimilation, because it indicates that an immigrant or his child feels at home in the most

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About the authors of marital status and assimilation see Ruth Johnston, Immigrant Assimilation; A Study of Polish People in Western Australia, Perth 1965, pp.31-32.

intimate of all social relations.¹ An exception was a scholar, Simon A. Marcson, who argued that intermarriage is not at all an index of assimilation.² Later C.A. Price and Jerzy Zubrzycki pointed out defects in Marcson's reasoning, e.g. his confusing of the concepts of assimilation and integration, and they came to the conclusion that -

for complete assimilation intermarriage is still a most useful index since a high rate of intermarriage results in a situation where descendants of immigrant families become so mixed up with descendants of other immigrant stock that they are virtually indistinguishable, at any rate in ethnic terms³

Julius Drachsler adopted a sound approach to the problem half a century ago when he wrote:

A study of the facts of intermarriage offers a reasonably secure base from which to begin excursions into the elusive problem of assimilation.⁴

Some authors maintain that intermarriage is an end result of immigrant assimilation. In some cases scarcity of women causes intermarriage but does not significantly contribute to assimilation,⁵ especially if the native-born women becomes identified with her husband's immigrant group. The present study considers intermarriage as a major indication of assimilation, with some reservations because of the particular attitude of the Scandinavian population structure.

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Taft and Robbins, p.146; and Lavell and Staff, 'Needed Research in the Demographic and Sociological Aspects of Immigration', p.27; and Price, Southern Europeans, p.256.

2

Simon A. Marcson, "A Theory of Intermarriage and Assimilation", Social Forces, XXIX, 1950-51, pp.75-78.

3

C.A. Price and J. Zubrzycki, "The Use of Inter-marriage Statistics as an Index of Assimilation", Population Studies, XVI, 1, July 1962, pp. 58-59.

4

Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation, New York 1920, p.87.

5

Johnston, pp.32-33.

Reservations influencing Marriages of Scandinavians in Australia

A factor influencing migrant marriages is (1) age at arrival. There is very often a difference in marriage patterns between a person who arrived at the age of five and a person who arrived at the age of 25. It was found among southern Europeans that the younger the migrant on arrival the more likely he was to marry outside his own ethnic stock.¹ Unfortunately marriage statistics do not give ages at arrival, but the Naturalization Records revealed that the majority of the Scandinavians had arrived as young adults. Consequently they did not have the best qualifications to marry women of British origin, but the lack of co-national females gave them no other choice than either to marry out or to remain bachelors.

As the degree of intermarriage depends to a great degree on the availability of co-national brides and bridegrooms (2) sex distribution is of fundamental importance affecting marriage behaviour of a migrant group. Scandinavian masculinity was extremely high: the sex ratios were earlier found to be three females per ten Danish males and only about one female per ten males in the other three nationalities.

(3) Geographic and occupational distribution also tend to influence patterns of social intercourse and consequently marriage. The Scandinavians, with the exception of some of the Danes and Finns, were dispersed all over the continent, and the lack of strong ethnic group settlements, where co-national brides could be found, was a major factor for their rapid assimilation. For an isolated Scandinavian engaged in shipping, farming or mining, there was a scant chance of making an endogamous marriage.

Sources and Reliability of Data

(1) Censuses contain little information of marital status of foreign-born groups and especially on their intermarriage - a situation long ago noticed to be similar in the United States.² The colonial

¹ Price, Southern Europeans, p.258.

² Drachsler, p 87. Consequently he had literally to dig the pertinent data out, selecting Greater New York to be a typical city community. Later other scholars have used the same method, e.g. John I. Kolehmainen, "A Study of Marriage in a Finnish Community", American Journal of Sociology, XLII, 1936-37, pp.371-382. In these cases the problem is the representativeness of the sample selected.

censuses give next to no information about the conjugal condition of foreign-born groups. The best sources, especially on intermarriage, appear in the (2) Annual Marriage Statistics: since 1871 for Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in Queensland, (a) Registrar-General's Report, Votes and Proceedings of Queensland appended annual tables and after federation (b) Demography Bulletins (of the C'wealth Bureau of Census and Statistics), showing the relative birthplace of bridegrooms and brides of all marriages contracted in Australia. For Scandinavians this information begins in 1907, with a gap for Finns between 1911 and 1922. Some incomplete auxiliary information can be obtained from (3) the Naturalization Records for the Commonwealth period since 1904. There are only few references to conjugal conditions of Scandinavians in the literature in Australia which may add useful information to the scheduled material.

On the whole, without going into original marriage records, statistical sources are few, major gaps being the lack of information about the age of the migrant at arrival, and, where census material is available, place of marriage. It is impossible, therefore, to divide foreign-born grooms and brides into first generation adult settlers and second generation settlers brought to Australia as infants.¹ However, this point is less relevant to the study of Scandinavians who had less female migrants as compared with other migrant groups with heavier family migration.

Marital Status of Scandinavians; Single contra Married

Before the first Federal Census of 1911 only few colonial censuses give information about the marital status of Scandinavians. Table 7.3, compiled from the New South Wales Censuses of 1891 and 1901, revealed in the former year 45 per cent of the Danish and 58 per cent of the Swede-Norwegian males as never married. In the female group four-fifths were married, the proportion being higher among the Danes than the Swede-Norwegians. Ten years later, in 1901, the proportion of the married had increased to about half for Swedish and Norwegian males and to almost 60

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For a more detailed discussion see Price and Zubrzycki, "The Use of Inter-marriage Statistics", pp.61-62.

Table 7.3: Conjugal Conditions of Scandinavians (excl. Finns) in New South Wales, Censuses 1891 and 1901

Birthplace	Sex	Census	% under 21 Years	Conjugal Condition per cent			Total	Total Numbers
				Never Married	Married ^a	Not Stated		
Denmark and Dependencies	Males	1891	2.7	44.8	55.0	0.2	100	1,276
		1901	1.3	40.0	59.4	0.7	100	1,150 ^b
	Females	1891	8.5	17.0	83.0		100	212
		1901	6.9	14.4	85.6		100	216 ^b
Sweden-Norway	Males	1891	2.6	58.1	41.7	0.2	100	3,237
		1901	2.8	49.1	50.6	0.3	100	3,010
	Females	1891	5.0	22.5	77.5		100	160
		1901	3.9	18.9	81.1		100	180
Total Scandinavia (excl. Finland)								
	Males	1891	2.6	54.3	45.5	0.2	100	4,513
		1901	2.4	46.5	53.1	0.4	100	4,160
	Females	1891	9.7	19.4	80.6		100	372
		1901	5.6	16.4	83.6		100	396

a Includes widowed, divorced and all others.

b Excludes 1 male and 1 female born in the Danish dominions.

per cent for Danish. The small number of Scandinavian-born under 21 years in New South Wales in 1891 and 1901 indicate either that the majority had arrived as adults or that there had not been any extensive migration recently. However as the decade preceding the Census of 1891 saw the heaviest Scandinavian immigration, the majority of the arrivals were apparently adult people, most women probably arriving as wives and fiancées.

In interpretation it must be borne in mind that the figures for New South Wales are not representative for all Australia.¹ In Western Australia, in 1901, almost two-thirds of the 1,401 Scandinavian males and a quarter of the 93 females were unmarried, the respective percentages in New South Wales being just under a half for males and 16 per cent for females. Also in Western Australia the Danes showed the strongest tendency to be married. In Queensland and Tasmania, especially among the Danes, the proportion of married people was obviously highest, as in 1891 there were only 17 Danish women per 100 males in New South Wales, but 57 in Queensland and 65 in Tasmania. The sex rate for the Swede-Norwegians was only 6 in New South Wales and 32 in Queensland and 7 in Tasmania.

Many of the married men apparently had wives outside Australia, in most cases in Scandinavia. From Table 7.5 it appears that 20 per cent of the Scandinavian married males in New South Wales in 1891 did not have their spouse at home at the night of the census, the respective proportion for the total of New South Wales being 15 per cent. As 13 per cent in 1891 and 17 per cent in 1901 of the married Scandinavian women in New South Wales had husbands away on census night, the figure for the total New South Wales being about 14 per cent in both censuses, this indicates that many husbands may have been temporarily away, e.g. as seamen. In Western Australia, in 1901, the proportion of wives away was higher; 37

1

In the first Federal Census of 1911 the proportions of those married were:

	Denmark-born		Sweden-born		Norway-born	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
New South Wales	67.5	83.2	57.7	82.2	51.9	83.1
Queensland	69.7	92.2	56.8	93.5	52.5	83.6
Tasmania	71.8	93.0	61.7	100.0	59.5	100.0

Table 7.4: Conjugal Conditions of Scandinavians, Censuses 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1966

Birthplace	Sex	Census	Conjugal Condition per cent				Total	Total Numbers
			Never Married		Married ^a	Not Stated		
			Under 15 years	Over 15 years				
Denmark	Males	1911	b	34.2	65.6	0.2	100	4,266 ^c
		1921	0.8	28.4	69.9	0.9	100	4,479
		1933	0.4	26.5	72.0	1.1	100	3,348
		1966	7.6	30.1	62.3		100	3,472
	Females	1911	b	11.1	88.9	0.1	100	1,397
		1921	3.2	8.3	88.4		100	1,523
		1933	1.8	9.5	88.2	0.5	100	1,136
		1966	13.3	15.4	71.3		100	1,929
Sweden	Males	1911	b	44.9	54.7	0.4	100	5,084
		1921	0.4	39.9	58.2	1.5	100	4,542
		1933	0.3	36.8	61.5	1.4	100	3,487
		1966	8.1	33.5	58.4		100	1,846
	Females	1911	b	12.7	87.3		100	502
		1921	3.7	8.5	87.4	0.4	100	483
		1933	1.9	10.8	87.3		100	408
		1966	22.5	17.7	59.8		100	712
Norway	Males	1911	b	50.1	49.6	0.3	100	3,038
		1921	0.3	44.3	54.2	1.2	100	2,613
		1933	0.7	41.2	56.5	1.6	100	2,337
		1966	4.8	31.7	63.5		100	2,429
	Females	1911	b	19.9	80.1		100	413
		1921	2.7	13.5	83.5	0.3	100	401
		1933	2.9	9.5	87.4	0.2	100	343
		1966	15.7	15.5	68.8		100	737

Table 7.4 continued.

Birthplace	Sex	Census	Conjugal Condition per cent				Total	Total Numbers
			Never Married		Married ^a	Not Stated		
			Under 15 years	Over 15 years				
Finland	Males	1921	1.1	52.2	44.7	2.0	100	1,277
		1933	1.3	53.8	42.8	2.1	100	1,607
		1966	15.7	30.7	53.7		100	3,423
	Females	1921	8.4	16.8	74.0	0.8	100	131
		1933	8.3	15.6	75.2	0.9	100	218
		1966	20.7	16.4	62.9		100	2,502
Total	Males	1911	b	42.5	57.2	0.3	100	12,388 ^d
		1921	0.5	38.0	60.2	1.3	100	12,861
		1933	0.6	37.1	60.9	1.4	100	10,777
		1966	9.5	31.2	59.3		100	11,170
	Females	1911	b	13.0	87.0		100	2,312
		1921	3.5	9.6	86.7	0.2	100	2,538
		1933	2.7	10.3	86.6	0.4	100	2,205
		1966	17.8	16.1	66.0		100	5,880

a Includes widowed, divorced and all others.

b Included in the group over 15 years.

c 10 born in Danish dominions excluded.

d Excludes Finns.

Note: Unfortunately conjugal condition was not analysed in conjunction with birthplace in the 1947 census.

per cent for all the Scandinavians (excluding Finns) and as much as 44 per cent for the Norwegians; 15 per cent of the Scandinavian women and husbands absent at the night of the census reminding us that the Scandinavian settlement in Western Australia was to a great extent a seaman community.

Table 7.4 gives the conjugal condition of the Scandinavians in the censuses of 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1966 for the whole of Australia. In 1911, on average, less than half of the Scandinavian males were unmarried; the Danes were well below average, only one-third, but the Norwegians above average with nearly one half. Almost all the Scandinavian women were married, notably Danish females. Finns were included with Russians, but the majority of them were single. By the year 1921 the proportion of never-married Scandinavians had diminished steadily; 60 per cent of the males and 87 per cent of the females being married. Danish men were now above average, being married, but the percentage for Finns was less than 45. Among the females there were no distinct differences between the four nationalities. The Census of 1933 did not show any marked changes except an increase of never-married Finnish males following their immigration in the 1920s.

Whom the Scandinavians Married

The next question concerns the mate selection of the Scandinavian-born populations.

The Censuses of New South Wales in 1891 and 1901 give some idea of Scandinavian marriage patterns in late colonial times, see Table 7.5. In 1891 on average, less than ten per cent were married to wives born in the same country but the proportion for Danes, nearly 16 per cent, was almost three times as high as that for the Swede-Norwegians (6 per cent). Very largely because of the sex imbalance, two-thirds of the women were married to fellow countrymen and 6.2 per cent to a husband born either in Denmark or Sweden-Norway, in the latter case most commonly Danish women to Swedish-Norwegians. Table 7.5 indicates a high rate of male intermarriage, especially among the Swedes and Norwegians, but it must be borne in mind that these figures represent only the cases when the husbands and wives were at home on the night of the census. Consequently,

Table 7.5: Birthplaces of Husbands and Wives of Scandinavians (excl. Finns) in New South Wales, Censuses 1891 and 1901, showing also the Proportions Spouse at Home or Away

Birthplace		Census	Birthplace of Spouse				Total ^a		Spouse at Home	Spouse Away	Total Numbers Married
			Same Country	British Countries	Other	Not Stated	%	No.			
<u>Denmark and Dependencies</u>	husbands	1891	15.7	81.1	3.0	0.2	100	530	81.8	18.2	648
		1901	13.6	81.6	4.4	0.4	100	501	83.5	16.5	600
	wives	1891	62.9	21.2	15.9		100	132	86.8	13.2	152
		1901	52.3	33.1	14.6		100	130	82.8	17.2	157
<u>Sweden-Norway</u>	husbands	1891	6.3	89.8	3.6	0.3	100	982	78.6	21.4	1,249
		1901	5.2	91.3	3.0	0.5	100	1,117	81.2	18.8	1,376
	wives	1891	67.4	21.7	10.9		100	92	86.8	16.9	106
		1901	56.3	30.1	13.6		100	103	83.1	16.9	124
<u>Total Scandinavia (excl. Finland)</u>	husbands	1891	9.6	86.8	2.3	0.3	100	1,512	79.7	20.3	1,897
		1901	7.8	88.3	3.4	0.5	100	1,618	81.9	18.1	1,976
	wives	1891	64.7	21.4	13.9		100	224	86.8	13.2	258
		1901	54.1	31.7	14.2		100	233	82.9	17.1	281

a Total = Spouse at Home.

as discussed earlier, spouses overseas or temporarily absent are excluded. What was said about the representativeness of these early New South Wales data, compared with the rest of Australia, holds also good here. However, it is safe to conclude indirectly that intragroup marriages were more common among the populations with more even sex distributions. Thus inmarriage was obviously higher in Queensland and Tasmania, especially among the Danes, than in New South Wales or the other colonies.

Although they present the matter from a different point of view, the annual statistics of marriages conducted in Australia constitute the soundest basis for an analysis of intra-group cohesion and of the mixing with the host society. Table 7.6 shows in five-year periods the mate selection of the Scandinavians married in Queensland in 1871-1900. It appears that in 1871-75, when the Scandinavian settlement was in the first stage, marriage within the same nationality or with another Scandinavian was a main feature. In the later quinquennials, partly because of the lack of continuous immigration from the Scandinavian countries, marriages with persons of British origin increased. The low percentage of marriages involving both a Scandinavian groom and bride was perhaps more a result of the unavailability of marriageable Scandinavian women than a tendency to marry non-Scandinavians. For this reason women had a considerably higher percentage of co-national marriages than the males. After British and Scandinavians, Germans were the next largest group involved in the marriages of the Scandinavians. The Norwegians experienced the highest out-marriages closely followed by the Swedes, but the Danes had most in-marriages apparently because of their more even sex distribution.

Table 7.7 shows the marriages of Scandinavians for Australia as a whole during 1907-40 when, apart from Finns, Scandinavian settlement was in a later stage. In the first period, 1907-10, 90 per cent of the married Scandinavian males married persons of British origin. The percentage was highest for the Finns, mainly because of the unavailability of co-national women, and lowest for the Danes. Unfortunately the separate recording of Finns was discontinued in 1911-1922. While between the world wars the Finns, because of more females

Table 7.6: Marriages of Scandinavians (excl. Finns) in Queensland, 1871-1900

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in											
		Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries		Total		Total Marriages	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Denmark	1871-75	16	10	58	57	14	12	13	21	100	100	197	200
	1876-80	41	20	36	56	7	11	16	13	100	100	204	130
	1881-85	57	19	24	54	5	13	13	14	99	100	266	119
	1886-90	55	37	29	48	3	4	13	11	100	100	218	132
	1891-95	73	48	19	31	5	4	4	15	100	98	154	93
	1896-1900	74	62	13	20	3	6	9	12	99	100	129	84
	Total	51	28	31	47	6	9	12	15	100	100	1,168	758
Sweden	1871-75	36	9	25	37	26	33	13	20	100	99	80	54
	1876-80	49	21	13	28	25	34	13	17	100	100	61	29
	1881-85	62	13	14	50	13	18	11	18	100	99	132	38
	1886-90	76	31	14	44	5	19	5	6	100	100	102	32
	1891-95	77	39	11	35	6	22	6	4	100	100	70	23
	1896-1900	79	33	4	20	9	27	9	20	100	100	82	15
	Total	64	21	14	38	13	26	9	15	100	100	527	191
Norway	1871-75	29	17	37	28	31	31	4	25	101	100	49	65
	1876-80	58	36	6	8	23	48	13	8	100	100	31	25
	1881-85	76	24	12	28	4	34	7	14	99	100	67	29
	1886-90	75	40	8	20	8	24	8	16	99	100	60	25
	1891-95	80	53	3	6	11	29	6	12	100	100	35	17
	1896-1900	77	60	10	20	3	13	10	7	100	100	30	15
	Total	66	31	14	21	13	31	8	16	100	100	272	176

Table 7.6 continued

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in										Total		Total Marriages	
		Australia, New Zealand Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries							
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
Total	1871-75	23	11	47	48	19	19	11	22	100	100	326	319		
	1876-80	45	22	28	45	12	20	15	13	100	100	296	184		
	1881-85	61	19	20	49	7	17	12	15	100	100	465	186		
	1886-90	64	37	22	43	4	9	10	11	100	100	380	189		
	1891-95	75	47	15	29	6	11	5	13	101	100	259	133		
	1896-1900	76	58	10	20	5	10	9	12	100	100	241	114		
	Grand Total	56	28	24	42	9	15	11	15	100	100	1,967	1,125		

Source: Annual tables in Appendix to Registrar-General's Report, V & P, Qld.

Note: Among the Danes spouses of five males and one female not stated or born at sea are included only in total.

Table 7.7: Marriages of Scandinavians in Australia, 1907-40

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in											
		Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries		Total		Total Marriages	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Denmark	1907-10	86	49	10	40	1	4	3	7	100	100	221	55
	1911-20	89	57	7	34	1	3	2	6	99	100	546	117
	1921-30	92	66	4	21		2	3	11	99	100	446	94
	1931-40	93	80	3	15	1	2	3	3	100	100	308	60
	Total	90	63	6	28	1	2	2	7	99	100	1,521	326
Sweden	1907-10	93	59	5	28	1	9	1	3	100	99	178	32
	1911-20	94	56	3	25		4	3	15	100	100	526	55
	1921-30	94	53	4	36	1	7	2	4	100	100	439	45
	1931-40	95	69	2	10	1	10	2	12	100	101	265	42
	Total	94	59	3	25	1	7	2	9	100	100	1,408	174
Norway	1907-10	91	72	3	17	2	6	4	6	100	101	116	18
	1911-20	95	69	2	16	1	6	1	8	99	99	332	49
	1921-30	95	62	3	24		5	1	10	99	101	321	42
	1931-40	95	62	3	27		4	2	8	100	101	235	26
	Total	95	66	3	21	1	5	2	8	101	100	1,004	135
Finland	1907-10	94	100					6		100	100	32	3
	1911-22	Not available											
	1923-30	83	23	12	73	1		4	4	100	100	156	26
	1931-40	83	35	11	49	1	4	5	12	100	100	214	49
	Total	84	33	11	55	1	3	4	9	100	100	402	78

Table 7.7 continued

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in											
		Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries		Total		Total Marriages	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	1907-10	90	57	6	31	1	6	3	6	100	100	547	108
	1911-20	92	60	4	28	1	4	2	9	99	101	1,404	221
	1921-30	92	57	5	31		3	2	8	99	99	1,362	207
	1931-40	92	62	4	25	1	5	3	8	100	100	1,022	177
	Grand Total	92	59	5	29	1	4	2	8	100	100	4,335	713

Source: Demography Bulletins.

Note: Year 1907 excludes South Australia and years 1907-23 exclude Western Australia. In 1909 a male from Iceland included in Denmark. Spouses of nine males, not stated or born at sea, are included only in total.

Table 7.8: Respective Birthplaces of Scandinavian Parents in Australia, 1907-40 (confinements by relative birthplace of father and mother)

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in								Total		Total Births (minus illegitimate)	
		Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries		Males	Females	Males	Females
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females				
Denmark (incl. Iceland)	1907-10	81.1	58.3	11.6	32.2	1.3	5.1	5.8	4.5	99.8	100.1	872	314
	1911-20	82.7	50.6	13.2	41.4	0.8	2.6	3.1	5.1	99.8	99.7	1,785	567
	1921-30	88.1	55.5	9.2	36.2	0.8	2.7	1.9	5.6	100.0	100.0	1,188	301
	1931-40	87.4	64.0	10.7	33.5	0.3	0.5	1.6	2.0	100.0	100.0	629	200
	Total	84.5	55.4	11.4	37.0	0.8	2.9	3.1	4.6	99.8	99.9	4,474	1,382
Sweden	1907-10	91.0	39.8	4.8	43.9	2.4	12.2	1.5	4.1	99.7	100.0	891	98
	1911-20	91.7	45.9	5.3	39.5	1.2	8.6	1.6	5.5	99.8	99.5	1,648	220
	1921-30	96.9	54.2	2.1	26.5	0.5	10.8	0.5	8.4	100.0	99.9	1,027	83
	1931-40	96.4	68.9	2.7	18.0	0.5	6.6	0.5	6.6	100.1	100.1	413	61
	Total	93.4	49.1	4.1	35.3	1.2	9.5	1.2	5.8	99.9	99.7	3,979	462
Norway	1907-10	89.3	57.3	7.8	31.8	1.8	9.1	0.6	1.8	99.5	100.0	450	110
	1911-20	89.9	65.8	7.8	27.8	0.8	3.4	1.2	3.0	99.7	100.0	952	266
	1921-30	93.5	68.4	4.8	27.9		2.9	1.7	0.7	100.0	99.9	784	136
	1931-40	93.3	56.9	4.9	37.9	0.2	1.7	1.6	3.4	100.0	99.9	451	58
	Total	91.5	63.9	6.4	29.6	0.6	4.2	1.3	2.3	99.8	100.0	2,637	570
Finland	1907-10	83.6	39.3	10.0	39.3	3.6	21.4	1.8		99.0	100.0	110	28
	1911-23	Not available											
	1924-30	82.6	32.9	14.5	60.5	1.9		0.9	6.6	99.9	100.0	317	76
	1931-40	77.9	25.4	17.9	63.2	0.5	0.9	3.0	10.5	99.3	100.0	403	114
	Total	80.5	29.8	15.5	59.2	1.4	3.2	2.0	7.8	99.4	100.0	830	218

Table 7.8 continued.

Country of Birth	Years	Per cent spouse born in										Total		Total Births (minus illegitimate)	
		Australia, New Zealand Great Britain		Same country		Other Scandinavian country		All other countries							
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females		
Total	1907-10	86.6	53.8	8.2	34.5	1.9	8.0	3.0	3.6	99.7	99.9	2,323	550		
	1911-20	87.7	53.5	9.0	37.6	1.0	4.1	2.1	4.7	99.8	99.9	4,385	1,053		
	1921-30	91.6	55.4	6.5	36.1	0.6	3.5	1.3	5.0	100.0	100.0	3,316	596		
	1931-40	88.8	53.6	9.1	39.7	0.4	1.6	1.6	5.1	99.9	100.0	1,896	433		
	Grand Total	88.7	54.0	8.2	37.0	1.0	4.4	2.0	4.6	99.9	100.0	11,920	2,632		

Source: Demography Bulletins.

Notes: Year 1907 excludes South Australia. Spouses of 20 males and 2 females, not stated or born at sea, too few for a separate column, are included only in total.

arriving, showed a considerable in-marriage the other Scandinavians had a slight increase of out-marriages.

Table 7.8 showing respective birthplaces of Scandinavian parents in Australia 1907-40 confirms the findings of marriage statistics that Finns and Danes had relatively more intra-group marriages than Swedes and Norwegians. A comparison with Table 7.7 reveals that fertility has generally followed the proportions of marriages in each group though there seems to have been a slight tendency for fertility to be higher in co-national marriages than in marriages with British-Australian-New Zealand-born partners.

The comparison between the four nationalities reveals that inter-marriage was most common among the Swedes and Norwegians. The larger proportion of co-national women in Australia explains much of the frequency of Danish in-marriages. But the fact that the Finns, with a sex distribution equal to that of the Swedes and Norwegians, experienced ten per cent less inter-marriages, has some bearing on their assimilation process.

Table 7.9: Nationalities of Wives of Scandinavians - Males - Naturalized before 1947

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Wife's Nationality per cent</u>				<u>Total Cases</u>
	<u>Same</u>	<u>Australian or British</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Danes	18.7	76.2	5.1	100	635
Swedes	11.3	84.8	3.9	100	494
Norwegians	11.8	85.3	2.9	100	457
Finns	29.1	68.0	2.9	100	344
Scandinavians	17.0	79.1	3.9	100	1,920

Source: Naturalization Records when information available.

In the naturalization records the information about nationality of wife confirms the picture based on the birthplace categories of the marriage statistics. Of naturalized Scandinavians the Swedes and Norwegians showed the greatest tendency to marry outside their own groups. Fitting with the findings in Table 7.7 it appears that the Finns had the highest proportion of marriages where both partners were of the same nationality; 29 per cent compared with 18.7 for the Danes, the next most in-married group.

Lyng noticed the extensive intermarriage of his Scandinavian countrymen - including himself - when he wrote:

The majority marry Australian, British, or Irish girls. The Scandinavian tongue is consequently shelved; the children grow up Australians, and the father's environment becoming more and more British, he gradually gets denationalised. The weakest, least enlightened, and least intelligent turn heart and soul British themselves, ever regretting their foreign birth.¹

He considered intermarriage a major cause of the failure of Scandinavian clubs and the trend for Scandinavian-born men to lose their national characteristics and interest.²

Summarizing, it seems that from the gold rush period to the end of the century the majority of the Scandinavian-born males remained unmarried. At the turn of the century the situation was probably half and half for the total group, and after that the number of married men increased, apparently because, with the exception of the Finns arriving in the 1920s, the majority of Scandinavian men had resided long enough to become acquainted with British-Australian girls. The proportion of married men was highest among the Danes, mainly due to a less uneven sex distribution, and lowest among the Norwegians and Finns.

The great majority of the Scandinavian women were married and there were no conspicuous differences between the four nationalities.

It also appeared that many Scandinavians, particularly the Norwegians and Swedes, had wives absent, presumably often in Scandinavia.

Very largely because of the uneven sex distribution, intermarriage was a dominant feature, notably intermarriage with British-Australians. The New South Wales Censuses in 1891 and 1901 revealed less than ten per cent of the Scandinavian males married to wives born in the same country, the proportion being considerably higher for the Danes than Swedes or Norwegians. Of women well over half were married to their countrymen.

1

Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australasia*, p.87.

2

Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien*, pp.14, 57, 186; and "Whom do the Scandinavians in Australia Marry?", *Norden*, 631, 19 February 1921, pp.1-2.

Table 7.10: Intermarriage Rates of Scandinavians

	<u>Queensland 1871-1900</u>		<u>Australia 1907-40</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Danes	.692	.525	.940	.721
Swedes	.863	.623	.969	.753
Norwegians	.864	.790	.972	.793
Finns	<u>Not available</u>		.893 ^a	.449 ^a
Scandinavians	<u>.762</u>	<u>.583</u>	<u>.953</u>	<u>.712</u>

a For Finns the years 1907-10 and 1923-40.

Source: Actual numbers as for Tables 7.6 and 7.7 using the formula

$$\frac{\text{total marriages} - \text{co-national marriages}}{\text{total marriages}}$$

Table 7.10, a summary of Scandinavian marriages in Australia as well as the Naturalization Records in Table 7.9, show the Norwegians having the highest rate of intermarriage. The Danes and Finns evidenced a strong tendency to marry their own countrymen, and this was considered to indicate (with a provision of sex distribution) their slower assimilation than that of the other Scandinavians.¹ On the whole the Scandinavians married extensively out of their own ethnic groups, and as Lyng's contemporary observations confirmed, this beared some evidence of their assimilation to the British-Australian society.

1

In his study of marriages in New York, 1908-12, Julius Drachsler found an intermarriage rate for men and women according to nationality to be as follows: the Danes 47/Norwegians 39/Swedes 31/and Finns 17 (per 100). Drachsler, pp.122-123, Table V. Although he included second and third generations, this study indicates a low intermarriage and consequently slow assimilation of Finns also in the United States.

Chapter VIII: CONCLUSION

"Such are the Scandinavians:...melting away into the British population like snow on Wellington hills..."

Lochore, p.18.

This study has attempted to outline Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia before World War II. Few have written on the subject and those who did did so many years ago, and very incompletely. There was thus a need to fill a gap in Australian research. Because of the small numbers of Scandinavians to arrive in Australia, and the dispersed nature of their settlement, source material is scarce and scrappy. The naturalization records, though containing many defects, proved much the most useful source of information, partly because the information they do contain is valuable and partly because they provide the only consistent set of records covering the whole long period from the 1830s to 1940. Other materials, both statistical and literary, have been used to supplement these.

In handling these materials a dual approach was used; that of demography and history. After statistical material, both published and unpublished, revealed the patterns of immigration and settlement, materials from other sources were used to complete and illustrate the story. This dual approach was found most useful; it is probably the best one for problems of this kind.

This study has covered a long interval of time. Because conditions changed considerably during this long interval the study has been divided into periods, the divisions being based partly on events in Australian history and partly on changes in the pattern of Scandinavian immigration: the pre-gold period, the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s, the main immigration (1870 to World War I), and the inter-war period. The differences in these epochs to a great extent explain many features, not only in the process of immigration but also in the patterns of settlement, and especially in the behaviour of ethnic societies and churches, which were often of primary importance to the Scandinavian settlers of the 1870s and 1880s when adjusting to a new environment and were very different from the many business type clubs of the 1920s and 1930s which evolved when most Scandinavians were in a later stage of assimilation.

Many conclusions have been set out in preceding pages, alongside the material from which they were derived. This concluding chapter, therefore, will simply review the main themes running through the whole story, though occasionally bringing in new material and suggestions.

Immigration

The first feature in the story is the small number of Scandinavians coming to Australia compared with the large-scale Scandinavian emigration to America. This small number was an effect of geographic remoteness at a time when transportation was relatively undeveloped. Marcus Lee Hansen stated this, referring to Germans, as follows:

Australia...quickly revealed its disadvantages. It was too remote from Europe, too primitive a region and too expensive to reach. By contrast, those who sought the United States prospered, soon developing flourishing communities...¹

Even with emigration to America, at any rate until the 1860s when Scandinavians began to travel by English and German lines, "the earlier emigration called for either profound ignorance of conditions or genuine courage on the part of the emigrant".² This was especially relevant with the much longer voyage to Australia, especially as the loss of time was an important element for persons dependent upon their own earnings. When the journey to Australia could take six months or more the poor were compelled either to remain at home, travel as seamen, or to obtain assisted passages. The long distance also reduced the scope of effective chain-migration, which was a major feature of Scandinavian emigration to America.

Though far-away, the Australian colonies early attracted to their shores some adventurous spirits from the Scandinavian countries, a Dane, Jorgen Jorgenson, being the most famous. Then the gold rushes of the eighteen fifties and sixties saw the first inflow of Scandinavians, in search of precious metals. The main immigration of Scandinavians, however, took place in the 1870s and 1880s and, after the Australian-wide depression of the nineties, again in the decade preceding World War I. It started with the Queensland (and New Zealand) assisted passage schemes, and with the Tasmanian land offer in the early seventies. It is interesting to note that this was a period of economic depression in the United States; consequently in Denmark 16 per cent of the emigration in 1871-75 and six per cent in the latter half of the seventies was

¹ Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, p.138.

² Lindberg, p.17.

destined for Oceania,¹ to drop then to insignificant proportions when the exodus to the United States restarted in the next decade. Though it seems safe to assume that the more emigrants there were leaving Scandinavia the more there were coming to Australia, it is also clear that Australia was a minor alternative to the United States, notably when the drawback of long and expensive voyages was overcome by assisted passages.

The Tasmanian land offer attracted only a handful of Danes, but assisted passages brought thousands of Scandinavians to Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s, many of them later to move to other colonies. Most of the assisted Scandinavians were Danes while many Swedes, Norwegians and Finns came as seamen to settle in New South Wales, Victoria and other colonies.

After 1890 these Australian 'pull' factors - assisted passages and good opportunities for seamen and labourers - weakened considerably because of an economic depression resulting in a conspicuous drop in arrivals; except to Western Australia where the new gold discoveries attracted some Scandinavians, many of them from the eastern colonies. In the twentieth century, the main features of Scandinavian immigration were a minor peak at the turn of the century (largely due to short-term assisted passages to Queensland), relatively voluminous immigration in the years preceding World War I, and diminishing immigration in the 1920s and 1930s, with the exception of Finns, to whom Australia was a second choice after the United States Quota Laws of the 1920s. After World War II the large scale assisted passage schemes, now extended to all northern Europeans (effective since 1956), gave a new impetus to Scandinavian immigration, notably from Finland.

In broad historical perspective, a major thesis of this study is that Scandinavian participation in migration movements can be largely explained by the fairly steady economic 'push', particularly that felt by the landless peasant, and the characteristic detachment from home and surroundings of seafaring populations. However, this emigration found its outlet mainly in North America, and Scandinavian migration to Australia arose mainly from the emergence of some special impulse: adventure, lure of gold, assisted passages offered by the Australian authorities to overcome the disadvantages of long distance, economic opportunities, especially good wages for seamen, etc. Without these 'pull' components turning people this way, Australia would

1

Willcox, I, pp.241-250, Table 11.

have attracted few Scandinavians in view of the greater and more accessible opportunities waiting for them nearer in America.

Settlement

Scandinavian settlement in Australia can best be called infiltration settlement, that is, a process in which individuals or families find a place for themselves in some new country, as distinct from organized group settlement, whereby "people with more or less similar objectives migrate from one geographic location to another for the purpose of establishing permanent residence".¹ The few ethnic concentrations of Scandinavians in Australia resulted from infiltration. Speaking generally, Scandinavians were dispersed all over the country, and only Danes and Finns had any substantive group settlements. There is no evidence of purely Norwegian clusters, and the only Swedish one known gathered around C.A. Nobelius at Emerald, Victoria, where by the early 1920s a dozen Swedish families had settled. In the United States ethnic concentrations among Swedes were very common,² but their numbers were much larger.

Considering the types of ethnic communities, only one attempt of organized group settlement of religious or political refugees has been found; the Finnish utopian settlement venture in Queensland at the turn of the century. Most Scandinavian colonies in Australia have been gravitation settlements³ where immigrants arriving independently are later attracted together into groups; the seamen communities in the

1

Joseph Winfield Fretz, Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay, North Newton, Kansas 1962, p.23. Isaac, p.151 emphasized that the organized settlement of whole groups of immigrants usually based on agricultural production, often concerning with the opening of hitherto uncultivated land.

2

Lindberg, pp.21-23; and Stephenson, pp.406-407.

3

This concept means a phenomenon of regional attraction outside chain processes, for example, Scandinavians in the United States attracted to Chicago. While among Scandinavians, being few in numbers, gravitation settlement was a major feature, among southern Europeans gravitation processes were much less important than chain forces. Price, Southern Europeans, p.233.

metropolis, and many farming settlements, were illustrations of this. These nuclei, like those of organized groups settlements, might then start migration chains, as with the Finns in northern Queensland; the final result may be called chain settlements. Scandinavian concentrations in Australia were generally small, chain-migration did not bring much new blood, and the settlers, especially the second generation, became absorbed into Australian society relatively quickly. However, field work confirmed the existence in Queensland of the remnants of once flourishing Finnish communities.

When following up the processes of gravitation settlement we note that economic and residential adjustment included extensive internal movements, particularly in periods of unemployment or when conditions otherwise were tough and better opportunities were offering elsewhere. Examples of this are the rush to Western Australia during the depression of the eastern colonies in the 1890s, and the movement of Finns from sugar cane growing areas to Mount Isa in the 1930s.

Occupations

In occupational adjustment a low status background and the immigrants' previous experiences to a great extent explain absorption into the British-Australian economic system. As appears from Chart V, Appendix I, the naturalized Scandinavian belongs to the lower social strata; the maritime occupations, general labouring, farming, and skilled craftsmanship covered almost three-quarters of all the listed occupations. Miners and semi-skilled workers made up another 10 per cent leaving very few in other occupations. On the other hand it is understandable that first generation Scandinavians with low status backgrounds could not be numerous in the professional and higher business occupations.

In managerial, industrial, and commercial pursuits Scandinavians were not numerous, though this group also includes contractors who often were no more than carpenters working on their own account. Similarly, few were in catering and retail occupations, especially when compared

with southern Europeans.¹ The small number of Scandinavians in business suggests that they were either uninterested or lacking in capital, or not gifted commercially; one hesitates to go quite as far as one historian when he said that Scandinavians are slow in conception, robust in conscience, and clumsy in commercial intercourse.² In catering and retailing most Scandinavians were independent entrepreneurs. Only a few of them were in the public service (including the police and armed forces) or in personnel service. Perhaps these callings were not profitable enough or/and our people found it difficult to settle in these pursuits, though the real explanation may be that Scandinavians were not attracted to the trades like catering where they did not have much previous experience.

In agriculture the two major groups were independent farmers and farm labourers. The high percentage of farmers before 1904 (15.4 per cent) was due to the Queensland settlers, many of whom had followed their old calling. Only a handful of Scandinavian graziers were found. Much of the good pastoral land was already occupied, and as successful grazing required some previous experience, together with considerable capital to buy and maintain a property, it is no wonder that so few Scandinavians took up this occupation. For the same reason the proportions of independent farmers decreased, and that of farm labourers increased after World War I when land for farming became less easily obtainable than in the previous decades.

Various kinds of Scandinavian craftsmen, although never very numerous, could be found in the communities, particularly in the colonial times. An interesting feature here is that more than a half of these skilled workers were carpenters or builders, reminding us that carpentering was traditionally a fairly profitable trade in Scandinavia and followed the migrant to Australia, perhaps by the way of ship carpenters. But generally America offered far greater possibilities for

1

Between 1904-46 29.2 per cent of the naturalized southern Europeans were found in catering and only few per cents as seamen and fishermen. Price, Southern Europeans, p.145, Table X. The proportions were roughly opposite among the Scandinavians.

2

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.57.

a well trained tradesman than Australia, and without assisted passages very few of them came.¹

Some 20 per cent of the Scandinavians were found in unskilled labouring. Their small proportion in colonial times was due to numerous farming populations and craftsmen, many of whom were attracted to Queensland by free passages. For this same reason the seafaring group was smallest before 1904. A noticeable feature of this period was the large number of master mariners and officers, a phenomenon similar to the frequency of carpenters among the craftsmen. Many of the sea captains, in command of ships ranging from small sailing vessels to big steamers, had probably found it hard to make a living in their home waters. Another feature was the large number of wharf labourers and shipwrights in all three periods, indicating that many Scandinavian seamen settled near their beloved sea. Although difficult to document exactly, it also appears that a big proportion of general and farm labourers, miners, etc. were former sailors, as often mentioned in the applications for naturalization.

Relatively few Scandinavians applying for naturalization were out of work as inmates of hospitals, invalids, or even gentlemen of leisure; that is after retired persons have been classified to their original working groups.

To sum up the findings in the occupational distribution it appears that the Scandinavian migrants, bearing in mind their low status backgrounds, improved their economic position by migration, although according to the Australian standards they belonged to the lower social strata. Restricted to a narrow range of previous experience they followed a fairly narrow range of occupations. The Danes had the highest occupational status and the Finns the lowest. While the Danes often preferred farming the other three nationalities had maritime occupations in a similar prominent position. These differences were explained by (1) the Scandinavian backgrounds and (2) by the type of migration. It appeared that migrants from coastal seafaring areas, often originating from seaport towns, engaged in Australia in mainly sea-

¹

Ibid., pp.59-61.

related occupations or became labourers; from the best agricultural regions a higher proportion was found in farming. Another major factor was the importance of assisted passages, particularly attracting Danish farmers and craftsmen to Queensland, and consequently the colonial Scandinavians were found in a higher occupational status than after the turn of the century when no free passages were available.

A few contemporary sources about the socio-economic status of the Scandinavians confirm the picture revealed by the naturalization records. Lyng also noticed that Scandinavians belonged to the lower economic groups; he did not know any Scandinavian millionaires and only very few could be said to be rich. Many Swedish and Norwegian seamen indeed lived from hand to mouth; though few if any had to fall back on public funds while alive, they seldom accumulated money, and often had to be buried at the public expense. He also saw many seamen settling on the land or in mining, or even becoming fishermen on the Australian coast. Describing the life of Scandinavian seamen he did not fail to moralise about their improvident habits although he said he could understand them.¹

Lyng concentrated mainly on prominent Scandinavians, describing their economic achievements. His sources were not comprehensive enough for any general analysis. Using a not very scientific approach, he estimated the number of the Scandinavian farmers in Australia to be some 6,000 in the beginning of the century, assuming that also in Australia some 25 per cent would be farmers as found in the United States. He reckoned the average size of their holdings as 50 acres.²

It is not known where Lyng received his figures for the United States. In the period from 1870 to 1890, one out of every four Scandinavians in the United States was engaged in farming, a percentage higher than that for Americans or Germans.³ According to the Census of 1890 in the United States more Norwegians and Swedes were in agriculture

¹ Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien*, pp.57-62.

² Lyng, *Scandinavians in Australasia*, pp.40-41.

³ Wittke, p.265.

than any other of the foreign born, and also the Danes were more agricultural than the foreign born as a whole.¹ According to a history of the Norwegians it appears that this nationality in 1900 in the United States was more in farming than Danes or Swedes.² The fact that a larger proportion of the Scandinavians in the United States engaged in farming than in Australia is explained by remembering that the migrant particularly interested in the land went to the United States, where he knew land was available, and often went to Scandinavian communities where relatives and friends had preceded him; in Australia many a Scandinavian farmer more or less ended in this occupation after trying first some other walks of life.

Also in the United States in 1880 the Scandinavians were found to be the leading group among the sailors and in smallest proportion among traders, dealers - as well as in the professions. They tended to avoid the manufacturing and heavy industries and were in highest proportion in the various non-urban industries such as mining, quarrying, seafaring and related occupations, and in a few handicrafts.³ Thus though many similarities were found between Scandinavians in Australia and Scandinavians in the United States, the principal difference was that where a Scandinavian farmer was found in the United States there proportionally stood a Scandinavian seaman in Australia.

Contribution to Australia

What was the importance of Scandinavian immigration to the development of Australia? The numbers of Scandinavians settling in Australia have been too small to have much influence on economic development - except in a few fields. The most valuable, perhaps, has been that of Scandinavian seamen, many of whom manned the ships and wharves of a rapidly developing Australia from the very beginning of

1

E.P. Hutchinson, Immigrants and their Children, New York 1956, pp.135-136.

2

Knut Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People, Norwood, Mass. 1927, pp.605-606.

3

Hutchinson, p.116.

European occupation. Farming was another field of Scandinavian concentration. Here their contribution was most notable in the development of the sugar industry when immigrants settled on the sugar growing areas of Queensland and Sir Edward Knox founded the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Scandinavians were also pioneers of modernizing and developing Australia's dairying industry, Swedes selling their 'Alfa Laval's' (dairy machines) and Danes being dairy experts in the Australian butter industry or in co-operative enterprises.¹ Also in fruit-growing some Scandinavians were pioneers like C.A. Nobelius in Victoria and Tasmania and Joseph Johnson in Western Australia; also many Scandinavians settled in the Mildura fruit and grape growing district. Among miners Scandinavians were outstanding from the period of the Victorian gold rushes in the 1850s. They were found in all major mining centres - Broken Hill, Mt Lyell, on the gold fields and in the mines of Western Australia, etc. In the later period Mt Isa was especially favoured by Finns; their importance to the mining industry there is revealed by an episode during World War II when a train was made ready to carry the Finns away to an internment camp but the management of the mines announced that if the Finns were taken away the mine would stop immediately. The Finns stayed in Mt Isa.² In other fields, the contribution of Scandinavians - with the possible exception of carpenters - has been less conspicuous.

Societies

After revealing the patterns of immigration and settlement an attempt was made to trace the social adjustment of Scandinavian settlers in their new environment, mainly from the angle of ethnic institutions. The records of Scandinavian-Australian societies and churches - most of them mere flights-by-night - were found to be very scrappy; often it has been difficult to say more than a few words about them. A good deal of descriptive material was originally collected by Lyng; his work, a few

¹ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, pp.41-44.

² Information from the Finnish miners and managers of the Mt Isa Mines during field work.

other sources, and interviews with some 'elder' Scandinavians still alive, served as the basis from which conclusions have been drawn. Lyng was in a good position to obtain reliable information, since during the nineties he was active in Scandinavian ethnic life in Melbourne and in 1896 became for ten years the first editor of the Norden, in which position he received ample information about social and cultural pursuits of the Scandinavians all over Australia.

It has been assumed that ethnic institutions - though useful for recently arrived immigrants - can hold back the process of assimilation. To many Australians before World War II (even later) this was bad, interfering with the rapid assimilation they thought desirable and proper. This opinion was clearly expressed in an official report in 1925 as follows:

The encouragement of foreign clubs in a British community is not desirable. Such organizations assist in promoting...an undigested mass of alien thought, alien sympathy, and alien purpose. They encourage the migrants to retain the customs, speech, and traditions of a foreign land.¹

This report by Thomas Arthur Ferry, Commissioner appointed in 1925 to inquire into the effects of alien immigration into Queensland, is somewhat one-sided as the Commissioner preferred evidence which fitted in better with his own impressions, notably a strong distaste for southern Europeans;² it nevertheless reflects the state of public opinion in Australia in the twenties.

This dissertation has concentrated on Scandinavian societies with only occasional reference to Scandinavians in British-Australian social life. Some stepped quickly and easily into this, a few even becoming members of State Parliaments, city councillors, and occupants of many mayoral chairs.³ The major conclusions emerging from this section will be set out at the end of this section, in conjunction with similar conclusions derived from a survey of Scandinavian churches and newspapers. At this point we need make a few comments only.

¹

The Ferry Report, p.52.

²

See Price, Southern Europeans, pp.53, 204-206.

³

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.78.

National sentiments, loneliness, and insecurity in a foreign country drove Scandinavians together in their leisure time.

The feeling of being a stranger in a strange land, and the often painful process of adapting oneself to a new environment made them grow fonder of the land they had left and the people of which they once formed part.

So they formed societies, as an antidote against homesickness, and provided for places where to meet. There they could display their national colours, speak their own language, provide newspapers and books from home, foregather on days important in the history of their race and praise it in song and speech....To put it briefly, they (societies) could stimulate the confidence in themselves which is so necessary to success in life.¹

The roots of Scandinavian societies were fortuitous gatherings in a hotel, or a shop, where the hotelkeeper or the merchant was a Scandinavian, and where news from home could best be heard. From these meetings, becoming more and more regular, stemmed Scandinavian societies and clubs, many of which were originally formed as mutual benefit societies to protect members in times of illness.

Beginning with the first known society at Ballarat in 1857, there have been numerous Scandinavian societies, most of which were social clubs. Partly because of this social club origin attempts to found temperance societies proved unsuccessful. Most of the Scandinavian societies had a short span of life; the breaking up of a society and the starting of a new one was quite a common occurrence. In only a few cases did a society own its premises; usually either one room or two were hired, or the meetings were held in hotels. The membership of the societies were never high; they mainly attracted the well established permanent residents while the great majority was often kept outside the doors.

The main objects were to provide members with recreation and to keep up something of the old culture and traditions. The maintaining of the Scandinavian tongues, as such, did not appear to be the main object. This transpires from the rules of the Danish Dannebrog club, Melbourne, though representing the last stage of transition into an Australian-type

1

Lyng, "Scandinavians in Australia", Norden, 983, 20 April 1935, pp.1-2; and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.52.

of club, as follows: "...to preserve the Danish language in order that new Danish members may more readily be initiated into the laws and customs and language of the Australian people".

Compared with the societies of other foreign-born nationalities the Scandinavian ones were small and modest, "anything but clannish compared with Irish, Scotch or even German clubs".¹ It appeared also that the Scandinavians in New Zealand, though possessing stronger group settlements, did not have much better society activities,² but in the United States the story was different because of bigger Scandinavian populations and better contacts with home countries.

Churches

This study has asserted in the light of experience elsewhere that - like the societies - ethnic churches have been central institutions of migrant communities representing a cohesive force preserving the old language and other old country customs; or, as an American scholar put it: "The church - in the broad sense of the term - may easily be placed first among the agencies that have contributed to give the Swedish people in the United States some measure of unity".³ Religious allegiance often holds an immigrant group together and provides a powerful emotional and institutional force keeping it from becoming completely disorganized.⁴ Migration is generally a tension-creating situation while religion has an important tension-resolving quality,⁵ making life easier for the first generation. But it can also make things more difficult for the second and third generations, especially if the younger generation understood no language but English. Thus the church has a dual role; in terms of language, culture and community it

1

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.88.

2

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.186-187.

3

Stephenson, p.v.

4

Elliot and Merrill, p.591.

5

J.J. Mol, "Theoretical Frame of Reference for the International Patterns of Religion and the Adjustment of Immigrants", R.E.M.P. Bulletin, 7, 2, April-June 1959, p.23.

integrates the ethnic group; in terms of conflict between the generations it separates.

Before going into conclusions of Scandinavian churches in Australia it is necessary briefly to outline the religious background of the immigrants of the nineteenth century. In the Scandinavian countries Lutheranism, as the State Church, was the established creed. The national church was a central institution of the society and there were only a small percentage of dissenters, though the first half of the nineteenth century experienced some religious awakenings and an increase of dissenting movements. In the early stage of Scandinavian emigration, religious intolerance was a cause of emigration, but as far as Australia is concerned, except for a few individual cases like that of Peter Wideman in the 1850s, or some Danes from Schleswig-Holstein who, after the German occupation, became involved in the split in the German Lutheran Church (notably a sect 'Die Alte Lutheranen', many of whom emigrated overseas), no Scandinavian immigration for religious reasons took place. As almost all Scandinavians were Lutherans, transplanted Scandinavian churches in Australia were also Lutheran.

In Australia it appeared that only in Melbourne and in Queensland did the Scandinavians have any considerable ethnic religious life. The failure of the Scandinavian churches can much be attributed to the small number of migrants and to the dispersed settlement. In terms of nationality it seems that in Melbourne the Norwegians and Swedes had the most religious activities while in Queensland the Danes dominated completely. The nationality of the pastor was obviously of great importance, in Melbourne, for example, the first ministers were Norwegians and the church was very much a Norwegian one. Then a Swedish pastor took over and the change was conspicuous. Thus in church life - as in society activities - the dissension between the nationalities could be seen. Neither was the tension reserved to locals; it has been recorded that in the 1880s Swedish captains did not generally encourage their crews to attend Norwegian services in Melbourne.¹

1

A.T. Schreuder, "Australien; Kirkehistoriske meddelelser fra Melbourne" (Australia; Church historical notes from Melbourne), Normands-Forbundet, 1923, p.396.

Compared with the United States or even with New Zealand the Scandinavian Church in Australia was not much more than an attempt. The principal reason for church life failing in Australia but to a great extent succeeding in New Zealand, may be that in the latter country the Scandinavians lived much closer, having stronger group settlements; also they were probably better able to give a clergyman a chance of making a living.¹ Also there appears to be a difference between the Scandinavians in metropolitan and rural areas: the congregations did not succeed in Sydney, Melbourne, or Brisbane, where Scandinavians were more inclined to materialism and rational philosophy, while people in the bush and small townships were more conservative and religious.² A general process of secularization was noted among Scandinavians in Queensland:

Here and there the Scandinavians have joined the Lutheran congregations which now use the English language, but the greater number have lost their connections with the Lutheran Church from which they have sprung. Some have been absorbed by other nominations, but many of them have joined the throng of the unchurched and the indifferent in this State.³

Only a small proportion of the Scandinavians in Australia kept in touch with the Church. For example, in Melbourne in the 1920s, of the estimated 600 or so Swedes in Melbourne only some 60 belonged to the congregation.⁴ Lyng's explanation was that the pastors generally forced a too strict a religious line, neglected nationalist sentiments, and thus became leaders of only a small group.⁵

As in the field of associations, the influence of the environment resulted in Australianization. The use of the English language gradually increased, though not as quickly as in the United States where English

¹

Lyng, Skandinaverne i Australien, pp.211-215; and Scandinavians in Australasia, p.98.

²

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.94.

³

Theile, p.31.

⁴

Saxon, p.279. According to the Census of 1933 the number of Swedes in metropolitan Melbourne was 420 males and 70 females.

⁵

Lyng, Skandinaverne in Australien, pp.210-211.

replaced the Scandinavian tongues in a few decades.¹ Also in Australia English was the first language of the younger generations; nevertheless in Melbourne Swedish was taught by the pastor, which indicates that an ethnic church could be a factor in a cultural persistence.

Informal Social Life

It must not be forgotten that ethnic societies and churches - though important - were often secondary fields of social activities. The primary fields were informal social activities such as home-visiting, parties, picnics, or gatherings in the pub; these had no formal structure or institution behind them but occupied more of the migrants' time and attention than did formal activities and, where frequent and demanding, had much more influence on the process of assimilation. But it so happens that those ethnic institutions have left more documents to posterity than have the informal activities of farmer, labourer, seamen and others. Therefore, the historian runs the continuous danger of relying too much on these sources and of reconstructing a distorted picture of the past. I wish that I could have written as much of the every day living of Scandinavian immigrants as of their societies and churches. Though based on poor source material - even the naturalization records are virtually useless - some idea, however, emerges from previous chapters.

Next to nothing is known about leisure time activities of the Scandinavians in Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Tasmania, Jorgen Jorgenson, the ex-king of Iceland, used to sit at the tap in pubs. Similarly, local hotels were favourite places of the Scandinavians on the Victorian goldfields after the middle of the nineteenth century. When the larger wave of Scandinavians started to arrive in the early 1870s the first meeting places were pubs owned by Scandinavians or Germans, as in Brisbane in 1871. But often settlers gathered in private homes to meet countrymen, to hold family celebrations, religious and other meetings.

1

See Stephenson, the chapter "The Problem of Language", pp.458-476, about the change among the Swedes in the United States.

This was especially true in the Finnish settlement at Nambour after the turn of the century, as recollected by Mrs Hirmukallio. Later in the twenties Finns living in compact communities at Cairns, Tully, and Ingham, etc. used to gather in a farm or lodging house owned by a Finn, visited neighbouring Finnish colonies, and were especially keen in athletics, in which sport Finland was the leading country of the world.

Unfortunately very little is known about the life of Scandinavian seamen, wharf-labourers and other labourers or tradesmen in metropolitan area.¹ Neither do the naturalization records provide any information; though they indicate that many Scandinavians lived in compact communities, often in boarding-houses. Nor do contemporary authors describe them. However, much of their way of life can easily be imagined, and Lyng's observations reveal that some lived from hand to mouth and finally had to be buried at public expense.² Scandinavian societies proved unsuccessful where seamen were the main settlers, as at Port Adelaide and Fremantle where Scandinavian seamen preferred pub to club. In metropolitan areas there were actually two Scandinavian communities: that of businessmen, tradesmen and other settled people, who were often active in ethnic social life, and that of Scandinavians of lower social status, often working at the port or in related occupations. These two elements had a very different way of life. The conditions of these seamen led to the establishment of Scandinavian Seamen's missions in Australian ports. These, however, had a limited success in preventing Scandinavian sub-society becoming exposed to surrounding Australian influences - good and bad - and infiltrating quickly into the Australian population.

The Press

The establishment and persistence of a foreign-language press has also been regarded as an indication of the degree of assimilation of the

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Some general idea can be derived from the work of E.C. Fry, "The Conditions of the Urban Wage Earning Class in Australia in the 1880s", Ph.D. Thesis, The Australian National University, June 1956.

2

Lyng, *Skandinaverne i Australien*, pp.57-59, 61.

foreign-born.¹

The Scandinavian press in Australia goes back as far as the year 1857 when a Swedish compositor, Corfitz Cronqvist, founded a paper called the Norden in Melbourne but moved it soon afterwards to Ballarat where Scandinavians were most numerous. After a few months the paper succumbed and no copies have survived. After that several Scandinavian-Australian papers were launched, many of them religious and short-term. The most notable of these, apart from the Finnish papers, was the Norden, produced in Melbourne from 1896 to 1940.

The Finnish press in Australia goes back to the early years of the century when at the Nambour group settlement near Brisbane a Finnish society had a handwritten paper. Since 1926 the Finnish Seamen's Mission undertook to publish a paper, the Suomi, which became a lasting bond for Finns in Australia. During World War II it was discontinued but was started again in 1950 having at present a circulation of over 2,000 copies.

Looking at the whole story it appears that the Scandinavian press in Australia was weak; only the Norden and the Suomi survived for relatively long periods. Scattered settlement, long distances and religious bigotry raised heavy odds against the papers. However, the major reason of their failure was that the migrants quickly became assimilated and there were not enough new arrivals to fill the gaps.

The Suomi is too young to provide any reliable long-term observations, but from the pages of the Norden the process of assimilation can be clearly seen. The paper was started off in the three Scandinavian languages. Soon many Scandinavians began to complain that it was easier for them to read in English, and wives of Scandinavians wanted to have an English page.² Already, before World War I, the English material increased, first in the letters to the Editor and then

¹

The circulation of Chinese newspapers was found approximately the same as the Chinese population of the United States. Of European groups the Lithuanians, Polish and Czechs had the highest proportionate circulation rates. Lavell and Staff, p.27.

²

"Fru Vor egen Midte" (Among Ourselves), Norden, 334, 1 May 1909, pp.8-9.

in articles; Lyng himself wrote almost all his later articles in English. The languages of the Norden: Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and English, would provide an interesting topic for a further research using quantitative and qualitative analysis.

To sum up the matter of assimilation it appears that in the early stages of integration the ethnic press can effectively promote adjustment by simply reporting economic opportunities and advising their readers. But in the long-run ethnic papers reinforce cultural persistence. The reason why the Scandinavian press failed to do this is that the Norden did not reach the majority of the migrants and was itself under pressure of Australianization. The Suomi remained more valuable for the Finns, probably because of their difficulties in adopting English and their generally slower integration; consequently it became a force in the maintenance of their national identification.

Language Retention

The degree to which immigrant groups have discarded their native tongue has also been regarded as a significant index of assimilation.¹

Before going into the habits of using languages, it is appropriate to consider the educational and cultural background of the migrants. Generally emigrants were humble folk who brought with them little of the culture of their native land.² In a letter referring to a statement that so many Danes were using English in their correspondence with the Norden, a migrant recalled the Scandinavian background as follows:

Almost all the emigrants from the northern countries are young and poor, their schooltime was short and the education they received as children was slight. Everyone of these emigrants could read but a few write a letter. Everyone of them also knew the little Kathecismus of Lutherus and many of them had knowledge of the old and new Testament, but only few knew something about the history of Denmark or had any general education.³

1

Lavell and Staff, p.27.

2

Stephenson, p.430.

3

Anders P. Christensen, a letter from Daylesford, March 1914, Norden, 457, 21 March 1914, p.14.

The lack of strong patriotism was also probably a reason for the rapid change in the languages. Another reason was the similarity between English and the Scandinavian tongues, with the exception of Finnish, making it easy to adopt the new language. Lyng observed that after a couple of months in Australia a Scandinavian knew English sufficiently to take care of himself and soon the young Scandinavian mastered English to read the daily paper, cheap novels and later heavy reading.¹ Obviously the English of the Scandinavian was not very good, though sufficient enough. A Swedish singer (Per Johnson) has related how he met an Australian pastor who asked him to sing in some church concerts, but then had to improve the English he (Johnson) had learnt among his countrymen in Australia; this was quite unsuitable for church concerts and club gatherings, not just because of its incorrect grammar but because in Australia swear words were in more common use than in the homeland.²

In literary sources there are occasional references to the languages of the Scandinavians in Australia. One author, from the gold rush period, met Scandinavians who had forgotten their native tongue and once talked for a day to a Dane without both realising they were Danes.³ A Norwegian scientist at the Herbert River, Queensland, in 1882 met a Norwegian farmer couple who had arrived some ten years before but had almost forgotten their native tongue.⁴

A Swedish visitor to Western Australia in the 1920s met numerous Swedes, but did not have much opportunity to speak a word of Swedish, as he found it quite discouraging to address a countryman in Swedish and get a reply in English. On occasions he even found that Swedes had completely forgotten to read, speak, or understand their mother tongue.

¹ Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, pp.85-86, 94.

² Johnson, p.121.

³ Bob, Fra Australien, p.25.

⁴ Lumholtz, pp.68, 70. Robert Scott Anderssen, a great grandson, working at the Australian National University, told on 23 July 1971 that though they lived in Norway for many years before leaving for Australia, they originally came from Sweden.

It was incredible, he noted, but true, that some Swedes could not read Swedish newspaper cutting of five lines without the help of the Consulate. Naturally he met also some opposite cases of patriotic Swedes. He observed that the Swedes lived isolated from each other, and when occasionally meeting they spoke in English to each other. He suggested that this was a reason why Swedes were so favoured as migrants and emphasized how differently things were among the Germans who were freely using their mother tongue even after the war.¹

It is no wonder that isolated individual Scandinavians lost their native tongue. Even in the strongest Scandinavian farming settlement, at East Poowong, Victoria, founded in 1878, English was already prominent in the 1890s. When Lyng visited there in 1895 he noticed that among some 70 persons Danish was used only as a curiosity, and the Divine Service was conducted in English. This made Lyng wonder why the Scandinavians so quickly gave up their national features, especially compared with Germans. Apparently, he thought Scandinavians did not like using their native language in towns, where it might arouse attention, and he came to the conclusion that the reason might be the power of the German Empire.² H.L. Nielsen, the editor of the Kirketidende, too, was worried about the fate of the Danish language, when English became the language used in Divine Services and Sunday Schools, and asked: "What English had to do with the Scandinavian Church? Why there were no Scandinavian-language Sunday Schools?". He too compared how different the situation was among the Germans.³

Adopting the English language was not as easy for the Finns, whose Finno-Ugrian mother tongue differed widely from Germanic languages. This was also a major reason why the Finns tended to concentrate in group settlements. On the sugar cane fields of northern Queensland the newly

1

Hj. Bn. (Hjalmar Bengtson), "Bland Vastaustraliens svenskar" (Among the Swedes in Western Australia), Norden, 755, 28 November 1925, pp.6-7. The article was originally published in a Swedish journal.

2

Lyng, Emigrantnoveller, pp.98, 104-105.

3

Kirketidende, 21, March 1900, pp.237-238.

arrived Finn could have a good start by working for a Finnish farmer; neither has there been in the mines of Mt Isa a real need to learn English as many of the foremen there have been Finns. The Finnish Consulate and Seamen's Mission were selling English grammars and readers. When ordering one a migrant complained how embarrassing it was that he could not speak to Australians; it was difficult to tell when they were giving instructions at work or when they were asking to eat.¹ But some Finns did not even try to learn English. When a Finnish author in the late 1920s visited the group settlements in Queensland, she met a Mr Mattila, and the discussion ran as follows:

"Well, Mr Mattila, I guess you can speak English already quite well".

"No, I can't and I am not going to learn", was the astonishing reply.

"But why? Isn't it necessary in this part of the world?"

"Look! The thing is, I reckon, only wasting the time. I have travelled a lot, even here I came via America. I have never spoken any other language but Finnish, and everywhere it has been understood".

What could the author say any more, as she did not wish to shake Mattila's faith in Finnish as a world language.²

In some colonial censuses ability to use the English language was classified according to birthplace. It appeared that in 1891 in New South Wales 89 per cent of the Danish-born and 86 per cent of the Swedish-Norwegian-born males could read and write English. The respective figures for the females were 81 and 78 per cent. For the total European countries the percentage was 78 for the males. Thus Scandinavians were

1

Kustaa E. Hakola, from Wee Wee, Victoria, 28 October 1924, to Pastor Grundstroem, No. 606/24, the Archives of the Finnish Seamen's Mission, Brisbane.

2

Aino Malmberg, Suomi Australiassa (Finland in Australia), Helsinki 1929, p.145. An opposite extreme was a Finn I interviewed in Adelaide in 1970. The man had deserted his ship over 60 years ago and had forgotten his Finnish completely.

above the average in using English; in comparison only half of the Italians could read and write English while of the Greeks even less than half.¹ In Western Australia in 1901, 93 per cent of the Danish, 92 per cent of the Norwegian, and 91 per cent of the Swedish-born males could read and write English while the proportion for all the European foreign countries was 73 per cent. Only 44 per cent of the Italian and 34 per cent of the Greek-born males could read and write English,² but they probably were in an earlier stage of settlement.

Table 8.1, which shows the language ability of the Scandinavian-born population, indicates that almost all could read and write English, Danes the best and the Finns the poorest. However, two reservations must be made, concerning the age structure of the populations and the length of residence, both factors relevant in acquiring a new language. First, as shown earlier, the majority of the Scandinavians were adults; in 1921 0.1 or 0.2 per cent of the Scandinavian-born populations were under five years of age. Secondly, most Scandinavians had lived in Australia long enough to learn the language; in 1911 some 73 per cent of the Danish, 64 per cent of the Swedish, and 56 per cent of the Norwegian-born had resided in Australia 20 years and over; a situation very different among the 'new migrants' like the Italians and Greeks.

While the first generation of the Scandinavians were changing to the English tongue the younger generations were becoming completely Australian. In the Danish colony at East Poowong Lyng noticed that only older children understood Danish, but spoke it incorrectly and therefore reluctantly.³ A visitor observed that the Scandinavians were forgetting their homeland and mother tongue. Only in exceptional cases did children learn Swedish.⁴ Though difficult to compare it appears that the second generation of Scandinavians used their mother tongue in the United States more than in Australia. In 1940 in the United States more than

1

Census of N.S.W., 1891, Tables VII and VIII, pp.442-445.

2

Census of W.A., 1901, III, Tables 2 and 3, pp.7-14.

3

Lyng, Emigrantnoveller, p.105.

4

Saxon, p.102.

Table 8.1: Language Ability of Scandinavian-born, Censuses 1911 and 1921

Birthplace	Census	Sex	Language Ability						Total Numbers	
			English		Foreign Language only		Cannot Read	Not Stated		
			Read and Write	Read Only	Read and Write	Read Only				
Denmark	1911	Males	86.4	0.9	7.7	0.4	1.1	3.6	100.1	4,266
		Females	80.9	1.6	11.2	0.8	2.1	3.4	100.0	1,397
	1921	Males	92.6	2.2	2.1	0.3	1.6	1.2	100.0	4,479
		Females	86.3	4.6	4.5	0.6	2.2	1.8	100.0	1,523
Sweden	1911	Males	82.6	1.5	9.2	0.6	1.6	4.6	100.1	5,084
		Females	73.1	5.4	12.7	3.0	3.0	2.8	100.0	502
	1921	Males	87.0	3.3	5.9	0.2	1.8	1.7	99.9	4,542
		Females	82.6	8.9	3.7	0.6	1.4	2.7	99.9	483
Norway	1911	Males	77.7	1.1	12.8	0.7	1.4	6.3	100.0	3,038
		Females	77.7	1.9	12.6	0.7	2.7	4.4	100.0	413
	1921	Males	87.5	3.2	5.1	0.2	2.0	2.1	100.1	2,613
		Females	84.5	7.7	2.2	0.7	2.2	2.5	99.8	401
Finland	1921	Males	81.0	5.1	7.1	0.8	3.3	2.6	99.9	1,227
		Females	70.2	5.3	18.3	1.5	3.1	1.5	99.9	131

Note: Few Scandinavian-born were under five years: 1921 only 13.

half of the third generation Norwegians reported that in their childhood English was not the principle language spoken at home. The proportion was two-fifths for the Swedes and one-third for the Danes.¹

A major reason for the second generations' failure to learn their 'fathers' language was that many Scandinavians were married to English-speaking women; moreover, even if both parents were Scandinavians, English was often used at home. Among the Finns the situation was different, as they had more family migration and Finnish often remained the language spoken at home. Consequently the second generation learnt Finnish first and English later.²

To sum up it appears that Scandinavians in Australia, with the exception of the Finns, adopted the English language quickly. The reasons why this change took place perhaps more rapidly in Australia than in the United States were the frequent inter-marriages with Australians and the long distances from the home countries, both resulting in little inclination to preserve the old language and culture. An important additional cause was the small influence of the Church and ethnic societies. Here the difference between the Scandinavians in Australia and the United States is conspicuous; in the latter country pastors often insisted that the language of origin be learnt by the second generation; who subsequently spoke Swedish but thought in English.³ In Australia apart from some desultory attempts to teach a Scandinavian language, the old tongue was not supported in this way.

Change of language does not necessarily mean change of loyalty or allegiance. Obviously in many cases the English language was simply found more convenient to express views in than the old Scandinavian tongue. For example, a Scandinavian sugar cane farmer in Queensland had to adopt hundreds of new terms because his vocabulary and grammar in the

1

Taft and Robbins, p.473.

2

Observations during field work. Even today children learn Finnish first at home. On the other hand I met a second generation Swede studying at the Australian National University. His parents came some 13 years ago, but the son could not speak Swedish and did not even know from which part of Sweden his parents came.

3

Stephenson, pp.431-432.

mother tongue was not geared for this new need. But the fact that, without any basic differences in educational backgrounds, the Danes were the quickest and the Finns the slowest to adopt English (though partly explained by Danish being the closest and Finnish the furthest from English) indicates an assimilation process in which the language is a main medium.

Some Factors making for Rapid Assimilation

It has been assumed throughout this study that Scandinavians, because of an economic, social, cultural and political background somewhat similar to that of the British Isles, and with closely related languages (with the exception of Finnish), were well qualified for rapid assimilation in the predominantly British country of Australia; that is, compared with southern or eastern Europeans. The evidence suggests that this assumption is well founded.

It has further been assumed that ethnic institutions (societies, churches, press and language) are dimensions of social and cultural adjustment and that, though in the first stages of settlement they ease the difficulties of adjustment to a new land, in the long-run they hinder assimilation and reinforce ethnic identity and solidarity. The findings of this work suggest that Scandinavian organizations were generally weak, often had only a short existence, and did not reach the main body of the migrants, an exception being Finnish societies in the group settlements of northern Queensland. In short, these ethnic organizations did little to act against the strong trends towards assimilation.

The principal factors working for rapid assimilation were:

(1) Lack of stability in Scandinavian settlement

Active organized social life presumes a fairly stable population but Scandinavians were often very mobile, particularly Swedes and Norwegians, as many were seafarers, miners and general migratory labourers. There were few concentrations or group settlements. In these conditions Scandinavian societies and churches had little chance of long-term survival; not even the Norden or Suomi could stem the tide of assimilation.

(2) Lack of continuous immigration

After the peak arrivals of the 1870s and 1880s Scandinavian immigration was comparatively negligible, and earlier migrants found it difficult to maintain strong links with the country of origin and to avoid assimilation into the local population. For this reason, as early as the turn of the century, Lyng saw the future of the Scandinavian societies as anything but bright: old members were dying; young members were getting old; none were coming to take their place; the children were 'Australians' and, at the then rate of immigration, he did not think that twenty years hence there would be a single Scandinavian institution left in Australia.¹ Some Scandinavian societies survived, though at the price of becoming very Australian. Increasing numbers of members were Australian-born, many of them second or third generation, and English replaced the Scandinavian tongues. The Danish Club Dannebrog in Melbourne is a good example of this transition.

(3) The paucity of Scandinavian women and the existence of extensive intermarriage

This strongly militated against ethnic persistence. According to British tradition women were often excluded from membership of Scandinavian clubs in Australia, and this weakened social life. Moreover intermarriage with Australian women, or women from the British Isles, was a major cause of the decline of national sentiments; these Scandinavians generally lost their interest in ethnic affairs.

(4) Scarcity of intellectual leaders

Though educated men can greatly assist the adjustment of an ethnic group to new conditions, in periods of strong nationalism they can also assist in maintaining ethnic identity. Jens Lyng and Nestori Karhula are good examples of this. But they, and men like them, were very few; even the pastors often lacked much education.

However, it must be borne in mind that intellectual leaders are not a prerequisite for cultural persistence as the peasant settlements of Germans, Ukrainians and other nationalities in America indicate. But these settlements were large and produced an effective chain-migration

¹

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, pp.89-90.

which resulted in a survival of the transplanted culture, language and old country traditions, even though most immigrants were virtually illiterate.

(5) Lack of literacy and culture

The Scandinavians who came to Australia before 1940 had little culture to preserve and only a limited use of their mother tongue; in fact most were probably fluent in their own dialect but many were unable to read and write. Parents could not leave much culture to their children as they did not have much themselves. The same feature was found also among the Scandinavians in the United States: "most Swedish-Americans were workmen and farmers; they came from the humbler walks of life and were not particularly conscious of any national culture which should be preserved".¹ Naturally there were individual exceptions and groups such as the Danish political refugees from Schleswig-Holstein or the Finnish Utopians in Queensland. But generally Scandinavians, though fighting with vigour against each other, were indifferent to national movements in relation to the Australian community, they tried to integrate as quickly as possible or at least refrained from resisting integration.

(6) Lack of national homogeneity amongst the Scandinavian population

Danes, Swedes and Norwegians were often too few to make an organization for each nationality and therefore founded Scandinavian societies and churches to cover all the nationalities - even Finns. Soon, however, the nationalities noticed their differences and started to fight. Christmas hit the point by saying that the history of the social activities of the Scandinavians may become a description of numerous bloodless guerilla wars between the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian elements.² Tension between the nationalities was a major reason for English being so widely adopted; the desire was to avoid giving any Scandinavian language a privileged position in ethnic institutional life; this seems particularly true in Boulder, Western Australia. To make

¹ Wittke, p.274.

² Christmas, p.215.

things worse, within one nationality there were competing groups like Jutlanders and Copenhageners in Melbourne, and socialist and nationalist elements amongst the Finns in Brisbane. "Where five Danes gathered there were at least two parties".¹ Also friction between secular and religious people was sometimes a conspicuous feature, though occasionally ethnic churches supported weak societies.

One important conclusion is that the majority of Scandinavians, even the Finns before World War I, were beyond the reach of ethnic organized social life and were very much exposed to the influences of Australian society. Though very little information exists about Scandinavians in Australian social life it seems clear that, after adopting the English language, they participated in the economic, social and cultural activities of the community around them. Farmers participated in farmers' unions and co-operatives, seamen participated in seamen's unions, and so on. The Swedes and Norwegians were perhaps quicker than the Danes (with a possible exception of those Danes in farming) but the Finns were definitely the slowest in this process. Consequently the Finns and Danes had the strongest national institutions; here suggesting some correlation with general assimilation.

By the 1920s most Scandinavians had become so absorbed and assimilated that they were quite invisible; at least so thought Hjalmar Bengtson of his Swedish countrymen.² Those Finns who arrived in the 1920s, however, were in the first stage of integration and formed an exception to this general picture. In this transition most Scandinavian ethnic institutions, notably societies, proved to be only fly-by-night. However, they offered the newly arrived and scattered Scandinavian immigrants both refreshment and feelings of security and unity in a foreign country; as an aid in the initial stage of adjustment they were thus worthwhile.

¹

Ibid.

²

See pp.272-273.

An Isolated Settler

In conditions where substantial ethnic communities assimilated fairly quickly, not only those of seamen but also certain farming settlements such as the Danish settlement at East Poowong, Victoria, how much easier was it for an isolated Scandinavian settler, without ties to countrymen or home country, to assimilate into the host society. Examples of this are: the Finnish 'apple king' Johnson in Western Australia (pp. 175-176 above); the Swedish fisherman near Melbourne who in broken Swedish said that since deserting his ship 48 years before he never had met a single countryman;¹ the Finn I met in Adelaide who visited Australia in 1901 and five years later deserted his ship, married an Australian and for decades lived so isolated from his countrymen that he eventually quite forgot his native tongue. This kind of fate, almost inevitable with the isolated settler, is well set out in a letter found in the Archives of the Danish society Dannebrog in Melbourne:

I am a native of Denmark, but have been in Australia so long that I have lost touch with the old country and have forgotten our language. I am desirous of subscribing to a couple of home papers and getting out some Danish literature, but I don't know the way to go about it.

The Dane asked for information in the matter and assured that "you would confer a great favour on a lonely countryman".²

The real key to the understanding of Scandinavian assimilation was the fate of an isolated - and often lonely - settler in the Australian bush or metropolis, completely exposed to the surrounding society without any counter influence from a Scandinavian community.

Thus the primary reason for the rapid assimilation of Scandinavians was - because of the dispersed nature of Scandinavian settlement - numerous isolated individuals, often without contacts with fellow countrymen or even with their home countries. If Scandinavian ethnic institutions - societies, transplanted church and press - reached the settler occasionally, they were of only secondary importance. Lochore's

¹ Saxon, p. 276.

² H. Johnson to the Secretary of the Danish Society Dannebrog, Melbourne, 4 August 1913, from Mt Carbie via Cairns, Queensland.

observations in New Zealand, that Scandinavians melted away into the British population like snow on Wellington hills, also holds good in Australia.

Retrospect and Future

To sum up, it is held that Scandinavians in Australia assimilated quickly, significant basic factors being the similarity of the British and Scandinavian social and cultural inheritance, and the ease with which most Scandinavians could learn the English language. Moreover, the structure of Scandinavian population, with its marked surplus of young males, resulted in extensive inter-marriage; dispersed settlement and lack of strong national feelings manifested in ethnic institutions, also favoured assimilation. However, the major cause of rapid assimilation was the absence of continuous immigration and the weakening of direct contacts with the countries of origin, resulting in many isolated Scandinavian settlers totally exposed to the influences of the surrounding society. Among people such as Scandinavians a constant immigration is essential for the persistence of a minority group. Jens Lyng wrote on this in the early years of the century:

A time will probably come when in this remote continent men from the snowy north will only be found in some of the bigger cities. A few places bearing Scandinavian names, like Dannevirke, Norsewood, Cape Solander, Denmark River, Dalby, Norseman etc. will remain as mementoes, telling future generations about the share the Scandinavians had in building up sunny, happy Australia.¹

This prophecy has not proved completely true as yet. It is not the task of the historian to forecast future developments. Scandinavian migration to Australia in the second half of the twentieth century remains for the historians of a new millenium. It is worthwhile saying here, however, that since the middle of the 1950s there has been another wave of Scandinavian immigrants to lift the 1947 population from 8,365 to an estimated 25,031 in 1970: Danes 2,759 to 7,676, Swedes 2,209 to 3,660, Norwegians 2,024 to 3,293, and Finns 1,373 to 10,402.² The recent

¹

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australasia, p.99.

²

Birthplaces in Census 1947 and in an estimate by the Department of Demography, the Australian National University, because Census 1971 is not available yet. See Table 1 in Appendix 1.

immigration has predominantly been that of Finns, here indicating the direction of future research. Largely resulting from Australia's vigorous recruiting activities in northern Europe, and generous assisted passage schemes for adult workers and their families, this increase¹ demonstrates once more how quickly Scandinavian emigration responds to favourable conditions abroad, and how important is the assisted passage scheme to large-scale movement between the far north of Europe and the Antipodean world of the southern seas.

1

For details of the annual inflow of Scandinavians see Commonwealth Department of Immigration, Australian Immigration; Consolidated Statistics.

Appendix I: GENERAL TABLES AND CHARTS

Table I.1: Scandinavian-born in Australia, 1871-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Denmark and Dependencies</u>	<u>Sweden</u>	<u>Norway</u>	<u>Finland</u>	<u>Total</u>
1871					4,500 ^a
1881	4,742	(5,048)		200 ^a	9,990
1891	6,409	(10,121)		500 ^a	17,030
1901	6,286	(9,870)		700 ^a	16,856
1911	5,673	5,586	3,451	1,200 ^a	15,910
1921	6,002	5,025	3,014	1,358	15,399
1933	4,484	3,895	2,680	1,825	12,884
1947	2,759	2,209	2,024	1,373	8,365
1954	2,954	2,191	2,835	1,733	9,713
1961	5,654	2,674	3,219	6,488	18,035
1966	5,401	2,558	3,166	5,925	17,050
1970	7,676 ^a	3,660 ^a	3,293 ^a	10,402 ^a	25,031 ^a

a Estimated

Source: Australian Censuses except for 1970 an estimate, Australian Immigration; A Bibliography and Digest, 2 (1970), ed. Charles A. Price et al., Canberra 1971, Table 1, p. A 79.

Table 1.2: Scandinavian-born in the Australian States, Censuses 1871-1947, 1966

Country of Birth	Census	New South Wales			Victoria			Queensland			South Australia			Western Australia			Tasmania			Australian Capital Territory			Northern Territory			Australia		
		M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	Males	Females	Persons
Denmark and Dependencies	1871	a	a	a	954	80	1,014	418	136	554	a	a	a	a	a	a	(1870)	15								a	a	a
	1881	934	135	1,069	918	121	1,039	1,440	783	2,223	237	27	264	11		11	77	59	136							3,617	1,125	4,742
	1891	1,276	212	1,488	1,220	174	1,394	1,956	1,115	3,071	241	29	270	42	1	43	83	54	137				6	6		4,824	1,585	6,409
	1901	1,151	217	1,368	882	138	1,020	2,102	1,056	3,158	235	27	262	281	39	320	99	56	155				3	3		4,753	1,533	6,286
	1911	1,056	214	1,300	780	132	912	1,735	909	2,644	244	30	274	349	69	418	78	43	121	1	1	1	3	3		4,276	1,397	5,673
	1921	1,260	317	1,577	835	200	1,035	1,697	856	2,553	269	39	308	322	71	393	86	37	123	2	1	3	8	2	10	4,479	1,523	6,002
	1933	996	256	1,252	600	152	752	1,214	614	1,828	206	29	235	267	57	324	50	26	76	7	2	9	8			3,348	1,136	4,484
	1947	691	163	844	388	129	517	628	340	968	119	24	143	170	55	225	31	14	45	4	2	6	11	11		2,032	727	2,759
	1966	1,294	697	1,991	656	438	1,094	720	393	1,113	364	216	580	274	108	382	73	38	111	52	29	81	39	10	49	3,472	1,929	5,401
	1871	a	a	a	816	29	845	225	28	253	a	a	a	a	a	a	(1870)	28								a	a	a
	1881b	(1,668)	(87)	(1,755)	(1,319)	(56)	(1,375)	456	127	583	(740)	(25)	(765)	21		21	64	2	66							(4,594)	(454)	(5,048)
	1891b	(3,237)	(160)	(3,397)	(3,015)	(201)	(3,214)	(1,491)	(464)	(1,955)	(1,087)	(61)	(1,148)	(202)	(12)	(204)	(182)	(12)	(194)				(9)	(9)		(9,221)	(800)	(10,121)
	1901b	(3,010)	(180)	(3,190)	(2,033)	(174)	(2,207)	(1,634)	(508)	(2,142)	(879)	(52)	(931)	715	39	754	205	14	219				(7)	(7)		(8,888)	(982)	(9,870)
	1911	1,679	118	1,797	1,138	82	1,220	840	214	1,054	617	36	653	700	40	740	107	12	119				3	3		5,064	502	5,566
	1921	1,574	121	1,695	1,021	94	1,115	724	187	911	525	35	560	590	40	630	95	6	101	2	2	11	11			4,542	483	5,025
	1933	1,218	115	1,333	795	102	897	585	120	705	390	36	426	415	32	445	66	5	69	4		4	16	16		3,487	408	3,895
	1947	744	88	832	446	85	529	280	54	334	216	23	239	213	17	230	26	6	32				15	13		1,938	271	2,209
	1966	696	314	1,010	381	192	573	333	104	437	228	34	262	118	26	144	46	12	58	25	26	51	19	4	23	1,846	712	2,558
Norway	1871	a	a	a	389	6	395	96	22	118	a	a	a	a	a	a	(1870)	16										
	1881	b	b	b	b	b	b	285	157	442	b	b	b	18		18	23									b	b	b
	1891	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b							b	b	b
	1901	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	405	15	420	b	b	b							b	b	b
	1911	964	68	1,032	726	81	807	478	207	685	437	16	453	386	40	426	42	1	43				5	5		5,058	413	5,451
	1921	899	79	978	637	89	726	404	176	580	315	23	338	306	34	340	41		41	2		2	9	9		2,613	401	3,014
	1933	743	79	822	550	85	635	403	127	530	246	18	264	364	34	398	19		19	1		1	11	11		2,337	343	2,680
	1947	643	90	733	417	74	491	268	76	344	162	13	175	222	34	256	17	1	18	4	1	5	12	12		1,745	279	2,024
	1966	913	287	1,200	516	191	707	304	87	391	245	58	303	303	62	365	52	9	61	65	42	107	31	1	32	2,429	737	3,166
	1886	c	c	c	c	c	c	80	1	81	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c							c	c	c
	1901	c	c	c	73	4	77	152	45	197	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c							c	c	c
	1911	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c							c	c	c
	1921	506	44	550	225	17	242	205	51	254	153	7	160	116	12	128	23		23				1	1		1,227	131	1,358
	1933	496	74	570	259	32	291	542	90	632	132	1	133	154	21	175	13		13	3		3	8	8		1,607	218	1,825
	1947	404	72	476	202	28	230	327	95	422	101	1	102	106	18	124	9		9	1		1	8	1	9	1,158	215	1,373
	1966	1,143	833	1,976	646	480	1,126	871	620	1,491	313	221	534	134	57	191	41	45	86	244	240	484	31	6	37	3,423	2,502	5,925
Total	1871	a	a	a	2,139	115	2,254	739	186	925	a	a	a	a	a	a	(1870)	59								a	a	a
	1881	2,602	222	2,824	2,237	177	2,414	2,181	1,067	3,248	977	52	1,029	50		50	164	61	225							8,211	1,579	9,790
	1891	4,513	372	4,885	4,253	375	4,628	3,447	1,579	5,026	1,328	90	1,418	244	3	247	265	66	331				15	15		14,045	2,485	16,530
	1901	4,161	397	4,558	2,915	312	3,227	3,736	1,564	5,300	1,114	79	1,193	1,401	93	1,494	304	70	374				10	10		13,641	2,515	16,156
	1911	5,729	400	6,129	2,644	295	2,939	3,055	1,330	4,383	1,298	82	1,380	1,435	149	1,584	227	56	283	1		1	11			12,398	2,312	14,710
	1921	4,239	561	4,800	2,718	400	3,118	3,028	1,270	4,298	1,262	104	1,366	1,334	137	1,491	245	43	288	6	1	7	29	2	31	12,861	2,538	15,399
	1933	3,453	524	3,977	2,204	371	2,575	2,744	951	3,695	974	84	1,058	1,198	144	1,342	148	29	177	15	2	17	43	43		10,779	2,105	12,884
	1947	2,472	403	2,875	1,453	314	1,767	1,503	565	2,068	398	61	659	711	124	835	83	21	104	9	3	12	44	1	45	6,873	1,492	8,365
	1966	4,046	2,131	6,177	2,199	1,501	3,500	2,228	1,204	3,432	1,150	529	1,679	829	253	1,082	212	104	316	386	337	723	120	21	141	11,170	5,880	17,050
	1871	a	a	a	2,139	115	2,254	739	186	925	a	a	a	a	a	a	(1870)	59								a	a	a
	1881	2,602	222	2,824	2,237	177	2,414	2,181	1,067	3,248	977	52	1,029	50		50	164	61	225							8,211	1,579	9,790
	1891	4,513	372	4,885	4,253	375	4,608	3,447	1,579	5,026	1,328	90	1,418	244	3	247	265	66	331				15	15		14,045	2,485	16,530
	1901	4,161	397	4,558	2,915	312	3,227	3,736	1,564	5,300	1,114	79	1,193	1,401	93	1,494	304	70	374				10	10		13,641	2,515	16,156
	1911	5,729	400	6,129	2,644	295	2,939	3,055	1,330	4,383	1,298	82	1,380	1,435	149	1,584	227	56	283	1		1	11			12,398	2,312	14,710
	1921	4,239	561	4,800	2,718	400	3,118	3,028	1,270	4,298	1,262	104	1,366	1,334	137	1,491	245	43	288	6	1	7	29	2	31	12,861	2,538	15,399
	1933	3,453	524	3,977	2,204	371	2,575	2,744	951	3,695	974	84	1,058	1,198	144	1,342	148	29	177	15	2	17	43	43		10,779	2,105	12,884
	1947	2,472	403	2,875	1,453	314	1,767	1,503	565	2,068	398	61	659	711	124	835	83	21	104	9	3	12	44	1	45	6,873	1,492	8,365
	1966	4,046	2,131	6,177	2,199	1,501	3,500	2,228	1,204	3,432	1,150	529	1,679	829	253	1,082	212	104	316	386	337	723	120	21	141	11,170	5,880	17,050

a = Not available

b () = Norway included in Sweden

c = Finland included in Russia

Table I-3: Percentages of Scandinavian-born in the Australian States, Censuses 1881-1947, 1966

Country of Birth	Census	New South Wales			Victoria			Queensland			South Australia			Western Australia			Tasmania			Australia Capital Territory			Northern Territory			Australia		
		M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	Males	Females	Persons
Denmark and Dependencies	1881	25.8	12.0	22.5	25.4	10.8	21.9	39.8	69.6	46.9	6.6	2.4	5.6	0.3		0.2	2.1	5.2	2.9							100.0	100.0	100.0
	1891	26.5	13.4	23.2	25.3	11.0	21.8	40.5	70.3	47.9	5.0	1.8	4.2	0.9	0.1	0.7	1.7	5.4	2.1				0.1	0.1		100.0	100.0	100.0
	1901	24.2	14.2	21.8	18.6	9.0	16.2	44.3	68.9	50.3	4.9	1.8	4.1	5.9	2.6	5.1	2.1	3.7	2.5				0.1			100.1	100.2	100.0
	1911	25.4	15.3	22.9	18.2	9.4	16.1	40.6	65.1	46.6	5.7	2.1	4.8	8.2	4.9	7.4	1.8	3.1	2.1				0.1	0.1		100.0	99.9	100.0
	1921	28.1	20.8	26.3	18.6	13.1	17.2	37.9	56.2	42.6	6.0	2.6	5.1	7.2	4.7	6.5	1.9	2.4	2.0		0.1		0.2	0.1	0.2	99.9	100.0	99.9
	1933	29.7	22.5	27.9	17.9	13.4	16.8	36.3	54.0	40.8	6.2	2.6	5.2	8.0	5.0	7.2	1.5	2.3	1.7	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2		100.0	100.0	100.0
	1947	33.5	22.4	30.6	19.1	17.7	18.7	30.9	46.8	35.1	5.9	3.5	5.2	8.4	7.6	8.2	1.5	1.9	1.6	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4		100.0	100.0	100.0
	1966	37.3	36.1	36.9	18.9	22.7	20.3	20.7	20.4	20.6	10.5	11.2	10.7	7.9	5.6	7.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	100.0	100.0	100.1
	1881 ^a	36.3	19.2	34.8	28.7	12.3	27.2	16.1	62.6	20.3	16.1	5.5	15.2	0.8		0.8	1.9	0.4	1.8							99.9	100.0	100.1
	1891 ^a	35.1	17.8	33.6	28.7	22.3	31.8	16.2	51.6	19.3	11.8	6.8	11.3	2.2	0.2	2.0	2.0	1.3	1.9				0.1	0.1		100.1	100.0	100.0
	1901 ^a	33.9	18.3	32.3	22.9	17.7	22.4	18.4	51.7	21.7	9.8	5.3	9.4	12.6	5.5	11.9	2.3	1.4	2.2				0.1	0.1		100.0	99.9	100.0
Sweden	1911	33.0	23.5	32.2	22.4	16.3	21.8	16.5	42.6	18.9	12.1	7.2	11.7	13.8	8.0	13.2	2.1	2.4	2.1				0.1	0.1		100.0	100.0	100.0
	1921	34.7	25.1	33.7	22.5	19.5	22.2	15.9	38.7	18.1	11.6	7.2	11.1	13.0	8.3	12.5	2.1	1.2	2.0				0.2	0.2		100.0	100.0	99.8
	1933	34.9	28.2	34.2	22.8	25.0	23.0	16.8	29.4	18.1	11.2	8.8	10.9	11.8	7.8	11.4	1.9	0.7	1.8	0.1	0.1		0.5	0.4		100.0	99.9	99.9
	1947	38.4	32.5	37.7	23.0	30.6	23.9	14.4	19.9	15.1	11.1	8.5	10.8	11.0	6.3	10.4	1.3	2.2	1.4				0.7	0.6		99.9	100.0	99.9
	1966	37.7	44.1	39.5	20.6	27.0	22.4	18.0	14.6	17.1	12.4	4.8	10.2	6.4	5.7	5.6	2.5	1.7	2.3	1.4	3.7	2.0	1.0	0.6	0.9	100.0	100.2	100.0
	1911	31.7	16.5	29.9	23.9	19.6	23.4	15.7	50.1	19.8	14.4	3.9	13.1	12.7	9.7	12.3	1.4	0.2	1.2				0.2	0.1		100.0	100.0	99.8
	1921	34.4	19.7	32.4	24.4	22.2	24.1	15.5	43.9	19.2	12.1	5.7	11.2	11.7	8.5	11.3	1.6		1.4	0.1	0.1		0.3	0.3		100.1	100.0	100.0
Norway	1933	31.8	23.0	30.7	23.5	24.8	23.7	17.2	37.0	19.8	10.5	5.2	9.9	15.6	9.9	14.9	0.8		0.7				0.5	0.4		99.9	99.9	100.1
	1947	36.8	28.7	35.7	23.9	26.5	24.3	15.4	27.2	17.0	9.3	4.7	8.6	12.7	12.2	12.6	1.0	0.4	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.6		100.0	100.1	99.9
	1966	37.6	38.9	37.9	21.2	25.9	22.3	12.5	11.8	12.3	10.1	7.9	9.6	12.5	8.4	11.5	2.1	1.2	1.9	2.7	5.7	3.4	1.3	0.1	1.0	100.0	99.9	99.9
	1911	41.2	33.6	40.5	18.3	13.0	17.8	16.5	38.9	18.7	12.5	5.3	11.8	9.5	9.2	9.4	1.9		1.7				0.1	0.1		100.0	100.0	100.0
Finland	1933	30.9	33.9	31.2	16.1	14.7	15.9	33.7	41.3	34.6	8.2	0.5	7.3	9.6	9.6	9.6	0.8		0.7	0.2	0.2		0.5	0.4		100.0	100.0	99.9
	1947	34.9	33.3	34.7	17.4	13.0	16.8	28.2	44.2	30.7	8.7	0.5	7.4	9.2	8.4	9.0	0.8		0.7	0.1	0.1		0.7	0.5	0.7	100.0	100.1	100.1
	1966	33.4	33.3	33.4	18.9	19.2	19.0	25.5	24.3	25.2	9.1	8.8	9.0	3.9	2.3	3.2	1.2	1.8	1.5	7.1	9.6	8.2	0.9	0.2	0.6	100.0	100.0	100.1
	1911	30.1	17.3	28.1	21.3	12.8	20.0	24.6	57.5	29.8	10.5	3.5	9.4	11.6	6.4	10.8	1.8	2.4	1.9				0.1	0.1		100.0	99.9	100.1
Total	1891	32.1	15.0	29.6	30.1	15.1	27.9	24.5	63.5	30.4	9.5	3.6	8.6	1.7	0.1	1.5	1.9	2.7	2.0				0.1	0.1		99.9	100.0	100.1
	Excl. Finland - (1901)	30.5	15.8	28.2	21.3	12.4	20.0	24.6	62.2	32.8	8.1	3.1	7.3	10.3	3.7	9.3	2.2	2.8	2.3				0.1	0.1		100.0	100.0	100.0
	1911	30.1	17.3	28.1	21.3	12.8	20.0	24.6	57.5	29.8	10.5	3.5	9.4	11.6	6.4	10.8	1.8	2.4	1.9				0.1	0.1		100.0	99.9	100.1
	1921	33.0	22.1	31.2	21.1	15.8	20.2	23.5	50.0	27.9	9.8	4.1	8.9	10.4	6.2	9.7	1.9	1.7	1.9				0.2	0.1	0.2	99.9	100.0	100.0
	1933	32.0	24.9	30.9	20.4	17.6	20.0	25.5	45.2	28.7	9.0	4.0	8.2	11.1	6.8	10.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3		99.9	100.0	100.0
	1947	36.0	27.0	34.4	21.1	21.0	21.1	21.9	37.9	24.7	8.7	4.1	7.9	10.3	8.3	10.0	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.5	99.9	100.0	99.9
Excl. Finland -	1966	36.2	36.2	36.2	19.7	22.1	20.5	19.9	20.4	20.1	10.3	9.0	9.8	7.4	4.3	6.3	1.9	1.8	1.9	3.5	5.7	4.2	1.1	0.4	0.8	100.0	99.9	99.8

* * Norway included in Sweden

Note: For actual numbers see Table I.2.

Table 1.4: Distribution of Scandinavian Males - who Naturalized before 1947 - (1) in the Australian States (2) Numbers and Proportions Residing in the Capital of Each State (per cent)

Nationality	New South Wales				Victoria				Queensland				South Australia				Western Australia				Tasmania				Australia, Numbers			
	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total	before 1904	1904-1915	1916-1946	Total
(1) Danes	16	35	32	24	19	21	21	20	58	22	25	42	4	9	10	6	1	11	10	5	2	1	2	2	3,174	1,427	1,304	5,905
Swedes	30	40	34	35	24	19	22	22	31	10	15	20	10	14	10	11	3	15	15	11	1	1	3	2	2,327	2,269	1,250	5,846
Norwegians	25	37	38	33	28	22	26	26	36	12	10	20	7	15	13	11	3	12	12	9	1	2	2	1	1,140	1,151	1,017	3,308
Finns	58	42	35	38	25	15	19	19	23	11	25	20	10	19	9	12	2	12	10	9	2	1	4	1	386	538	854	1,778
Total Scand.	23	38	35	31	23	20	22	22	44	14	19	28	7	13	10	10	2	13	12	8	1	1	2	2	7,027	5,385	4,425	16,837
(2) a. Numbers in Metropolises (Capitals) of Naturalized Settlers in each State																												
Danes	148	290	240	678	220	162	160	542	313	77	66	456	66	72	74	212	8	47	48	103	30	9	12	51	785	657	600	2,042
Swedes	261	657	239	1,157	297	254	138	689	170	75	58	303	159	161	64	384	54	120	64	218	6	3	16	25	927	1,270	579	2,776
Norwegians	95	307	218	620	185	160	152	497	76	30	32	138	52	120	62	234	6	69	38	113	3	0	8	11	417	686	510	1,613
Finns	56	144	159	359	44	40	89	173	21	12	42	75	20	62	33	115	1	19	28	48	2	0	5	5	144	277	354	775
Total Scand.	560	1,598	856	2,814	746	616	539	1,901	580	194	198	972	297	415	233	945	49	255	178	482	41	12	39	92	2,273	2,890	2,043	7,206
b. Per cent in Metropolises																												
Danes	53	60	57	57	38	53	57	46	18	24	21	19	65	60	59	64	44	31	39	35	63	55	45	53	28	47	46	37
Swedes	61	72	56	66	57	58	51	54	24	33	31	27	71	50	50	58	53	35	34	36	21	9	39	27	46	56	46	50
Norwegians	54	72	57	63	58	63	58	59	24	22	31	22	68	68	48	63	24	22	31	22	23	0	67	26	42	60	50	51
Finns	55	63	53	57	45	48	55	51	24	21	19	21	56	60	44	53	10	31	32	31	33	0	25	23	30	51	41	45
Total Scand.	57	68	56	62	48	57	55	53	20	26	24	22	69	58	51	59	44	36	34	36	43	16	45	36	37	54	46	45

Note 1. The Scandinavians residing in the Northern Territory are included only in the totals, as the numbers were small; between 1904-15 only three Danes and between 1916-46 only 21 Scandinavians, the latter number including two Danes, residing in Papua-New Guinea. Australian Capital Territory was included in New South Wales.

Note 2. Present postal code classification was utilized to define metropolitan areas, which made the area larger than in the censuses. In (2)b the proportions were calculated on the cases where place of settlement was given. Thus before 1904 the figures are inaccurate as the place of residence was missing in 40 per cent in New South Wales, 23 per cent in Western Australia, 10 per cent in South Australia, 5 per cent in Queensland and 2 per cent both in Victoria and Tasmania.

Table I.5: Distribution of Scandinavian-born in Urban and Rural Areas of Australia, Censuses 1911-47 (per cent)

Birthplace	Census	URBAN				RURAL		MIGRATORY ^C		TOTAL AND NUMBERS			
		Metropolitan		Provincial									
		males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females		
<u>Denmark</u>	1911	29.5	33.0	b	b	66.8	66.6	3.7	0.4	100.0	4,266 ^d	100.0	1,397
	1921	35.9	41.0	16.8	21.4	44.1	37.5	3.2	0.1	100.0	4,479	100.0	1,523
	1933	40.9	47.4	15.4	17.6	42.0	35.0	1.7		100.0	3,348	100.0	1,136
	1947	47.8	50.5	14.0	18.7	36.5	30.7	1.7	0.1	100.0	2,032	100.0	727
<u>Sweden</u>	1911	37.0	44.0	b	b	55.3	55.2	7.7	0.8	100.0	5,084	100.0	502
	1921	40.0	53.6	13.4	15.3	35.7	30.9	10.9	0.2	100.0	4,542	100.0	483
	1933	45.9	57.8	13.7	14.7	35.5	27.5	4.9		100.0	3,487	100.0	408
	1947	48.5	66.8	13.7	12.9	31.1	20.3	6.7		100.0	1,938	100.0	271
<u>Norway</u>	1911	31.7	39.7	b	b	51.0	57.9	17.3	2.4	100.0	3,038	100.0	413
	1921	36.0	45.9	13.8	18.5	37.0	34.4	13.2	1.2	100.0	2,613	100.0	401
	1933	39.7	54.8	11.0	14.6	36.9	30.3	12.4	0.3	100.0	2,337	100.0	343
	1947	50.7	59.9	13.0	15.1	29.5	25.1	6.9		100.1	1,745	100.1	279
<u>Finland</u>	1911	a	a	b	b	a	a	a	a		a		a
	1921	34.7	42.7	14.1	9.9	39.1	46.6	12.1	0.8	100.0	1,227	100.0	131
	1933	28.8	38.5	10.3	8.7	53.5	52.8	7.4		100.0	1,607	100.0	218
	1947	39.4	43.7	11.6	6.0	45.1	49.8	3.9	0.5	100.0	1,158	100.0	215
<u>Total Scandinavian</u>	1911	33.1	36.6	b	b	58.2	62.6	8.7	0.8	100.0	12,388	100.0	2,312
	1921	37.3	44.3	14.7	19.2	39.2	36.2	8.8	0.3	100.0	12,861	100.0	2,538
	1933	40.5	49.7	13.1	15.6	40.5	34.6	5.9	0.1	100.0	10,779	100.0	2,105
	1947	47.3	54.2	13.3	15.2	34.6	30.5	4.8	0.1	100.0	6,873	100.0	1,492
<u>Total Australian</u>	1911	35.2	41.1	b	b	63.9	58.7	0.9	0.1	100.0	2,313,035	99.9	2,141,970
	1921	40.3	45.8	18.5	19.7	40.3	34.3	0.9	0.2	100.0	2,762,870	100.0	2,672,864
	1933	43.8	50.0	16.5	17.4	39.3	32.5	0.4	0.1	100.0	3,267,111	100.0	3,262,728
	1947	48.7	52.7	17.8	18.2	33.1	29.0	0.4	0.1	100.0	3,797,370	100.0	3,781,988

a Information not available.

b Included in Rural.

c This column, 1911 called 'shipping', includes persons on board ships and railway trains - later also air travellers.

d 10 born in dominions excluded.

Table I.6: Annual Averages of Arrivals of Scandinavian Males who
Naturalized before 1947

<u>Periods</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
1850s	(40)	(23)	(11)	(1)	(75)
1860s	(38)	(30)	(12)	(4)	(85)
1870s	(135)	(91)	(43)	(17)	(286)
1880s	(139)	(186)	(94)	(39)	(458)
1890-1906	(64)	(77)	(41)	(16)	(199)
1907-14	96	102	72	49	319
1915-19	22	16	14	11	63
1920-23	30	23	22	21	95
1924-28	36	36	41	57	170
1929-33	8	5	5	10	29
1934-41	3	1	3	2	10

Note: In brackets included Queensland colonial naturalizations before 1904, which do not give year of arrival, assuming that Scandinavians there were naturalized five years after arrival. For actual numbers, see Tables I.7 and I.9. The total is not necessarily the sum of the nationalities but the nearest average of the total Scandinavian group.

Table 1.7: Years of Arrival of Scandinavian Males who Naturalized before 1947; Summary of Table 1.8

	<u>before 1850</u>	<u>1850s</u>	<u>1860s</u>	<u>1870s</u>	<u>1880s</u>	<u>Years of Arrival</u>							<u>No information</u>	<u>Total</u>
						<u>1890- 1906</u>	<u>1907- 1914</u>	<u>1915- 1919</u>	<u>1920- 1923</u>	<u>1924- 1928</u>	<u>1929- 1933</u>	<u>1934- 1941</u>		
Danes	22	400	303	638	825	607	771	111	118	178	42	26	1,864	5,905
Swedes	11	223	269	720	1,601	1,064	814	82	90	180	26	10	756	5,846
Norwegians	4	105	106	310	806	559	575	68	88	206	26	22	433	3,308
Finns	—	14	37	158	360	249	389	56	82	285	50	18	80	1,778
Total	<u>37</u>	<u>742</u>	<u>715</u>	<u>1,826</u>	<u>3,592</u>	<u>2,479</u>	<u>2,549</u>	<u>317</u>	<u>378</u>	<u>849</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>3,133</u>	<u>16,837</u>

Table 1.8: Areas of Origin and Years of Arrival of Scandinavian Males who Naturalized before 1947

Area of Origin	Years of Arrival													Total
	before 1850	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890-1906	1907-14	1915-19	1920-23	1924-28	1929-33	1934-41	no information	
<u>DENMARK</u>														
Sjælland														
Copenhagen	6	67	47	128	193	174	200	34	30	42	12	6	4	943
Copenhagen County		3	5		4	3	9	4	2	6	2			58
Roskilde			1	4	1	3	13		6	4				32
Frederiksborg		5	9	32	17	22	21	2	4	4		2		118
Holbæk		5	6	10	10	4	16	4	6	4	2		1	70
Soro		7	3	7	12	16	23	4	6	2		4		84
Præsto			2	8	30	19	19	2	4		2			86
"Sjælland" only	1	3	4	1	4	9	8							25
Total	7	90	77	190	271	247	307	50	58	64	18	12	5	1,396
Bornholm	1	24	15	21	17	9	10	2	2					101
Lolland-Falster		5	4	11	27	24	35	3	6	10			2	127
<u>Fyn</u>														
Svendborg	1	29	13	24	61	32	45	2	8	10	4	4		233
Odense	1	11	10	21	34	39	31	12	6	10		2		177
Assens		4	4	4	7	2				4			1	26
"Fyn" only		4	3	16	6	3	4							36
Total	2	48	30	65	108	76	80	14	14	24	4	6	1	472
<u>Jylland</u>														
<u>East Jylland</u>														
Vejle		12	11	38	50	26	36	8	2	10	2			195
Skanderborg				11	2	5	12	4		2				36
Århus		3	1	17	19	26	26		10	2		4		108
Randers		4	1	11	25	11	46	2	4	12	2			119
Total		19	13	77	96	68	120	14	16	26	4	4		457
<u>North Jylland</u>														
Ålborg		3	3	15	17	35	42	6	2	4	2			129
Hjørring		5	1	19	33	17	30	2	2	6		2		117
Thisted			1	5	23	4	15							48
Total		8	5	39	73	56	87	8	4	10	2	2		294
<u>West Jylland</u>														
Viborg		4	7	10	14	13	12	4	6	16	4			90
Kingskøbing		2	2	5	20	6	34	2	2	8	2			83
Ribe		8	16	12	10	17	37	8	4	12	2	2		128
Total		14	25	27	44	36	83	14	12	36	8	2		301
<u>South Jylland</u>														
Haderslev		9	7	12	14	1	2		2					47
Åbenrå		6	6	7	6	4	9			4				42
Sønderborg		6	5	5	4	4	2	2						28
Tønder		8	3	3	7	5	5				2			31
"Schleswig-Holstein"		3	57	30	30	29	11	4						164
Total	3	86	51	57	60	25	20	2	2	4	2			312
"Jylland" only		2	6		18	12	6			4				48
Total Jylland	3	129	100	200	291	197	316	38	54	80	16	8		1,412

Table 1.8 continued.

Area of Origin	Years of Arrival													Total
	before 1850	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890-1906	1907-14	1915-19	1920-23	1924-28	1929-33	1934-41	no information	
"Denmark" only	7	101	76	139	99	40	11	4	2		4		12	495
Born in Dominions or Abroad	2	3	1	12	12	14	12	2						58
TOTAL DENMARK	22	400	303	638	825	607	771	111	118	178	42	26	1,864	5,905
SWEDEN														
<u>South Sweden</u>														
Malmöhus		17	18	61	120	109	93	11	8	16	2			455
Kristianstad	1	4	5	25	55	10	17	8	4	4				133
(Skane) ^a		1	5	3	6	12			2			4		31
Blekinge		7	7	40	67	48	42	2	4	12				229
Halland			2	26	30	20	15			8	2			103
Kronoberg		1		3	6	6	4	1	2	4		2		32
Jönköping		1		4	7	8	6	2		2				30
Kalmar	1	14	31	82	165	115	54	6	4	4	2		2	480
Gotland	1	11	13	36	81	48	14	4	2	2				212
Total	3	56	79	280	537	376	245	37	26	52	6	6	2	1,705
<u>Central Sweden</u>														
Östergötland		1	7	21	29	32	19	4	2	10			1	126
Skaraborg		2		8	26	17	13	2	2	4		2		76
Älvsborg		1	2	4	16	22	8			2				55
Göteborg-Bohusian	2	32	51	106	318	211	167	14	20	30	6		2	959
Södermanland		1	5	1	14	13	7	2	6	2	2			53
Uppsala		2	1		6	6	14							29
Västmanland				4	3	5	19	2	2	4				40
Stockholm City	1	28	29	92	245	155	129	7	12	14	2			714
Stockholm County		1		8	24	11	16		2	4				70
Örebro		1	4	3	16	5	7	2		2				40
Värmland		1	1	6	21	16	9	2	2	2	6			66
Total	3	71	100	253	718	493	408	35	48	78	16	2	3	2,228
<u>North Sweden</u>														
Öpparberg		1		3	8	6	14		2	2				36
Gävleborg		7	7	22	55	34	46		2	2	2			177
Jämtland			1		12	1	4		2	10	2			32
Västernorrland		9	4	15	44	63	44	6	10	20		2		217
Västernorrland		1	2	12	20	7	10			4			1	57
Norrbotten			2	11	22	8	7	2		8				60
Total		18	16	63	161	119	125	8	16	46	4	2	1	579
"Sweden" only	5	75	74	119	176	67	29	2		2			750	1,299
Born Abroad		3		5	9	9	7			2				35
TOTAL SWEDEN	11	223	269	720	1,601	1,064	614	82	90	180	26	10	756	5,846

Table I.8 continued.

Area of Origin	Years of Arrival													Total
	before 1850	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890- 1906	1907-14	1915-19	1920-23	1924-28	1929-33	1934-41	no information	
<u>NORWAY</u>														
<u>Østlandet</u> (East Norway)														
Ostfold		10	2	21	78	66	58	14	12	12	2			275
Akerhus			4	2	10		2			8				26
Oslo		11	4	68	105	73	74	12	16	20	4	4		391
Hedmark				2	2	13	5	2	2	6		2		34
Oppland			1	1	3				2	2		2		11
Buskerud		7	4	12	32	20	12	2		10		2	1	102
Vestfold		8	10	22	112	46	86	4	8	22			2	320
Telemark		6	3	6	26	34	31	2	2	12	2		2	126
Total		42	28	134	368	252	268	36	42	92	8	10	5	1,285
<u>Sorlandet (South Corner)</u>														
Aust-Agder		13	4	3	53	64	52	4	2	20	2	2	3	222
Vest-Agder		9	6	16	59	22	29	2	2	6	2			153
Total		22	10	19	112	86	81	6	4	26	4	2	3	375
<u>Vestlandet (West Norway)</u>														
Rogaland		3	3	22	99	40	26	6	2	2	4		1	208
Hordaland				1	7	2	7			10		2		29
Bergen		4	4	27	44	48	69	4	10	14	4	2		230
Sogn og Fjordane			6	1									1	8
More og Romsdale	2	3	5	14	27	17	21	2	8	6				105
Total	2	10	18	65	177	107	123	12	20	32	8	4	2	580
<u>Trondelag</u>														
Sor-Trondelag		2	10	13	22	24	27	6	6	8	2			120
Nord-Trondelag					3	9	7		2	12	4	2		39
Total		2	10	13	25	33	34	6	8	20	6	2		159
<u>Nord-Norge</u> (North Norway)														
Nordland			4	13	12	18	26	2	8	20				103
Troms				10	11	20	12		2	6		2		63
Finnmark				5	2	2	6	2	2	2				21
Total			4	28	25	40	44	4	12	28		2		187
"Norway" only	2	26	32	51	95	38	14			4		2	423	687
Born Abroad		3	4		4	3	11	4	2	4				35
TOTAL NORWAY	4	105	106	310	806	559	575	68	88	206	26	22	433	3,308

Table I.8 continued.

Area of Origin	Years of Arrival													
	before 1850	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890- 1906	1907-14	1915-19	1920-23	1924-28	1929-33	1934-41	no information	Total
FINLAND														
Turku-Pori		2	8	26	95	78	145	15	28	43	7		3	450
Vaasa		4	12	38	85	41	39	3	10	110	19	12		373
Oulu		2	6	30	48	19	9			16	3	2	2	137
Uusimaa			2	14	38	35	71	17	7	43	9	2		238
Viipuri		2		4	8	20	38	7	14	20	3	1	1	118
Hame				1	4	3	33	6	2	13	3	1		66
Mikkeli and Kuopio Counties					2	4	9	3	3	2	1			24
Ahvenanmaa (Aland)				5	26	16	26	4	18	33	5		1	134
"Finland" only		4	9	39	54	29	7			1			73	216
Born Abroad				1		4	12	1		4				22
TOTAL FINLAND		14	37	158	360	249	389	56	82	285	50	18	80	1,778
TOTAL SCANDINAVIA	37	742	715	1,826	3,592	2,479	2,549	317	378	849	144	76	3,133	16,837

Source: Colonial and Commonwealth Naturalization Records.

Note: Almost all "No information" are Queensland naturalizations before 1904 with year of arrival lacking. Some Finns were distributed according to information obtained from other sources (notably Finnish Embassy and Seamen's Mission). For colonial Queensland naturalizations see Table I.9

a Either Malmohus or Kristianstad.

Table I.9: Scandinavian Males who Naturalized in Queensland, 1862-1903

<u>Year</u>	<u>Danes</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Norwegians</u>	<u>Finns</u>	<u>Total</u>
1862	1				1
1863	2		1		3
1864	1	4	1		6
1865	1	1			2
1866	1				1
1867	3	1	3		7
1868					
1869	3	1			4
1870	3				3
1871	4	3		1	8
1872	8	4	2		14
1873	16	9	5		30
1874	42 ^a	13 ^a	6 ^a		61 ^a
1875	68	14	7	1	90
1876	39	12	6		57
1877	74	13	17		104
1878	76	16	20	1	113
1879	56	11	8		75
1880	70	19	8		97
1881	69	15	9		93
1882	81	21	14		116
1883	92	35	10	3	140
1884	84	36	22	4	146
1885	61	25	13	4	103
1886	90	39	13	3	145
1887	75	29	19	6	129
1888	49	21	12	2	84
1889	71	31	20	2	124
1890	56	35	16		107
1891	53	20	13	2	88
1892	42	26	11	5	84
1893	30	16	5	3	54
1894	37	12	10	3	62
1895	50	19	10	1	80
1896	37	18	6	2	63
1897	34	17	15	2	68
1898	49	15	7	2	73
1899	48	28	14	7	97
1900	62	38	21	16	137
1901	90	49	42	9	190
1902	60	35	15	5	115
1903	56	32	14	3	105
Total	<u>1,844</u>	<u>733</u>	<u>415</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>3,079</u>

a Estimated

Source: Queensland Naturalization Records, QA.

Notes to Chart II

Note 1: Chart II shows the year-by-year arrival of subsequently naturalized Scandinavian immigrants in Australia. The graph demonstrates the sustained, but relatively low level of immigration during the goldfield period, the sharp upturn of later naturalized arrivals from 1870 until World War I, with a temporary fall between 1890 to the early years of the twentieth century, and the recommencement of post-war migration after World War I.

It is interesting to note that this chart in its main features is not unlike a chart showing arrivals from the United Kingdom in the same period.¹ According to the chart of United Kingdom arrivals there was a peak in the early 1860s, a drop in 1867-72, and then a rise, a minor drop after 1880 and a major peak in 1883. Then followed a decline in the 1890s (because of the Australian depression) with a minor increase at the turn of the century. A slight decline took place after 1903 followed by a voluminous immigration until World War I.

Thus it appears that the pattern of Scandinavian immigration closely followed that from the United Kingdom, the main features being the extensive peaks of the early 1880s and in the years preceding World War I indicating predominantly 'pull' migrations.

Note 2: Queensland colonial naturalizations (before 1904) and a few in the other colonies are lacking from the chart because they did not specify the year of arrival. If the arrivals had been given in Queensland, the Danish diagram would have been closer to that of Swedes in the major peak of the late nineteenth century.

¹

F.K. Crowley, "British Migration to Australia: 1860-1914", Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford 1951, Chart 1, facing p.185.

CHART II: YEAR OF ARRIVAL OF SCANDINAVIAN SETTLERS - MALES - WHO NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947 (WHEN YEAR OF ARRIVAL IS GIVEN)

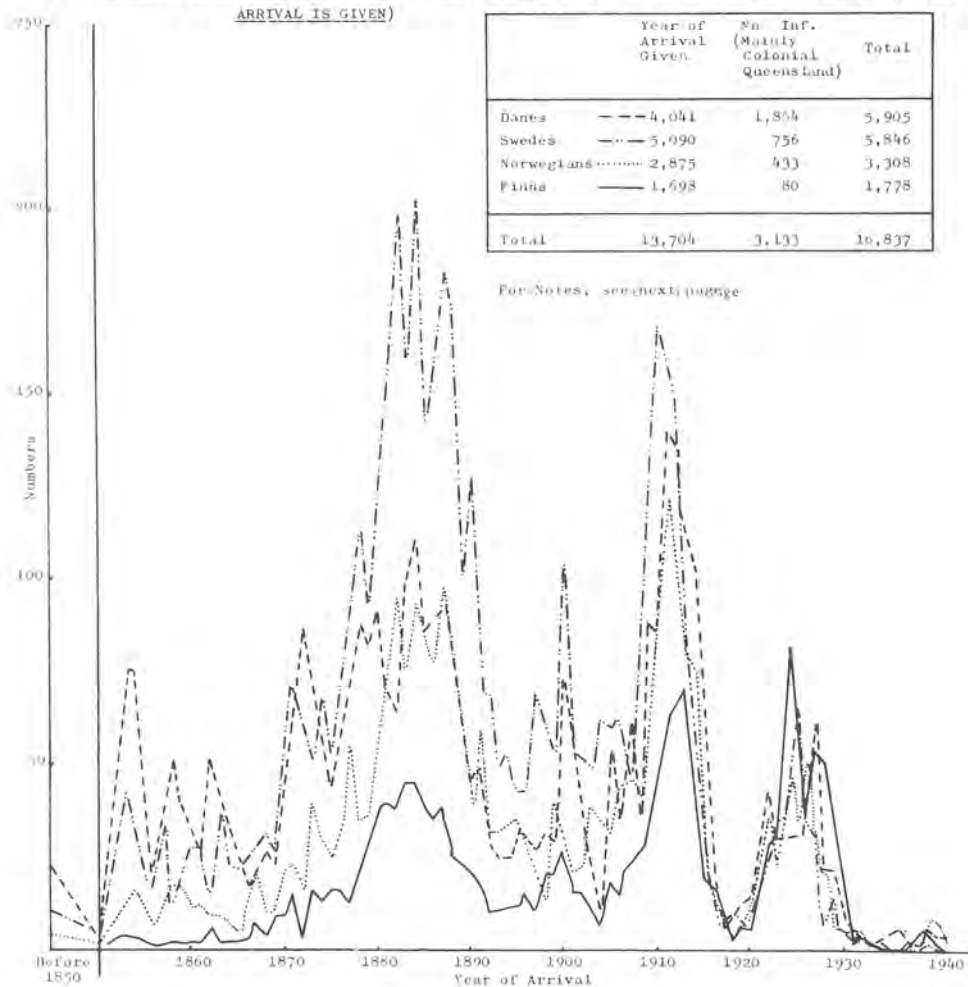
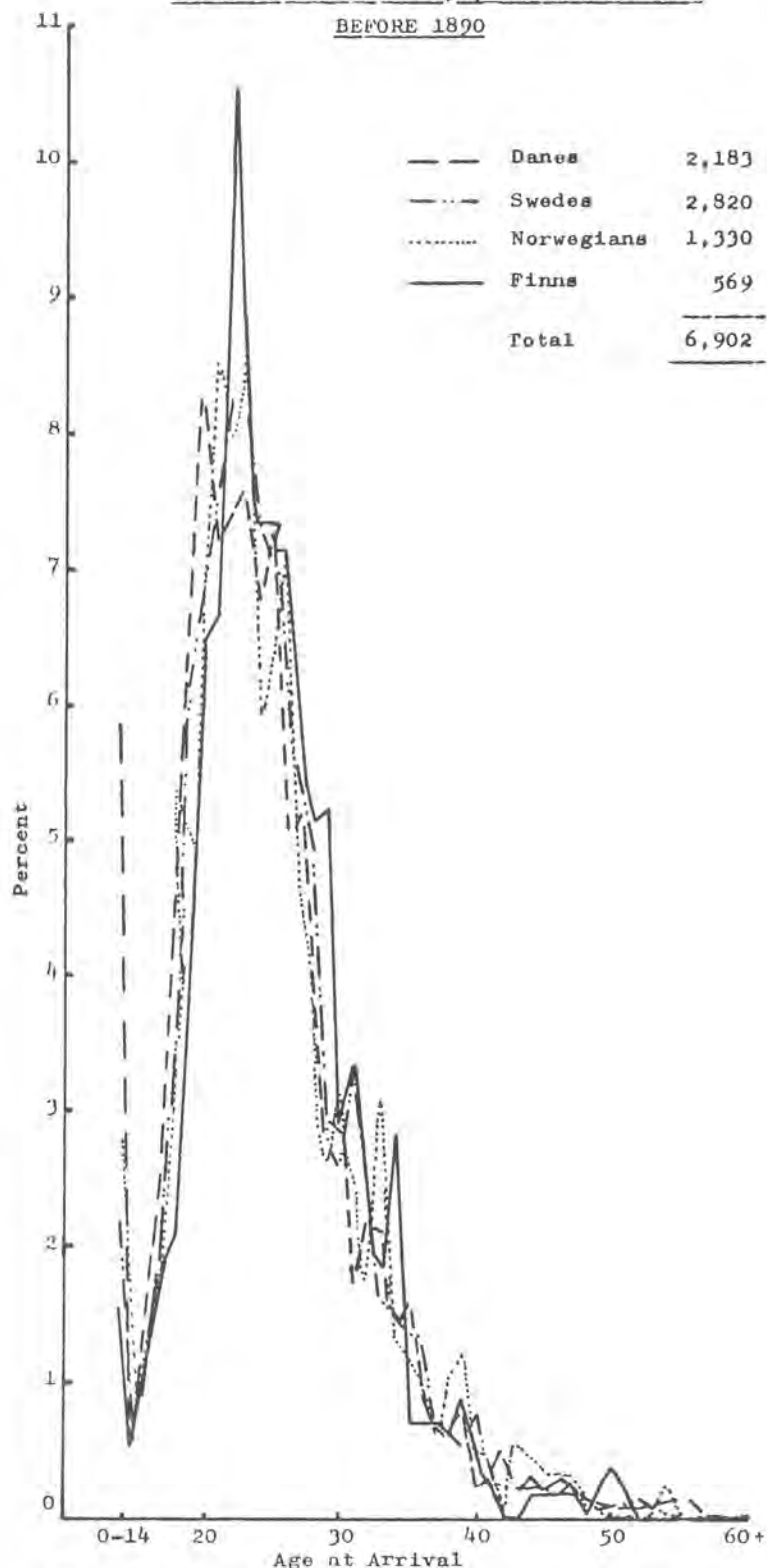


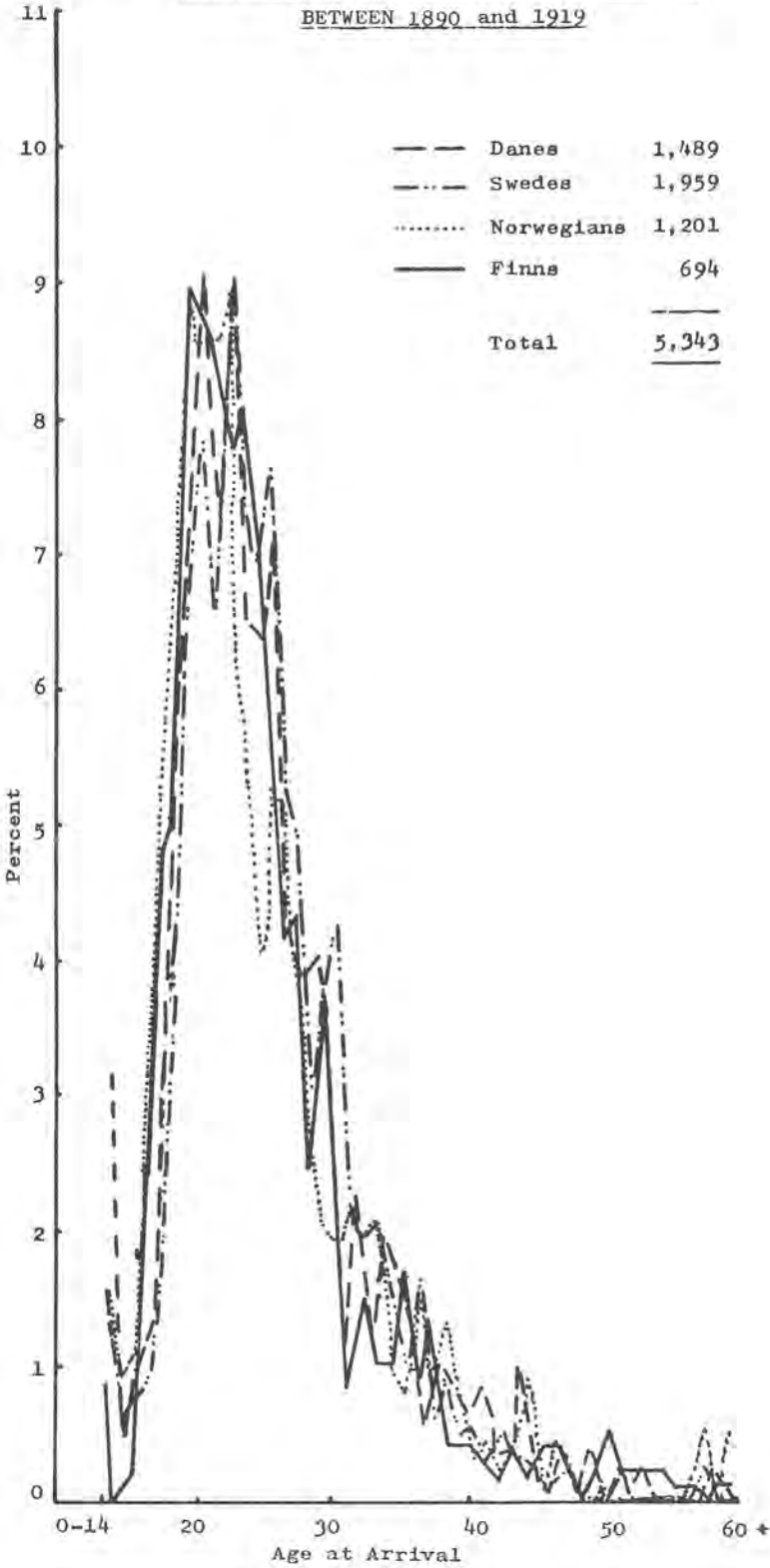
CHART III A: AGE AT ARRIVAL OF SCANDINAVIAN MALES WHO
NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947 AND WHO ARRIVED
BEFORE 1890

300



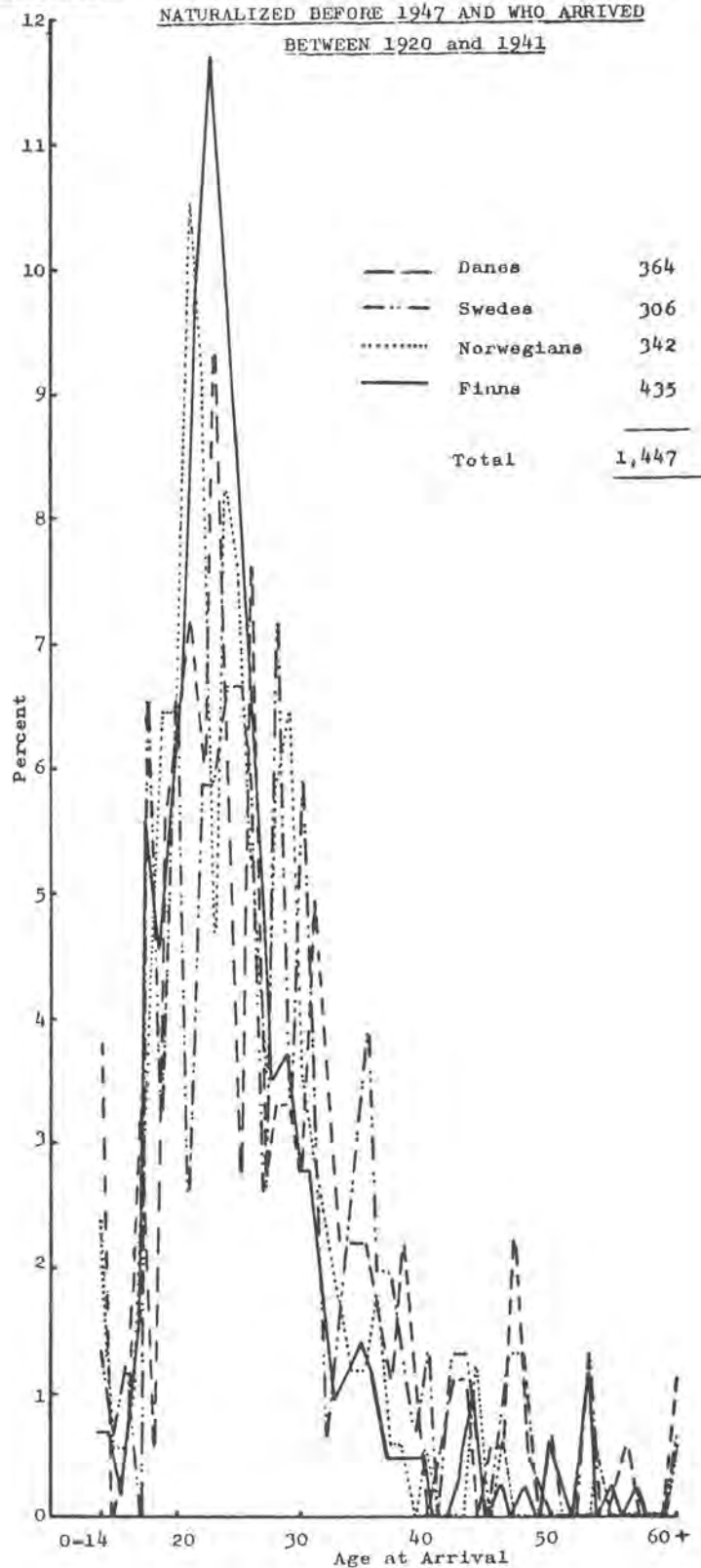
Source: Naturalization Records; persons with unknown arrival dates or age excluded.

CHART III B: AGE AT ARRIVAL OF SCANDINAVIAN MALES WHO
NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947 AND WHO ARRIVED
BETWEEN 1890 and 1919



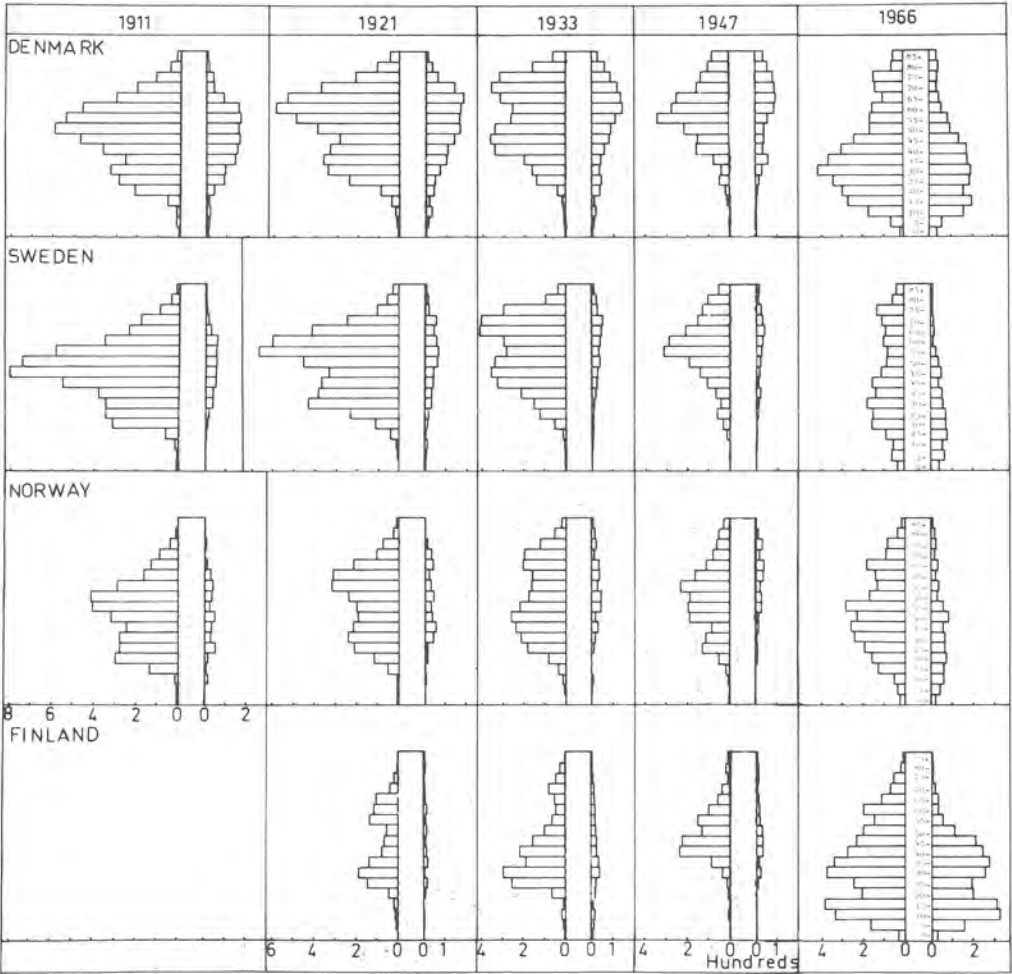
Source: As for Table IIIA.

CHART III C: AGE AT ARRIVAL OF SCANDINAVIAN MALES WHO
NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947 AND WHO ARRIVED
BETWEEN 1920 and 1941



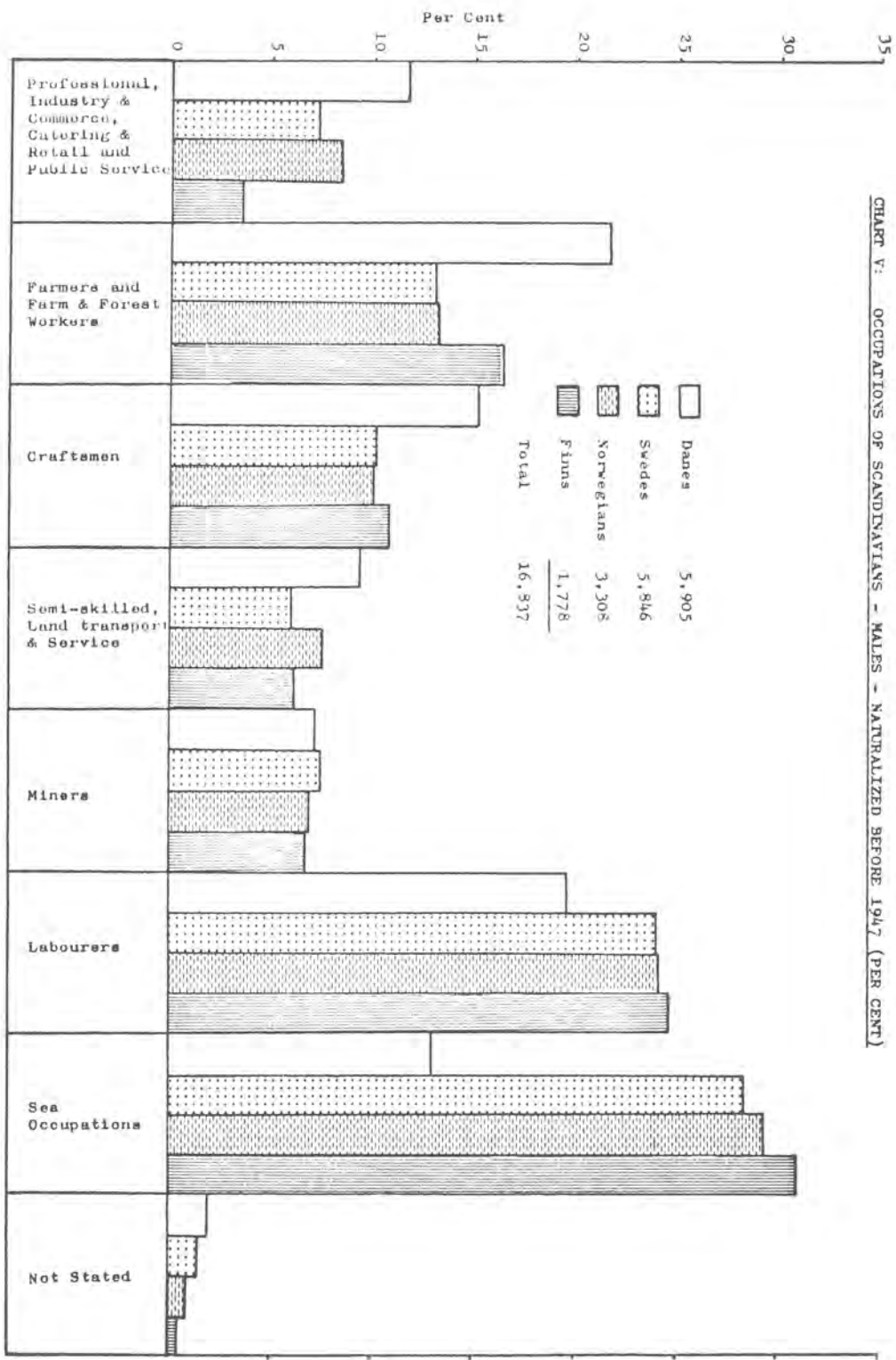
Source: Naturalization Records.

CHART IV: AGE PYRAMIDS OF SCANDINAVIANS BY BIRTHPLACE SHOWING THE PROPORTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES (USING ALIQUOT NUMBERS).
CENSUSES 1911-1966



Note: Not stated Distributed. For total numbers see respective censuses in Table 2 of Appendix I.

CHART V: OCCUPATIONS OF SCANDINAVIANS - MALES - NATURALIZED BEFORE 1947 (PER CENT)



Appendix II: BIOGRAPHIES OF THE GOLD RUSHES OF THE 1850s AND 1860s

Carl A. Olsen; a Norwegian Visitor to the Goldfields

A Scandinavian gold rush visitor to Australia was Carl A. Olsen from Kleven on the southern coast of Norway. In his old age he wrote a book, based on his diary, on experiences of two trips to the Victorian goldfields.¹

Carl A. Olsen, a seaman by calling, was caught by 'gold fever' and wanted to go to California. However, he preferred to be paid off in Norway to deserting his ship, and in May 1853 he was on his way to California via London. But now Australia - not California - was the destination of those attracted by gold, and rapidly Olsen changed his plans, was enlisted on a sailing vessel, and arrived in Melbourne in September 1853. In the port there was a peculiar sight; ship after ship, but no people on board - the crews had deserted for the goldfields and seamen were paid huge sums for a run to Europe.

Together with a dozen other seamen Olsen was paid off and after buying equipment, five Norwegians, six Englishmen, an Italian and a Frenchman headed for the goldfields. Finally Olsen, with his Norwegian friend Hans Christiansen, reached Bendigo and started digging. The Norwegians found some gold, joined a new rush and then another. Olsen and Christiansen, together with a third Norwegian, bought a large store tent for 17 ounces of gold and Olsen took care of the shop while the other two went on mining. Moving from place to place they at last arrived at Ballarat, sold the shop and all went on mining.

After two years toil Olsen and Christiansen decided to sail back for Norway, and in February 1856 Olsen entered his home at Kleven with a fortune of 4,000 Norwegian Kr. Then followed a good and long summer holiday with pleasure trips around the country, but autumn found Olsen,

¹ Carl A. Olsen, En Guldgravers Historie (A History of a Gold-digger), Christiania 1882, pp.244. Ludv. Saxe, "Etter Gull i Australia" (After Gold in Australia), Nordmands-Forbundet, 1942, pp.26-29, gives an account of this book in main features, also followed here. Olsen's other book, Guldgraverliv og Sjomandsfard (Gold Digging Life and Seaman Travels), Kristiania (the date of publication does not appear in the book, but in a letter to the author the Library of the Oslo University gave the year as 1885), pp.3-45, includes a few short stories on experiences in Australia.

with his brother Adolf, on his way back to Australia, and in March 1857 the brothers arrived in Melbourne bound for the goldfields.

The same life started once again, and now the Olsen brothers hit gold and the rich field was called Scandinavian Lead after the discoverers who unfortunately missed the main reef. A rush followed and soon 40,000 people were found there, a township, Scandinavian Crescent, arose, with a main street over a mile long having numerous hotels and businesses; the biggest hotel owned by a Norwegian, Carl Jensen. Norwegians were found everywhere, especially at Ballarat, and many of them had been long out and forgotten their native tongue.

For one and a half years the Olsen brothers worked collecting gold for 9,000 Kr., but after expenses there was not very much left. In 1861 they said goodbye to Australia, sailed for home - poor but rich in experiences - and some 20 years later Carl A. Olsen wrote two books on his sojourns; remarkable contributions to our knowledge of Scandinavians in the gold rush Australia.

Jorgensen Brothers; a Successful Chain-migration Family from Schleswig

Among those Scandinavians who did well in gold mining were the Jorgensen brothers from Schleswig. The oldest, Niels, arrived in 1859 in Sydney, went straight to the Victorian goldfields, and was joined by his three brothers, discovering several goldfields and opening up many gold-bearing reefs: The Rose of Denmark, the Scandinavian, the Triumph, etc. These reefs, often signals for a rush, were worked by companies formed by the brothers, e.g. the Evening Star Reef gave £23,000 worth of gold.

In the early 1880s the Jorgensen brothers discovered what afterwards became known as the Stirling goldfield. A rush followed and many did very well; the Jorgensen brothers were now able to retire. Niels settled on the land near Stratford, Hans bought a grazing property at Fernbank, Laust (or Lanes) settled in Sale, and Andreas in Bairnsdale. In 1876 Hans went to North Schleswig to bring out to Victoria their old folks, a younger brother and a sister, all unhappy under Prussian rule.¹

¹

Lyng, "Jorgensen Bros. Deeds and Doings of Scandinavians in Australasia", Norden, 710, 22 March 1924, p.6.

This account of the Jorgensen family has been based on Lyng's information; examination of the Naturalization Records reveals some inaccuracies in years and names: but in its main features it holds good. The following list of the naturalized Jorgensens shows their chain-migration from Skadst in North Schleswig to Dargo in Victoria.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Age at Arrival</u>	<u>Year of Naturalization</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Niels Jorgensen	1858	22	1881	Dargo	Carpenter
Lanes Jorgensen	1863	19	1881	Dargo	Miner
Hans Jorgensen	1865	18	1881	Dargo	Miner
Andreas Jorgensen	1865	20	1881	Dargo	Miner
Neils Thomsen Jorgensen	1876	24	1881	Dargo	Miner
Karsten Jorgensen	1876	22	1881	Dargo	Miner

In addition to the Jorgensen family other Danes from the same place of origin were found at Dargo or elsewhere in Victoria and South Australia.¹

The Cohn Brothers; a Fortune by Brewing

A chain migration very similar to that of the Jorgensen brothers is that of the Cohn brothers from Horsens, Denmark.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Age at Arrival</u>	<u>Year of Naturalization</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Moritz Cohn	1853	30	1857	Sandhurst	Cordial Manufacturer
Julius Cohn	1853	24	1857	Sandhurst	Cordial Manufacturer
Jacob Cohn	1853	22	1857	Sandhurst	Cordial Manufacturer
Henry Cohn	1858	32	1863	Talbot	Common Brewer
Michael Cohn	1888	38	1889	Sandhurst	Physician and Surgeon

In 1857 the Cohn brothers founded the Victorian Brewery, the first at Sandhurst, later Bendigo. Jacob Cohn became the most famous of the

¹

Colonial Vic. and S.A. Nat. Records.

brothers. He was born about 1831, took part in the Schleswig-Holstein War, settled with his brothers at Sandhurst, and in 1858 visited Denmark and married there. After returning to Australia he became a prominent citizen in Bendigo, being for a time the mayor of the town. Later he visited Denmark several times, and many of his children were educated there. He became a wealthy man living in his village, called 'Horsens' after his native town, and died there in 1911.

The Cohn brothers represent successful Scandinavians - perhaps due to their Jewish origin - and even today their descendants are found in the Australian brewing business. However, they regard themselves more Danish than many a true-born Dane.

Peter P. Wideman; a Swedish Clergyman on the Goldfields

Peter Wideman¹ was born in Orkned, Sweden, in 1822, studied theology at the University of Lund and graduated in 1846. He served the Swedish church for four years, but being at variance with some of its doctrines, he resigned and took up farming. In 1855 he left Sweden for Liverpool where he embarked on the ship Africa bound for Melbourne together with 300 passengers, including many Scandinavians. After a voyage of 103 days with good food and water, and with storms and sea sickness, the ship arrived in Port Phillip; there half a dozen seamen deserted the ship.

In Melbourne Wideman went to a German lodgings-house with his comrades; all were heading for the goldfields. Wideman contacted his two countrymen (van Damme, then in the Swedish Consulate, and Wisselqvist, a watchmaker) for advice. Then their group - two Swedes, two Danes, and four Germans - bought some equipment and left for the goldfields. At Blackwood Wideman parted with his Swedish companion, bought a tent and tools with two Danes and started digging - with poor results. He met

1

P. Wideman, a letter from McIvor, 20 May 1856, "Millionarf" (Million heritage), Norden, 145-146, 21 December 1901 - 150, 22 February 1902. This letter, one of the best contemporary sources, was first published in the Ostergotlands Dagblad (Ostergotland Daily) on 23 August 1901 in Sweden where a rumour got about that Wideman had died in Australia as a millionaire without offspring. His relatives took steps to recover the fortune, and it was ascertained that Wideman died a lonely, poor man near Inglewood, Victoria, sometime between 1868-71.

there many other Scandinavians not doing much better. After an unfruitful fortnight Wideman left for Melbourne, met his former Swedish comrade, and visited many hospitable Scandinavians: a Swedish shoemaker, Sandstrom from Vexjo, tailor Syrén, and carpenter Rosengren from Gothenburg, and a Norwegian tailor Olsen.

Getting now short of money he started to look for a job. there was severe unemployment in Melbourne, and when every morning at six o'clock three copies of the advertisements in the local paper were hung on the wall there were hundreds of people waiting. To make things worse every day arrived herds of new people. A Swede told Wideman that a Norwegian needed a hand at Gimero, but when he went there the Norwegian had already employed someone else. Now Wideman went to Fryer's Creek, met three Swedes from Varmland: Gustaf and Petter Olsson and Olle Petterson. Later these Swedes went to McIvor. Wideman stayed with these hospitable Swedes for a couple of days and then returned to Melbourne to spend Christmas there.

Meanwhile a Swedish digger, Edqvist, came from McIvor to spend Christmas in Melbourne, and he encouraged Wideman to go to McIvor where work was available with hundreds of machines. After arriving at McIvor Wideman, however, preferred to work on his own account, had some success, and planned to return to Sweden. He was charmed with the gold-digging life, calling it the most free in the world - even better than student life. When the weather was beautiful they worked, at nights and on rainy days they gathered together, read Swedish papers, talked, played games and drank Danish brandy or Swedish punch or porter. At Easter Wideman, being a trained pastor, arranged a Swedish Divine Service, and after it some money was collected for him. There was a Scandinavian colony at McIvor; 25 Swedes, some Danes and two Finns, the Haggblom brothers. Wideman reckoned that the golden times in Australia were already over; only a couple of per cent of miners were lucky, but by hard work for others one could collect a considerable capital in a few years.

At the end of his long letter, obviously to his brother, Wideman promised to have it published in a paper, considering it useful for those intending to emigrate. "But I do not advise anybody to travel here, but quite the opposite, and I do this for love of my fellow people".

Claus Gronn; a Danish Goldminer of Seaman Background

Claus Mathieson Gronn was born at Mels, in Schleswig, Denmark, about 1833, and died in 1909 in Australia. At the age of fourteen he went to sea, and at sixteen he took part in the Three Year War of Schleswig-Holstein. After the war he spent a few years at sea, and arrived in Melbourne from London in 1854 on the ship Koh-I-Nor. The crew included also a Swede and a Finn. Many of the men intended to desert the ship, but they succeeded in persuading the captain to pay them off.¹

In Melbourne there was plenty of work available, the wage for a ten hour day being 15 shillings to £1.² However, Gronn longed for the goldfields and went to Castlemaine, 72 miles from Melbourne, with his companions. After a few days walk a grand panorama opened in front of them in Forest Creek. On the right hand side towered Mount Alexander, in the valley hundreds of white tents were glittering, and by the river hundreds of gold diggers were washing gold and more hundreds were engaged in carrying sand to the river. Nobody seemed to have time to talk to his neighbour. Almost all were young and strong men.

At Campbell's Creek Gronn took board and lodging for £1.15s a week, bought a Miner's Right for £1 and had capital of only £5 left when he started digging 'as a new chum'. As a rule he worked with one or more companions, Danes or others. The life was harsh, Europeans were not used to the climate and dysentery and other diseases raged. No wonder that more than one ton of deposited gold was never claimed. Also Gronn became sick and, while he recovered, his mate Peter Hansen worked with some countrymen from Bornholm. As pointed out before, men from the same place of origin stuck together on the goldfields. According to Gronn, Peter Hansen, like other Danes, was not able to speak English, while he himself as a former seaman had the command of the language.

1

Claus Gronn, "En Rejse til Australien i gamle Dage" (A Voyage to Australia in the Old Days), Norden, 171 and 172, 20 December 1902, pp. 11-12.

2

The following story is based on Claus Gronn, "Erindringer fra mit Guldgraverliv" (Reminiscences from my Gold-digging Days), Norden, 207, 30 April 1904 - 222, 26 November 1904; and in his biography "En af de Gamle" (One of the Old), Norden, 108, 14 July 1900, p.1: and in his obituary, Norden, 346, 16 October 1909, p.1.

Near Newstead a land auction was held one day and Peter Hansen and Peter Skjellerup, who were sons offarmers, bought 60 acres, Gronn also being a financial member in the bargain. As none of the two Peters understood English, the deal was made solely in Gronn's name. The two Peters started farming while Gronn continued his gold digging, quickly to become rich and visit his family in Denmark.

After digging for a time Gronn and Peter Hansen bought the share of Peter Skjellerup who in turn bought a new farm. Gronn was planning to continue gold-mining, but instead married a daughter of a nearby farmer and now also bought Peter Hansen's share.¹ After two years of crop failures and one year's illness the farm had to be auctioned, the debts totalling £730. Now Danish countrymen came to his assistance. An arrangement was made and Gronn was helped to open a small grocer's shop in Castlemaine. He was now able to pay his debts, but then due to competition the debts again started to grow with the number of his children (now 7, later altogether 20). His customers often forgot to pay their bills. However, of his few hundred Danish customers only one left without paying.

Gronn closed his shop, worked in the mines until 1876, then in breweries and some other jobs, visited once his native country and never made any big fortune, being a typical Scandinavian gold era settler.

1

Obviously at this time the two Danes were naturalized. Gronn was naturalized in 1859 at the age of 26, giving Green Gully as his residence and farmer as his occupation. The next name in the list is Peter Hansen of Gulford, ag 31, farmer, the year of arrival being 1854. Vic. Nat. 1859/175 and 176.

Appendix III: THE CREST OF THE WAVE: 1870-WORLD WAR I -
BIOGRAPHIES AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

BIOGRAPHIES

The Life Story of a Scandinavian Immigrant to Queensland in the 1870s

A. Nielsen of Rockhampton, a Danish Artisan

I was born in 1849 in the little village of Tudse, near Holbak, Denmark, one out of ten children. Nine years old I was sent to service during the summer and autumn months to shepherd geese, for which I received board, lodging and suit of home-made clothes.¹

In Holbak Nielsen served a four years apprenticeship to become a coachbuilder, proceeded to Copenhagen and worked in a tramcar factory. Due to the Franco-Prussian war work became scarce, and Nielsen rolled his swag and finally proceeded to Schleswig. In Haderslev he remained for two years in a coach-factory and married.

Queensland at that time was being boomed by agents as the Eldorado for young thrifty people, and all we had to do was to sign a document, pack our portmonteaues and take the first train to Hamburg, the wife and I decided to emigrate. The miserable trip to Australia, in the Reichstag, with sickness and death stalking the ship, has previously been referred to,² and all there need be said about it here is that it was an unbelievable relief when at long last we arrived in Maryborough.

From the Government depot I obtained my first job in Queensland, at an annual salary of 40, rations for two, and a house to live in. The job was with a landed proprietor at Pialba and consisted of rough carpentering, fencing and general work....Needless to say neither of us could speak a word of English; but as the overseer was of a kind-hearted disposition, we got on nicely and remained there for five months when we thought we could do better for ourselves by moving to Maryborough.

In Maryborough I got work, first as a carpenter and afterwards as a joiner and cabinetmaker, ending up as wheelwright with a young blacksmith who had just established himself in business. We got on well, and sharing a house with another married

1

J. Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland; X. The Life Story of a Queensland Immigrant", Norden, 901, 10 October 1931, pp.5-6; and "A. Nielsen", Norden, 468, 5 September 1914, pp.7-8.

2

Lyng, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand, p.126; and art. cit., Norden, 468, 5 September 1914, p.7, tell that about 40 passengers succumbed during the voyage of six months before the ship landed at Maryborough on 27 July 1873.

couple, ship-mates of ours, we got our own cottage. Our capital at landing - eleven shillings - had steadily increased, and after a couple of years we reckoned we had sufficient means to settle on the land and make our fortune by farming.

I took up 40 acres on the Pialba road, only three miles from the coast, built a two-roomed slabhut with detached kitchen - quite flash for the time - sank a well, fenced, cleared six acres for maize, made garden and planted grapevine. When we started, maize was 7 sh.6d. a bushell, but by the time of our first crop the price had dropped to 1sh.3d. Hoping for better times to come we hung on to the place, until the storekeeper stopped our credit, when I was forced to go to Maryborough to my old trade, and make arrangement with someone else to work my selection. I am sorry to say that the man I got was a complete failure. Things went from bad to worse and eventually I was compelled to abandon my country estate. It was re-selected, and all I got for fifteen months of hard labour, which I had put into it myself, was £12.

I may mention here that another Dane, Christian Hansen and myself were the first to select land in Pialba. After us came Emil Jensen, and then followed a whole host, till there was quite a Danish settlement. A young preacher (Sass) came to live among us. We called a meeting and in due course built a Danish church at Nikenbah, which I understand is still occasionally being used.

Nielsen worked in Maryborough for a while, moved then to Rockhampton, went to Dingo and back to Rockhampton and was the first to start building buggies there, working for various employers.

In 1882 my wife and I decided to pay a visit to our native land...with a dozen other Queensland Danes we landed at one of the familiar old wharves in Copenhagen...we made up our minds to remain in Denmark for an indefinite period to open business in the coach-building line....The venture was quite a success....Meanwhile Australia lingered continually in our minds, and in the end we decided to sell out and go back to sunny Queensland.

As soon as we had decided to return to Queensland I wrote to a friend in Rockhampton to obtain tickets from the Government for myself, my wife and a number of relations and friends, who desired to go with us. All told, old and young we became a party of about forty. The documents arrived, and we only had to pay one pound each, to be sent to London for our outfits on board.

Then the authorities in Copenhagen summoned Nielsen to appear before the court for being an unlicensed immigration agent. Before that day

arrived, however, Nielsen was already on the way to Australia with forty immigrants. They travelled via Hamburg and England and arrived safely in Queensland.¹

Arriving in Rockhampton I got busy finding work for my relations and friends, which I was fairly successful...the party had no difficulty in getting a start.²

Things went smoothly till 1893 when the economic depression, which commenced in Melbourne, reached Rockhampton. Nielsen's employer got into economic difficulties, and Nielsen decided to establish himself in business building coaches. After three or four years he was employing sixteen to seventeen hands. Then he built his own factory and carried on business for fifteen years. At the end of that time the motor trade commenced to interfere with the coach trade and Nielsen sold his business and retired.

My wife, who had come out with me from Schleswig, stood faithfully by my side in fortune and misfortune for 43 years, when she passed away. We had no children, and feeling lonely, after a couple of years I re-married. My present wife is a native of Mt Morgan, daughter of English parents and a descendant of the Earl of Beauford on her father's side. Though she is considerably younger than I am, the union is a happy one, and I have no cause for regret. I am now 83 years of age, in the best of health, and every Saturday enjoy bowls of which I am very fond. My excellent health I ascribe in a large measure to the fact that for the last 57 years I have been a total abstainer.

Hjalmar Fromen

A well-known Swede in Australia was Hjalmar Fromen. He was born at Kalmar, Sweden, in 1861. His father, originally a soldier, became a sea-captain in a ship of his own, and often took the son on his sea voyages. Captain Fromen was drowned in 1873 and the son went to work in an office at Svartvik near Sundsvall remaining there until 1880.

1

Nielsen's visit to Denmark lasted only 18 months, art. cit., Norden, 468, 5 September 1914, p.7.

2

Later chain-migration was obviously operating around A. Nielsen, a Danish pioneer settler, as appears from the life story of one of his brothers-in-law, who migrated to Queensland in 1895 and worked for twenty-six years as a blacksmith in Nielsen's coach factory. J. Lyng, "Scandinavian Settlement in Queensland, XI; The Life Story of a Plodder", Norden, 902, 24 October 1931, p.5.

Young Fromen suffered from snow blindness¹ and was advised to go to a sunny country where there was no snow. So, as a passenger on the Hilma, he arrived in Adelaide in November 1880. Like nearly all immigrants in those days he went to the country and worked for a German farmer near Kapunda. After a short trial the farmer told the 'new chum' he was not much good and had better go back to Sweden. But young Fromen went farther into the bush and after some months of 'colonial' experience returned to Adelaide and became assistant to a gardener for four years. There he learnt to grow fruit and vegetables as well as to sell them on the market. After being a bookkeeper for a while in 1886 he went to a goldfield at Teetulpa, 250 miles north of Adelaide, and opened a produce store. The goldfield soon gave out and Fromen continued on to Broken Hill. After having a store there for a while he returned to Adelaide, got married and decided to open up another business at Broken Hill, this time as a wholesale produce merchant. The business prospered, was converted into a large company, was extended to Adelaide, and opened several butter and cheese factories.

Meanwhile Fromen's wife died so he married a second time, having altogether seven children. In 1919 he sold the butter factories and the Adelaide wholesale business to the Farmers' Co-operative Union and was appointed the manager of the dairy produce department of the Union until he retired in 1935.

Fromen was a prominent citizen in South Australian social life being Finnish Vice-Consul for many years. He died in 1942.²

¹

Many Scandinavians since Ferdinand Muller in 1848 (see p.75) arrived in Australia for their health.

²

"The Late Hjalmar Fromen", Swedish-Australian and Swedish-New Zealand Trade Journal, XXIX, 4, April 1942, pp.74-75; and Hjalmar Bengtson, "E.H.F. Fromen", Norden, 923, 20 August 1932, p.4 - 924, 3 September 1932, p.5; and Saxon, pp.141-147.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

A Warning to Emigrants for Queensland

(A contemporary translation from the Aftonbladet (The Evening Journal), Stockholm, 9 March 1900).¹

A number of Agents have been canvassing for Emigrants for Queensland, Australia, and in advertisements promising wonders to those who would be inclined to court Fortune.

A Swede enticed by these promises and having gone to the distant country, has written to Aftonbladet warning his countrymen from following his example -

It is very difficult, he says, for a newcomer to get employment, which is natural enough in a country like Queensland where industrial pursuits are very little developed -

There are hundreds of idle labourers in the Colony, and many go begging their bread. As for free rations according to promise, they are cut very close; and I venture to say that no cottager in Sweden lives so frugally as the immigrants have to do at the Depots in Queensland. Wages are, upon the whole, not higher than in Sweden rather the other way; and the cost of living is much greater -

The reason for immigration to Queensland being free is probably to be found in the fact that the Government possesses vast deserts which are intended to be transferred to immigrants for settlement; but a man without means cannot on such land carry on farming with hopes of greater success than in Sweden. In addition to this it may be noticed that the best land has been disposed of long ago -

Besides farming labour a man can obtain mining work, railway work, and now and then some work at the erection of buildings in different parts of the Colony, but only very little -

¹

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 24 April 1900, "Scandinavian Immigration 'Unfounded Statements'", QA, in-letter 4644/1900, PRE/A 54. The translation is the original, probably done by the Queensland migration agents, and for this reason the language is more or less old fashioned.

No labourer can now expect to be more successful in Queensland than in Sweden for wages are continuously coming down owing to the great influx of immigrants -

People with families ought especially to give up the idea of emigrating for they have no prospect of acquiring so much as to enable them to return to their native country on finding themselves disappointed in their hopes -

A single person, however, may possibly be able to earn sufficient to take him away from this place, which is what every one desires after having experienced the facts. I have consulted a great number of Scandinavians both in North and South Queensland, and all are agreed in asserting that they are worse off in this Colony than they would be in any of the Scandinavian countries -

In conclusion, says our Correspondent; may this simple information given in the name of Charity and humanity, be well considered by every one that feels inclined to listen to the fair promises of the emigration Agent's.

* * * * *

Another article was translated from the Social-Democraten, Sweden, of 9 September 1900:¹

I am very sorry I came here with my family, as there are bad times and no work to be had.

We have been here for ten months and of these I have been working for two. Otherwise we have lived on what good people have given to us, and it is not nice to be the father of a family when you cannot work for your bread. We have four little ones, and under such conditions there is often nothing to eat. It is hard to send your children to bed without supper. We have done that many times in Queensland...

1

Department of Immigration to the Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, Brisbane, 21 November 1900, QA, in-letter 12294/1900, PRE/A 76.

When we came ashore here, there came a man to accompany us to the Immigration Depot, where we were to stay until we got work. The first sight that met us was hundreds of paupers of different ages, who came for rations once a week. This made a bad impression on us all. A lot of Blacks, called Kanakas, are imported from Solomon-Islands. They are paid 54 crowns (3) a year. There came many ships with Blacks after our arrival.

The day after our landing, there came a planter who wanted labourers. Part of our company then took engagement on an arrowroot plantation. After two weeks they returned to Brisbane all of them. They had to work from 4 a.m. till 8 p.m. They got food thrice a day, consisting of tea, bread and meat the whole week. Never had they butter, coffee, or anything tasty, and they were quite beside themselves for having come to Queensland.

Much more I could tell about us unfortunate Immigrants, who have been gulled out here; but it would be too long for a letter. I have tried in every way, by applications from advertisements, through Registry-offices, in vain; even the very hardest labour have I tried to get, but it was not to be had, and we are on the brink of starvation.

Something ought to be done that no more are fooled out here with their families, for it is a sad thing what we are exposed to. My address is now: Main Street, Kangaroo Point, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.

Yours truly,

(Signed) Nicolai Thue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is a select bibliography of those sources referred to in the text and is arranged under the following headings:

- A. ARCHIVAL
 - 1. Australian Colonies (States)
 - 2. Commonwealth of Australia
 - 3. Institutional Archives
 - 4. Other
- B. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS
 - 1. Australian Colonies (States)
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 - 3. Other
- C. BOOKS AND ARTICLES
- D. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
- E. MANUSCRIPTS
- F. INTERVIEWS AND LETTERS

A. ARCHIVAL

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QA.

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