Manoeuvring Mixed Signals

Swedish American newspapers’ response to nativism during, and after the Great War

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Abstract

This thesis aims to explore how the nativism which emerged in the United States during the Great War affected the political discourses conducted in three Swedish American newspapers on the West Coast. The fluid, contextual, and sometimes contradicting inter-ethnic relationship between Swedish-Americans and Anglo-Americans is studied by examining how the papers responded and interacted with Anglo-American opinions. Political discourses that directly addressed the Great War were deeply affected. A divide emerged between native-born Anglo-Americans and Swedish Americans, which the papers resented. The native-born population was continuously agitated against and criticized in the Swedish papers. A response to the agitation that the Swedish papers themselves perceived. Other political discourses yielded completely different results regarding prohibition and women’s right to vote where the papers willingly aligned themselves with the Anglo-American hegemony. The results have implications for the understanding of inter-ethnic relationships as this thesis proves that a subordinate ethnicity can have simultaneous, somewhat contradicting, relationships to the dominant ethnicity in different political discourses.

Keywords: Swedish-American History, American Ethnic History, Swedish-American newspapers.
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1. Introduction

The Swedish American community could not possibly have fathomed how deeply the Great War would affect them when Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand in late June 1914. In San Francisco, California, the Swedish paper *Vestkusten* worried that Sweden would get involved.\(^1\) In California's northern neighbor state, Oregon, the Swedish paper *Oregon Posten* reiterated the worry in an editorial.\(^2\) Their colleagues in *Pacific Tribune*, the Swedish paper in America's northernmost state along the Pacific Coast, Washington, were more optimistic. Seemingly not too worried of Sweden possibly becoming involved, but instead publishing an article on the front page on the possible benefits the war will have for the state's wheat production.\(^3\) They could not possibly have foreseen at this point that the war would threaten the enterprise and make the Anglo American population suspect every Swedish American of potentially being disloyal to the republic.

Before the war, Swedish immigrants were considered desirable. The Anglo-American society viewed them as a welcome addition to the republic, especially compared to the Catholic and Jewish immigrants that emigrated during the late 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries. When the war broke out in Europe, 1914, United States looked both outward and inward as it examined itself and its population. If the United States were to join the fight, could they count on their massive immigrant population to be loyal to the United States and not their countries of origin if the states would end up on opposing sides? Nativism permeated the American mind. Immigrant communities were being attacked. Their allegiance to their adopted country was under scrutiny. The nativism of the first world war differed from the nativism that preceded it both in accusations and in scope. Immigrants were suspected of being subversive, not only the "new" immigrants stemming from eastern and southern Europe, but all immigrants were accused of holding international sympathies.

*Vestkusten*, *Oregon Posten*, and *Pacific Tribune* resented the sudden discrimination Swedish Americans faced from Anglo-American society and would discuss and oppose it continuously throughout the war and after. This thesis examines how heightened nativism affected the Swedish American papers' political coverage and how it affected their relationship to the Anglo-American hegemony.

Before the war, Swedish Americans were on good terms with the Anglo American population. Good terms were a prerequisite for slowly attaining the hegemonic position that Anglo Americans possessed and keeping the distance downwards to new immigrants or non-white citizens. This

\(^1\) *Vestkusten*, 30 July 1914, p. 1.
\(^2\) *Oregon Posten*, 5 August 1914, p. 4.
\(^3\) *Pacific Tribune*, 30 July 1914, p. 1.
thesis intends to examine how three Swedish newspapers on the Pacific Coast perceived the Anglo American – Swedish American relationship in the political discourses from 1912 to 1920. How did the relationship change throughout the period?

1.1. Purpose and research questions

The overarching purpose of this thesis is to analyze the fluid, shifting, and contradicting nature of inter-ethnic relations in early twentieth-century America. The study has been conducted with the research questions: How did nativism affect the political discourses in the Swedish American newspapers? How did the papers' opinions on Swedish Americans' position in American society, either actual or desired, influence the papers' political discourse?

The purpose will be achieved through tracing the political proximity between the Anglo-American core and three Swedish American papers' political discourses on the West Coast from 1912 to 1920. This thesis will concern itself with Swedish American papers' response to Anglo-American values, worries, and politics before, during, and after the first world war. The response will be studied in its manifestations in three Swedish newspapers' political coverage from 1912 to 1920. The political discourses of nativism during the first world war, whether the United States should join the war or not, Americanization efforts after the war, working-class issues, women's suffrage, and prohibition of consumption of alcoholic beverages will be analyzed. The results will be understood by applying the concept of hegemony and Nancy Fraser's concept of Subaltern Counterpublics and will contribute to the ongoing scholarship on ethnic hierarchies.

1.2. Historical background

1.2.1. Nativism, before the Great War

The political discourses that are to be studied must be understood in their historical context. The general political context of the early 20th century is too vast to be extensively summarized here. Still, it is appropriate to account for the prevailing and emerging nativism, which established a dividing line between all immigrants and the native-born Anglo-Americans. Jeffrey Ostler defines nativism as "Fear of 'the other,' of minority groups seen as alien peoples threatening a dominant population." While this is an appropriate umbrella term, it does encapsulate a wide variety of

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4 Native-born, or “infödd” in Swedish, was the most common word the papers used to refer to Anglo-Americans. When used in this thesis Anglo-Americans are referred to, although the term technically could include second-generation immigrants, Native Americans and African Americans, it did not in how the papers used it, and it does not in how this thesis use it.

5 Ostler 2009, p. 923.
sentiments that are useful to distinguish from one another. Let us first examine the nativism which preceded the Great War.

The early twentieth century was a turbulent period in and of itself, preceded by the civil war, decades of mass immigration from Europe, and the industrial revolution was in full force. The revolution had caused a rapid transition for millions of Americans. Furthermore, waves of immigration amounted to a drastic change in the relative homogeneity of the (white) American population. The population had historically consisted mainly of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, referred in this thesis to as Anglo-Americans. The immigrants who arrived before 1880 had been too few and too scattered to significantly influence election outcomes or challenge the American identity as something broader than strictly consisting of Anglo-Americans.

The demographic makeup of the cities had changed with industrialization, which leads to a nativist populism that condemned the lives lived by immigrants in urban American cities. The demographic makeup of the cities had changed with industrialization. Historian Jackson Lears argues that Anglo-Americans perceived it as "a devil's playground swarming with painted women and confidence men." The cities were considered "no place for a plain-spoken protestant." They were indeed populated to an unproportionate degree with new Catholic immigrants, different from the Anglo-American core in ethnicity and religion. Prostitution, excessive drinking, and corruption in city politics disgusted the middle class and could be remedied. During the late 19th century American Protestantism escalated its institutional measures to heighten the morale in American urban areas. The power dynamic is essential here. Anglo-American protestants did not only resign themselves from the responsibility of causing the problem but also assumed the missionary role of imposing morals to the population who were accused of lacking morals. The religious unity of the Anglo-American core in the protestant faith welcomed Swedish emigrants who generally were protestants but created a stark boundary to immigrants with different beliefs. The increase of Catholics and Jews was cause for moral alarm, Protestants argued. The dominant Protestant culture responded with a heightened sense of nativism toward the streams of immigrants who arrived in the United States—slightly reducing the scope of the in-group also to exclude immigrants, establishing a White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant dominant culture.

Swedish Americans were generally spared from Protestant nativism, at least during the early 20th century. They were generally Protestants themselves, lived to a much higher degree rurally than other immigrants, and were racially considered more desirable than immigrants who, as historian Matthew Frye Jacobson puts it, emigrated from "unanticipated regions of Europe." Jacobson

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6 Hofstadter 1955, p. 6.
7 Hofstadter 1955, p. 7.
8 Lears 2009, p. 134.
9 Boyer 1978, p. 163.
10 Boyer 1978, p. 121.
11 Boyer 1978, p. 133.
argues that these immigrant groups (southern/eastern Europe) begged the question for the nativists about the previously "unquestioned connection between 'whiteness' and 'fitness for self-government.'"12 Swedish Americans were generally, fortunately for them, spared nativist attacks during the decades leading up to the Great War.

1.2.2. The nativism of the Great War

The 1910s would, above all else, be defined by the Great War taking place from 1914 to 1918. The Great War dominated the political arena, almost replacing the previous political discourse. A telling example that Vaughn highlights are that the political enemies of the political discourse before the war, "the city boss, the large corporation, graft corruption," had been replaced with new enemies, "the Kaiser, the German militarists, and Prussianism."13 While Vaughn was correct in identifying this shift in progressive rhetoric, other new enemies emerged before America joined the war in 1917, disloyal elements in the own population. These disloyal elements included ideological enemies such as radical socialists, and more importantly for this thesis, a general suspicion towards all ethnic Americans. Derogatory, they were called "hyphenated Americans," referring to the hyphen that connects the old world with the new for Swedish-Americans, Jewish-Americans or Irish Americans, etc. English Americans curiously enough were spared this slur.

Deconde argues that the "Anglo establishment, which condemned the persistence of ethnic diversity as incompatible with national unity, insisted anew upon an American patriotic solidarity that it had defined."14 The suspicion was most obvious regarding German Americans. Theodore Roosevelt asserted in 1916 that "No good American can have any feeling except scorn and detestation for those professional German-Americans who seek to make the American president in effect a viceroy of the German Emperor." He continued to argue that "adherence to the politico-racial hyphen is the badge and sign of moral treason."15 President Wilson shared those same sentiments but did not single out German-Americans. Instead, an unnamed "small minority of foreign-born citizens" was accused of "trying to levy a species of political blackmail, saying 'do what we wish in the interest of foreign sentiment, or we will wreak vengeance in the polls.'"16 The loyalty to the flag was tested, and the attitudes towards immigrants were filled with suspicion.

Not only German Americans felt oppressed. Previous scholarship has established that Swedish Americans felt attacked during the war, possibly because of assumed sympathy with the Old World's largest Lutheran country. Swedes were generally against American intervention, very much like German immigrants.17 It is not out of the question that Swedes did sympathize with Germany.

14 Deconde 1992, p. 82.
15 Carlson 2003, p. 77.
16 Fulwider 2016, p. 111.
17 Bergman 2017, p. 84. Lindmark 1971 p. 73.
and supported them in the war. Still, it is historically difficult to convincingly confirm this since it would be politically tricky for Swedes to express those opinions publicly during and immediately after the war. Erika K. Jackson has, however, noted that a few Swedish newspapers in Chicago were explicitly pro Germany in 1914.18

What is more remarkable and stays valid for the entire war is a general frustration among Swedes that disloyalty was perceived to be distributed along ethnic lines. Swedish writers propagated that native-born Americans could be just as unpatriotic as immigrants.19 The American immigrant historian Oscar Handlin put it best in his speech America Recognizes Diverse Loyalties when he concluded that "The meaningful question… is not whether loyalties are divided, but whether they can be justified in terms acceptable to all Americans."20 During the Great War, divided loyalties were not justified according to the Anglo-American dominant culture. The anti-immigrant sentiments spearheaded by the likes of Roosevelt suggest that the dual beliefs that Swedes did feel were not patriotic enough and therefore unacceptable.

As in the battles in Europe, the war has always been overshadowed in the Swedish American historiography. The anti-immigrant sentiments that flourished during the war and the political measures taken by the Wilson administration to counteract any disloyalty and the general anti-immigrant sentiments during this time have been of greater interest. The "feeling of being a 'foreigner' became as dreaded as leprosy."21 A ripple effect arose, hurting the Swedish language press since Swedish Americans would not want to be seen reading, or worse, subscribing to, a non-English newspaper. Furthermore, wartime restrictions severely harmed the papers' freedom of expression.22 The hostile attitudes towards immigrants can be interpreted in two ways. Either a reaction against perceived disloyalty during the Great War or as a continuation and climax of the anti-immigrant sentiments that had slowly grown since the Civil War ended in 1865. During the first world war, the hostility was more "inclusive" than the anti-Catholic or antisemitic sentiments that had characterized the progressive and populist movement. Instead, the questions of loyalty came into question, which to some degree incorporated all immigrants. Most often preceded with a European nationality and hyphen, any deviation from an American identity was suspicious and attempted to be solved through "Americanization" efforts aiming for a more homogenous population.

Categorically framing the anti-immigrant rhetoric as exclusively directed towards Catholics, Irish Americans, and Jewish-Americans - and during the Great War, Germans - misses the underlying truth: Being American is conditional as a first- or second-generation immigrant. Your status as an American is not to be taken for granted if you are foreign-born. This distraught Swedish Americans,

18 Jackson 2019, pp. 141–142.
19 Lindmark 1971, p. 31.
20 Handlin 1950, p. 225.
21 Jenson 1972, quoted in Bergman 2017, p. 86.
22 Lindmark 1971, p. 135.
despite the relative lack of suspicion, explicitly headed their way. Unassimilated immigrants were deemed as threatening American democracy and the melting pot. Resisting Americanization and insisting on speaking their native tongues was suspicious.\textsuperscript{23} 

The historiography on the anti-immigrant sentiments during the early twentieth century in general and during the Great War has mainly concerned itself with immigrant groups from southern Europe or Catholic groups. How did Swedish Americans respond to the anti-immigrant sentiments of the first world war? Generally, they became less outspoken with their ethnic identity, being less likely to subscribe to Swedish newspapers.\textsuperscript{24} In Chicago, Scandinavians distanced themselves from the ethnic groups most scrutinized before the war, immigrants from eastern Europe. Self-preservation efforts that distinguished Scandinavian Americans from the less desirable immigrants. A Chicago editor reminded his readers that they had no solidarity or common ties with eastern Europeans. It was symptomatic for the self-preservation strategy applied in Chicago, condemn lesser immigrant groups rather than "proving their worth as hyphenated Americans."\textsuperscript{25} Historian Erika K. Jackson argues that this response is founded in a perception of their high racial position in the Republic, making it excessive to reaffirm their loyalty. Aware of and influence of nativist thinkers of the time, the Scandinavian American press emphasized their racial identification as "Nordics" to distinguish themselves from other immigrant groups.\textsuperscript{26}

1.1. Previous Research

1.1.1. How Swedish Americans were perceived.

Let us begin by establishing the fact that Swedes were considered white. It is vital since Swedish immigrants already at arrival could enjoy greater privileges than non-whites in America. This thesis is concerned with Swedish-Americans' proximity and relationship to Anglo-Americans by studying how it manifested itself in Swedish papers' political coverage. They would always be considered more fit for self-government than African Americans or Asian Americans based solely on their skin color.

Previous scholarship has concluded that Swedes were privileged in the republic, even compared to other white immigrant groups. It is evidently the case during the early twentieth century. Barbara Miller Solomon argues that Scandinavians were initially met with suspicion at arrival in the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{27} Still, the Anglo-American society slowly warmed up to the Scandinavian addition to

\textsuperscript{23} Vaughn 1980, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{24} Lindmark 1971, p. 135.
\textsuperscript{25} Jackson 2019, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{26} Jackson 2019, pp. 144–145.
\textsuperscript{27} Miller Solomon 1956, 80-81.
the American mosaic and was considered a favorable immigrant group by the end of the 19th century. Why was this the case?

Scandinavians had a head start due to their religious proximity to the host society because of their protestant faith, which, as elaborated on in the historical background, was an essential part of the Anglo-American identity during the late 19th and early 20th century. Additionally, they were perceived as racially desirable as "Nordics," also an important variable during this time.

Historian of nativism John Higham has argued that quick assimilation contributed significantly to the acceptance of an immigrant group. Several historians have concluded that it was precisely assimilation that rendered the host society's perception of Swedes as desirable immigrants. Swedish Americans emphasized their desirability, highlighting the positive aspects of their past, present, and members. One should not exaggerate these campaigns' effect on their perception in the gaze of Anglo-Americans since this behavior was frequent in virtually every ethnicity in the United States during this time. However intriguing, the content of this self-assertion is early scholarship on Swedish Americans (by Swedish Americans) praise the ethnicity's ability to assimilate. Historian Stephenson writes in 1932 that "students of immigration are in almost unanimous agreement that the Swedes Americanized more quickly and thoroughly than any other immigrant stock," indicating that Swedes performed well in their assimilation. In his article on Swedish-Americans and the first world war, he argues that Swedes were deemed to be desirable immigrants because "they leave a less notable trace in the fabric of our society than any other non-English-speaking stock." A homogenous society was considered a beneficial pursuit, and this pursuit meant conformity by immigrants to the Anglo-Saxon populations' norms.

Assimilation happens in the interaction with the host society. Lars Ljungmark argues that Swedes Americanized quickly because ethnic characteristics were shunned upon. Assimilation made the individual emigrant less likely to be considered a "dumb Swede." Arguing that becoming an American was a decision made for selfish reasons because Anglo-America was discriminating against those who wanted to preserve their old-world identity. Dag Blanck contrasts the whole notion of Swedish-Americans having to shed their Old-World skin by arguing that ethnic identity was compatible with an American identity. He suggests the creation of ethnic identities is a "logical consequence of American nationalism." A nationalism that allowed "voluntary pluralism" for most European immigrant groups, Swedish Americans included. "As long as the members of an ethnic group loyally adhered to the abstract political philosophies that formed the basis for the US, the American national idea allowed for the maintenance and creation of the groups' ancestral

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cultures." It is important to note that Blanck studies Swedish institutions during the nineteenth century. The populist anti-immigrant sentiments had not yet reached their climax, and the Swedes' lessons had a significant political mandate in their immediate surroundings.

The literature on Swedes that specifically resided on the West coast is scarce. H. Arnold Barton considers them "essentially an extension of the Swedish Midwest" due to often spreading westward from the core of settlements in the Midwest. However, some scholarly research has been conducted. Lars Nordström has compiled an anthology of texts on Swedish Oregon, but they do not touch upon the themes in this thesis of inter-ethnic relations or political discourses in greater detail. One text is relevant in its choice of source material: Viktoria Owenius' comprehensive history of Oregon Posten from its first publication in late 1908 until its last in early 1936. Literature on Washington and California is scarce. No significant research has been conducted on Swedes in either state. Still, a couple of articles have been written which are different from this thesis in either period studied, sources used, or themes touched upon.

1.1.2. Swedish American political participation and attitudes

This thesis is not the first study on Swedish Americans in American politics. Historians have for decades asked how Swedes participated in the politics of the United States and if they constituted a coherent voting block, and, if so, what their attitudes and opinions were.

Klas Bergman has written about the relationship between the political climate of Sweden and the political behavior of Scandinavian emigrants in Minnesota in his book Scandinavians in the State House. Bergman emphasizes what Scandinavians brought with them from their home country - the Lutheran religion, a history of temperance societies, and support for education. Scandinavians were very successful in Minnesotan politics, which Bergman argues resulted from Scandinavians simply being prominent in numbers, politically aligning with the Yankees and German Americans' inability to organize themselves politically. Bergman explains Swedes generally positive attitude towards the Republic party from the party's conception in the mid 19th century by Swedes' antislavery and pro-prohibition sentiments. The book differs heavily from this thesis since it mainly concerns itself with Scandinavian politicians in Minnesota, rather than voters, Scandinavian discourses, or the relationship to Anglo-America. Carlsson attributes Scandinavians' disproportionate representation in Minnesota to a constitutional tradition and clubs, churches, newspapers, and "personal propaganda on the local level." He raises the question of voting based

55 Barton 1995 p. 23
56 Owenius 2008.
59 Bergman 2017, pp. 11–27.
60 Carlsson 1976, p. 294.
on the ethnic origin of a candidate, arguing that while it is a factor, party politics play a much more significant role. It is difficult to conclude this when studying Minnesota since the voters often were offered multiple Scandinavians on the ballot. Bergman convincingly argues that Scandinavians would not vote on a Nordic candidate simply because of them being Nordic. The vote had to be deserved.

Bergman and Carlsson focus on election outcomes and Scandinavian political actors rather than the general Scandinavian population's political attitudes. Dag Blanck has studied Swedish American voting patterns in the gubernatorial election in Minnesota 1918, concluding that there was a significant spectrum in political and social ideas within the Swedish American community Minnesota, though firmly being republican. Finis Hebert Capps *The views of the Swedish-American press toward the United States – Japanese relations 1914-1945* studies foreign policy attitudes Swedish American press. He has sketched out a couple of general attitudes that the newspapers he analyzed possessed. A general apprehension toward idealism was prevalent in his source material. Even before American entered the first world war, Swedish editorials had oozed pessimism regarding the ability of politicians to prevent war. He could sense some sympathy for Germany battling commercial England and Catholic France. Capps book is quite narrow in its scope, and only studies the Swedish American press’ opinions on neutrality, isolationism and intervention. Differing from this thesis which studies how the Great War affected the general Swedish American political coverage, not only the discourse on foreign policies.

The Swedes studied are generally either resided in the Midwest or on the East coast. George W. Scott has detailed Scandinavians' contribution to Washington politics. His focus on politicians and politics in and of itself makes for a chronology rather than analysis. It is not too helpful for this thesis, but he does emphasize Scandinavian politicians' support for prohibition and women's suffrage, which is an exciting result for this thesis.

This thesis concerns itself with the relationship to the Anglo-American core, viewing the political discourse as an arena where Swedish Americans could assert their proximity through political alignment and collaboration. Kenneth J. Moynihan has shown how political participation, congenial with the WASP consensus, especially in questions of prohibition, allowed Swedes to edge close to Anglo Americans, at least in their immediate environment. Charles W. Estus and John McClymer have found an extreme expression of this in their study of Swedish Americans in Worcester, Massachusetts. Swedes in Worcester chose to align themselves with the Anglo-

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42 Bergman 2017, pp. 32–33.
43 Blanck 2001, p. 327.
44 Capps 1966, p. 21.
45 Capps 1966, pp. 31–58.
46 Scott, 2005.
American core and strongly supported the Ku Klux Klan during the 10s and 20-s.\textsuperscript{48} However, previous scholars have not studied the political arena to trace the relationship to Anglo Americans, instead highlighting specific possibly extreme manifestations of Anglo conformity, as in Estus' and McClymers' study, or primarily studying Anglo American perceptions as in Moynihan's article. This thesis expands the previous scope of inter-ethnic relations in including political issues where Swedish American opinions and Anglo-American opinions differ.

1.2. Method

As stated above, this thesis aims to study the fluid, shifting, and contradicting nature of inter-ethnic relations. Therefore, it is appropriate to explore not only the papers' direct responses to nativism but a scope broad enough to distinguish when, where, and why a political issue is, or is not, discussed in ethnic terms. The range chosen is the political coverage of three Swedish newspapers on the Pacific Coast. Political discourses have the added benefit of being an interesting object of study in and of itself. The political discourse is viewed as an arena where Swedish-American papers in their texts about politics analyze, evaluate and negotiate their place in American society. It has been studied by reading three Swedish newspapers from 1912 to 1920. While it was possible to search the papers and analyze a broader period or more newspapers, I chose not to due to the papers being poorly OCR-read. Besides, a cover-to-cover reading allows the historian to analyze relevant information, which uses wording that evades possible search terms, most common in texts with an ironic tone.\textsuperscript{49}

The political discourses chosen were central issues of the time. Prominent both in contemporary scholarship and in the Swedish papers. The first three discourses directly concern themselves with the nativism of the Great War. They are related to each other and overlaps to the extent that it is appropriate to fit the discourses in one chapter, chapter 3. The discourses concern first the papers' response to nativism, whether the United States should join the war and which side and the assimilation efforts proposed and conducted after the United States joined the war. The chapter is followed by discourses that do not necessarily relate to the nativism of the Great War. This is a conscious effort that enables the thesis to trace the extent of both the nativism of the Great War and the nativism's effect of inter-ethnic relations between Swedish Americans and Anglo Americans in political discourses where the nativism of the Great War was absent.

Chapter 4 concerns the first red scare and working-class issues. Central political topics of the time, especially in 1919 and 1920, are followed by chapter 5, which concerns the political discourses


\textsuperscript{49} An example from this thesis is the word “Amerikan”, American, which was often used to refer to native-born Americans but is useless as a search term since pretty much every page published would give a hit anyway. “Infödd”, native-born, is a decent substitute which includes most serious discussions on the subject but leaves out the ironic sly comments which would have evaded most key words searched.
of the two most significant reform movements. The discourses surrounding women's right to vote and prohibition, discourses which previous scholars have argued were particularly nativist albeit in a somewhat different way than the nativism of the Great War.

I have not conducted an empirical study measuring and ranking the political issues after how many column inches they produced, but I would be surprised if any topic not chosen would supersede those selected for this thesis. I considered featuring different discourses where ethnicity was more heavily featured, topics that were not political at all but clearly ethnic, but ultimately chose not to. Studying political discourses is appropriate precisely because of the broad spectrum it presents. Both issues that the papers make explicitly ethnic and issues entirely free from ethnicity in the political coverage are of interest. The absence is noteworthy, possibly just as revealing as the newspapers' relationship to Anglo American society as overt presence.

For the purpose of this thesis, the reasoning, language, and attitudes in the newspapers are considered more interesting than election results. Studying Swedish American voting patterns is possible, but those results would not say much in a political system with few parties, all containing many different ideas and opinions. Instead, the papers' ideological proximity to Anglo-Americans is continuously traced. The papers' perception is essential, and therefore the papers' perception of Anglo-Americans and their motives will be extracted and contrasted to the opinions of the Swedish press. Scholarly literature will be invoked to represent Anglo-American opinions when the Swedish newspapers either do not refer to Anglo-Americans in the discourse or when the perception of the Swedish paper of Anglo-American opinions differs heavily from the scholarly literature. Contrasting the thesis results to local American newspapers would serve my purpose well but has not been pursued. It would be too labor-intensive for a master's thesis and the relevant archives to be difficult to access.

Anglo-Americans are not ideologically and politically a homogenous block, and neither are Swedish-Americans, but previous scholars have established general tendencies. Especially scholars of American ethnic history find it helpful to contrast ethnic opinions to those of Anglo-American, generalizing both sides. It is, however, important to do stress that the degree of heterogeneity that did exist among Anglo-Americans was crucial in creating a political climate where ethnic minorities, at least in some cases, felt comfortable opposing the dominant ethnicity.

The period chosen is the tumultuous years from 1912 to 1920, which contains one world war, two major reforms in prohibition and women's suffrage, and three presidential elections. Historian Alexander Deconde argues that ethnic Americans during and after the first world war became painfully aware of their ethnic deviations. Fear of disloyalty caused widespread hysteria towards foreigners. Therefore, it is an appropriate period to study since ethnicity was top of mind for ethnic actors and the "non-ethnic" native population. Negative sentiments towards foreign-born citizens were not new in America during this decade, but it did reach a never-before-seen climax during the war. It is an appropriate period to study ethnic political participation since the anti-foreign
hostilities of the first world war, according to previous scholars, heightened the ethnic consciousness of all minorities.\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Disclaimer}, during the development of this thesis, a more and more lopsided focus has been put on 1915 and forward. However, the years prior are still interesting as a starting point compared to 1920 can discern a development.

The methodology chosen as most appropriate to study Swedish American newspapers' relationship to the ethnic hierarchy is discourse analysis. Fairclough argues that the use of language is a social practice, a mode of action which is "always a socially and historically situated mode of action in a dialectical relationship with other facets of 'the social.'" Language use is socially shaped; their surroundings and social context, therefore, shape the Swedish papers. But it is also \textit{constitutive}, socially shaping. Language use, therefore, shapes both social identities and social relations.\textsuperscript{51} Social identities fundamentally influenced the Swedish American experience, and social relations, which Fairclough argues are constructed in discourse. Previous scholarship has convincingly argued that social identities and social relations were prominent in the political discourses of the 10's, especially for ethnic groups. To explore how and in what way, a couple of political discourses have been examined. How do they differ in the relationship to Anglo Americans? In the self-assessment of Swedes status? Comparing these discourses gives insight into the contextual variables of inter-ethnic relations. The issues examined have been selected because of their prominence and discussions, implicit or explicit, on inter-ethnic relations. Therefore, many exclusively Swedish political events or issues have not been covered, despite their prominence in the papers.

Critical discourse analysis allows the thesis to explore how the functional meaning of words like "American" or "immigrant" changes over time or on a political issue. The words might have consistent legal definitions over time but are socially constructed in everyday language use.\textsuperscript{52}

\textit{Oregon Pastor, Vestkusten}, and \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune} were important, perhaps the most important actors in constituting Swedish counterpublics in the three West Coast states, but they were not all-encompassing. Indeed, local secular organizations and Swedish congregations provided intimacy and a sense of community that the papers could not, but they did have much more limited reach. The papers' coverage of political issues is to be examined in this thesis. Every issue printed 1912-1920 has been read, and important topics and discussions have been selected for analysis in this thesis. The basis of the selection process is political issues that either implicitly or explicitly say something about the relationship between Swedish Americans and Anglo-Americans. A political arena is a place for renegotiation of influence and status. Swedish Americans can align themselves with Anglo-Americans or oppose their ambitions. Forward their rhetoric or challenge it. Previous scholars have emphasized the alignment, but this thesis intends to explore both sides of the political

\begin{footnotes}
\item[50] Deconde 1992, p. 82.
\item[51] Fairclough 2013, p. 92.
\item[52] Fairclough 2013, p. 414.
\end{footnotes}
conflict for a slightly more nuanced portrayal of Swedish-American and Anglo-American interactions in the political sphere.

1.3. Theory

This thesis studies a political arena where Anglo-American opinions and thoughts are responded to by Swedish papers. To understand the source material, one must first understand what Anglo America was in the Swedish American discourse and what kind of platform an ethnic newspaper is, and what it means for the source material.

1.3.1. Ethnicity

What ethnicity entails and means is vague. It varies both in the public discourse and in academia. In this thesis, ethnicity refers to a type of group identity rooted in cultural practices, beliefs, and values that have originated in a nation's or territory's shared tradition. Previous researchers have understood ethnicity as socially constructed, which emerges in different forms depending on the social context at a particular time. Ethnic groups become interest groups where individuals with shared interests and experiences organize themselves to achieve specific goals.

1.3.2. Hegemony

The theory of "cultural hegemony" is an appropriate framework when studying the relationship between the subordinate Swedish Americans and the dominant Anglo-Americans. Antonio Gramsci introduced the concept, contributing to the Marxism of the early 20th century by constructing a more nuanced understanding of Marx's superstructure and softening the rigid, structural social development contained in the Marxist tradition. Cultural hegemony refers to "the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes." Defined by Raymond Williams as a system of meanings and values – constitutive and constituting – which… appear as reciprocally confirming. Hegemony is not based primarily on the ruling class controlling the means of production but on the social and cultural elements of everyday life, which helps legitimize the power held by the ruling class. Artz and Ortega Murphy put it as "how social practices, relationships, and structures are negotiated among diverse social forces." The ruling class's power is considered natural since the hegemony aims to win the consent of the subordinate in supporting

53 Basch, Schiller & Szanton Blanc 1994, p. 43.
54 Engren 2007, pp. 49–50.
56 Artz & Murphy 2000, p. 3.
the ruling class. This system is what a hegemony consists of.57 Historian of Irish immigration to the United States, Kirby Miller, added that cultural hegemony is the generating of processes in which the "ruling class disseminates its values" to the subordinate classes, encouraging conformity to the ruling class values, norms, and behavior.58 The hegemony is created, maintained, and reinvented in institutions at the ruling class's disposal. This includes but is not limited to instruments of socialization such as religion, education, political parties, and trade unions.59 A hegemony set in place reproduces itself through a saturation making the norms and values of the dominant culture seem natural. The function of hegemony is to create what Gramsci calls a "spontaneous consent" to "the values, norms, perceptions, beliefs, sentiments, and prejudices that support and define the existing distribution of goods, the institutions that decide how this distribution occurs, and the permissible range of disagreement about those processes."60 To maintain consent, the hegemony has to appear consensual in culture and politically satisfy the majority while promoting the dominant groups' well-being.62

Scholars of American ethnic history are no strangers to the concept of hegemony. It is often used to analyze either the religious, ethnic, or racial hegemony.63 Historian of Irish immigration to the United States, Kirby Miller, has studied how distinct class conflicts took place inside the Irish immigrant community. Additionally, Jimmy Engren has studied the interaction between the Anglo-American society and Swedish immigrant workers in Minnesota using the concept of hegemony.64 This study differs from the usual way of implementing the concept of hegemony in historical research since readers supposedly read the source material from different socio-economic classes, written by writers with unknown material resources or class interests. But a more surface-level use of the concept of hegemony is still worthwhile when studying the relationship between a ruling class and subordinate class. The hegemony's demands of conformity and the subordinate class's ambition to negotiate the conformity process and advocate for their interests are appropriate when seeking to understand the relationship between Swedish Americans and Anglo Americans in the political coverage conducted by the Swedish west coast papers.

The United States has a long history of dealing with the assimilation of immigrants and dealing with any issues with their loyalty. Both the hegemonic forces of civil society and political measures have been taken to ensure their patriotism. Material incentives have been crucial, both real and the potential wealth that the "Horatio Alger" myth, a precursor to the American dream, promised.65
Basch mentions that the loyalty of white immigrants was maintained and shaped by a "national construction of the American people as a white people." In other words, elevating the immigrant over the non-white races on the ethnic hierarchy. However, the hospitality was limited as the hegemonic forces of the dominant class feared domestic populations possessing a political allegiance abroad. It is debatable if this was true in general for the entire period of European immigration, but it was undoubtedly true during the Great War.

The dominant group in the United States had been white ever since the foundation of the republic. In the 1840s, when immigration from Europe rose, the white population created internal divisions, favoring those from the "English race" or "Anglo-Saxon race" over the new white immigrant groups. It resulted in a hegemony maintained by racially white, ethnically Anglo-Saxon, and religiously Protestant citizens referred to as WASPs, White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in this thesis is referred to as Anglo-Americans. A successfully established hegemony relies on material, political and cultural conditions, boxes that the hegemony convincingly checked. It is possible to broaden or narrow the studied hegemony depending on the research purpose. For this thesis, Anglo-Americans constitute an appropriate hegemony. The source material identifies native-born Anglo Americans as in power time and time again. Previous scholars in American ethnic history or history of nativism have successfully conducted studies where Anglo Americans constitute the hegemony. Partly identified by the source material and partially because it has previously been used as a studied hegemony to great success. Jackson Lears argues that the most important keys to achieving and maintaining cultural hegemony are ideological and economic. Their ideology must appeal to many different groups within society and claim that their particular interests are the society's mutual interests. The subordinate groups were diverse, creating a myriad of "counter hegemonies" which deviate from the dominant hegemony through deviation in practices, experiences, and norms. Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc suggest that the creation and expression of counter hegemonies is a form of resistance of demands on assimilation from the dominant culture. Therefore, spontaneous consent to ruling class values was a gradual adoption of the dominant culture, assimilating toward a more homogenous condition. At the same time, the expression and perhaps devotion to ethnic deviation shown at a midsummer celebration was a resistance to the demands on assimilation.

70 Engren 2007, p. 50.
71 Miller 1990, pp. 102-104.
1.3.3. Subaltern counterpublics

The concept of hegemony allows us to understand the relationship between Anglo Americans and Swedish Americans. Let us now consider how one should understand the source material. Material that most of the population cannot comprehend cannot constitute a discourse in the public sphere. It can, however, constitute the discourse in a smaller, closed, Swedish sphere. Nancy Fraser argues that societies whose institutional framework causes unequal social groups in a dominating–subordinate structure cannot realistically achieve "full parity of participation in public debate." Instead, the public debate tends to subtly be beneficial for the dominant groups and disadvantageous for the subordinates while giving the appearance of representing everyone's interest. To combat this, subordinate groups establish what Fraser calls subaltern counterpublics. Subaltern counterpublics are "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs." Fraser uses the term in the context of the historiography of feminists, workers, LGBT communities, and people of color. These groups are fundamentally different from the Swedish-American community, but that does not mean that the use of subaltern counterpublics is inappropriate. Swedish-Americans did not face the kind of institutional oppression that the aforementioned groups did. More importantly, Swedish-Americans did not necessarily create a counterpublic reaction against the hegemony's oppressing efforts. The origin story differs, but Swedish-Americans did still create a subaltern counterpublic. It represented a Swedish identity to some degree, linguistically if nothing else, and defended Swedish interests when the hegemony opposed them. The subaltern counterpublic can combat the public discourse by creating language and discourses that help the subordinate group to comprehend their situation. According to Fraser, they are recasting needs and identities, "thereby reducing, although not eliminating, the extent of… disadvantage in official public spheres." The subaltern counterpublics contain "emancipatory potential," Fraser argues, due to their dual character as both "spaces of withdrawal and regroupment" and as "bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics." The relationship between the intra-ethnic withdrawal and the inter-ethnic ambitions of "training grounds for agitational activities" has been a neglected point of research on Swedish-Americans.

Additionally, it is essential to understand the Swedish papers as subaltern counterpublic to comprehend the content of what was published. During the Great War, publishing sympathies for Europe, especially Germany, would render one labeled a traitor to the republic. The range of

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72 Fraser 1992, p. 122.
73 Fraser 1992, pp. 122-123.
74 Fraser 1992, p. 123
75 Fraser 1992, p. 123.
76 Fraser 1992, p. 124.
77 Engren 2007, p. 23
acceptable political discourse narrowed significantly in the public. Arguing contrary to the public's belief in such tense times would cost the writer's political license. In the subaltern counterpublic, however, writers have greater freedom in opposing the public's perception. The relationship between the subaltern counterpublic and the public is inherently asymmetric, at least in the Swedish American papers. They responded continuously to the news items and opinions selected and considered by the Anglo-American public. In contrast, the public would find the Swedish papers inaccessible both linguistically and in having a very small circulation, presumably minimal in Anglo-American cultural spheres.

1.3.4. The ethnic hierarchy

Studying an ethnicity's relationship to Anglo Americans is, by default, a contribution to the relatively new concept of an ethnic hierarchy. Scholars have imagined a hierarchy where ethnicities' placement depends on how Anglo Americans perceived them. At the top, an Anglo-American core resides; many of them trace their bloodlines back centuries without crossing the Atlantic.

As the name suggests, ethnic hierarchies are theoretical frameworks supposed to be a litmus test of different ethnicities' status at a certain point in time. As a concept, ethnic hierarchies are still in their infancy. It is often recurring as a talking point to understand one ethnicity's position in society but has never been thoroughly defined. This thesis will contribute to the concept since studies on ethnic hierarchies, like this study, explore the relationship between a minority ethnicity and the host society in the United States during the 20th century. The host society is represented by Anglo-Americans.

An early example of a general racial hierarchy was employed by historian Caroline A. Waldron, arguing that during the 1890s in the mining town of Princeton, Illinois, a racial hierarchy existed with three tiers. White Americans on top, followed by African Americans and lastly Asian Americans. The hierarchy is general since it does not divide the different tiers into different ethnic categories but also quite specific in its' narrow geographic and temporal scope. Scholars who study Swedish Americans in the ethnic hierarchy do not concern themselves with Waldron's two lower tiers but try to pinpoint Swedish-Americans' position among white ethnicities. Whiteness is, of course, a fundamental reason for their position. Blanck argues in his article A Mixture of People with Different Roots that "The Swedish position in the American racial hierarchy was determined by how Swedes became a part of white American society," suggesting that Swedes climbed the hierarchy by conforming to the Anglo-Saxon norms and asserting their whiteness. It was welcomed by the majority society, "both immigrants and native-born Americans engaged in a process of making

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78 The reasoning is inspired by Fredrik Logevall's reasoning on the second red scare in Logevall 2020, p. 467.
79 Waldron 2000, pp. 56-57.
Swedes… a part of the American Anglo-Saxon heritage. Swedish-Americans conformed in several ways. One notable example is the alignment of sentiments with the Anglo-Saxon core. Blanck notes how Swedes adopt anti-Catholic opinions to create a distinction between the Catholic whites on one side and the Protestant whites on the other. Blanck uses an ethnic hierarchy that measures how the Anglo-American population perceived Swedish-Americans. He refers to an extended period and geographic scope, referring to Swedes in the 1840s and early 20th century, Swedes in Texas, Worcester, and Chicago. He concludes that Swedish Americans were quite comfortably considered white and situate themselves higher on the hierarchy than emigrants from Catholic countries.

In Blanck’s text, the hierarchy is consequently singular, suggesting that only one hierarchy was relevant at a certain point in time. Historian Jørn Brøndal has studied “hierarchies of whiteness,” suggesting an open mind toward the possibility that the ethnic hierarchy changes depending on context. In his article, Brøndal examines how nativist writers of the late 19th and early 20th century discuss the racial makeup of Scandinavians. Generally, very favorably. While reaching similar conclusions to Blanck, Brøndal does study a somewhat different hierarchy. Studying academics in fields that we today would dismiss as pseudo-science rather than the perception of ethnic behavior that Blanck examines. His result is contrasted to the Scandinavian experience during the first world war.

The perception of Scandinavians being a superior race did not shield them from suspicion of disloyalty and subsequent harassment. It highlights the fluid character of the ethnic hierarchy, which is intriguing for future research but disheartening in the evident lack of usefulness of the concept without proper contextualization. Whiteness scholars have underlined the changeability, fluidity of race. Jacobson studies how in 1877, conflicting racial discourses simultaneously took place. 1877 is not an anomaly, Jacobson argues, but symptomatic for the instability of race or a single group’s social standing. Contending racial schemes can coexist and continuously be sustained. The discrepancy between Brøndals and Blancks hierarchies implies several simultaneous hierarchies. Jacobson has established that race is fluid and conflicting discourses can coexist and yield different results. This thesis aims to study the implications for ethnic hierarchies. The history of an immigrant group is a complex path of ever-changing racial reality. In this thesis, the complexity will be considered for the conducting of ethnic hierarchies. Do different hierarchies emerge, or are one hierarchy is permanent no matter the context? Do different political discourses result in different ethnic hierarchies? I do not intend to study the makeup of ethnic hierarchies.

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80 Blanck 2014, p. 44.
81 Blanck 2014, pp. 40-41.
82 Brøndal 2014, p. 7.
83 Brøndal 2014, p. 28.
since it would be too ambitious for a master's thesis, but rather to study how Swedish Americans' proximity and kinship to the Anglo-American ethnicity were negotiated, and possibly differed, in different political discourses.

1.4. Sources

The source material chosen is three Swedish American newspapers. Newspapers are valuable sources for ethnic historians in their continuous discussions and reporting, even though they are often not the most objective sources. However, this is not a weakness for my thesis since the subjective and biased reporting might reveal more about the papers' inter-ethnic relations than objective retellings for sequences of events. Ethnic papers are both manifestations of Swedish American opinions, although not necessarily held by most Swedish Americans and influential actors in swaying the public opinion of Swedish-speaking citizens. Three Swedish-American newspapers, all situated on the West Coast, are used as sources for this thesis. The translations to English in the empirical study are mine.

776 000 Swedes had left home to pursue a life in the United States by 1890, most settled in the Midwest. Chicago, Illinois, became the most significant single hub for emigrants, and in Minnesota, the Swedes constituted 12.5% of the entire state population. Fewer Swedes migrated to the West Coast. In 1890, roughly 37000 lived in Washington, Oregon, and California combined, with only 5% of all Swedish emigrants. Twenty years later, the number had increased to 121000, making up 9% of the now 1 364 000 population of Swedish settlers. Despite this, minimal scholarship has taken an interest in these states. It is remarkable and upsetting since they were possibly facing a very different situation than those most frequently studied. The Minnesota population did not have to assimilate with as much urgency as their fellow countrymen on the West Coast, who scarcely made up 3% of the population in the region. They lacked the numbers to establish and maintain Swedish institutions of the caliber possible in Illinois, where Swedes founded Colleges and book concerns in collaboration with the Swedish Augustana Synod. This is not to say that there were no Swedish American communities in these states, quite the opposite. All three states had plenty of Swedish secular organizations, congregations, and most importantly, for this thesis, newspapers.

Swedes on the West Coast never established institutions as influential as the Augustana Synod in Illinois or became as dominant demographically and politically as they did in Minnesota. Still, I argue that this is not a weakness. Indeed, Swedes on the West Coast could not segregate to the same degree as their fellow countrymen in the Midwest. The Swedish settlers were too few to segregate themselves completely. They had to co-exist with the majority society, requiring a certain

87 Beijbom 2020, p. 11.
89 Ljungmark 1979, pp. 197-198.
degree of acceptance to thrive yet not having the means to establish colleges and electing
governors.\textsuperscript{90} The three largest Swedish American newspapers during this period on the West Coast
will be studied. \textit{Vestkusten}, situated in San Francisco, California, claimed a circulation of 4000 in
1915.\textsuperscript{91} The paper printed its first publication in 1887 and was managed by editor Alex Olsson
throughout 1912-1920. The 1910 census claims that roughly 46 000 Swedes lived in the state,
14 000 were born in Sweden.\textsuperscript{92} A tiny proportion of the general population of 2 377 000 citizens.\textsuperscript{93}

\textit{Oregon Posten}, situated in Portland, was the most important newspaper in Oregon. The first issue
was printed in 1908, founded by Fredrik W. Lönegren, who continued his work as editor through the
entirety of the studied period. The paper claimed a circulation of 2800 in 1915. It did have the
smallest circulation of all three studied newspapers but was also situated in the least populous state.
If one considers that only 10 099 Swedish-born lived in the state, the number becomes much more
impressive.\textsuperscript{94} Oregon is smaller, sizewise, than its neighbor state to the north and south and has a
smaller population. In 1910 about 672 000 inhabitants.\textsuperscript{95}

The largest Swedish newspaper in Washington was \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}, founded in 1889 as
\textit{Westra Posten}. From 1903 and until 1914, the paper was named \textit{Pacific Tribune} until finally settling
for \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}. The paper was situated in Seattle, managed by editor Nils Gillgren and
had the largest circulation of all three papers with a circulation of 12500 in 1915.\textsuperscript{96} Around 56 000
Swedes lived in the state, although only about 13 000 were born in Sweden.\textsuperscript{97} The state had
1 142 000 residents, making Washington by far the most Swedish state on the West Coast, making
up about 5\% of the population. Thanks to the Minnesota Historical Society, all papers mentioned
above are easily accessible online and are OCR-read.\textsuperscript{98}

There are some inherent problems with making general claims about an ethnicity if the ethnicity
is defined as everyone who emigrated from a particular territory. Historian Orm Øverland has
mentioned that there are in crass terms two responses adopted by immigrants when entering the
new world. Either one becomes American, leaving everything possible behind that revealed one to
be a foreigner, or to affirm the identity of the old world, insisting that it also was American.\textsuperscript{99} The
latter response created Swedish societies, congregations and read Swedish newspapers. Therefore,
the former response did not consume the opinions published or were catered to by journalists and

\textsuperscript{90} The Swedish American community of Oregon did produce a governor in 1929, A.W. Norblad, but he did not
campaign as an ethnic candidate and was controversial among Swedish voters, which will be expanded on in the
subchapter “The Norblad Bill”
\textsuperscript{91} https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/abstract/supplement-or.pdf
\textsuperscript{92} https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/swedishamerican/publishing
\textsuperscript{93} 1910 Census, supplement for California, p. 587.
\textsuperscript{94} 1910 Census, supplement for California, p. 568.
\textsuperscript{95} 1910 Census, supplement for Oregon, p. 568.
\textsuperscript{96} 1910 Census, supplement for Oregon, p. 587.
\textsuperscript{97} 1910 Census, supplement for Washington, p. 587.
\textsuperscript{98} The papers are accessible here: https://newspapers3.mnhs.org/jsp/browse.jsp
\textsuperscript{99} Øverland 2000, pp. 1–2.
editors. When Swedish Americans are mentioned in this thesis, those who made the latter response are referred to. A second problem is the ethnic papers’ commercial interests. The papers were reliant on a consumer base that would not settle with English newspapers. One obvious way to offer something unique was the Swedish language, which the three papers studied all employed. Beijbom argues that there is a general ideological tendency among Swedish papers in the United States to simultaneously promote the Swedish ethnicity and cultural assimilation, sharing advice and information about American society and encouraging readers to be active participants in the new society.¹¹⁰ This tendency does not disqualify the sources as non-credible but is something to be attentive for.

2. Prologue, 1912 – An ethnicity divided.

Let us begin the empirical study by briefly establishing the political climate in the Swedish papers before the Great War by examining their coverage of the presidential election of 1912. The election of 1912 was a strange spectacle, "one of the liveliest in American history," historian Paul Boller claims.¹⁰¹ Former president Theodore Roosevelt founded the Progressive Party and campaigned against the incumbent president and Republican candidate William Taft, effectively splitting the Republican vote, which facilitated victory for the Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson.

The Swedish newspapers on the West Coast did not agree on which candidate was best suited to be elected president in 1912. Pacific Tribune and Vestkusten had always been firmly Republican, and Pacific Tribune did remain loyal, singing Taft's praise throughout the campaign.¹⁰² Vestkusten avidly defended Roosevelt and his Californian vice president candidate Hiram Johnson.¹⁰³ Oregon Posten had never covered a presidential election before, printing its' first paper a month after the previous presidential election. They settled on the democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson, probably the only Swedish newspaper to support him at this time.¹⁰⁴

The reason for this division might seem self-evident: politics. The three papers' political opinions varied, and they subsequently supported three different candidates. Oregon Posten was intrigued by Wilson's proposed reduction of tariffs and antitrust regulations,¹⁰⁵ Pacific Tribune wanted to be loyal towards the Republican party that in Washington had implemented 8-hour workdays and the right for women to vote,¹⁰⁶ and Vestkusten found Roosevelt's moderate tariff rates more appropriate than those of his opponents.¹⁰⁷ In reality, their stances were more complex and articulate than my summarization here, but to present them at length does not serve my purpose. Interestingly, they support three different candidates because of varying political opinions on the candidates' different platforms. A joint ethnic interest did not pull the three papers together to a shared opinion on who to endorse for the presidency. The papers perceived the position for Swedish Americans on the West Coast to be more than comfortable. Pacific Tribune argued that Swedish Americans were equal to the native-born population on the West Coast. Being native-born on the Pacific Coast "does not amount to much," the paper argued.¹⁰⁸ The paper would revise

¹⁰¹ Boller 1984, p. 191.
¹⁰⁴ Oregon Posten, 9 October 1912, p. 4.
¹⁰⁵ Oregon Posten, 30 October 1912, p. 4.
¹⁰⁷ Vestkusten, 31 October 1912, p. 4. To a lesser extent the sentiment is reiterated when publishing an interview with inventor Thomas A. Edison. Vestkusten, 24 October 1912, p. 1.
¹⁰⁸ Pacific Tribune, 5 June 1912, p. 8.
their stance until the presidential election of 1916, four years later, but first, the Great War broke out.

3. Facing disloyalty nativism

According to the Swedish newspapers, the most prominent political issue of the 1910s was the rise in nativism that followed the outbreak of the Great War. It is a meaningful discussion to analyze, not only because of its prominence but because of the explicit, hostile, and sudden distance between Swedish Americans and the Anglo-American ingroup. Nativism, and ill will towards immigrants, had, of course, existed before the war, but its character was different now. During the late 19th century, an immigrant group would be welcomed into the American mosaic if perceived by the public to be law-abiding and speedily assimilated, a privilege enjoyed by the most significant single nationality among the foreign-born population during this time: the German Americans.\(^{109}\)

With the outbreak of the Great War, a new variable emerged, as Higham put it, "the gravest sin in the morality of nationalism": disloyalty.\(^{110}\) German Americans were hit hardest by this new strand of nativism but were far from alone in being subjugated to agitation. Let us differentiate the nativism of the First World War from the nativism that preceded it and has been accounted for in the historical background section. Immigrant groups' moral flaws were not problematized, not their racial fitness for self-government either, but their potential to endanger the republic through subversive or foreign, traitorous sympathies. For this thesis, I will employ the term Disloyalty Nativism to reference this specific strand of nativism. In contrast, the nativism, which has been referred to in the subchapter Nativism, before the Great War and were present simultaneously as disloyalty nativism will be referred to as Cultural Nativism.

Disloyalty nativism was different in both content and scope. German Americans became particularly suspect while before the war was perceived as desirable due to the importance of a different kind of nativism. German Americans were suspected of being disloyal, suspected of being more loyal towards Germany than America if the countries would end up on opposing sides. But the anti-German hysteria transformed to much broader criticism of immigrants that could be disloyal, including Swedish Americans. Hostility to those who were deemed not to be 100% American.

3.1. The Great War at home

The first discourse studied relates to the great war. When a society is going through a crisis, the consensual nature of the hegemony's relationship to subordinate classes might be abandoned in

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\(^{110}\) Higham 1965, p. 196.
favor of the direct exercise of political power to mediate their views to their subordinates. In the Anglo-American hegemony, agitational and alienating rhetoric towards immigrants became more common in response to the great war.

The Great War was historically unprecedented for the United States. Never had the United States fought with and against European powers on European soil. The implications for immigrants were significant. Tensions that had existed for decades between different nationalities were suddenly magnified. Immigrants' true loyalties were questioned, and the social dominance of the Anglo-Saxon, protestant white citizens, was exposed beyond all doubts. The Great War was for the Swedish American newspapers on the West Coast intimately linked to their local hierarchies' Swedish nationality.

### 3.1.1. The Hyphenated American

The Great War became a political issue for Swedish-Americans since the Anglo-American reaction to the war was heightened skepticism towards foreigners in general and German Americans in particular. The shared experience of being suspected brought the ethnicity’s papers together to conduct more similar political discourse where the rights of hyphenated Americans became the most prominent topic. To criticize these elements of the population, native-born Americans employed the term "hyphenated-Americans." A period extended to include immigrants stemming from non-belligerent states or religious minorities such as Jewish- or Catholic-Americans. "Hyphenated Americans" was used as a slur to distinguish between the citizens who identified with a prefix before the word "American" and those with no prefix, often referred to in the Swedish papers as native-born Americans. In practice, this included all immigrants except those who stemmed from England. The slur reached the public's eyes in 1915, being used by magazines such as Literary Digest and political candidates such as Theodore Roosevelt and sitting President Woodrow Wilson. Carrying a hyphen at all was not only suspicious and a sign of disloyalty, but "moral treason," Roosevelt argued.

A subchapter on the hyphenation or alienation that Swedish-Americans perceived themselves to be subjected to is most appropriate to write under the overarching chapter of the Great War since the process is so intimately linked to this event. The general narrative put forward by the current historiography on Swedish-Americans highlights the successively elevated status in the ethnic hierarchies from the early migration of the mid-19th century to the early 20th century when a new flow of immigrants from southern Europe made Swedish-Americans seem desirable in comparison. According to the Swedish Americans on the West Coast, the outbreak of the Great War

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111 Leffler 1999, p. 53.
113 Higham 1965, pp. 197-199.
114 Blanck 2014, pp. 45-47.
War deviates from this narrative. The idea of an ethnic hierarchy was not of interest to them, but they could discern a growing gap between their status and that of the non-hyphenated Americans. Woodrow Wilson and nativists, in general, might not have perceived Swedish Americans as problematic, but they did view immigrants with hostility which implicated Swedish-Americans as collateral damage. The disloyalty nativism implicated Scandinavians. While they were used to co-exist with the nativism that preceded the Great War, which never directly targeted Swedes anyway, the disloyalty nativism confronted and questioned their stay in the republic.

Becoming hyphenated, and to some extent becoming less American in the minds of the Anglo-American core, did not mean regression in the progress made in the ethnic hierarchies. It seems strange so let us consider one example. Before the war, Swedish Americans were supposed to have a desirable racial makeup. The nativists never recalled these claims. The disloyalty nativism that Swedish Americans faced was strictly narrow in its scope—accusing Swedish Americans of cherishing loyalty to their country of origin and not unconditionally putting America first, creating a security threat to the American state. Elements of the American population were suddenly perceived as possibly subversive, possible traitors.

How did the Swedish West Coast papers respond to accusations of possibly being a threat to the security of the United States? The Swedish term for hyphenated Americans, "bindestrecksamerikan," is discussed for the first time by a West Coast newspaper in mid-1915 by Vestkusten. It is immediately apparent to editor Alex Olsson what the talk of hyphenated Americans implies, an eradication of hyphenated deviations. In a short editorial, Olsson asserts that English never had to be the American language. It could just as well have been Dutch, or why not Swedish. He predicts tough years and many restrictions for the American foreign-language press and is bitter. "If the Americans do not want any hyphenated Americans, then they should first and foremost cease to call all foreigners numerous more or less apt öknamn." The conclusion is filled with meaning and implications. He refuses to agree to assimilate radically on the Americans' conditions. Olsson argues that accusations of disloyalty are accusations of not being American enough, fostering dual identities. If the natives want a more homogenous society, they should treat the heterogeneous elements with more respect. Measures were taken by the Anglo-American core, creating a discrepancy between the United States that the Swedish American newspapers want the country to be and what the United States was. The United States was, during the war, not a melting pot or a welcoming cultural pluralist country that celebrated its differences. The papers reported glumly how a Lutheran congregation in the Midwest had ceased holding their services in Swedish due to the nationality being tainted during the war.

Most importantly, this is symptomatic of a shift in language towards the dominant culture. "Americans" is here used as an epithet that seemingly Swedish-Americans do not belong to. An

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115 Vestkusten, 12 August 1915, p. 4. Öknamn can be loosely translated to “derogatory nickname.”

implicit dividing line is established between the dominant culture, *them, Americans*, and the subordinate cultures, *us, the hyphenated Americans*. The Anglo-American dominant culture had established the dichotomy. Historian Alexander DeConde argued that the Anglo establishment "condemned the persistence of ethnic diversity as incompatible with national unity, insisted upon a new patriotic American society that it had defined."¹¹⁷ It must be assumed that this had implications for the Swedish American newspapers and especially their readers. The paper did not only symbolize their ethnic deviation but was also more distinct than before, a counterpublic to the English-speaking newspapers. A distinction that the newspapers accentuated through quoting and condemning local English-speaking newspapers.¹¹⁸

The demands on assimilation that the war brought were in direct conflict with the cultural purpose that drove the papers institutions. The purpose which *Oregon Posten* expresses is: "To preserve and faithfully manage what we inherited from mother Svea and to willingly take it to our new country's disposal, there, somewhere, we find our duty."¹¹⁹ The anti-hyphenate sentiments of the wartime did not tolerate preservation efforts that emphasized foreign elements, making the papers' ambitions politically unwise to pursue.

The papers felt a strong aversion for the slur "hyphenated Americans." *Oregon Posten* forwarded their thoughts to their audience when Theodore Roosevelt held a speech mostly directed to German Americans. His use of the term hyphenated Americans was followed by a clarifying parenthesis "(this includes Swedish Americans)."¹²⁰ The hyphenated slurs were boundary-setting, pointing out the deviations from the "patriotic" "American" society where Swedish-Americans in their current form were not welcome, even though they as a specific group very seldomly were singled out. The Swedish-American newspapers responded with an affinity for the hyphen, complimenting the immigrant who maintains his love for Sweden as "a true Swedish-American, who has kept the hyphen in the best possible way..."¹²¹ There is a striking contrast between this desirable Swedish American character who is proud of the Swedish heritage and the undesirable Swedish American response in denying one’s heritage. In 1919, at the end of the war, a Swedish woman in New York, "filled with resentment," threw out a Swedish flag from the tram. A news item so despicable and newsworthy that *Vestkusten* on the other side of the country decided to reprint it.¹²² This is, of course, in the commercial interest of Swedish newspapers. They have every reason to demand national unity and a sense of ethnic pride, but stubbornness to subdue outside pressure was not reflected by the larger Swedish American community. Lindmark has shown that Swedish Americans during the war subscribed to a much lesser degree to Swedish language

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¹¹⁷ DeConde 1992, p. 82.
¹¹⁹ *Oregon Posten*, 13 October 1915, p. 4.
¹²¹ *Vestkusten*, 25 March 1915, p. 3.
newspapers. The same decline probably occurred on the West Coast. Minnesota historical society claims that Oregon Posten’s circulation declined from 3250 in 1912 to 2800 in 1915.123

The term "hyphenated American" encapsulates the sudden hostility towards immigrants during Great War. Of course, immigrant hostility was nothing new, but the hostility towards the hyphenated American is uniquely anchored in fear of disloyalty. The editor of Oregon Posten articulates the dominant culture’s skepticism towards the hyphenated Americans as follows: "The reason for the current movement is, as everyone knows, suspicion towards the country’s neutral citizens." He goes on to argue that "they are, they say, not Americans first and foremost but have maintained their love and interest for the country where they come from, and therefore neither can nor want to be loyal to the United States." The neutral citizens are simply not deemed patriotic enough and must be assimilated immediately. "They are hyphenated Americans, who when faced with a moment of urgency shed away the word American and maintain what precedes the hyphen." Lönegren proceeds to oppose this notion, claiming that hyphens neither want to nor can plead guilty. Furthermore, he makes the fundamental assertion that the love of one country does not exclude the love of another. No matter how much he loves Sweden, he finds the actions of immigrants to go back to their home countries to fight in the war deplorable. He reiterates the worry of Olsson regarding the future of the non-English language press and grieves the upcoming demands on assimilation that seem inevitable.124

The three papers all opposed the use of the term hyphenated Americans and the implications it carried with it. To defend themselves and their culture, the papers adopted three categories of arguments to defend their hyphenated culture and institutions. The arguments are as follows: A) Hyphenated Americans are advantageous for the American society, and so are their institutions. B) Hyphenated Americans have, or should have, the right to practice their culture. C) The assumptions that the nativists have, and their suspicions, are not embedded in reality.

A) Hyphenated Americans were advantageous for American society, and so were their institutions.

The Swedish papers responded to the disloyalty nativism of Anglo America with a defense of themselves and their contributions to the United States. While the argument did not answer the hegemony’s accusations of disloyalty, it did respond to the underlying sentiment that immigration and immigrants’ contribution to the Republic were questioned.

The most frequent form of defense of the hyphenated presence was not in dedicated editorials or comments in response to political articles but rather in ironic passing. The ironic use of the term hyphenated American was used to highlight immigrants’ and, most importantly, Swedish-Americans’ contribution to the United States. Svenska Pacific Tribune perceives the agitators towards hyphenated Americans somewhat differently, implying that immigrants are not only not welcome

123 https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/swedishamerican/oregon-posten
124 Oregon Posten, 24 November 1915, p. 4.
because of their eventual disloyalty but also as inferior citizens. To counteract this perception, *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* highlights examples of Swedish American feats. They end a short biography of a prominent Swedish American with the following message: "We wonder greatly, what the loudmouths against the so-called hyphenated Americans would say about this Swedish-American pair, whose kids have been assigned to teach the 'unhyphenated' Americans sons and daughters!"125

A couple of months later, *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* publishes a piece of the Swedish American founding father John Morton, relating the past to the political present when ironically referring to him as a hyphenated American.126 The moral of the story is simple, a citizen's origin or birthplace does not determine their loyalty or worthiness of citizenship. It is an interesting line of defense since it does not contradict the accusations made by the Anglo-American core, seldom are native Americans cited to diminish Swedish Americans contribution to the United States. The allegations question the hyphenated Americans' loyalty, which anecdotes about a Swedish American founding father do not pronouncedly address.

The papers kept responding with their great pride in their fellow countrymen in America, both on a local and national level, both past and present. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* reminded their readers of Swedish engineer John Ericsson’s contribution to the Union during the civil war and the many Swedes who had enrolled in the Swedish-American war just a couple of years prior.127 Their success and prosperity were considered to be indebted to the Swedish American institutions. A natural response when these institutions and, most importantly, the foreign-language press were under attack. They were both a possible breeding ground for international loyalties and manifestations of the population’s deviant and suspected ethnic elements. *Vestkusten* argued that the Swedish churches, papers, and associations were a necessary pitstop for the immigrant before learning the language and customs needed to prosper in the republic.128 Dismantling them would therefore defeat the purpose of the dominant culture since it helped, not hindered, assimilation. Lönegren in *Oregon Posten* reiterated the idea when responding to the “absolutely lost” writer Porter Emerson Browne that argued that the foreign language press only writes about the country of origin and exclusively praises the customs and institutions of old. Lönegren debunks the claims made by Browne, arguing that every Foreign language publication conversely praises the superiority of American institutions. He goes on to say, just as *Vestkusten* did that the foreign language press is essential in transforming the melting pot theory from theory to reality.129

Like all political issues, the question of hyphenated Americans was complicated for the Swedish American newspapers. The notion that Swedish-Americans were advantageous for the republic

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125 *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 21 September 1916, p. 7. More examples of this practice can be found in; *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* 16 December 1915, p. 8.
128 *Vestkusten*, 7 October 1915, p. 5.
129 *Oregon Posten*, 6 March 1918, p. 4.
never faulted, but at times their affinity for other hyphenated Americans decreased. While they were, for obvious reasons, opposed restrictions on their rights to cultivate their heritage, they were, on the other hand, not too bothered by attacks explicitly addressed to “new immigrants.” This is established in 1912 when Oregon Postén defends Woodrow Wilson from attacks claiming that he despises Scandinavians in his book *A history of the American People*. Lönegren calms his readers and provides an excerpt, showing that Wilson only opposes immigrants from southern Europe. During the war, these sentiments were published more seldom. Hyphenated Americans were, in general, defended. But a few exceptions did exist even during the war.

German Americans had much in common with Swedes, especially the Lutheran faith, but the most famous Swedish writer on the West Coast, Ernst Skarstedt, had no issues throwing the ethnicity under the bus. He claims, before American intervention, that German Americans embarrassed themselves following the outbreak of the war with their German patriotism and “deficient loyalty” to the republic. *Oregon Postén* deviated in their refusal to criticize German-Americans, condemning Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt’s agitation against hyphenated Americans, their hatred towards Germany, and their love for England in one editorial, suggesting that all these despicable opinions were related. *Oregon Postén* had from an early stage condemned the hostility against hyphenated Americans and especially the hatred against German, Hungarians, and Austrians. More positively inclined towards, mainly Germans, than their colleagues to the north and south. The papers never truly considered the idea that hyphenated Americans would betray their adopted country. Or rather, even if it was true, the threat was exaggerated. Skarstedt, writing for *Vestkusten*, was the only Swedish American writer on the west coast that unironically used hyphenated Americans, albeit somewhat different from its original purpose. For the socialists of the I. W. W., his hatred and worry led to Skarstedt referring to them as hyphenated Americans. Their ethnicity did not warrant the use of the term because Skarstedt did not oppose demonstrations of ethnicity, but rather their perceived lack of loyalty to the republic was attacked.

While he opposed the dominant culture’s implementation and direction of their witch hunt on disloyal elements in the population, he agreed that disloyalty in the republic was a problem that needed to be fixed. Writer Ledin reiterates the same sentiment in *Oregon Postén*; he claims that “A genuine Swedish American citizen is no hyphenated American; he might be a better American than many of those who speak English through their nose.” An important distinction is made here between the genuine and non-genuine Swedish-American. The genuine counterpart cultivates their heritage and is not in any way, shape, or form embarrassed by their origin, while non-genuine

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130 *Oregon Postén*, 18 September 1912, p. 4.
131 *Vestkusten*, 1 March 1917, p. 6.
132 *Oregon Postén*, 7 June 1916, p. 4.
133 *Oregon Postén*, 11 August 1915, p. 4.
134 *Vestkusten*, 19 August 1915, p. 4.
135 *Vestkusten*, 30 May 1918, p. 6.
136 *Oregon Postén* 11 July 1917, p. 3. Another example of this: *Oregon Postén* 29 March 1916 p. 4.
Swedish-Americans deny their heritage. The other point implied that a hyphenated American is as much an American as a native-born one, was often repeated in the papers.\textsuperscript{137} Being Swedish-American was not an identity that was half Swedish and half American, but rather both Swedish and American to the fullest degree simultaneously. As \textit{Oregon Posten} puts it, “We are not half Swedish and half Americans. No. At both sides of the hyphen, there is a full worthy human of culture.”\textsuperscript{138}

The demands to assimilate has in previous scholarship been described as a process of Anglo-conformity. Rather than a melting pot where nationalities in an egalitarian process fuse into a single American national identity, the non-English nationalities had to adapt and conform to the Anglo-Saxon norms to the demands of the dominant culture. \textit{Oregon Posten} identified the demands to let go of what preceded the hyphen as demands to become more English. A local Methodist preacher, active in Portland, had condemned both the hyphenated Swedish and German Methodists in a recent sermon. The paper brings attention to the issue and concludes that the preacher “belongs to the manifold class of ‘neutrals’ who condemns everything that is not English.”\textsuperscript{139} These demands of Anglo-conformity was to some degree, the logical conclusion to Wilson’s rhetoric. When a local German American in Portland changes his last name “Deutsch” to the more Anglo-Saxon sounding “Drew,” \textit{Oregon Posten} concludes that it is caused by the Wilson administration’s suspicion raised against hyphens.\textsuperscript{140} The papers never deviated from this description of reality. Assimilation meant becoming English. When the idea of an egalitarian process of nationalities melting together and molding into a new amalgamation was mentioned, it was referred to more as an ideal or ambition than an accurate depiction of reality. The papers did, however, differ in how they related to Anglo-conformism. None of the papers were consequently for or against Anglo-conformism, which does make sense in light of the ethnic interests. While Swedes wanted the right to practice their own culture, which Anglo-conformist demands were in direct conflict with, they also wanted to elevate themselves in the ethnic hierarchy. The Anglo-Conformist ideal was convenient for Swedish-Americans since they could assert their cultural, religious, and racial proximity to the American core to be more favored than southern immigrants. Lönegren publishes an excerpt from a presumably native-born colleague who considers that the Swede was American long before arriving in the republic, comparing the Swedish immigrant to the less desirable Italian.\textsuperscript{141}

One of the chief worries for the papers was the fear of changes to the naturalization process rendering fewer immigrants achieving the status as a citizen. \textit{Vestkusten} foresaw a future where the

\textsuperscript{137} One example of this is \textit{Vestkusten}, 17 February 1916, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 19 December 1917, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 8 September 1915, p. 8. The word ”class”, in Swedish, kass, is not featured in the original text, but is instead replaced by the world ”glass”, meaning Ice cream. It has to be assumed that class is the intended word, it has to be assumed that a typo occurred. Ice cream does not make sense in the sentence and is anyway an irrelevant condiment in September.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 6 September 1916, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 13 October 1915, p. 4.
immigrants would be taxed but not represented. Which they saw as “incompatible with the American concept of freedom.” While the naturalization process, for now, was only a worry, some more concrete implementations aiming to make the local society more homogenous were enforced. *Oregon Posten* reports on evening schools which, according to the most prominent local English newspaper, *The Oregonian*, have the purpose to “remove the hyphen.” The schools opened in October 1915, and *Oregon Posten* never doubted the desired repercussions of these institutions for the hyphenated communities. All relationships with the former country cut off, the memory of those left behind moved to oblivion accompanied by the history, literature, and language of the old world. Lönegren argues that the dominant culture’s methods miss the target since acquiring a new language does not mean that the affinity to the old fades away. He encourages his readers to take the courses available because English proficiency is crucial to thrive in the republic and maintain the fondness for Sweden.  

**B) Hyphenated Americans have, or should have, the right to practice their culture.**

Historian Jon Gjerde argues that immigrants tended to invent a “community of American citizenship” simultaneously as they fostered complementary, ethnic identities within the American identity. Immigrants “valorized their allegiance to American citizenship as they reified their ethnic affiliations.” During the great war, this double identity was no longer acceptable for Anglo-Americans. The state of things led to severe frustrations and a sense of victimhood due to being mistreated. “Why not go the distance,” Lönegren ponders in an editorial, “and openly admit that naturalized citizens do not have the same rights as those who saw the light of day in this country.” He argues one year later that Swedes “have the full right to hold our head up high” since a citizen’s worth should be grounded in how well they “fulfill their obligations to the constitution and the state,” which Lönegren argues that Swedes do. A recurring manner of speech where the idea of what the United States is supposed to be is contrasted to the glummer reality.

To argue for cultural pluralism, the right for hyphenated Americans to practice their culture, the Swedish newspapers held America to a standard as a republic where the right to practice one’s culture was an integral part of their concept of freedom. Lönegren argued that the American way of assimilation should be a gradual one of choice, “a melting of nationalities” over generations. A “forced Americanization” is thus not congenial with what the United States was supposed to be. Oregon’s local efforts by a school superintendent to foster “real Americans” are deemed “unamerican.” The underlying conflict is the nativist implicit notion that the American title suggests an ethnic and cultural homogeneity. At the same time, the Swedish papers assert that all

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142 Vestkusten, 19 August 1915, p. 4.
143 Oregon Posten, 6 October 1915, p. 6.
145 Oregon Posten, 24 May 1916, p. 4.
146 Oregon Posten, 25 April 1917, p. 4.
147 Oregon Posten, 13 October 1915, p. 4.
American citizens are American, regardless of origin. America was “founded on principles of freedom and equality,” Lönegren argued, but these principles proved to be weak during wartime and omitted Swedish-Americans.149 As Swedish-American professor David Nyvall says, quoted by Vestkusten, “… we are all Americans, as soon as we obtain our certificate of citizenship.”150

Some hyphenated Americans were more equal than others, and when it worked out in the Swedes’ favor, the papers did not mind, but when other groups were favored, Swedes were very upset. These groups were few, but their higher status was too evident, impossible to ignore, and therefore often invoked. Calling them hyphenated Americans is somewhat misleading since they were not viewed as that during the time. As Lönegren puts it: “Hyphenated Americans refers to, apparently according to the press, not those who stem from countries where English is the mother tongue.”151 When Woodrow Wilson, one and a half years before the intervention, claimed that hyphenated Americans should become “real Americans,” explicitly mentioning German Americans, Irish Americans, and Scandinavian Americans, Lönegren notices that English Americans are not mentioned. Those who “braggartly exclaims ‘once an Englishmen always an Englishmen.” This instance of different standards for different ethnicities greatly upsets the editor.152 Because before the intervention, when the United States had not yet picked a side in the conflict, the English should logically be viewed with as much suspicion and hostility as the German.

C). The assumptions that nativists have, and their suspicions, are not embedded in reality.

Finally, the substantial part of the Anglo-American agitation is responded to. The agitation against hyphenated Americans contained a wide variety of assumptions, most of which the papers dispute as false. The “melting” of nationalities had taken place for centuries without state intervention, and according to the papers, the speed or quality of the melting process had not declined during the last couple of decades.153

Those who participated in the agitation against hyphenated Americans were considered hateful, and most importantly, dumb. The old American tradition of dismissing anti-immigration agitators as “know-nothings” was revived to deal with the rhetoric of the nativists and, in particular, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt.154 Svenska Pacific Tribunen even claimed that hyphenated Americans were more intelligent than the native-born.155 Furthermore, they considered native-born citizens to be less compatible with the ideals of the republic than the hyphenate population, once again suggesting that “American” was to a large degree not viewed as ethnic but rather an

149 Oregon Posten, 25 April 1917, p. 4.
150 Vestkusten, 2 December 1915, p. 4.
151 Oregon Posten, 17 May 1916, p. 3.
152 Oregon Posten, 20 October 1915, p. 4.
153 Vestkusten 28 October 1915, p. 4.
155 Svenska Pacific Tribunen 19 October 1916, p. 7.
ideological term. *Vestkusten* dismissed them as “the native, less freedom-minded population.” Their suspicions were deemed unfounded or exaggerated. The papers never denied that disloyal elements existed among the hyphenate population, but they were estimated to be too few to threaten the country. The hyphenated Americans were just as loyal as the native-born, the papers argued, and denied that those advocating for neutrality and peace would be any less willing to enroll if the United States did go to war. *Svenska Pacific Tribune* claimed the opposite, estimating that Swedish-Americans enrolled to a higher degree than any other nationality, “the native-born included.” When someone representing the dominant culture agreed with these sentiments, preferably someone who held political power, they were quoted and met with glee. When someone representing the Anglo-American core did the opposite, they got criticized. One example of this is two sermons in Portland during the fourth of July, both agitating against hyphenated Americans, claiming that immigrants are dangerous for the United States. Suggesting that hyphenated Americans every year should be rallied up have to plead their allegiance to the flag in front of the native-born. The content of those sermons, and the fact that the ammunition export was not mentioned, contributed to Lönegren ironically claiming that the sermons were an example of “true Americanism.”

Regarding the war, *Vestkusten* proposes that demands on citizens to be politically American does not have to mean that citizens must shed away their cultural affiliation with the old world. The notion that they are mutually exclusive is dismissed. America is considered “the motherland,” a title that forbids contempt and encourages a sense of gratitude.

This subchapter has examined how the Swedish papers responded to the political issue of hyphenated Americans—the political discourse most intimately related to disloyalty nativism. Let us move on to consider the implications of the discourse for the papers’ coverage of the 1916 presidential election.

### 3.1.2. Woodrow Wilson – Root of all evil

Who was responsible for the accusations of disloyalty towards hyphenated Americans? The papers were quick to point their fingers toward the president. Woodrow Wilson became the scapegoat for the sudden distrust of Swedish Americans, and with that, the anti-hyphenate hysteria entered the coverage of the 1916 presidential election.

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156 *Vestkusten*, 23 December 1915, p. 4.
159 *Svenska Pacific Tribune*, 20 July 1916, p. 7.
162 *Vestkusten*, 7 October 1915, p. 5.
163 *Vestkusten*, 2 December 1915, p. 4.
Wilson was considered responsible for the injustice Swedish Americans specifically and hyphenated Americans more generally faced. His sentiments were thought to trickle down and cause the oppression they faced in everyday life. The papers often complained about native-born Americans lacking trust toward Swedes, but it is not clear how, if at all, these sentiments manifested themselves. One might assume that they genuinely felt oppressed to some degree due to their passionate commitment to the cause, but the papers provide minimal concrete symptoms of oppression. The suspicious attitudes towards Swedes were seldom anchored in news items or upcoming events, but the newspapers still internalized these sentiments as accurate. One rare occasion of tangible discrimination towards Scandinavian-Americans occurred in May 1916, and the administration was blamed for the incident. Five Scandinavian crewmen aboard the Mine Planter, Major Samuel Ringgold, were fired due to being born abroad.¹⁶⁴ The Swedish-speaking newspapers were all emphasizing that these were orders from Washington D.C., which had the political implications of further distrust of Woodrow Wilson’s Democratic administration. Even Oregon Posten, who surprisingly supported Wilson in the 1912 election, was flustered in disappointment over this decision and called it an “insult towards all Scandinavians.”¹⁶⁵ Editor Lönegren elaborated on this point in an editorial the following week, emphasizing the declined importance of citizenship for immigrants. “The United States own administration admits, with this order, that a ranking exists regarding citizenship in this country.” Ranking might not be the appropriate word here, but there were undoubtedly different levels of citizenships. Swedish Americans no longer passed the threshold to be accepted as Americans. Thresholds they previously could pass. Lönegren writes, “A person, who through birth has achieved the status of American citizenship, has a citizenship of higher degree than the one who has obtained citizenship through the American legal system.”¹⁶⁶ Oregon Posten never doubted that this was directly related to Wilson’s hostility against hyphenated Americans and reported the Ringgold incident as Wilson’s ideology in practice.¹⁶⁷

The heightened nativist discourse surrounding the Wilson administration and the first world war within that period was intimately linked with the discourse of the first world war. The Anglo-American cores’ stance on the latter discourse was anti-German and pro-British. The Swedish Newspapers in San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle were translated to anti-immigrant and pro-old-stock. Not all immigrant groups fall into the pattern of linking these two discussions together. Because of that having an isolationist stance, but Swedes do, and the discourse surrounding whether to intervene in Europe or not is often implicitly related to questions surrounding assimilation.

¹⁶⁴ Oregon Posten, 17 May 1916, p. 1. Disclaimer. I have been able to locate further information about this incident from historical scholarship nor American newspapers in English with digitally accessible archives.
¹⁶⁷ Oregon Posten, 7 June 1916, p. 1.
The war raised the question of whether Swedish immigrants truly were Americans. Even if many Swedes were satisfied with their position in society before the war broke out, it did come under question during the Great War. The Ringgold event symptomatically suggests that Swedish-Americans, when it truly mattered, could not be trusted. These were questions about double loyalties for all hyphenated-Americans. Could a Swede still cultivate their heritage and language from home in their adoptive country and be an American patriot? These worries were present, although to a much lesser degree before the war. Lönegren had defended the existence of the foreign-language press in 1912, claiming that the press is, in fact, American. He argued that the purpose of the newspapers was “to educate their readers too good citizens and good Americans, encouraging them to place their saved money here in this country, to raise their children good, to dedicate themselves to agriculture and to become one with the country.”\textsuperscript{168} While the notion about agriculture might be somewhat irrelevant and oddly specific, it is clear that Lönegren considers himself and his paper to be American and that he finds other notions offensive. One way to prove this loyalty was to argue for intervention actively.

Regarding the preparedness parades of 1916, Lönegren writes that the English-speaking papers assert that Americans who do not attend the preparedness parades are not truly harboring love for the United States.\textsuperscript{169} These sentiments politicized the great war; Woodrow Wilson was perceived to favor Old stock Americans preparing for intervention since they were judged to be more patriotic. Lönegren, disappointed in Wilson for several reasons, rejects the notion that hyphenated Americans would be less patriotic. “If war breaks out, the ‘hyphenated Americans will prove to be just as patriotic as the natives ever were’” Lönegren speculates that this would lead Wilson to “no longer talk of the foreign populations’ disloyalty.”\textsuperscript{170}

### 3.1.3. The 1916 election

We have established above that the Great War’s disloyalty nativism created a distance between Anglo-Americans and Swedish Americans. The West Coast newspapers perceived Swedes not to be considered quite as worthy Americans as their Anglo-descendant neighbors, which they deeply resented. The papers responded with hostility towards Anglo-Americans in general and incumbent president Wilson in particular. Let us now look at how these sentiments were reflected in the inter-ethnic arena of democratic participation: general elections.

The papers sought acceptance from their hopefully would-be president. There were initially worries that both major parties would nominate candidates who agitated against the hyphenated Americans. Neither Wilson nor the early front runner for the Republican nomination, former

\textsuperscript{168} Oregon Posten, 26 June 1912, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{169} Oregon Posten, 31 May 1916, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{170} Oregon Posten, 21 June 1916, p. 4.
president Theodore Roosevelt, were viewed as desirable candidates who explicitly are linked to their agitation against hyphenated Americans.\footnote{Vestkusten, 13 April 1916, p. 4.} But as the former president did not get nominated while very strongly questioning the loyalty of hyphenated Americans in general and German Americans in particular Swedish-Americans, could comfortably rally behind the republican party.\footnote{Oregon Posten, 14 June 1916 p. 1.} Four years prior, the split in endorsements, when each studied newspaper endorsed different candidates, had now evolved to a republican consensus. The ethnic tensions domestically that accompanied the first world war had, as Deconde also concluded, raised the ethnic consciousness of minority groups. Swedish-Americans were no exception.\footnote{Deconde 1992, p. 82.} The awareness of ethnic consciousness shifted the political discourse from various political questions, such as tariffs and prohibition in 1912, to in 1916, mostly centered around the acute threat to the Swedish-American community. The joint ethnic interests were in large identical in all western states constituted the basis for whom to vote for, making other political questions obsolete and eliminating any differentiation concerning which candidate the Swedish-American newspapers endorsed. The heightened importance of ethnic interests had direct implications for the content of the newspapers, prompting a higher degree of collaborations among the Swedish language papers, quoting or referring to articles and editorials written in neighboring states, the Midwest, or the east coast.\footnote{Oregon Posten, 24 November 1915 p. 4. Vestkusten, 16 September 1915, p. 5.} Much of the election in 1912, especially discussions surrounding tariffs, had different implications for the West Coast and the Midwest, even California and Washington differed.\footnote{Pacific Tribune 1 May 1912, p. 4. Argues that Taft’s commission on tariffs warranted him being reelected, Vestkusten 31 October 1912, p. 4. Are worried that Taft wants to increase the tariff rates to somewhere between 50-90%.} In 1912, the Swedish ethnicity was comparatively comfortable in their position in the ethnic hierarchy and did not let the question of status dictate the vote. By 1916, the In-group decreased in scope, creating a greater distance between Swedish-Americans and Anglo-Americans than before, which the papers were not comfortable with.

In 1916, all three papers endorsed the republican party’s candidate Charles E. Hughes in the general election. The papers provided several reasons why, pointing to the sitting Wilson administration, but history would suggest that the Republican party probably would have been endorsed anyway. Nonetheless, the coverage of the 1916 election reveals the gravity of the anti-hyphenate hysteria, which a vote cast for the republican party would solve. The frustrations of the anti-hyphenate sentiments could be dealt with politically by not re-electing Woodrow Wilson and instead of voting for Hughes. At least, this was the perception since Wilson and his democratic party were portrayed as spreading disloyalty nativism. The Swedish-Americans, and especially all hyphenated Americans, were numerous and could potentially affect the election outcome. The Swedish papers were ready to support any candidate that would treat the hyphenated population
with respect. As *Vestkusten* puts it, “We hope that none of the presidential candidates become so American, that he refuses to accept the hyphenated Americans votes.”¹⁷⁶ Swedes in Washington state proved their loyalty to the republic by participating in an event organized by the Washington branch of the Hughes presidential campaign. The event took place a week before the election and was dedicated to demonstrating “The patriotism of the naturalized citizen to the American flag.” The display of loyalty was explicitly political and republican, the party was perceived to be less hostile against foreigners than the democrats, and this event served as proof for that. Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, Danish, and Irish immigrants pleaded their loyalty and took turns speaking on their ethnicity’s behalf, asserting their loyalty while not denying their hyphenated identity.¹⁷⁷ The participants were portrayed as resisters, counter to the Anglo-Saxon dominant culture that rose suspicion of their character. Although on a small scale, the event was a political mobilization to dismantle or at least question the measures taken by the dominant culture, perceived to be ruled through the democratic party. As *Svenska Pacific Tribune* puts it in their summarization of the event, the vote on Hughes in the presidential election of 1916 is a vote cast not as Germans, Swedes, or hyphens but as American citizens.¹⁷⁸ A stark contrast to the democratic party that finds the two identities and loyalties incompatible. The Swedish papers felt that the republican party promised proximity between the hyphenated American and the Anglo-American that the Democratic party did not.

Much because of not being Woodrow Wilson, Charles Hughes became the preferred candidate for all three papers. Hughes did not speak much of hyphenated Americans, which initially made the papers hopeful.¹⁷⁹ From an early stage, after winning the nomination, Hughes politics was mentioned and presented. Still, every speech was also summarized with what he did not talk about, hyphenated Americans, which was considered a good thing.¹⁸⁰ It is contrasted to Wilson, who is portrayed as obsessed in agitating against hyphenates. The speech Wilson held after getting the democratic nomination in 1916 was initially not retold in *Oregon Posten* at all, except for the mention that Wilson “could not refrain from taking a jab at the hyphenated Americans.”¹⁸¹ When *Oregon Posten* endorsed Hughes two weeks before the election, Lönegren began the editorial with a clarification, declaring that Sweden, who has never been subjected to another country’s rule, has a population that values freedom highly. Those who emigrated are no exception and take their duty to vote for a candidate who promotes freedom very seriously. Wilson, Lönegren argues, is in opposition to the ideals that Swedes carry highly. Swedish-Americans cannot possibly endorse a president who cooperates with Great Britain to the point of dependency.¹⁸² Hughes is the antidote

¹⁷⁶ *Vestkusten*, 22 June 1916, p. 4.
to Wilson’s anti-hyphenated sentiments, and politics is an arena where injustice is combatted, and Swedes can retrieve their rightful status in American society.

Political representation was considered a legitimate and effective way to raise the ranks in the ethnic hierarchies. Scandinavian candidates were often endorsed by the Swedish papers for the local elections. In 1916, amidst the agitation against hyphenated Americans, X called on his readers to vote for a “naturalized citizen” to respond to the “unamerican war cries” against hyphenated Americans.\textsuperscript{183} The ethnic factor was present before the 1916 election but was presented more as an effort of national solidarity than a guarantee politically to have their ethnic interests well represented. The conflict between the counter-hegemony and the dominant culture is apparent, as in an endorsement in \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}, where the Norwegian American state senator Iverson is endorsed because of his “fight against mighty interests.”\textsuperscript{184} Several Swedish Americans were candidates for local political offices in Oregon and were supported by \textit{Oregon Posten}.\textsuperscript{185} The ethnic Swedish candidates were always underdogs, according to the editor Lönegren. Counteracted by the local “speakeasies and whorehouses”.\textsuperscript{186}

Before we move on, let us briefly summarize how the Swedish papers responded to accusations of disloyalty. Swedish Americans were not by default excluded from the Anglo-American ingroup, but it was conditional. The Swedish American had to leave the Swedish identity behind, a compromise that undoubtedly many Swedes were willing to make. Still, it would mean the demise of the papers which had a commercial interest in opposing this conditional rite of passage to a higher place on the ethnic hierarchy. Some disclaimers should, however, be added. Commercial interests are not the only reason they resisted assimilation. It must be assumed that many immigrants are genuinely interested in preserving their culture of origin. There is also reason to believe that the Anglo-American invitation to their community was more rhetorical than real if one only assimilated completely. At any rate, Swedish Americans were not welcomed as long as they insisted on wearing their ethnicity on their sleeve. A discrepancy had emerged between where the papers believed Swedish Americans belonged on the ethnic hierarchy and where Anglo Americans thought they belonged when influenced by disloyalty nativism. A symptomatic line of defense was to claim the papers’ views as American and accusations towards immigrants as un-American. Simultaneously the native-born were ironically referred to as Americans when they questioned the citizenship of the foreign-born population.

The consequences for the political discourse were an explicit opposition, not only to the nativism but also the nativists and, to some degree, the native-born population. The papers did not only respond to allegations of being possibly disloyal. They defended their right to exist, their

\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}, 7 September 1916, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}, 7 September 1916 p. 4.
\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 1 November 1916, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 1 November 1916, p. 5.
contributions to the republic, and most importantly, they defended their right to deviate, to cultivate their ethnic heritage.
3.2. The Great War abroad

Let us move on from primarily discussing the explicit accusations of hyphenated Americans being disloyal. Still, the disloyalty nativism remained. It permeated other political discourses as well, one of those being whether to intervene in the Great War or not. It is an interesting issue due to the Swedish papers’ strong opposition to what would be America’s policy, intervention. An ideological divide emerged between Anglo-Americans and Swedish Americans, and the newspapers were not interested in aligning themselves with the core.

While accusations toward the hyphenated population were the central political issue for the West Coast Swedish subaltern counterpublic in the presidential election of 1916, the public discourse was more concerned with questions of war or peace. To intervene or not. By 1916 the United States had not yet intervened and would never intervene, the Swedish papers hoped, in what was then an exclusively European war. Woodrow Wilson campaigned as the peace candidate, and the republican nominee Hughes also claimed to be neutral. However, to intervene or remain neutral was a hotly contested topic, despite the candidates’ foreign policy appearing to be identical. All Swedish papers advocated for neutrality and viewed the Wilson administration’s rearmament with suspicion. The discourse about the first world war at home centered heavily around questions of identity, the freedom to express one’s culture, and being respected as an equal citizen as the Anglo-Saxons. These questions were largely a symptom of the war abroad and not too heavily a part of the discourse, but they did make themselves present at times.

The discourse in the Swedish newspapers mostly centered on perceived insidious motives from the Wilson administration, accusing them of hiding their agenda and not staying committed to the neutral rhetoric. The papers’ stance is neatly summarized in a comment by Oregon Posten regarding a speech Wilson held about the threat of hyphenated Americans and the importance of rearmament. “We must honestly say that the message does not appeal to us in the slightest, but it has aroused sympathy in England, and the steel trust’s shares rose several points…” Two subchapters are therefore appropriate. One about the perceived true motives of the Wilson administration and one on the question of neutrality. Did the papers perceive the Wilson administration to be biased to one side of the conflict, and were the papers themselves biased?

188 Oregon Posten, 17 November 1915 p. 4.
189 Oregon Posten, 8 December 1915 p. 4.
### 3.2.1. The capitalists’ war.

Anglo-Americans were often the subject of harsh criticism due to their accusations of disloyalty towards the foreign-born population. Still, just as often, another group on top of the hierarchy of power was addressed: the capitalists. Steve Vaughn had argued that capitalists, together with corruption and large corporations, were the most prominent enemies of the American people before the first world war replaced them with new enemies: “the Kaiser, the German militarists, and Prussianism.”\(^{190}\) The Swedish American counterpublic was unfazed by the shifting rhetoric. Not only were Swedes generally uninterested in accompanying the Anglo-American core in agitation against Germans, but more importantly, the old evils remained unchanged—the sins which the Anglo-American core had taught foreigners to loathe. The Swedish papers stayed in place, preserving the rhetoric left behind, and blamed the war on large corporations and the capitalist class.

The spring and summer of 1916 in the United States were heavily characterized by the interventionist activism of the “preparedness-parades.” The parades were celebratory events arranged by the Preparedness movement, a campaign urging to strengthen the U. S. military following the outbreak of the great war. The movement was in part founded by Theodore Roosevelt, which the Swedish newspapers seldom mention. Only the parades that are deemed newsworthy, especially those arranged in the cities where the newspapers were situated, make sense because it was undoubtedly large events. Editor Lönegren condemns the parades weeks before the parade taking place in Portland. The parades are appalling to him and deemed contradicting to the values of freedom and human principles that founded the republic. Lönegren asserts that capital interests gave rise to these parades rather than them being an organic movement stemming from the concerns of the American people. The capitalists are not truly afraid of any foreign powers, Lönegren argues. “Their fear consists exclusively of the working class demanding a more just distribution of [the capitalists’] tremendous profits.” Lönegren interprets the movement towards intervention in the great war as something that is not in the interest of workers.\(^{191}\) While the capitalists are the perceived enemies to Lönegren, the Unions are perceived as allies. Lönegren asserts that capitalists by force make their employees attend these preparedness parades, which Lönegren observes with dismay. The Unions are taking a firm stand against these preparedness parades, which is more to Lönegren’s liking.\(^{192}\) *Oregon Posten* is by far the most labor-friendly of the three newspapers and also the most radical. In honor of Labor Day, Lönegren asserts that the war is exploiting workers to make tools of murder for the capitalist class in an ammunition/weapon industry that, when closed down during peacetime, will lead to mass unemployment and “without

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\(^{190}\) Vaughn 1980, p. 37.

\(^{191}\) *Oregon Posten*, 31 May 1916, p. 4.

\(^{192}\) *Oregon Posten*, 31 May 1916, p. 4.
a doubt a major showdown between capital and labor.” While he does not welcome this violence, he does end the article by proclaiming, “we do hope that the workers win the battle.”

The idea that the capitalists were profiting in the rearmament process bracing for intervention was reiterated in Svenska Pacific Tribunen. J.P. Morgan, a symbol for capitalists, was judged to be the biggest winner of Wilson’s foreign policy together with the ammunition industry. Svenska Pacific Tribunen differs from Oregon Posten, though in their assessment, it is ultimately “conscience free diplomats” responsible for the movement towards intervention. Vestkusten also views intervention as inevitable and derives this course from the ammunition industry’s profitable production during the war, deeming it incompatible with an administration that genuinely sought peace. Lönegren puts it best in an editorial, claiming that Wilson’s pacifist ideals slowly crumble to the pressure from the ammunition and weapon industries. Oregon Posten argues that war is too drastic of a means to justify the ends. “Most of us would willingly sacrifice our lives to defend our family or our country against an invading enemy,” Lönegren argued, but this is not what he perceived was at stake. He estimated that most Americans truly are negatively inclined towards intervention because “how many would risk their lives to defend proprietorship between workers and capitalists? Do we feel a longing to defend the Phillippines, Hawaii, and Porto Rico [sic] or to risk life and blood for American capital in foreign countries?” The war is perceived as a distortion of the tensions between workers and capitalists and soldiers and government as the actors instead. No papers buy the president’s rhetoric of neutrality. They view corporations, politicians, and diplomats with a resigned sense of cynicism. The ethnic component is important and present. Oregon Posten writes that the “warmongering” and “England-friendly” rhetoric of Theodore Roosevelt has made him a likely candidate since they are congenial with the ambitions of “the ammunition and finance interests.”

The class-conscious interpretation of the great war clarifies that the Swedish American newspapers were interpreting a myriad of questions through the lens of class and a critical view of capitalism. The preparedness parade and possible intervention are not viewed as a genuine reaction to what happens in Europe but rather a consequence of the lobbying of the capitalist class. The class has two main reasons to intervene, profit and their interests in England. American interests, as in, what are the stakes for the United States and which outcome would be most advantageous for them, are never considered. Therefore, the interests in England are never adequately explained, as if there were no motives to support England except an inherent bias towards everything and everyone English. Both at home and abroad.

\[193\] Oregon Posten, 6 September 1916, p. 4.
\[194\] Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 4 May 1916, p. 1.
\[196\] Oregon Posten, 13 September 1916, p. 4.
\[197\] Oregon Posten, 14 June 1916, p. 4.
\[198\] Oregon Posten, 12 April 1916, p. 4.
Is the narrative of the Great War being driven by capitalists related to disloyalty nativism? Yes. The hegemony forbids hyphenated Americans to show any sympathy to their country of origin. At the same time, the administration is allowed to support England for, according to the papers, ethnic and corrupt reasons. The hypocrisy that the papers perceive is not solely because of the administration. The capitalist class is complicit as well. The war and inevitable intervention are portrayed as a decision conceived far above the American people.

Remember that the Swedish papers responded to the disloyalty nativism rather than adopting it. This subchapter is an example of how disloyalty nativism did not affect the political discourse. When the Anglo-American population switched the focus, from capitalists as enemies for a more just society to the hyphenated population and the Central Powers, the Swedish papers’ focus remained.

3.2.2. Germany or England?

The reporting of Swedish events in the United States is the most striking common denominator across all Swedish-American newspapers, together with the language being Swedish, of course. Moreover, because of its neutrality, Sweden became a talking point for the isolationist discourse among Americans of all ethnicities. Studying the role Sweden played and how Sweden was portrayed in the newspapers is fundamental to grasp how and why Swedes were so isolationist. However, what is more, interesting for this thesis is to study how Sweden was invoked in the American discourse for the Swedish papers to criticize the administration’s politics. Was the Swedish influence the catalyst for Swedish-American isolationism or just an argument congenial with the already established sentiments?

In the first-world war discourse, the presence of Sweden was mostly in articles forwarding compliments toward Sweden for their foreign policy during the war. A Norwegian-American newspaper is quoted saying that the Swedish foreign policy is nobler than the American due to Sweden’s courage to “assert their rights against violations from the warring states,” this is immediately contrasted to America’s “spineless, vacillating wordsmithing” and their leniency to adapt to British demands. Sweden executes the kind of neutrality that the Swedish-American papers envy. Not only neutral in the sense of “non-participation” but neutral in an independent and pacifist sense, referred to Vestkusten as “true neutrality,” in contrast to the neutrality of the Wilson administration.

Regarding the tensions of 1916 between the Mexican and American governments, Lönegren writes, afraid that this tension might escalate to outright warfare. If one of the actors had been Swedish, the conflict would be resolved through diplomacy. 

199 Oregon Posten, 22 November 1916, p. 3.
200 Vestkusten, 29 June 1916, p. 4.
201 Oregon Posten, 21 June 1916, p. 4.
Tribunen quotes English political analyst E. J. Dillon praising the decency of Swedish neutrality.\textsuperscript{202} The papers were generally very proud of their old country and the neutrality it held. Lönegren writes, shortly after America intervening in the war, that Sweden is the most well-respected country of all countries on earth.\textsuperscript{203} It is hardly the case for the world population, but true for the Swedish editors on the west coast.\textsuperscript{204} Sweden was invoked as a role model for America’s foreign policy.

Sweden was also portrayed by the papers as a subject cruelly and unjustly treated by the antagonist England. Their blockade of Swedish herring fished in Iceland is strongly condemned in Vestkusten. “No one escapes England’s long claws,” editor Olsson writes, mockingly referring to England as “Protector of the small nations” knows to “charge highly to leave [smaller nations] be in peace, which sometimes still is not enough. Because England takes what she needs without mercy, and what’s left is for the smaller nations to settle for.”\textsuperscript{205} This text reads like a minor overreaction towards the blockade of herring. It is clearly a springboard for a discussion of the immorality of England. England’s austerity measures regarding import from America to Scandinavia, England, and the Netherlands is more reasonable to get upset about truly, and Vestkusten, of course, does. The readers’ homeland is suffering the consequences of England’s actions. Especially those residing in California and working in the fruit industry, which many Swedish-Americans did, since fruit, plums, and apricots specifically would be exported to a minor degree than before.\textsuperscript{206}

While Sweden was often evoked, it seldom highlighted different aspects or arguments than the rest of the reporting. A theme that is always present is most evident here, which is the condemnation of England due to its treatment of Sweden. The arguments against England are always substantiated and not just a knee-jerk reaction to Sweden being illtreated by “the protector of smaller nations.” Instead, Sweden being illtreated by England is a springboard to the greater question of England’s immorality and hypocrisy. It is a telling example of the Swedish subaltern counterpublic conducting a discourse that opposes the hegemony’s discourse.

Swedish Americans praising Sweden was hardly a big concern for the Anglo-American core. To some extent, it was expected, and Sweden was not even a belligerent state. The issue of which side in the conflict that the United States should side with was more important. And those who sided against the allied forces, or were neutral, were suspected of being disloyal.

The papers expected an eventual entrance into the war, with Americans siding the allied forces long before America officially took a side in the conflict. Lönegren writes that the prevailing doctrine forced the Swedish-Americans to either side with the allied forces or became a “traitor to

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\textsuperscript{202} Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 13 July 1916, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{203} Oregon Posten, 9 May 1917, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{204} Examples of Vestkusten sharing this sentiment, 21 November 1918.
\textsuperscript{205} Vestkusten, 5 October 1916, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{206} Vestkusten, 21 September 1916, p. 1.
the motherland.”  

Previous scholarship has emphasized the kinship Swedish Americans felt for Germans during the first world war, possibly fueled by similar experiences in the new world, their shared Lutheran faith, or Russia’s widespread hate. However, this is not reflected among the Swedish American papers on the West Coast, England was indeed resented, but there was no excess of warm feelings towards Germany. Instead, England is scolded for condemnable foreign policy and warfare almost every week. There is one notable exception to this rule. Germany is positively displayed in July when the German submarine Deutschland arrives in Baltimore, which is reported in both Oregon Posten and Svenska Pacific Tribunen. Oregon Posten is most excited and is filled with the wonder of the German “resources and engineering.” In an editorial the following week titled “Epoch-making feat,” Lönegren speculates on the impact of this submarine’s arrival in the United States. “This feat has contributed to increased sympathy for Germany,” he argues, because “it has exposed, that Germany even during the heat of war, can accomplish peaceful feats.” He ends the editorial with an argument for German moral superiority over England. On the one hand, Germany is exporting trade goods with the United States; on the other hand, England is starving out the Germans.

The hostility towards England is overt across all three newspapers. Anti-English sentiments existed to some degree before the war. Still, they would escalate with the implementation of the naval blockade against Germany, which meant that American exports were significantly lowered and trade with Europe outside Britain was generally difficult since the North Sea had been declared a war zone. Lönegren views this blockade as a humiliation of the United States. He argues that every patriotic American ought to be furious due to the English outrageous behavior. In an editorial before the presidential election, Lönegren invokes American history, reminding his readers that England has been an enemy of the republic for centuries. Svenska Pacific Tribunen writes that the American press, Randolph Hearst’s creations excepted, are bought by pro-British “princes of currency,” England is accused of having been conducting propaganda warfare for American intervention since the outbreak of the war two years prior, “Everything Germany does is misrepresented, and false” Svenska Pacific Tribunen concludes. The financial sector is “more English than the high finance and aristocracy in England” and exercises an immense influence over the administration. The ruling class is viewed as a homogenous Anglo-American group that

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207 Oregon Posten, 27 October 1915, p. 4.
208 Lindmark 1971, pp. 70-73.
210 Oregon Posten, 19 July 1916, p. 4.
211 Oregon Posten, 19 July 1916, p. 4.
212 Oregon Posten, 4 August 1915, p. 4.
213 Oregon Posten, 1 November 1916, p. 4.
hypocritically cannot be objective because of their pro-British, hereditary biases. A logic that, when applied to hyphenated Americans, is strongly condemned.

The hostility against England not only united the Swedish American papers on the West Coast but also different hyphenated populations that previously had few points of contact. One revealing example comes from *Oregon Posten*, which summarizes a celebration by local Irish Americans tributing the Irish champion of liberty Robert Emmet. The Irish are praised for their steadfast pride in their hyphen, which the paper finds admirable—the summary transitions to a commentary about the war. The Irish are quoted, a convenient way for *Oregon Posten* to not take a stance themselves, say, “We thank god that Germany fights for humanity’s sake,” and then summarize the last two hundred years of British imperial history and their many wrongdoings. Their opposition to the American Revolution, the liberal Boer people, and their treatment of the Irish are all condemned.216 *Vestkusten* goes even further, blaming the English population of Canada for their unjust claims of superiority over the French population.217

The Wilson administration’s leniency towards England is deemed “unexplainable” considering how England, according to *Vestkusten*, systematically has violated the “neutral rights” of the U.S.218 The paper accuses the administration of keeping the public in the dark of England’s mailnapping and interference with U.S. international commerce. *Oregon Posten* also reports of these mail thefts committed by England, which Lönegren fears will lead to the British adopting American “business secrets” to gain prosperity and diminish American export to Europe in general and England in particular, a rare occasion where American interests were at all considered.219

These sentiments did not fade away after the war. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, dissatisfied, wrote “Hating the Germans is patriotic” in 1920.220 When reporting of the Wilson administration bailing out the British currency in India for 1 000 000 dollars due to the Pittman Act, *Vestkusten* disappointedly concluded that the United States supports England as the new normal. “… Uncle Sam paid the cost – per usual.”221

The question of intervention or neutrality, peace or war, and England or Germany is the issue where the Swedish newspapers most obviously oppose the most influential elements of American society. Politicians and capitalists, and according to the papers, England, are portrayed to have an unproportionate sway over the dominant American culture. It is important to note that the Swedish papers most of the time refrained from accusing the general native-born population of warmongering. Indeed, those who are to blame for the warmongering and eventual intervention are not the general public opinion of the native-born population. Current scholarship can confirm

216 *Oregon Posten*, 22 March 1916, p. 8, p. 4.
217 *Vestkusten*, 22 June 1916, p. 4.
218 *Vestkusten*, 28 September 1916, p. 4.
221 *Vestkusten*, 2 December 1920, p. 1.
exhibited very little enthusiasm for joining the war. The hegemony’s opinions are perceived to be imposed by force, leading Oregon Posten to believe that free speech will decline in the immediate future. The papers sense that they are not allowed to deviate in their opinions from the administration’s policy, such as advocating for neutrality, as such a stance would render one dismissed as a “German-friendly traitor.”

Citizenship, and the title American, became explicitly conditional for the hyphenated population, and Swedish Americans wanted the right to be viewed as Americans. They wanted to be welcomed unconditionally, criticizing the war without being condemned as a traitor, as they perceived that the Anglo-American population could.

3.2.3. The Great War abroad in the 1916 election

We have established that the Swedish-American papers opposed Anglo-American war cries, often with open hostility towards the Anglo-American hegemony, corporate interests, and the democratic administration. The discourse was related to the discussion on anti-hyphenates because of its’ relationship to the first world war and how both discussions generally concern security and foreign policy. But it was also different as the question on intervention did not explicitly concern Swedish-Americans' lesser citizenship status than their Anglo-American neighbors. Let us now observe how the question of intervention influenced coverage of the 1916 presidential election.

“The Swedish-Americans do not like President Wilson’s foreign policy” was the title of a Löne gren editorial in early 1916. He argued that Swedish-Americans did not appreciate what he judged as an “unneutral” foreign policy from the Wilson administration. According to Löne gren, true neutrality was in the interest of Swedes in Sweden and Swedes in the United States. These sentiments seem to have been shared by other West Coast Swedish institutions as well. Vestkusten reported that the Swedish American political club in San Francisco condemned the war, forwarded their sentiments, and sent a telegram to California’s representatives in Congress. Vestkusten, like Svenska Pacific Tribunen and Oregon Posten opposed the war. Initially cautiously but progressively more infatuated closer to the presidential election in November. In late May, Vestkusten wrote in an editorial that American diplomats hopefully in time would learn that “the pen, as known, is mightier than the sword, sometimes.” Theodore Roosevelt figured in the 1916 election as well, but this time as a candidate for the Republican nomination. His candidacy was not in the slightest met with excitation from any of the newspapers. His “pro-Americanism” was judged to conflict with a vision

222 Keene 2010, p. 512.
223 Oregon Posten, 17 May 1916, p. 3.
224 Oregon Posten, 17 May 1916, p. 3.
225 Oregon Posten, 29 March 1916, p. 4.
226 Vestkusten, 4 May 1916 p. 8.
227 Vestkusten, 18 May 1916, p. 4.
of a Swedish America, and most importantly, he was supported by “England’s most sincere friends” and “the ammunition- and finance interests.” In a published letter to the paper, a reader bluntly asserts that the democratic party’s affiliation with England has garnered “greedy capitalists… hundreds of millions of blood money.” Roosevelt’s candidacy embodied the recurring notion that financial interests were the root to agitation towards an Americanization that meant “the death of all thoughts of the old motherland.”

Anti-hyphenate sentiments and English-friendly warmongering were two disparate opinions, and the papers’ despised both. They clearly believed that these sentiments were related, and indeed the opinions shared sources. Therefore, the war was not just a political issue on whether to intervene but a political issue on whether Swedish-Americans should have the right to cultivate their culture. Disloyalty nativism had spread to discourses that did not necessarily concern the fundamental question if the hyphenated population was to be considered loyal or not and threatened the future of Swedish-America.

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228 Oregon Posten, 12 April 1916, p. 4.
229 Oregon Posten, 3 May 1916, p. 3.
3.3. 1917-1920. Hyphenate Solutions. The right to exist

In April 1917, America joined the war; the Wilson administration called the Allied effort a liberal crusade worthy of American participation.\textsuperscript{231} The papers did not find the cause just and reacted with disappointment, but not shock. \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune} implied that only three months after American intervention, the war effort, like all crusades, was unjust and hedonistic in an editorial that never decisively answered the title question, “Can a Christian participate in war?”.\textsuperscript{232} Ensuring loyalty became even more urgent for the politicians in Washington DC and locally in the respective West Coast states. Efforts to assimilate immigrants through “Americanization” reforms became more and more common. Let us observe how the papers discussed and covered the question of loyalty and ambitions of a more homogenous population from America entering the war to the end of the studied period 1920.

3.3.1. Americanization

The anti-hyphenate sentiments of the Great War would not go away any time soon and continued to affect American policies even after the war. Concrete Americanization bills were passed or discussed even when the image of the Great War could no longer be invoked by nativists when portraying the immigrants as disloyal. The long-term consequences that the anti-hyphenate movement would have for the Swedish-American community became obvious, slow death for the Swedish language, Swedish traditions, and Swedish culture.\textsuperscript{233} The Swedish papers on the West Coast expected this turn of events and reacted strongly, although not always opposing the early conceptions of these reforms. If the election of 1916 in many ways centered around a perception of hostility towards immigrants, the election of the 1920s centered more on manifestations of these perceptions. But the most vulgar agitation had passed, Scandinavians were, according to \textit{Vestkusten} in December 1920, no longer suspected of being disloyal, and their fluency in English made them Americanized enough to satisfy the native-born population.\textsuperscript{234}

Americanization, or Amerikanisering, as the Swedish papers wrote, was an attempt by the hegemony to conform the population to an Anglo-American standard. The Swedish papers never opposed conformity per se and were indeed enthusiastic about some aspects of the movement, such as the 1919 bill promoting the education of the English language to American residents of foreign birth. \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune} encouraged all “true Americans” to take part in the

\textsuperscript{232} \textit{Svenska Pacific Tribune}, 12 July 1917, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{233} \textit{Oregon Posten}, 23 June 1920, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{234} \textit{Vestkusten}, 30 December 1920, p. 1.
movement. What the papers did oppose was often referred to as “complete Americanization,” an assimilation that forced the immigrant to deny his/her old-world identity. Commercial interests are, of course, at play here. The papers relied on the legality of publishing foreign-language texts. The English language being state-sanctioned as de facto Lingua Franca was deemed compatible with the papers’ enterprise since it was never their ambition to raise the status of Swedish to a primary language contender for all American citizens. It is important to note that the Americanization efforts to teach English was just as much a measure taken against illiteracy, a cause which the Swedish papers found worthy in and of itself. In this aspect, the Wilson administration had some redeeming qualities. Although too little too late. Svenska Pacific Tribune enjoyed the “Americanization Bulletin” published by United States Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton and approved by the democratic secretary of state Franklin Lane. The bulletin argued that Americanization of the immigrant did not have to mean constraints and political measures taken against foreign languages.

The Swedish newspapers were in an interesting spot regarding Americanization since a complete Americanization, as stated above, would be detrimental to the enterprise. Other Swedish-American institutions could be more accommodating to the demands from the hegemony, which in some states created an ideological divide between different ethnic institutions. Lutheran churches in the Midwest lost their ethnic connotations by removing the prefix Swedish or Norwegian and conducting their services in English. While this was not the case yet in the west coast states, the papers feared a similar development. The papers were not dependent on Swedish services, but all attacks on the Swedish language could long-term hurt their enterprise, which caused papers to rebuke this ecclesiastical change. The Methodist church was especially harsh towards hyphenated Americans and demanded in 1918 that all services must be held in English. It was most certainly a significant loss for the Swedish-speaking churchgoers and the Swedish-speaking priests, but their faith was probably relatively firm. Most Swedes spoke English, so it was possible to meet the hegemony’s demands.

The term Americanization rang false, according to the papers, since they suspected that it was not in the hegemony’s interest to elevate the immigrant to the status of the upper class of Anglo-Americans. An example of this is a comment in Oregon Posten regarding a proposal by an Americanization committee in Duluth, Minnesota. The comment suggested that the city take measures against ethnic groups to an unproportionate degree living in the same neighborhoods. Oregon Posten ironically hoped that the immigrants would be “placed in the wealthy districts, are

236 Oregon Posten, 15 May 1918, p. 7.
239 Svenska Pacific Tribune, 22 November 1917, p. 4.
invited to the dandy societies’ parties and obtain the prime seats in the fashionable American churches. Instead, they suspected that the Americanization movement’s true purpose was to force the immigrant to lose their old-world identity through coercion. But the Swedish Americans, as stated above, did not oppose the grander scheme of Americanization. No aspect was directly congenial with the Swedes’ ethnic interests, but they did not contradict them either. Reforms for literacy were endorsed for literacy’s sake, and everyone in the United States having a shared language was in the interest of American society. There was no ethnic opposition and no ethnic alignment either.

### 3.3.2. Hyphenated Americans remain a threat.

The Swedish papers had some objections to the Americanization ambitions mentioned above. But as long as it did not restrict their ability to publish Swedish papers or cultivate their heritage, they commended it. The Americanization reforms that were motivated by security politics would, however, yield a different reaction. Once again, the papers were frustrated. At times because of the content of the proposed bills, at times because of the insinuations of hyphenated Americans possibly being disloyal. *Oregon Posten* had been accused in January 1917 of being disloyal. The Oregonian published a letter that declared: “DISLOYAL PAPER HIT, *Oregon Posten* cited as Servant of Kaiserism. RABID ATTITUDE SCORED. Editor of Scandinavian Publication Said to be Violent in Attacking President and Bitter Toward Great Britain.” Editor Lönegren denied these accusations, and the letter did not render any serious consequences for his enterprise. Still, it probably became evident that his paper would only be welcome under certain conditions when explicitly being Pro-American. Disloyalty nativism continued to be the number one enemy for the Swedish papers.

The Espionage Act of 1917 was passed in June, making it a crime to, among other things, “cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces…..” The Swedish papers on the West Coast despised it. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* called the act “tyrannical and freedom murdering” *Vestkusten* considered it an attack on the freedom of speech. *Oregon Posten* believed that the democratic party was paving the way for dictatorship. According to *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, the restriction of rights resulted from the administration, the “financiers,” and the socially prominent, all being pro-British. In 1918 the espionage was expanded with the sedition act, approved in May, which among other things, made it a felony to

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244 *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 22 March 1917, p. 4.
245 *Vestkusten*, 21 June 1917, p. 6.
246 *Oregon Posten*, 21 March 1917, p. 4.
247 *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 22 March 1917, p. 4.
“utter, print, write, or publish any language intended to incite, provoke, or encourage resistance to the United States...”248 Once the act was in place, the papers were sensitive when criticizing the restriction of their freedom of speech. The papers did report when fellow Scandinavians were arrested, accused of violating the espionage act, but refrained from criticizing nor praise the event. The tools available to condemn the activities were limited, but one way they did succeed in criticizing it was with a short biography of the one arrested. One example of this was when the Norwegian-American farmer Edward G. Holmstad was arrested for refusing to help the allied cause by buying liberty bonds in 1917 and facing accusations of insulting the republic’s participation in the war. Whether this arrest was justified or not was commented on, but the article ends with some biographical information portraying Holmstad as an honest citizen. He “came here from Norway 29 years ago, is a naturalized citizen, and has a debt-free homestead.”249 Vestkusten is the most explicit paper in their opposition to the act, suggesting that the arrest of spies is a consequence of the suspicion raised by the anti-hyphenate movement. The cases are mostly “innocent trifles” that are only noteworthy in the presumable native-born “newspapers editors’ imaginative brains.”250 The espionage act was not forgotten during the election year of 1920. Svenska Pacific Tribune summarized its significance apropos Wilson’s pardon of a native-born socialist woman sentenced to five years due to the espionage act. “Apropos the espionage act, 000 spies and 000 traitors were convicted in these words literal meaning.”251 Reminding their readers of the democratic administration’s undemocratic and dishonest measures.

Was the content of the espionage act the sole reason for the papers’ strong reactions? No. The discussion of the espionage act as an extension of – according to them – the offensive notion of disloyalty among the American population, which implicated hyphenated Americans. A notion spread by the Anglo-American hegemony.

At this point, the papers were fed up with the discrimination they felt subjected to. “Infödd,” native-born, became a slur, almost always used in a negative way. The texts about native-born ranged in content from disappointment to bitterness to passive-aggressive hostility. At no point did the papers outright flatter the dominant class. It is easy to understand why, since the papers believed them to have opposite interests, making complete collusion impossible.

Furthermore, the Swedish papers still felt discriminated by the Anglo-American population, even though the term “hyphenated Americans” had slipped out of fashion. The natives ought to feel a debt of gratitude towards the immigrants, Svenska Pacific Tribune proclaimed, for all their work for the republic. But instead, “ignorant natives speak as if the immigrants are on

249 Oregon Posten, 22 May 1918, p. 1. Svenska Pacific Tribune also reported on this arrestment 16 May 1918, p. 3. Several other similar arrestments were reported on, see for example Svenska Pacific Tribune, 15 August 1918, p. 7.
250 Vestkusten, 30 May 1918, p. 8.
251 Svenska Pacific Tribune, 3 June 1920, p. 1.
Once again, a divide emerges between what the republic is and what the papers think it ought to be. These sentiments are repeated time after time. Swedes are portrayed as righteous citizens, and therefore ought to be treated with respect because America is supposed to be a meritocracy—though the papers never use that word—where one’s ethnicity should not mean any inferiority compared to another (white) group.

The papers still witnessed persistent feelings of discrimination from native-born Americans, although politicians did become less hostile towards hyphenated voters. The hostility did not wholly cease to exist, though, as the populist farmer labor party emerged, which, according to Svenska Pacific Tribunen, blamed foreigners for “everything evil and wrong.” The party is presented in ethnic terms in a revealing comment, noting that the names of their candidates are “surprisingly ‘American’—which means: English.” A division emerges between the nativists’ conception of who is an American: citizens with an Anglo-Saxon heritage, and those who are excluded from the nativists' conception of who is American: foreigners. This conception might not have been as common in 1920 as it was four years prior. Still, it is important to note that Svenska Pacific Tribunen vehemently opposes explicit attempts to gatekeep foreigners from the social status of Anglo-Americans.

### 3.3.3. The Norblad bill

One of the most worrying political happenings in 1920, for the papers, was not related to the presidential election but a bill proposed in Oregon’s state senate in January by Swedish-American A. W. Norblad, born in Malmö, Sweden, and representing the Republican party in the state senate. He proposed a ban on all newspaper publications printed in foreign languages if the paper did not print translated copies in English. If passed through legislation, the bill would mean a hard blow for all foreign-language newspapers and caused a large commotion in Oregon and the neighboring west coast states. Oregon Posten, deeply concerned with the bill, foresaw an end to the enterprise if the bill would pass. It would simply not be economically sustainable to continue the business.

The bill had broader implications for the Swedish American community since the most important tools for maintaining a connection with Sweden were considered to be Swedish literature and press. At least according to Vestkusten, probably speaking in some degree of self-interest. On a less material level, it also endangered the subaltern counterpublic. A translation would make the paper more accessible for the public and would possibly restrict the freedom that inaccessibility had bestowed the papers.

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252 Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 8 January 1920, p. 1.
253 Oregon Posten, 18 February 1920, p. 4.
255 Oregon Posten, 7 July 1920, p. 4.
256 Vestkusten, 7 October 1920, p. 4.
Vestkusten and Svenska Pacific Tribunen were just as outraged as Oregon Posten. “No truly normal human, with true Bildung, would propose or vote for such a law,” Vestkusten proclaimed.257 Svenska Pacific Tribunen published the names of the three Swedish-born senators that voted for the bill, urging their readers not to forget their names—implying that their votes were a betrayal of their fellow Swedes.258 The disappointment in all three, but Norblad in particular, underscores the implicit expectation that Swedish-American politicians should work in the interest of Swedish-Americans, or at least not work against the ethnic interests. Oregon Posten argues that the paper enabled the senators’ political careers.259 Oregon Posten was happy to announce that the Swedish-born state senators who voted for the bill would “fortunately” not serve in 1921, except for Norblad, which Lönegren optimistically thought would “never again present or pursue legislation in that spirit.”260 When Svenska Pacific Tribunen understood that Norblad was not born in Sweden, they dedicated space in their paper to publish this good news. “Thank god that it is not the case,” they proclaimed.261262 The relief that Norblad was perceived to be born in the republic is revealing, however. A recurring theme during 1920 concerning the Norblad Bill was obligations to your ethnicity, a theme that was absent earlier in the period. Partly because of the war, of course, which hindered any speech in favor of ethnic solidarity but partially because a fellow Swede in power had not yet betrayed the Swedes on the West coast, always assuming that they would stand up for Swedish interests. The fourth commandment was often invoked, as having been broken by the Swedish senators, “Honour thy father and mother.”263

The bill became news in all of Swedish America, a warning example of what all other states could expect in this nativist age. Swedish papers all over the continent wrote about the bill, often published in excerpts in Oregon Posten. It served two purposes, solidifying the idea of an ethnic homogenous interest that was not regionally locked. Most importantly, the paper could publish input from admittedly more talented writers than Oregon Posten had at their disposal. These excerpts differed very little from each other and are generally not of much interest. This is a local issue, and the Chicago interpretation to a high degree might be affected by another local context. There is one exception, though, an excerpt from Chicago newspaper Förbundets Veckotidning that sees a connection between “The hysterical ‘patriotism’” that permeated the culture during the war and the bill against the foreign-language press. A connection that the papers studied here also notes, although less explicit. What is more interesting is the last sentence of the excerpt, appointing “cheap politicians” as the lowest form of life in the republic.264 The resentment that had been present since

257 Vestkusten, 29 January 1920, p. 5.
258 Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 5 February 1920, p. 1.
259 Oregon Posten, 10 March 1920, p. 4.
260 Oregon Posten, 7 July 1920, p. 4.
261 Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 8 April 1920, p. 3.
262 The information that I have gathered suggests that he indeed was born in Malmö, Sweden, as mentioned above.
263 Oregon Posten, 10 March 1920, p. 4.
264 Oregon Posten, 11 February 1920, p. 4.
the outbreak of the war against native-born Americans was during this time, and until the war, broadened to include politicians as well.

The narrative of Norblad being a traitor to his fellow Swedish-Americans was prevalent in all papers, often expressed in explicit and polemic terms. The second narrative had been dwelled upon since 1912. It was always present in the discussion of the Norblad Bill even though it was seldom explicitly mentioned, which is the general Americanization project of the Wilson administration.

The discussion regarding the Norblad Bill, which did not manage to pass the judicial process, portrayed the bill as a manifestation of the oppression that Swedish-Americans for long had been subjugated to. Disloyalty nativism had trickled down from Anglo Americans to hyphenated legislators, not only hyphenated but Swedish! The papers were not surprised but disappointed. Since the outbreak of the war, the right for foreign ethnicities to deviate from the Anglo-American core culturally and linguistically had been under attack. The Norblad Bill was perceived to be an inevitable climax. The fact that those who wrote the bill were Swedish-Americans was salt in the wounds. But the reaction toward the bill was not wholly resignation. To some degree, this bill could be counteracted by not re-electing those who signed and wrote the bill. Time and time again, politicians work against Swedish-American interests, but their papers' faith in democracy does not waiver. The traitors will be defeated in the voting booth.

3.3.4. The 1920 presidential election

The eight years prior, especially the war years, contained harsh critiques towards immigrants and their loyalties. The three Swedish West Coast newspapers had identified these changes as stemming from Woodrow Wilson and his democratic party. Vestkusten endorsed the republican candidate in the 1920 election, Warren G. Harding, from a quite early stage. Oregon Posten eventually joined in as well, and Svenska Pacific Tribune reported a Scandinavian-American republican club celebrating his nomination. The most frequent form of praise was not any particular issue but rather his general positive attitude toward foreign-born Americans. Harding’s attacks against the anti-hyphenate agitators were quoted and relished. The republican party had solidified itself as the party for Swedish Americans after they managed to win back the majority in the senate following a victory in the 1918 midterms. The Republicans used this power to vote against many of the democratic propositions put forward by the Wilson administration that would have meant further restrictions for foreign language Americans and especially the foreign language press. This solidified the perceived dichotomy between the Democratic party’s anti-immigrant and the Republican party’s relative pro-immigrant stance. I say a relative pro-immigrant stance because

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265 Oregon Posten never explicitly endorsed Harding, but clearly preferred him over the democratic candidate Cox. See Oregon Posten, 27 October 1920, p. 4.
266 Svenska Pacific Tribune 15 July 1920, p. 5.
267 Svenska Pacific Tribune, 1 July 1920, p. 1.
the Harding campaign was somewhat ambiguous regarding his stance on the anti-hyphenate sentiments that had plagued the country the years prior. On the one hand, he did defend the foreign-language press, arguing that they are important institutions for the immigrant population. The Swedish papers were eager to print, portraying Harding as the opposite of Wilson. But on the other hand, Harding did share Wilson’s suspicion of immigrants possibly being disloyal or at least being a subversive element in the republic. However, this side of Harding was kept away from the readers, possibly because the editors wanted to ensure a Republican winning the presidency. However, Oregon Posten was the exception and did report a speech Harding made in his hometown Marion Hill, Ohio, where these sentiments came to light. Oregon Posten was disappointed in the candidate, ending the article by establishing the relationship between hyphenated Americans and the dominant culture as a conflict. Asserting that the native-born reporters attending the speech surely “applauded very well.” Vestkusten and Svenska Pacific Tribunen never reported on this, never shedding any negative light on the Republican contender. Oregon Posten was also convinced months before the election that it was in Swedish Americans’ interest to elect Harding. Ethnic solidarity was an important factor for the unity behind Harding and the endorsements. During the election reported in all papers as significant, a significant event was when Swedish editors from papers in the Midwest visited Harding and promised them to immediately abolish the “the martial laws, which are still in force, which restrict the foreign language press.” This suggests that the shared ethnic interests were not restricted to a state-by-state basis but rather an ethnic concern on the national level where the Midwestern experiences applied to the West coast voting booths. After the election, when considering the upcoming year, Vestkusten declared that Harding’s true Americanism would treat Swedish Americans much better than the Wilson administration ever did.

As previously established, immigrant workers were more often profiled as political radicals than their Anglo-American counterparts, which Harding mentioned as a great injustice. Harding spoke of the anti-immigrant discrimination of the great war more directly in a speech in Ohio, the 18th of September 1920, which was translated and quoted heavily in Vestkusten. In this speech, Harding argued that one was no less of an American because of dual sympathies to both the adoptive- and the father country. He encouraged hyphenated Americans to relish the most precious memories of their people. This should be understood as an important reason why all paper’s endorsed Harding because he at least rhetorically offered tolerance to ethnic minorities, their language, and their communities.

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268 Recurring trend, one example: Vestkusten, 28 October 1920, pp. 1, 4.
271 Vestkusten, 30 December 1920, p. 1.
272 Vestkusten, 9 September 1920, p. 1.
273 Vestkusten, 28 October 1920, p. 4.
The chapter on hyphenate solutions contains two simultaneous stories. On the one hand, the Swedish papers were encouraging Americanization efforts. The papers did not oppose consensual, gradual assimilation that meant conformity to the culture and, most importantly, Anglo-America’s language. However, the consent was broken when the Swedish papers perceived these reforms to stem from a distrust of Swedish Americans. Once again, the perception of position is of vast importance. The Swedish papers would not oppose the hegemony when they perceived their ethnicity to be treated with respect. Disloyalty nativism survived the war and would at times permeate these discourses. When the papers identified disloyalty nativism to be the cause of reform, the papers would be sure to oppose it. The papers’ coverage of the 1920 presidential election reveals that the papers prioritized the candidate they deemed most likely to eliminate the disloyalty nativism. Therefore, Harding became the unanimously preferred candidate in the presidential election of 1920.
4. The first red scare

The 1910s must be considered, in hindsight, as formative years for the American relationship to socialism, which in many ways defined the political climate of the United States during the 20th century. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* and *Oregon Posten* in particular, *Vestkusten* as well but to a lesser degree, were very concerned with the situation for the working-class population. The question of justice for the working class was viewed as a progressive reform suitable for a progressive time and country. Conservatives were considered “dumb,” wasting energy on opposing the three inevitable reforms, prohibition, women’s right to vote, and eight-hour industrial days.\(^{274}\) The call for eight-hour industrial days, and the notion that it’s as predictable as women’s right to vote and prohibition is interesting since it did not come into fruition in the coming decades, meanwhile women could vote in the presidential election the very same year, and prohibition precluded welcoming the year of 1921 with champagne in hand. This chapter explores how the Swedish papers discussed the situation for the working class and how they relate to Anglo-American actors and opinions.

From the outbreak of the war and onwards, disloyalty nativism permeated the discourse on working-class struggles. Much like the discourse surrounding the war, the nativist sentiments were responded to and opposed rather than incorporated in the papers’ views. The rise of socialism in the United States during the 10-s occurred simultaneously with the increasing fear of radical terrorism. In San Francisco, the city where *Vestkusten* resided, a bomb explosion killed ten and injured 40 in 1916.\(^{275}\)

Historian Karen Rosa argues that socialism and anarchism were considered pro-German ideologies, at least on the West Coast. The leading union Industrial Workers of the World were mainly targeted by accusations of being pro-German.\(^{276}\) The ethnic accusations were founded in security concerns, much like the anti-hyphenate hysteria. While the Swedish papers, to some degree, shared the concern, the ethnic insinuations were left out. The government ordered raids in congregations or associations deemed to inhabit possible “bombmen” or other assailants. According to *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, the English-speaking press favored these actions since the congregations and associations most of the time consisted of immigrants. The immigrants that were arrested were threatened with departure unless they were judged to be innocent, in which case the English press would conveniently not report the release.\(^{277}\) Swedish Americans viewed the

\(^{274}\) *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 30 September 1920, p. 1.
\(^{275}\) Issel 1989, p. 66.
\(^{277}\) *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 20 May 1920, p. 1.
measures taken against leftist terrorism as discriminatory and unjust, not only against workers but against hyphenated Americans.

The papers were not necessarily opposing the strong stance the hegemony took against possible radicals. *Vestkusten* even applauded police intervention. But they did oppose the ethnic narrative surrounding it, especially in the English-speaking press, arguing that problematic revolutionaries are not hyphenated to an unproportionate degree. The most famous radicals that have been imprisoned had suspiciously “Americanized” names anyway. Clearly responding to a narrative in the English newspapers where radicals were assumed to be hyphenated Americans. *Oregon Posten* agreed, claiming that the suspicion against immigrants was misguided since the subversive “red elements” were most common among the English-speaking population anyway. Fighting fire with fire, the Swedish papers mirrored the hegemony’s suspicions against hyphenates back towards the hegemony. There were some notable exceptions; however, Russian Americans were seldom mentioned in the discourses surrounding the Great War, neither in good nor bad terms, but during the red scare, they were mentioned as prominent in working-class organizations as well as being too radical.

What united the three papers most was their mutual dislike of the capitalist class; their working-class sympathies all took on different expressions and different views with them, but there were generally more similarities than differences. What is most noteworthy is how the same rhetoric is used for working-class issues as for issues of discrimination on an ethnic basis. The working class is persecuted, a verb often used to describe the position of hyphenated Americans. The capitalists, or “organized capital,” are just as unfounded and unjust as the native-born Americans.

Unions, like capitalists, were disliked because of the vast power they were perceived to possess. They were not considered vital for improving working conditions. The notion that it was the unions’ very purpose is never iterated in the papers. Instead, they were considered to be just as vile as capitalists when they had considerable power. Power is truly the keyword since all powers that be are viewed with skepticism. The strong unions in the Chicago construction business were reported to “rule with fear,” subjugating both workers and employers. *Svenska Pacific Tribune* called the Union leaders tyrants and “unscrupulous villains.” *Vestkusten* were outspoken in their contempt against strikes, even when they deemed the capitalist to exploit the workers. While they almost always were on the worker’s side, they preferred these conflicts to be solved “in a peaceful manner.”

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278 *Vestkusten*, 13 May 1920, p. 6.
279 *Vestkusten*, 6 May 1920, p. 4.
280 *Oregon Posten*, 4 February 1920, pp. 1, 3.
The Swedish American papers treated working-class issues very similar to how they treated questions about citizenship. Swedes felt a similar animosity towards the capitalist class as they felt against the Anglo-American in-group in the discourses where disloyalty nativism was present. Contours of a hierarchy emerge, but it is only implicitly ethnic. Capitalists constitute the top of the hierarchy and are written about with ethnic characteristics, implying their Anglo-American ethnicity. Still, it is not nearly as often invoked as in the discourse about the Great War. The working class is subordinate to the capitalist class, but their diverse ethnic makeup is never invoked.

The papers opposed the rhetoric conducted by the native-born population, but they did agree with the general sentiment of industrial workers potentially constituting a threat to the republic. They have observed that the rhetoric of the anti-hyphen hysteria has carried over, and they continue to condemn it. But they also agree that industrial workers are susceptible to disloyal workers who do not pay enough respect to the United States. Yet, they firmly disagree about the ethnicity of the disloyal radicals. The Anglo-American narrative claims that disloyal workers overwhelmingly are made up of immigrants, and the Swedish papers respond, claiming that they are just as often Anglo-American. A temporal variable greatly affects the hierarchy after the Great War, reducing the difference in rhetoric between Swedish Americans and the American hegemony.

The resentment towards the capitalist class must be expanded upon. A reoccurring trend in the papers’ coverage emerges, resentment towards the powerful in a specific discourse. The language of the discourses surrounding the Great War was ethnic. A dividing line was established between Anglo-Americans on top and hyphenated Americans below. As a result, the Anglo-Americans on top were criticized. The hierarchy of working-class issues was more material, and therefore capitalists were criticized. The resentment becomes ethnic, not in the enemies’ character, but the enemies’ perceived opposition to Swedish-Americans. Politicians were not excluded from these accusations. The distrust of politicians in many ways shaped how the papers perceived American democracy and deserve a short sidetrack.

Swedish papers employed two terms for the political profession. Politiker, referring to politicians in the ordinary sense of the word, and politikussar, a derogatory term mainly used to describe an unspecified political class. A way for the papers to signal to their readers that the politicians mentioned in this article do not have the nation’s interest in the forefront of their minds, but rather more sinister motives. Party lines did not matter. The resentment knew no party lines. Both republicans and democrats were dismissed as politikussar when criticized.285 Usually, when accused of working in self-interest, being nepotistic, and acting unfavorable towards hyphenated- or specifically Swedish Americans. When Seattle’s newly elected Sheriff Hodge fired Swedish deputy Carl F. Lottsfieldt, Svenska Pacific Tribunen called Hodge a politikus. To the politikus, ability

means nothing, the paper argued. Politikussar is not only fueled by a hunger for money, fame, and power. They are also uninterested in actual progress. When a career politician campaigned for a diplomatic office in Santo Domingo, Svenska Pacific Tribunen grieved that the Caribbean city needed “competence, not politikussar,” and when politicians were convicted with corruption, Svenska Pacific Tribunen ironically titled the article “fine officials.” Employing the term politikus served the purpose of highlighting corruption and nepotism among politicians and shed distrust towards the most influential individuals in the ingroup that, in the political context, was judged to be excluding Swedish-Americans both during and after the war. The divide between the Anglo-American and the Swedish American in the ethnic hierarchies was uncomfortably large. Politicians were perceived to both constitute and being constitutive of this divide. Working-class issues have also resulted from politicians working in self-interest, often written in cynicism so harsh that no room is left for other explanations such as the nation’s interest or ideology. They were not explicitly accused of being bought by capital interests, but a recurring sentiment was that both classes’ ambitions were congenial.

Some politicians were Scandinavian, though, and they generally had an easier time in the press if they did not restrict the rights of their fellow countrymen. It was generally agreed that Swedish-Americans, or Scandinavian Americans, had a more difficult time as politicians. When Seattle’s mayor Ole Hanson in 1919 faced some criticism for his tough stance on the Metal Trades Unions’ strike in Seattle, Vestkusten commented, “Well, it’s not his fault that his last name is Hanson and not – Murphy.” Scandinavian politicians had more to prove than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Let us digress from the discussion on politicians.

After the war, President Woodrow Wilson wanted a return to normalcy from the industrial conditions that had been prevalent during the war. This normalcy meant severe restriction for worker’s rights. Wilson implemented freedom “from government regulation, from labor unions, from public responsibility – the freedom of laissez-faire.” This subsequently led to unrest among the working-class population. Strikes and union activities were recurring trends during 1919 and 1920, to which the hegemony responded with hysteria, creating what scholars have called the first red scare. For decades, socialists had been tolerated until the war broke out, to which many socialists remained neutral to or condemned American intervention. After the war, socialists became a convenient enemy, similarly to the hyphenated Americans during the war, eerily similar.

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287 Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 4 February 1915, p. 4.
290 Oregon Posten, 24 March 1915, p. 5.
291 See subchapter 3.3.3. The Norblad Bill.
292 Vestkusten, 27 March 1919, p. 4.
293 Murray 1955, p. 9.
294 Murray 1955.
295 Murray 1955, p. 20.
It was no coincidence. The red scare had inherited the language, hysteria, spokespeople, and advocates of the anti-hyphenate movement during the war. The negative sentiments toward ethnic Americans did not go away after the war but simply took new forms. When socialists were assumed to be, to a high degree, immigrants, the hegemony could maintain their assumptions that immigrants were disloyal and subversive. The Swedish papers did not agree with this generalization. As previously mentioned, Ernst Skarstedt argued that socialists and not immigrants were the truly subversive elements of the republic during the war. The English-speaking paper Seattle Star wrote in February 1919, in response to a large strike in Seattle:

We call this thing that is upon us a general strike, but it is more than that. It is to be an acid test of American citizenship—an acid test of all those principles for which our soldiers have fought and died. It is to determine whether this is a country worth living in and a country worth dying for. The challenge is right up to you—men and women of Seattle. Under which flag do you stand?

The English-speaking press constructed a dichotomy between American principles and communist ones. The Swedish papers, somewhat surprisingly, agreed. The papers were concerned with the possibility of disloyalty among the American population but opposed all accusations that these disloyal elements were unproportionate common among hyphenated Americans. Anglo-American rhetoric was both opposed and adopted. The papers did not have very warm feelings for socialism and unions after the war and subsequently made very few and small adjustments to the rhetoric of the hegemony. The strike that Seattle Star views as an acid test of American citizenship is reiterated in Svenska Pacific Tribunen as a conflict between “Uncle Sam” and the strikers. The paper is more sympathetic to the former. Contrast this with the language of the Great War, where ignorant native-born citizens were named “Americans.” This is not the only occasion in which the Swedish papers ideologically align with the hegemony, but the Swedish subaltern counterpublic usually produce their own rhetoric and arguments.

In short, the Swedish papers agreed with the general sentiments of the first red scare. They shared the hegemony’s fear of domestic terrorism and radical industrial workers. The Swedish subaltern counterpublic did have objections, though, and did conduct a discourse slightly different from the Anglo-American discourse. The fragments of disloyalty nativism which had survived the war and did contribute to the red scare were consistently opposed, and when the papers themselves agitated against radical socialists, the Anglo-American rhetoric was intact but with the extraction of nativist sentiments. The discourse on the first red scare reveals the Swedish papers’ willingness to align with the Anglo-American hegemony as long as they felt that the Swedish ethnicity was respected. They were happy to support Uncle Sam in his conflict against potentially disloyal strikers but vehemently opposed his conflict with potentially disloyal foreign-born Americans.

296 Higham 1965, p. 223.
298 Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 6 February 1919, p. 3. 13 February 1919 p. 8.
5. Domains of cultural nativism

The end of the decade, and the beginning of the 20s, contained two significant reforms; women’s right to vote and prohibition. These progressive issues were particularly popular in the Pacific Coast states, all of them ruling out prohibitionist and women’s voting rights legislation before measures were taken on a national level. The Swedish papers wrote about these issues every year studied. Ethnic historians have often portrayed these movements as extraordinarily white, Anglo-Saxon, and protestant, gatekeeping certain immigrant groups, those stemming from Catholic countries in particular. Swedes were not Anglo-Saxon, but they were white and protestant and were to a high degree for prohibition and, in general, positively inclined for women’s right to vote. Previous scholars have shown that this political alignment with Anglo-Saxons has been used to climb the ethnic hierarchy.

The suffragist and temperance movement had plenty in common. Both being progressive issues and large grassroots movements with strong cultural nativist tendencies. They were spearheaded by white reformers, criticizing what they viewed as immoral - and foreign, maybe even European - elements in American urban life. In America, urbanization and industrialization had coincided with mass immigration, especially to urban areas. Therefore, the troubles with urban life were traced back to the new, foreign-born population when in reality, it might just as well just be a consequence of the rapid transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. These reform movements have in previous research been depicted as a dividing line between the Anglo-American, progressive, core, and the foreign population. A prohibitionist of the day proclaimed, “Every reformatory movement of the day… finds [in the foreign population] its most persistent and indefatigable foe.”

5.1. Suffragism

The West Coast states were early adopters of women’s suffrage; Washington granting women the vote in 1910, California doing the same in 1911; and finally, Oregon in 1912. Almost a decade before women gaining the vote nationally in 1920. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the suffragist movement's success was not the consequence of inclusive rhetoric that engaged women from every ethnic, social, and religious group. The movement was, in general, very White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Described by Mary Chapman as having inclusive rhetoric while

299 Higham 1965, p. 41.
300 Hofstadter 1955, p. 8.
301 Higham 1965, p. 41.
continually excluding those who suffragists did not “acknowledge as part of the national body politic.” These groups were considered too different culturally, primarily African Americans and immigrants, were viewed as possessors of immoral elements. White suffragists argued that women would restore the moral decency in politics that these non-wasp elements had brought in.

In the reporting of the Swedish West coast papers, this polarizing rhetoric of the suffrage movement is nowhere to be seen. The Swedish newspapers were positively inclined towards the women’s right to vote but were initially, in 1912, also somewhat careful. The loudest suffragist proponents of the time in England were considered to be “frenzied” because of their violent methods, implanted by a writer in the Pacific Tribune, which was a symptom of women perhaps being unfit to vote. But the suffragists of America were never described in this inflammatory language, though they were not admired either. The papers endorsed the cause but were indifferent to the crusade. If the papers were their only news source, the papers' readers would probably be unaware of the suffragist rhetoric that excluded foreigners.

In the subaltern counterpublic that the Swedish papers constituted, arguments that did not consider ethnicity were heavily favored. The main argument for women’s right to vote is not because of justice or democracy, but rather that women are expected to vote in a favorable way for the editors’ political positions; in the case of Lönegren, women’s perceived demand for prohibition was desirable. He writes in an editorial in 1912 named “Give women the right to vote” that the zeitgeist and direction of history make women’s right to vote inevitable. He argues that women deserve to vote since they are equal to men, albeit different. Homework is equally demanding as wage work, but more suitable for women is a general sentiment. Lönegren’s main argument that he reiterates several times is that suffragism will, in time, lead to his most desired reform, prohibition. Svenska Pacific Tribunen reiterates this notion and argues that “the biggest obstacle for women’s right to vote is the realization that it sooner or later means prohibition.” Olsson expands this logic, predicting women to not only vote correctly in the question of prohibition but generally in presidential elections as well. Vestkusten, champions of Theodore Roosevelt’s 1912 candidacy, argues that if women determined the election outcome, Olsson argues, Roosevelt would be victorious.

There is never any substantial opposition to suffragism. Vestkusten worries at one point that political feuds inside the home will lead to political feuds and domestic unrest, but this is an exception to the general rule. All three papers are positive towards the implementation of women’s right to vote already in 1912. In 1916 it entered the discussion about the presidential

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303 Newman 1999, p. 68.
305 Oregon Posten, 16 October, 1912, p. 4.
307 Vestkusten, 31 October 1912, p. 4.
308 Vestkusten, 18 January 1912, p. 4.
election since Hughes, according to Vestkusten, was undoubtedly for women’s right to vote. In contrast, Woodrow Wilson was less certain in his comments on the topic.\footnote{Vestkusten, 21 September 1916, p. 1.}

The United States Senate voted for women’s suffrage during the summer of 1919, all papers approved of, although not ecstatic.\footnote{Oregon Posten, 11 June 1919, p. 1. Svenska Pacific Tribunen, 12 June 1919, p. 1.} The reform seemed inevitable, and while they mentioned that some democratic states might try to oppose it before the amendment would get ratified, the papers never worried too much.\footnote{Oregon Posten, 11 June 1919, p. 1.} In August 1920, the amendment got ratified. The papers were happy with the outcome, hardly a surprise, but what is interesting is the usage of the suffragist rhetoric that previous researchers have perceived as being thinly veiled anti-immigrant rhetoric. “Let us hope,” Vestkusten writes, “that the higher morals, sense of justice and care towards the young population which the woman possesses in a higher degree than the man will contribute to the cleaning and elevation of politics.”\footnote{Vestkusten, 26 August 1920, p. 1. My italization.} Either Vestkusten simply did not notice the ethnic subtext in the suffragist rhetoric of immoral conditions in society which women’s suffrage would solve, or, which is more likely, Vestkusten correctly understood that Swedish Americans were not the foreigners which the hegemony viewed as immoral, and therefore did not feel targeted by the suffragist language.

The coverage of women’s suffrage illustrates why it is useful to separate disloyalty nativism and cultural nativism. Nativism is still present, but it is tolerated and almost never responded to—a stark contrast to the response to disloyalty nativism. In chapter 3, the Swedish papers openly agitated towards the native-born population, yet they refrain from doing it here. The reason why is simple, cultural nativism does not pose a threat to the Swedish American community. There was room to agitate against the native-born population. To highlight Anglo-American brothel owners or brother visitors. Yet the papers did not.

### 5.2. Prohibition

Swedish-Americans were generally for prohibition. The republican party’s wish for liquid reform had been a key reason why they had attracted so many Swedes since the 1860s.\footnote{Bergman 2017, p. 26.} The causes why Swedish-Americans, in general, were in favor of prohibition is not examined in this study. Still, it is worth noting that Swedes did align themselves with the native-born Anglo-Saxons ideologically. Prohibition was, if one allows oneself to generalize, a dividing line between the opposing Catholic new immigrants and favored by the Protestant old stock. In a much more subtle way, less committal than the Swedes in Massachusetts joining the Ku Klux Klan, but still a position welcomed by the ethnic ruling class. In Kenneth Moynihan’s study of Swedes in Worcester, he
highlights how Swedes emphasized their proximity to Anglo-Americans by asserting their opposition to alcohol as well as their protestant faith. The temperance movement proved Swedish-Americans' compatibility with the old Anglo-American stock. The Swedish commitment to the prohibition cause created a political bond between them and the Yankees. Local temperance figure and Yankee Mary E. Trask Hill expresses in the following quote how political allegiance can elevate an ethnic group to the status of a desirable element in American society. In the excerpt from a Swedish newspaper, she is said to have “spoke[n] of the great importance of the preservation of our public school system from the threatened attacks made upon it in certain quarters, and urged Scandinavians to become naturalized as fast as they can, to make themselves acquainted with our laws and institutions, and assume that position in our politics which their growing numbers and intelligence entitle them to.” In short, vocal advocacy for prohibition was viewed as desirable by the dominant culture. Excessive drinking was, similarly to socialism, a political issue that was perceived to conflict with American principles. The Anglo-American core “saw in foreign communities a dependence on alcohol they viewed as undercutting the traditional American values of self-restraint, propriety, and independence.” Previous historians have argued that prohibition was a measure taken not primarily because of the social consequences of the legislation but to reestablish WASP dominance in rural and small-town American society. The temperance movement did not shy away from alienating the foreign-born population from their cause, often presenting their cause as an “inevitable conflict between native and immigrant cultures.” Much of the literature on the subject maintains that the hyphenated population was against prohibition. In contrast, most of the Anglo-American population was pro, but Swedish-Americans deviated from this pattern and aligned themselves with the Anglo-American population.

The Swedish papers on the West Coast were very positive towards prohibition. It was a core issue for Oregon Posten and Svenska Pacific Tribune, somewhat decreasing in frequency throughout the period but always being one of the most recurring political issues. Oregon Posten is by far the most outspoken prohibitionists among the newspapers, which permeates both the editorials and the general news reporting. The very first issue of 1912 features a count of absolutists in both chambers back in Sweden, and if a foreign country turns “dry,” Oregon Posten will feature it in their small “foreign news” section. Oregon Posten deviates in their vast reporting and harsh polemic language, which heavily differs from Vestkusten and Svenska Pacific Tribune. The local news section can feature an article with the title “It’s a shame for society” and then publish the address of a diner

314 Moynihan 1989, p. 27.
315 Moynihan 1989, p. 28-29.
316 Burt 2015, p. 81.
317 Davis 2012, p. 4. Previous scholars mentioned that puts forward this argument which Davis mentions are as follow: Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R, Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1880-1930.
318 Lerner 2007, p. 97.
serving alcohol. The big news item of the summer, the wreck of the Titanic, had its death toll immediately compared to the more outrageous death toll, which was the deaths related to alcohol.

Despite being one of the most contested topics of the early twentieth century, prohibition seldom dictated the vote on a national level since no party or presidential candidate took a firm stance on either side of the debate the decade before the 1920 nationwide prohibition era. Not even in 1912, with three candidates, the temperance movement had a major party to vote on. This subsequently led to prohibition being absent from the coverage of presidential elections. The question of prohibition mainly only concerned itself with political campaigns on the local and state level. Still, in the case of Lönegren, it permeated many other questions that were less local. Prostitution, for example, was considered to be an effect of excessive access to alcohol, and the paper’s endorsement of the incumbent governor, republican Oswald West, seems to be primarily based on his tough stance on the illegal sale of alcohol. Multiple governors and governor candidates took stance against, or verbally directed criticism towards, tavern and restaurant owners. They, who had a commercial interest in working against prohibition, were perceived to be the enemies. No ethnicity was attached to these enemies, but Lönegren writes at one point in 1916 that they would try to counteract any Swedish candidates. This can be interpreted as an offspring of the native-born American – hyphenated American dichotomy of the Great War, but that conclusion would be somewhat farfetched. A more plausible explanation is that Swedish Americans’ warm feelings towards prohibition were so established in Oregon that bar owners assumed that their interests conflicted with Swedish candidates. What about native-born Americans, then? Were they perceived to be allies? No. But not enemies either. Lönegren perceived rich families to be daily drinkers, which considering what Lönegren often wrote about drinkers was meant as an insult, but he refrains from commenting on their ethnicity. Svenska Pacific Tribune and Vestkusten also refrain from invoking negative or positive feelings toward the Anglo-American core. The absence of judgment is noteworthy since the criticism of Anglo-Americans had always been present throughout the previously studied discourses. The Swedish papers are neither acknowledging nor consolidating a divide between themselves and the host society.

The Swedish papers’ rhetoric on prohibition differed from the Anglo-American rhetoric. Drinkers were never perceived to be disproportionate hyphenated, and prohibition was never invoked as a Protestant cause in conflict with i.e. Catholicism. The subaltern counterpublic that the Swedish papers constituted could therefore use the prohibition issue in causes where American

320 Oregon Posten, 6 March 1912, p. 8.
321 Oregon Posten, 14 August 1912, p. 4.
322 Oregon Posten, 7 August 1912, p. 5.
323 Oregon Posten, 28 August 1912, p. 8.
324 Oregon Posten, 1 May 1912, p. 5. Oregon Posten, 14 January 1914, p. 5.
325 Oregon Posten, 1 November 1916, p. 5.
326 Oregon Posten, 22 December 1915 p. 5.
and Swedish opinion did not align. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* used the question of prohibition regarding the first world war, mentioning a failed prohibition bill as proof of England’s moral inferiority.\textsuperscript{327} *Oregon Posten* also used the question of prohibition in their Great War reporting, writing one short text of Germany’s imminent prohibition laws in 1915 directly followed by an article regarding failed attempts by England to bring forward prohibition legislation.\textsuperscript{328} Why is this of interest? Because it is an example of the subaltern Swedish American counterpublic opposing the hegemony in discourses where the ethnic interests of Swedish Americans aligned with the dominant culture.

There were also cases where the Swedish papers’ rhetoric was aligned with the Anglo-American temperance movement. The cultural nativist notions of cities being strongholds of immorality were reiterated. *Vestkusten* mentioned prostitution, dancing, and excess alcohol as expressions of the cities wretched condition.\textsuperscript{329} *Oregon Posten* claimed that prohibition had resulted in fewer crimes in general and in Oregon’s most populated city, Portland, in particular.\textsuperscript{330} *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* described prohibition as a partial goal for the greater, missionary goal of healing the soul of American society, reiterating the Anglo-American notion of prohibition as a religious cause for protestants.\textsuperscript{331} The ethnic connotations were not opposed nor agreed with; they were not acknowledged at all.

In 1920 the Volstead act came into fruition, and nationwide prohibition was established. It turned out that prohibition was not as great as expected, and *Vestkusten* wished the act to be repealed already in July.\textsuperscript{333}

Let us briefly summarize the chapter on suffragism and temperance. Disloyalty nativism was nowhere to be seen in either discourse, with the exception when the discourse was tangentially related to the Great War. Anglo-Americans, or native-born, were, throughout the period, aligned with, and never referred to in bad terms, although they could in the very same paper grumble over Anglo-American’s accusations of disloyalty. I propose that this was because disloyalty nativism and cultural nativism could coexist, being active simultaneously. Cultural nativism did not concern Swedish Americans and was therefore not responded to, even in the political discourses where previous scholars have claimed it to be central. The papers studied do not adopt the cultural nativism themselves to assert their superiority over other white ethnic groups, at least not in the suffragist and temperance discourses, but they do adopt many other sentiments of the rhetoric. Certain immigrants’ behavior and culture were criticized, considered immoral, and was therefore agitated against. Since Swedish Americans were culturally closer to Anglo-Americans than

\textsuperscript{327} *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 20 May 1915, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{328} *Oregon Posten*, 28 April 1915, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{329} *Vestkusten*, 1 February 1917, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{330} *Oregon Posten*, 19 December 1917, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{331} *Oregon Posten*, 4 August, 1920, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{332} *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, 14 March 1918, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{333} *Vestkusten*, 8 July 1920, p. 6.
Catholics, they were spared from agitation. Swedish Americans were invited to the in-group and
willingly entered through political alignment. This meant a much closer relationship to the Anglo-
American core than during the discourses surrounding hyphenated Americans. Swedes were simply
neither Catholics, Jews, nor African Americans, which were the primary targets of the divisive
progressive rhetoric.334

6. How other hyphenated groups were portrayed after the war

Before we conclude the empirical study, it is appropriate to summarize how other hyphenated groups were portrayed after the war. Excerpts are extracted from different political discourses but are compiled here together since it is the most fruitful way to make sense of them. Slandering, or praising, of other hyphenated groups was not common enough to constitute an essential part of any given discourse. Still, it did occur and is worth mentioning. The Swedish papers felt a kinship towards other hyphenated groups throughout the war when they shared the experience of being subjugated to disloyalty nativism. After the war, when the hyphenated slur had slowly fallen out of popularity, the Swedish papers’ focus shifted. From concentrating on the unjust treatment, all hyphenated Americans were subjugated from the morally corrupt native-born population to the Swedish American relative compatibility with American society compared to minority groups. Conformity to Anglo-American culture was now desired, but something the papers were proud of Swedish Americans excelled at. The Swedish papers were still frustrated with the ignorance native-born Americans held towards Swedish Americans. Still, they were significantly less frustrated with ignorance towards other hyphenated groups or minorities. When the disloyalty nativist paradigm had less of a stronghold over the political discourse, the Swedish papers could revert to distinguish themselves from other competing minority groups. Let us begin to examine how the Swedish papers portrayed other hyphenated groups under the influence of cultural nativism.

The cultural nativist notion of Catholics being immoral elements to America is reiterated in Vestkusten, contrasted to the moral character of Swedish Americans. Swedes’ compatibility with the American nation is asserted when the Swedish population is portrayed as combatants for freedom of religion, immediately followed by a comparison to the less compatible Catholic population subjected to a church that “has never forgiven Sweden for its involvement in the Thirty years’ war.”

The cultural nativism is expanded to a relationship towards other religious beliefs that would be appropriate to call Protestant supremacy. The papers never openly refer to the United States as a country that ought to become completely Protestant, but most instances of Catholics or Jews holding power are portrayed as a problem. Vestkusten Editor Alex Olsson insinuates, following Woodrow Wilson’s appointment of Jewish Supreme court judge Louis Brandeis, that Jewish and Catholic interests sway the Democratic party. Olsson is somewhat frequent antisemitic, especially the months before the 1920 election, presumably because of the perceived threat of four more

335 Vestkusten, 25 November 1920, p. 5.
336 Vestkusten, 28 October 1920, p. 4.
years of the perceived Jewish friendly democratic party. He condemned the persecution of Jews in Poland. He argued that it’s a reaction to the Jewish influence in the Russian Bolshevistic administration and reiterated that Jews had achieved wealth through unfair banking services.  

*Svenska Pacific Tribunen* also carried with some antisemitic sentiments and at one point wrote, regarding the question of Asian immigration which they, in general, were for, that the actual “Asian danger that threatens us is the Jews: their king is the house of Rothschild [sic].”

If *Vestkusten* was most often antisemitic, *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* was most often racist towards African Americans with no attempt to rationalize their dislike for them. *Vestkusten* quoted Marcus Garvey’s call for Africans to free themselves uncommented. *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* instead quoted Lincoln emphasizing the superiority of the white race, arguing for segregation and excluding blacks for political offices.  

The racial matter is the one aspect where *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* truly envies Sweden, where “all men are white” and “the Swedes are the whitest people on earth.” In early 1920, *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* implies that Chinese-, Japanese- and African-Americans are all burdens on society. However, the racial question was just as prohibition, never viewed as a political matter during any of the presidential campaigns, so these racist sentiments never concretely got discussed in terms of political issues.

Antisemitism and white supremacy were quite established during this time. Swedish Americans' immediate competition in the ethnic hierarchy was, therefore, other white ethnicities. The Swedish papers, as mentioned above, did assert their proximity to Anglo-Americans and relative difference to non-protestant immigrant groups, using cultural nativism to their advantage. Did they also deflect claims of being disloyal towards other white ethnic groups to climb the ethnic hierarchy, portraying themselves as comparatively loyal? No. Other white ethnic groups are very seldom invoked negatively when the newspapers reflect upon the falling status of the foreign-born in general and the Swedish immigrant in particular.

There are, in general, very few attempts from the newspapers to elevate Scandinavian superiority over other immigrant groups. *Vestkusten* is very pro-immigration in 1920 and condemns the proposed bills that aim to limit immigration. Note how the immigrant is generalized: “… the immigrant is a necessary factor for the performance of cheap and hard labor.” This means, according to *Vestkusten*, that the immigrant has earned “the freedom… to read papers and books in his language… as long as these papers are loyal to the administration.” Editor Olsson, in the

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338 *Vestkusten*, 16 September 1920, p. 6.
340 *Vestkusten*, 26 August 1920, p. 4.
344 *Vestkusten* 1 July 1920, p. 4.
last edition of 1920, asserts that America has found out that most foreigners are loyal citizens.\textsuperscript{345} The result is noteworthy due to its contrast to Erika K. Jackson's study of Scandinavians in Chicago during the same period where editors openly agitated towards hyphenated groups beneath Scandinavians' status. They "distanced themselves from those with ‘Bohemian and Polish names’ for the sake of their self-preservation."\textsuperscript{346} Olsson argued that the hyphenated population had deserved the trust of Anglo America because they are loyal and because they conform to Anglo-American norms. Americanization is a process where hyphenated Americans, according to Olsson, earn their right to be Americans. The argument is based on a somewhat cultural nativist notion that conformity to Anglo-American culture is desirable, and Scandinavians are highlighted as especially apt at conforming. They are "both linguistically, and in other respects, so Americanized, that all reasonable claims should be satisfied."\textsuperscript{347} The portrayal of hyphenated groups depended completely on what nativism was responded to. If the paper responded to disloyalty nativism, other hyphenated groups would generally be portrayed in a good light.\textsuperscript{348} They were described as good citizens entitled to the same freedom as Anglo Americans.\textsuperscript{349}

No ethnicity is even close to being as criticized as representatives of the Anglo-American core. There are some exceptions, but generally, the papers only criticize groups deemed to be better positioned than themselves. The Swedish papers did not perceive ethnic hierarchies, as much as they perceived a bidimensional social hierarchy where Swedish Americans were subordinate to native-born, the rich, and politicians while all other ethnicities, whether perceived to have the same rights as them or lower status, were irrelevant. Unlike their fellow countrymen in Chicago, Swedes on the West Coast never insulted immigrants from Eastern or Southern Europe or in any way argue that they were superior immigrants on a racial basis. Racial rhetoric and references to nativists were few and far between. The question then arises. Why is this? One can only speculate, but it is likely that the Swedish Americans on the West Coast, due to being relatively few, had a limited political mandate and maybe, therefore, felt more kinship to other hyphenated groups than Swedes in Chicago that socially and politically were more well-integrated than other immigrant groups.

\textsuperscript{345} \textit{Vestkusten}, 30 December 1920, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{346} Jackson 2019, pp. 143–144.
\textsuperscript{347} \textit{Vestkusten}, 30 December 1920, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{348} Although rare, exceptions existed and have been mentioned in chapter 3.1.1. The hyphenated Americans.
\textsuperscript{349} \textit{Vestkusten}, 19 February 1920, p. 5. In response to the Norblad Bill.
7. Conclusion

The introduction ended with a question: How did the relationship between Swedish-Americans and Anglo-Americans change throughout the period 1912-1920? A temporal development was assumed, but the empirical study has shown that the most significant variations of the relationship were not between different points in time but between different political discourses. This thesis has established that the Swedish papers’ relationship to the host society was complicated. The papers could agitate against the Anglo-American establishment and the Anglo-American population on the front page while conforming to their political ideals and values in the editorial three pages later. The employment of disloyalty nativism and cultural nativism made the results coherent and sensible. The nativism which emerged during the Great War was referred to as disloyalty nativism to differentiate it from the nativism that preceded, although not replaced it, which was referred to as cultural nativism. Vestkusten, Oregon Posten, and Svenska Pacific Tribune consistently responded to and opposed expressions of disloyalty nativism since it was perceived to be partially addressed to Swedish Americans. The papers responded to subjects, or sentiments related to disloyalty nativism, with vigor. They were opposing and consolidating the distinction between hyphenated Americans and Anglo-Americans, which they felt that the native-born population had established. Disloyalty nativist rhetoric suggested to the papers that the Swedish Americans’ position in American society was conditional and far from the position of the native-born population. When the Swedish papers felt that the Swedish ethnicity’s position was too far below the position they thought it ought to deserve, the papers' political discourse would openly complain about the state of things and agitate against the Anglo-American population. The discrepancy between Swedish Americans’ perceived, and their desired, position yielded disappointment and hostility towards the Anglo-American establishment, which permeated the political discourses where disloyalty nativism resided. The subaltern counterpublic’s discourse on hyphenated Americans, whether to intervene or not in the Great War (and to some degree the proposed solutions to diversity after intervention), responded to perceived Anglo-American disloyalty nativist sentiments. When the papers responded to disloyalty nativist rhetoric, other hyphenated Americans’ rights were defended. No distinctions were made between Scandinavian-Americans and Irish Americans. All hyphenated (white) Americans were entitled to the same amount of respect, the papers argued. The chapter on working-class struggles reveals that the papers were concerned with disloyalty and subversive elements among the American population, and when those targeted were not hyphenated Americans, the papers comfortably aligned with the Anglo-American core.

Studying domains of cultural nativism yielded completely different results. The papers were indifferent to the cultural nativism of the period. Previous scholars have established that, what in this thesis is referred to as cultural nativism, flourished in the public discourses on women’s
suffrage and prohibition, distinguishing between the more desirable protestant population and old immigrant groups and the new, often Catholic, immigrants. In the subaltern counterpublic of Swedish American papers, cultural nativism was nowhere to be seen in these discourses. It was neither opposed nor adopted. While arguments with nativist connotations were borrowed from the Anglo-American discourse, the explicit nativist sentiments were left out. Swedish Americans’ position in American society is not a talking point in these discourses. Noteworthy in its contrast to the discourses surrounding the Great War, where the discrepancy between the position the papers felt that Swedish Americans deserved, and the position they possessed, frustrated the papers immensely. I suggest that the absence can be derived from the better position Swedish Americans inhabited in the ethnic hierarchy of cultural nativism. They were comfortable there. The consensual relationship between the dominant class of Anglo Americans and the subordinate Swedish Americans had ceased in the domains of disloyalty nativism. Still, it remained in the domains of cultural nativism since Swedish Americans were neither subjected to the accusations of immorality that Catholic Americans were accused of nor demanded to conform radically. Their racial, religious, and cultural privileges were much more influential in the domains of cultural nativism than in the domains of disloyalty nativism.

The most conspicuous effect of disloyalty nativism was the heightened awareness of ethnicity and complete unity among the papers on which presidential candidates to endorse. In 1912 the papers endorsed three different candidates. By 1916 they had identified President Wilson to at least partially be responsible for the agitation towards hyphenated Americans, which led the papers to rally behind the Republican nominee both in 1916 and 1920. Disloyalty nativism, and the Great War in general, had made previously important political issues, such as the question on tariffs, obsolete compared to the more urgent matter of acceptance toward the foreign-born population.

Let us now consider these results and contemplate what this thesis contributes to the future of the concept of ethnic hierarchies. This thesis differs in scope from previous studies referring to ethnic hierarchies in its focus on the Swedish American responses to native-born Americans’ perception and treatment of the minority, rather than examining how nativist scholars perceived the racial makeup of Nordic immigrants. Through the lens of three papers, Swedish Americans’ own experience is consulted, which yields slightly different results. Matthew Frye Jacobson argued that conflicting racial discourses could occur at the same time. This thesis would like to add that conflicting ethnic hierarchies can occur, and be experienced, simultaneously. This complicates the usefulness of the concept going forward. It is still possible to employ the concept when a narrow scope is studied, such as Brøndal’s study of nativist scholar’s perception of Scandinavians in the late 19th and early 20th century. It is, however, less appropriate to employ the concept when discussing Swedish Americans in general, as Blanck did in his article A Mixture of People with Different Roots since temporal, geographic, and political variables can yield very different outcomes. The
concept is insufficient even in the narrow scope studied here unless one expands the concept to contain two simultaneous hierarchies.

It is appropriate to visualize the concept of ethnic hierarchies. Neither Brøndal nor Blanck did. Erika K. Jackson is, to my knowledge, the only scholar to have sketched out the concept. Her hierarchy visualizes “Socio-racial hierarchy of race – constructed by ‘race scientists’ and anthropologists to justify discrimination against non-white individuals.”

The hierarchy has not been published but was presented during a lunchtime lecture hosted by Swenson Swedish Immigration Research Center. Her pyramid consists of 8 fields. Wealthy White Anglo-Saxon Protestants reside on the top of the pyramid, followed by middle-class White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Each tier is named, not after treatment or perception, but after who is considered to reside in the tiers. This renders the concept extremely narrow as any given ethnicity’s placement is static. It is also somewhat incomprehensible as the horizontal lines’ only function is to distinguish between different ethnic groups rather than distinguish between different perceptions and treatments. Simultaneously, the vertical axis orders ethnicities from the most respected group at the top to the least respected group on the bottom. The hierarchy visualized by Jackson is, therefore, a pyramid-shaped ranking. The only fixed point is a dividing line, named “Line of whiteness.”

This model is insufficient for the results of this thesis. It is essential to highlight how the position of Swedish Americans on the ethnic hierarchy differed between the big divide to Anglo Americans in the disloyalty nativist hierarchy and the, for Swedish Americans, much more inclusive and welcoming cultural nativist hierarchy. It is a result that has to be asserted when studying the inter-ethnic relationship to Anglo-Americans that the concept of ethnic hierarchy aims to do. Yet Jackson’s model requires me to prove that any competing ethnicity surpassed the Swedish ethnicity in the disloyalty nativism hierarchy, which is a task outside the scope of this study. The ranking of Swedish Americans might have been the same in the two hierarchies, but the distance to the Anglo-American hegemony differed widely. To visualize these contributions, I propose a different model for ethnic hierarchies, a model that could theoretically visualize the difference between an ethnic hierarchy of an imagined Anglo-American supremacist reality and an ethnic hierarchy with an identical ranking of ethnicities in the eyes of Anglo-Americans but with a much more egalitarian reality.

I propose that the concept of ethnic hierarchies must be open to change, both in time, context, and place, and should establish fixed points. In the models proposed here, the fixed points are tiers constituted by treatment and perception rather than who resides there at a certain point in time. This evolves the concept from a visualization of conditions during a certain time, place, and context to a comparative tool with a wide range of potentially useful applications. A significant added

350 Jackson 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mV8_7sA0klmk  Quote provided in E-mail correspondence.
351 Jackson 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mV8_7sA0klmk
benefit is the potential to visually show how the dominant class distinguishes itself from subordinate ethnicities or welcomes certain subordinate ethnicities. In Erika Jackson’s model, the second most desirable ethnicity, surpassed only by Anglo-Americans, would always be right next to Anglo-Americans since her hierarchy is virtually a ranking. In the model I will soon propose, the second most desirable ethnicity’s trajectory in the ethnic hierarchy can be tracked despite consistently being the second most desirable ethnicity.

These visualizations are made to visualize the problems with the concept of ethnic hierarchies and propose possible changes to make the concept useful. The fixed points presented are not meant to be interpreted as definitive or optimal, but I argued that fixed points are advantageous. The tiers constitute the ruling class’s perception and treatment. Let us, for argument’s sake, imagine that Swedish Americans had the same ranking in a general ethnic hierarchy in 1912 as they did in 1916. Snapshots of an ethnic hierarchy during both these years would not reveal the very different situations they faced. The problem can be solved with tiers representing fixed points where the horizontal lines become demarcation lines between different levels of treatment rather than different ethnicities.

**Disloyalty Nativism Hierarchy Model**

![Image of a triangle hierarchy model with four tiers.](image)

**Figure 1.** Model for visualizing a disloyalty nativism hierarchy, in tiers ordered by the dominant class’s perception and treatment of the subordinate ethnicity.

The first tier in the *Disloyalty Nativism Hierarchy Model* consists of the dominant class, the in-group that holds power to suspect and determine other groups of composing a threat to the republic. Native-born Anglo Americans constituted this tier during the period studied. Swedish Americans resided in the second tier before the war. They were perceived to be loyal, not constituting a threat to the republic. During the war, disloyalty nativism grew simultaneously as the first tier suspected hyphenated Americans of harboring divided loyalties, possibly constituting a threat to the republic.
This meant a demotion to the third tiers for Swedish Americans, being suspected of harboring dual loyalties and were based on disloyalty subjugated to threats of restrictions of their ethnic deviations. The third tier was crowded during the Great War, and the spectrum of experiences must have varied widely between different groups. It was probably mostly collateral damage for Swedish Americans where the hegemony wanted to restrict other hyphenated groups. Still, this thesis studies perception and not intention, and Swedes perceived themselves to be restricted in ethnic deviations. If not actual, then eventual, as if it was a question of time. No immigrant group inhabited the fourth tier during the Great War, but it would be inhabited by Japanese Americans during World War 2 twenty years later.

Let us now contemplate a Cultural Nativism Hierarchy Model.

**Cultural Nativism Hierarchy Model**

![Figure 2](image.png)

**Figure 2.** Model for visualizing a cultural nativism hierarchy, in tiers ordered by the dominant class’s perception, treatment, and acceptance of the ethnicity’s culture.

The Cultural Nativism Hierarchy has fixed points for different tiers and can also be used to trace an ethnicity’s trajectory over time. The first tier constitutes the American in-group. Americans who, based on their ethnicity, are unconditionally Americans. Native-born Anglo Americans, most importantly, and to a lesser degree English immigrants. The inhabitants of the first tier determine which cultures are deemed desirable and compatible with American society and which cultures are not. The second tier consists of ethnic groups who are not considered part of the first tier due to being othered but are still considered relatively desirable. Swedish Americans would consistently place here throughout the period studied here. The third tier, “Culture considered incompatible with American society and has to be resolved,” would during the studied period, among other
groups, consist of the Catholic immigrant groups whose perceived culture and behavior in American urban life were condemned by the Anglo-American hegemony and resulted in political activism against, among other things, sale of alcohol. The last tier, tier 4, contains legally and systematically oppressed groups, would include African Americans and Asian Americans during the early twentieth century, among other non-white groups. Are the tiers monolithic? Of course not. Every ethnicity’s experience is unique, and especially the third tier and fourth tier contain a wide range of oppression. A thorough ethnic hierarchy could theoretically place several ethnicities in the same tier and distinguish their different experiences through placing the ethnicities at different positions on the Y-axis.

This hierarchy is useful for tracing the temporally and spatially changing status of an ethnic group. How would Swedish Americans on the West Coast place on the hierarchy? Consistently in the second tier. In fact, Swedes endorsed the dominant cultures’ homogenization campaigns. When Swedes did not, as with the Norblad bill, the papers’ enterprise was directly under attack due to disloyalty nativism rather than cultural nativism. Therefore, I would argue that the Swedish papers perceived the Anglo-American majority to appreciate Swedish Americans on cultural issues. Cultural nativism excluded Swedish Americans, even during the Great War. If that is the case, how does one explain the Swedish American sense of victimhood that the thesis has dedicated dozens of pages to? The sectioning of nativism is an important contribution for this exact reason. Without it, the impression would have been made that Swedes were subjugated to a heightened amount of nativism, which would be true in a sense but not tell the whole story. The nativism of the Great War was unique, which is evident when studying Swedish Americans. Disloyalty nativism had a different logic, different ideology, different cause, and most importantly, for this thesis, a different ethnic hierarchy than cultural nativism—a different set of distances between the dominant Anglo Americans and subordinate ethnicities.

Let us summarize and finish this thesis. The most noteworthy contributions of the thesis are the division of nativism and the political fluidity of ethnic hierarchies and what implications it has for the concept. I would like to end the thesis by highlighting a less important contribution: the inclusion of the Pacific West Coast in Swedish American historiography. Much of the research done on the West Coast has been descriptive, reminding the scholarship of the region’s existence and general developments, which is immensely important in its own right. Still, I hope that this thesis has shown that analyzing historical research can be done outside of the Midwest and Worcester, Massachusetts. The Swedish American scholarship is geographically much narrower than the Swedish American experience. The West Coast was not as populated by Swedes as the Midwest, but the community was vibrant. The papers were essential in maintaining a Swedish identity on the West Coast and fought hard to preserve the community, even when facing hardships during the Great War. The defeat was inevitable. Oregon Posten passed away first, merging with
two smaller Swedish papers in the Pacific North West 1936 and formed Svenska Posten.352 Svenska Posten grew while Svensk Pacific Tribunen shrunk and acquired the paper in 1946.353 Svenska Posten survived for three decades, publishing their last issue in 1976. Vestkusten held on for a remarkably long time, and published their final issue in 2007.354 Today, no Swedish paper resides on the Pacific West Coast. The Swedish American community on the West Coast is only a shell of what it once was.

California is still a popular destination for Swedish emigrants, although emigrating in lesser numbers than they did a century ago. Los Angeles, in particular, has attracted countless Swedish media figures. Washington’s Swedish community is also decimated, although the presence the population once had can be seen in the frequent prefix “Swedish.” The Swedish hospital, the Swedish rectal clinic, and the Swedish Addiction Recovery center all reside in Washington’s most populated city, Seattle. Despite editor Lönegren’s best efforts, Oregon is probably the Pacific coast state where Swedes left the smallest mark. Despite producing a Swedish governor in 1929 and briefly hosting would-be Nobel Prize Laureate in literature, Harry Martinson.355 But once, the Pacific Coast was filled with Swedish choirs, Swedish associations, congregations, and coffee shops. The three editors and the papers they edited wanted to create a foundation for the community that would allow it to prevail throughout generations. They did fail, but they tried, and they deserve scholarly attention.

352 https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/swedishamerican/oregon-posten
353 https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/swedishamerican/westra-posten
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