

Colours, crosses or cow-horns? Nordic elements in the design of some North American flags and emblems with an overview of the use of Scandinavian flags in Canada and the U.S.A.

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Abstract

This Canadian vexillologist introduces the historical and contemporary uses of Scandinavian flags in North America. He proceeds to analyze the design of North American flags that have some tie-in with the five Nordic countries. Certain individuals of Scandinavian descent who had a role in North American vexillology are also identified. The writer looks at organizational and institutional flags and emblems, house flags, sports pennants and banners, sailing and yacht club burgees, and private signals of mariners, as well as a few civic flags of Canada and the United States. He counts the frequency of Nordic elements chosen in the designs of these flags and draw appropriate conclusions.

Introduction

The Nordic countries of Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland have made many significant contributions to North American history, geography, and civilization — from Leif Ericsson to Otto Sverdrup, from New Sweden to Little Norway, from *kringles* to saunas, from farmers in the Dakotas to lumbermen in Thunder Bay, from *pâtisseries* in Toronto to fishermen on Lake Winnipeg, from Ole Edvart Rølvaag to Martha Ostenso, from Karen Magnusson to Matts Sundin, an import on an National Hockey League team. To these — and there are several other categories of contributions — we now add those in the field of vexillology and emblematics. By the words Norden or Nordic, this writer means ‘the northern European countries commonly referred to as Scandinavia but including also Iceland and Finland.’ By Nordic elements we mean the arrangements, charges, and colours of the Nordic flags, and design elements of heraldic, dynastic, sigillographic, artistic, and other historic derivations. For examples, the white cross on a red field of the Dannebrog, the blue and yellow colours of the Swedish flag, the hoist-ward crosses of the five Nordic flags, the swallow-tail shape, the lion with battle-axe of Norway, the lion rampant of Finland, the crowned



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Figure 1 A Raven Flag as conceived and made by Harry Oswald, Portland, Oregon. Photo by KH.

lion of Sweden, the three lions and hearts of Denmark, the longship of the Viking, the Viking cow-horned helmet and axe, the falcon and cod or stockfish of Iceland, the three crowns of Sweden, the Little Mermaid of Denmark, the bust or figure of St. Olav or St. Eric, etc.

Part One

Historical Overview of the Flags and Emblems of Norden in North America

Only the Danish flag has been planted on North American soil as an act of claiming possession — and this apart from Greenland and the West Indies — almost 500 years ago at the site of today's Churchill, Manitoba, and barely twenty years ago on Hans Island off Ellesmere island in Nunavut, where Canada now faces Danish warships.

But the first Nordic emblem in North America is often considered to be that of the raven (Fig. 1). Both MacGeorge and Gordon speak of the raven as a Danish emblem 'the well-known ensign of the Danes at the time of their dominion in Britain', 'a small triangular banner, fringed, bearing a black raven on a blood-red field'. Smith discusses the raven flag, 'Terror of the Land', of the Danes in England saying it was probable that the Vikings brought the first flags to North America. Crampton says Leif Ericsson is reputed to have taken the magical Raven Flag to the North American continent in his voyage in the year 1000. As a result of these assumptions, the eponymous journal of the North American Vexillological Association bears the black raven with wings outspread on a white pennant as its cover emblem. Jan Oskar Engene, the young Norwegian vexillologist, cautions us that the Raven flag was likely confined to Danish predatory campaigns across the North Sea and should not be construed as a form of a



Figure 2 The Emblem of the Flag Research Center, Winchester, Massachusetts. Redrawn by KH from the cover of The Flag Bulletin.



Figure 3 Munk's Expedition, 1519, from a woodcut.

national flag of the Vikings nor that Ericsson was on a military venture where a flag might be in use (rather he was a colonizer). So it is difficult to support these assumptions about a Raven flag in North America. A better symbol of such an event would be the long ships themselves which brought Ericsson and his Norse colonists to Vinland. The Flag Research Center of Winchester, Massachusetts, employs the Viking vessel in the logo for the cover of its publication *The Flag Bulletin* and on the Center's dark blue flag (Fig. 2).

Discounting for lack of evidence the journeys into the lands west of Greenland of Bishop Erik of Greenland in 1120, or the Norwegians Pining and Pothorst in 1471, the first Scandinavian cross flag to have flown in North America was not that of the Swedes in Delaware which we'll discuss in a moment. Rather, it was the Dannebrog, and it was worn (Fig. 3) by the two ships of Norwegian-born explorer, Jens Eriksen Munk sent in 1519 by the king of Denmark to discover a North-West Passage. Munk wintered at the present-day site of Churchill on Hudson Bay. In his journal he wrote '...on July 22 I had decided that the natives were not going to reappear, and so I prepared to sail. First, however, I erected the arms of His Royal Majesty King Christian IV and named the harbour that had sheltered us 'Reindeer Sound'.'

Although the event took place 90 years before Henry Hudson's exploration of this inland sea, Denmark was dragged into the Thirty-Years War and this prevented her from following up on Munk's work, even though the latter had claimed 'Nova Dania' in present-day Canada for the Danes.



Figure 4 A Swedish postage stamp showing an early sailing vessel with flags.



Figure 5 Governor Peter Minuit confers with an Indian leader outside of Fort Christina.

Next, in 1638, the Swedish *blågula* flag (Fig. 4) appears in North American vexillological history, only 75 years after the Swedish national flag had received its baptism of fire. Sweden was not a colonial power and made no claims on the new continent. However her (Fig. 5) flag was planted by a trading company, the New Sweden, or South, Company, in the region now occupied by the American state of Delaware, and it flew over the settlement of Christinahamn for 17 years until the Dutch conquered the area. The Netherlands considered the Swedes intruders. The Swedish and Finnish colonists however remained and flourished in agriculture and industry, doing so perhaps under the flag of their new owner the City of Amsterdam, and later under the folds of the (by now) red, white and blue flag of the Dutch. Smith in *The Flag Book of the United States* provides an interesting fact, the city of Wilmington honours



Figure 6 Flag of the City of Wilmington, Delaware. Drawn by KH from an image courtesy of Rich Kenney, Redding, California.

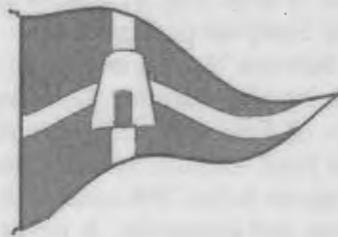


Figure 7 Burgee of the St. Croix Yacht Club, U.S. Virgin Islands, drawn by KH.



Figure 8 A banner of the coat of arms of St. Barthélemy, drawn by KH. There is no evidence such a flag has actually been used.

its early history as New Sweden's first settlement, by adopting a flag (Fig. 6) similar to the yellow and blue flag of Sweden. In 1776, John Morton, grandson of a Finland-Swede settler named Mårten Mårtensson, signed the Declaration of Independence, on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania.

A Danish subject, Captain Abram Markoe, born on St. Croix, figured in the creation of an American militia flag, the colour of the Philadelphia City Cavalry, Troop of Light Horse. It was presented to the 'First Troop' by Markoe in 1775, and was carried by the force at Trenton, the Brandywine and elsewhere. This yellow flag had acquired some fame as one of the first instances of the use of stripes in an American flag. However investigation in 1970s revealed that the canton of blue and silver stripes was a later addition, covering a British Union flag, as in the Continental Colours.

Not to run too far ahead, we'll now look at the West Indies, where Denmark had secured St. Thomas in 1666, in the Virgin Islands, and later claimed the island of St. John (1684). The King of Denmark then purchased St. Croix in 1733 and the Danish West Indies was created. Apart from some years of British occupation Danish ownership lasted until 1917. Although no specific flag was adopted for the Danish colony, recent scholarly research points to the use of a blue ensign on Danish ships trading with the island colony. Today the Danes in the now U.S. Virgin Islands are remem-

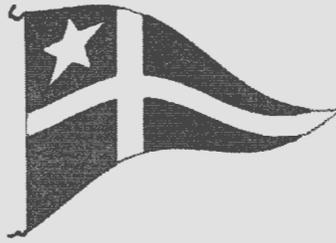


Figure 9 Burgee of the Santa Barbara Yacht Club. After Lloyd's.

bered vexillologically by a private flag, the burgee of the St. Croix Yacht Club (Fig. 7). The island of St. Barthélemy (today a dependency of Guadeloupe) was sold by the French to the Swedes in 1784. Sweden held the tiny island for over 90 years; after a plebiscite it was returned to France in 1877. Its coat of arms (Fig. 8) reflects both the French and Swedish heritage of the small and largely European population.

In 1825 a new phase began in the connections between Norden and North America — the sloop *Restauration* sailed from Stavanger, Norway, carrying 52 Norwegians seeking a new life in the cities, forests, and prairies of America. In the next 90 years we begin to see the flying of Scandinavian national flags (Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian — the Finnish and Icelandic flags were to appear in the 20th century) by individuals and social groups as opposed to governments and companies. A report in the *New York Times* in July, 1851, described immigrants (nurtured by the Methodists' Bethel Ship Mission) carrying Swedish and American flags, while marching in military fashion to the railroad station.

Norway's Constitution Day, May 17, was celebrated in America — in the mid-1870s near Madison, Wisconsin, when the colourful, but not often appreciated, Norwegian flag with the Union mark in the canton was flown. In the 1870s, Swedish opera singer Christina Nilsson was on tour in the United States and her reception in San Francisco brought to the nation's attention the sizeable Swedish diaspora in the West. Swedish flags were everywhere and Swedish-American flower-girls posed in front of the blue-yellow banner.

Meanwhile in the Arctic regions of our continent, a man who had been fascinated by the failed explorer John Franklin, the Norwegian Roald Amundsen was making an arduous journey in a reinforced herring boat called the *Gjøa*. He had set out in 1903, 100 years ago this summer, from Christiania and wintered at a harbour on King William Island. In 1906 he sent a wire to the world from Nome, Alaska, that he had conquered the elusive Northwest Passage! His important work was preceded by Norwegian Polar Expeditions 1898-1902 where Otto Sverdrup explored and mapped large portions of the High Arctic Islands. This is important vexillologically as the expeditions sailed, as did Amundsen, under the Norwegian flag. Although the British had transferred the Arctic islands to Canadian jurisdiction in 1912, Norway did not relinquish her claims to Arctic Islands until 1930. The need 'to show the flag' led the Canadian government to instruct Stefansson and others to plant the British flag on any lands found, and to send ships flying the flag of Canada to reinforce our claims to the Arctic and its passages. In fact, a descendant of Norwegian pioneers in Canada, RCMP Sgt.



Figure 10 Flags at the plaque to Little Norway, Harbourfront, Toronto. Flags of Norway, Canada, and Toronto. Photograph by KH.

Henry A. Larsen in 1944 made the first single-season transit in the schooner *St. Roch*. (Our newly-adopted red Maple Leaf flag made its strong Arctic appearance when the Canadian ice-breaker *John A. MacDonal*d in 1969 freed the *USS Manhattan*, locked in grinding polar ice, to enable the super-vessel complete its northwest passage.)

Solvang in California was established in 1911 by a committee from the Midwest intent upon purchasing land on the West Coast to found a Danish colony with a Danish folks school and a Lutheran Church. The name Solvang means “Sunny Field.” The three-day Danish Days Festival marks Denmark’s Independence Day and costumed folk dancers fill the streets for the visitors’ enjoyment. Post-cards from Solvang and the festival’s website show Denmark’s flag is everywhere. We wonder if the *Dannebrog-plus-star* design of the Santa Barbara yacht club burgee (Fig. 9) was intentional, inasmuch as Solvang is part of the same area.

In 1915 the opening of the Panama-Pacific Exposition brought the governments and their flags to the U.S. as national pavilions sprung up to the delight of the emigrant. In 1926 the Swedish Colonial Society built a replica of the *Wicaco Blockhouse* sporting the Swedish flag — for the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration in Philadelphia. The Norse-American celebration was magnificent undertaking — a choir of children formed the Norwegian flag as they sang the anthem of Norway. President Coolidge spoke on this occasion to give his support to efforts to have *Leif Eriksson* recognized as the discoverer of America. In 1925 *Nordiske Tidende* reported that 10,000 Norwegians marched down Fourth Avenue in Brooklyn carrying banners and flags. Royal Visits also increased the pride of Scandinavians in their roots — Crown Prince *Gustav Adolph* visited Fort Snelling in 1926 and was seen amidst a sea of red, white and blue and blue-yellow flags. New York’s World Fair also brought Nordic royal visitors and wide use of the flags was noted in *New York Times*. In 2002 their Royal Highnesses, the King and Queen of Norway visited Canada, where the Norwegian flag was given much honour. They inspected the plaque on Toronto’s harbourfront where the Norwegian flag flies to indicate the presence in 1940 of ‘Little Norway’ (Fig. 10), a camp where Norwegians were trained to be airmen after the Germans had invaded and occupied the Nordic kingdom.



Figure 11 Municipal flag of Calmar, Alberta, redrawn from Flagscan, by KH.



Figure 12 Flag of Viscount, Saskatchewan, drawn by KH from an image in the Trade Marks Journal.



Figure 13 Flag of Thorsby, Alberta, from an image supplied by the city.

The greatest concentration of Scandinavians is found in the Midwest and North-West States of the U.S. and in the Prairie Provinces of Canada. A detailed atlas reveals numerous place-names reflecting Nordic origins — Arborg, Baldur, Bergen, Bodo, Calmar, Erickson, Eriksdale, Gimli, Halstad, Hecla, Heimdal, Holmquist, Jemtland, Karlstad, Lundar, Malmo, New Denmark, New Sweden, Norway, Oslo, Poulsbo, Reykjavik, St. Ansgar, St. Olaf, Scandinavia, Stockholm, Thorsby, Upsala, Valhalla, Viking and others from Maine to Oregon and New Brunswick to Alberta. Some villages and towns settled by Scandinavians were named after local features or non-Scandinavian railway or postal personages. Others are only hamlets or at the most farm service centres. They are often too small to have developed civic insignia such as flags and coats of arms; nor do they have websites. Moreover although founded and named by Scandinavian settlers, these colonists were soon joined by many other peoples. e.g. in Canada, Ukrainians, Germans, and Poles. Sometimes the place capitalizes on its Scandinavian experience for touristic reasons and offer summer *Fests* where Scandinavian flags abound. I have not been able to visit these areas of Scandinavian settlement except for a few Canadian towns (Camrose, Viscount, and Gimli) but Chris Pederson discusses the Norwegian presence in one state on the Internet — ‘Driving from La Crosse, Wisconsin to Eau Claire or Madison, the signs of Norwegian presence are abundant. Some towns seem to have more Norwegian flags than American ones. Some town banners have Viking ships portrayed on them and many of the public schools have Vikings or Norsemen for their mascots. There are various museums and Scandi-

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Figure 14 Civic flag of Bemidji, Minnesota, redrawn by KH from an image sent by the city.



Figure 15 Flag of Newport, Rhode Island, redrawn by KH from an image kindly provided by Rich Kenney, from his civic flags collection.

navian stores throughout the areas settled by Norwegians.'

The flags of the Canadian towns of Calmar and Viscount are ambiguous in their choice of colours, because the blues and yellows could represent both Ukrainians and Swedes among their varied settlers (Figs. 11-12). Thorsby (Fig. 13) flag shows that ethnic symbols or colours may be ignored.

Two American cities have flags that resonate with Nordicity (Figs. 14-15). One is Bemidji in Minnesota. Its flag is blue with a yellow-ringed circle in the centre which shows Paul Bunyan, his blue ox called Babe, and Lake Bemidji. Now we must look carefully at the legend of Paul Bunyan, the gigantic lumberman — one encyclopedic article says evidence points 'strongly to the hero's American beginning, possibly in Michigan or Wisconsin. In the Minnesota camps ... undoubtedly enriched by Scandinavian myth ... Paul became a sort of modern Thor.'

The second city is Newport, Rhode Island. Its flag of white bears in the centre a stone fort, coloured in blue and yellow, as is the ribbon below it (with a Latin inscription). The fort's origins are arguably ascribed to the Norsemen.

The flag of Denmark in 1863 flew over Canadian skating ponds (Fig. 16), arenas, and promenades in honour of the Princess of Wales, Alexandra, consort of the future King Edward VIII. The royal pair, as newly-weds, visited the Canadas four years before Confederation. Her Royal Standard (Fig. 17) showed the lions and hearts of Denmark's ruling house, for Alexandra was the eldest daughter of Christian IX. The heart of Denmark beat once more in Canada on the granting, 1990, by the Canadian Heraldic Authority of a coat of arms (Fig. 18) to the Hon. Ramon 'Ray' Hnatyshyn on his appointment to the post of Canada's Governor General. The heart is held by a blue lion as in the Danish royal arms, below the chief, and honours the father of her excellency Mrs. Hnatyshyn as he came to Canada from Denmark.

Norwegian-Americans formed the backbone of the Scandinavian (15th Wisconsin Infantry) Regiment raised for the Union side during the U.S. Civil War. The colour is the U.S. thirteen-stripe flag with a blue canton bearing the American shield and the lion shield of Norway. The inscription below the shields reads *For Gud og vort Land*, i.e. 'For God and our country'.



Figure 16 The Danish flag, the Dannebrog, flies over Upper Canadian skaters celebrating the wedding of Princess Alexandra of Denmark and the Prince of Wales, 1863. From the Illustrated London News.



Figure 17 Royal Flag or 'Standard' of Queen Alexandra. It combines the flags of the royal houses of Great Britain and Denmark. From Ensign & Jack.



Figure 18 The shield of the arms of Canada's Governor General Ramon John Hnatyshyn granted in 1989; after a drawing in Heraldry in Canada.

Colours, crosses or cow-horns?

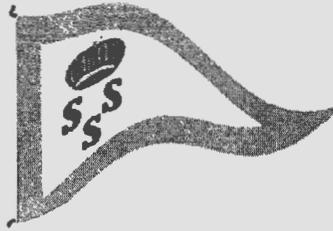


Figure 19 Burgee of the Royal Swedish Sailing Club, redrawn by KH from Lloyd's, 1965.

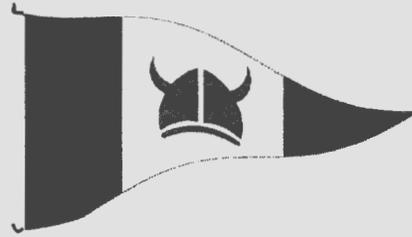


Figure 20 Burgee of the Gimli Yacht Club, Manitoba. Redrawn from its website.

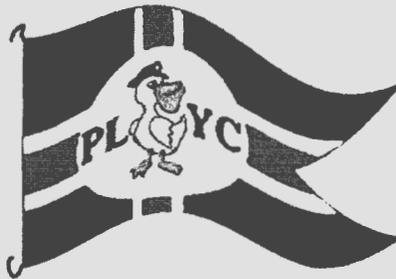


Figure 21 Burgee of the Pelican Lake Yacht Club, redrawn from its website.

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Manitoba-born descendant of Icelanders, brought to our attention a little known vexillological event, the planting of the Canadian Red Ensign on Wrangel Island. He tells us of the orders from the Canadian Government that instructed the leaders of a polar expedition to plant the British flag on any new or partly unknown lands which they should touch. The Union Jack was planted on another occasion to reconfirm the British claim. The problem was that the island lay in the Arctic waters of eastern Siberia and not within North American waters. The Soviets in 1924 moved in and planted the Red Flag ousting the occupants who had been left there.

Speaking of the Red Flag, we recall that the Finns along with other immigrants to North America between 1900-1930, often flew a red flag at parades and rallies. In this way they demonstrated their anti-capitalist, pro-labour and socialist leanings to the point where so-called Anti-Bolshevik legislation was enacted forbidding the use of such a flag. There are old photographs of these rallies and parades in several books on Finns in Canada. The journal *Industrial Worker* often mentioned the consequences of the use of the red flag, for instance 'our patriotic sheriff immediately got busy and arrested the three banner-bearers, Bell, Oleson and Jardine, and threw them into jail...'

The nautically-inclined reader delving into past volumes of *Lloyd's Register of American Yachts* (and its successors) may recall seeing a Swedish club burgee (Fig. 19) — this belonged to the North American Station of the Royal Swedish Yacht Club, in New York, established in 1945. The burgee shows the letter 'S' repeated two and one and surmounted by a royal crown on white with a light blue border on three sides. It does not appear in Lloyd's after 1965. This led us to wonder if the descendants of Scandinavian immigrants to North America, with their ancestral affinity to the sea and



*Figure 22 Falcon flag of Icelanders in North America, reconstructed by KH from the cover illustration of *Íslendingadagurinn*, in the Icelandic Canadian.*



Figure 23 An inside display of flags at the Gimli Museum, Gimli, Manitoba. Photo by KH.

despite their predominantly inland location, would have taken to sailing and yachting in salt or fresh water. I have examined both club burgees and mariners' private signals in Lloyd's and on the Internet — I believe the answer is yes — in droves! Club burgees such as those of Gimli and Pelican Lake clubs in Manitoba stand out for their unambiguous reflection of Nordic symbols. Gimli's burgee (Fig. 20) has a field divided vertically blue, white, blue, with a Viking helmet in the central panel; Pelican Lake's (Fig. 21) uses an Icelandic flag over the centre of which is posed a pelican on a white disc. (Icelanders settled in the region in 1870s and founded a flag-less 'republic'. However a specific flag, since forgotten it seems, did emerge based on Icelandic symbols. Arngrimsson relates a story of the Icelandic Millennium festival in Milwaukee, 1874: 'when the services were over we found a procession in the street outside the church. Led by two flag bearers, one carrying an Icelandic flag we had designed ourselves, blue with a white falcon, the other the Stars and Stripes.' A letter to this writer from

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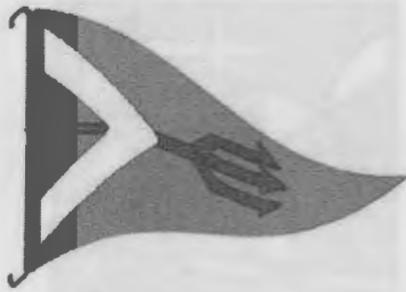


Figure 24 Burgee of the Viking Yacht Club, Norwich, Connecticut. After Lloyd's.



Figure 25 Burgee of the Cowichan Bay Yacht Club. A design that recalls the flag of Norway.



Figure 26 Private signal of yachtsman Hovgood, drawn by KH after Lloyd's.



Figure 27 Private signal of yachtsman Dennis Millgard, drawn by KH after Lloyd's.

Sigurlig Roed, The Icelandic National League, Winnipeg, states: ‘... regarding a flag of the Republic of (New) Iceland. At the time that the Icelanders established ‘New Iceland’ in 1875 Iceland itself was under Danish rule. The Icelanders did not wish to use the Danish flag so the flag used was the Union Jack.,’ (dated Dec. 23, 1985). Roed adds: ‘In 1930 ... the blue white design was used for the celebrations.’ The Icelandic Canadian showed the cover of an early issue of *Islendingadagurinn* on which was a falcon flag (Fig. 22). The name ‘Falcon’ was given to a hockey team made up of Icelandic Canadians, also to a yacht club and street in Winnipeg. Gimli celebrates *Islendingadagurinn* (Icelandic Days) every summer, amidst wall-to-wall blue, white and red flags.) A final bit of Icelandic vexillology is the white flag with blue swastika of the Icelandic Steamship Company. This writer saw this house flag in the Museum of Gimli, Manitoba (Fig. 23). The line, launched in 1914, was financed in part by Icelandic North Americans according to Kristjansson (1965, p. 503).

Most North Americans know from the fourth grade Social Studies that ‘Viking’ refers to Scandinavia’s piratic rovers of the 9th to 11th centuries — the Norman or Norseman raiders in long ships. The Vikings often wore cow-horned or winged helmets. However the term Viking may also be used as a proper name suggesting strength, speed, ferocity, prowess, adventure, and command of the seas. Therefore we see clubs and sports team named Viking which, with some exceptions, have no traces



Figure 28 One of many flags and pennants of the Minnesota Vikings football team. Drawn by KH after an image on the team website.

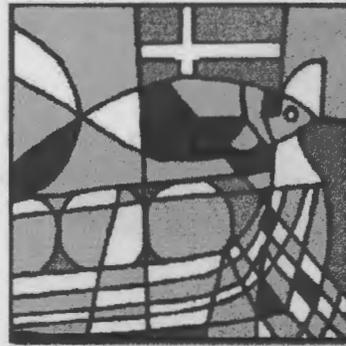


Figure 29 Panel of a banner that flies in front of St. Ansgar's Lutheran Church in Toronto, Ontario. Three religious symbols — cross, ship, fish — that correspond to national and folk symbols — Dannebrog, stockfish, and Viking longship.

of the Nordics; nevertheless the term is a Scandinavian legacy in North America. The sailing and yacht clubs with this name and with burgees perpetuating the legacy include The Viking Yacht Club (Fig. 24) of Norwalk, The Viking Sailing & Yacht Club, the Viking Sailing Club on English Bay, B.C., the Vikings Yacht Club of New Jersey, and the Varangians (a term for Vikings who roved eastward in Europe) of Connecticut. Devices include helmet, trident, long ship, dragon-prow, and the letter 'V', most often in Norwegian or Swedish colours.

There are some clubs whose burgees strongly resemble Scandinavian flags but these may simply be coincidental or 'flattery by imitation' of a good design or colour scheme, e.g. Cowichan Bay Club (Fig. 25) in B.C., and the United States Naval Academy sailing squadron flag.

In the field of mariners' signal flags we see how imagination and pride in one's cultural heritage can produce interesting flags — the Scandinavians appear in number in Lloyd's only after the Irish and Scots in perpetuating ethnic pride. Blue and yellow burgees accompany such names as Siegrist, Anderson, Sparre, Johanson, Paulsen, Thorling; red and white Peters, Lauritzen, Jensen, Jorgensen, Dane, Hovgard (Fig. 26), Larsen, Axelson. The Viking motifs mentioned above appear in Millgard's (Fig. 27) and other signals with names not considered as Nordic (Rusch, Payson, Smith, Flaacke, Barker, Hough, Soiland).

Other private signal devices of interest are the three crowns and the lion with battle-axe. There is also a private signal for H. Isbrandtsen which repeats the house flag design of the shipping line of that name founded by Jakob Isbrandtsen.

Before we leave Vikings we should mention the sports teams with this name that also have connections with Scandinavia, and these are mostly in those states where Scandinavians have settled in large numbers, Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Minnesota Vikings team fits and it has plenty of flags (Fig. 28), pennants, banners to choose — most bearing a Viking's head and cow-horned helmet and some with a football helmet so adorned. There are clubs to be found on the Internet with this name and

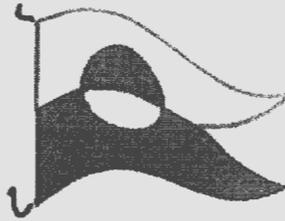


Figure 30 Private signal of yachtsman Allen Gould preceded by many years the flag of Greenland which it resembles. After Lloyd's.

device of a helmetted Viking elsewhere in the States e.g. San Francisco Vikings Soccer club and Tuggeranongg Vikings Water Polo Club. There are ski clubs, rugby clubs, hockey clubs in Michigan, Quebec, Oregon, New York named after Norsemen (even a Norseman Motorcycle Club), Vikings, and Icelanders with symbols but not necessarily flags.

St. Olaf's College team in Northfield, MN, takes the Norwegian lion and uses it on a school spirit banner although the College does not have an official flag.

Flags of a religious Scandinavian origin seem to be lacking, although the Lutheran churches in North America make use of many symbols. A banner (Fig. 29) is displayed at the front of a Toronto Lutheran church, St. Ansgar's, in which a Scandinavian flag figures. One panel of the banner carries the flag of Denmark and the ichthus (fish) symbol. The Bethel mission ship to seamen, in the port of New York in the 1850s, was operated by Swedish Methodists, and they flew the Swedish flag (later the other Scandinavian flags as well) and a blue and white mission flag.

I have ignored Greenland in this presentation, although it is part of North America, simply because it has long been part of the Kingdom of Denmark, and its flags may best be studied in a Danish context. However, I cannot resist offering you some pertinent vexillological news. One of the private signals of mariners recorded in Lloyd's has the same design (Fig. 30), but in swallow-tail, as the Greenlandic flag and predates it by sixty years. Secondly, all is not sweetness and light in the vexillological aspects of Dano-Canadian relations, as alluded to earlier. In 1984 Denmark's minister of Greenlandic Affairs personally planted a Danish flag on Hans Island, equidistant between Ellesmere and Greenland. Canada's claims on the island are disputed with the Danes using gunboats. What is important about a rock in the midst of vast ice-held lands? It relates to fish stocks, hunting rights, and oil exploration. The third item is that permission has been given to Greenland's Home government to fly the Greenlandic flag, along with the Dannebrog, at Thule, an airbase and defense position on the far north west coast of Greenland. So historically and in modern times the arms, flags and symbols of the Nordic countries have always been in the forefront in terms of North America's relations with other nations and with its ethnic groups — if not through a thousand years then at least for five hundred. A number of people of Scandinavian origin also had a part to play in the vexillological accounts of the new continent.



Figure 31 Logo of the Northwest (U.S.) Danish Foundation from its website.



Figure 32 Logo of the Historic Swedish Colony, New Stockholm, Maine, from its website.



Figure 33 Logo of the Vancouver Finlandia Club, from its website.

Part Two

Nordic elements in the design of flags and emblems used in of North America

It is in the associations, lodges, clubs, councils, historical societies, organized festivals, forums, leagues, unions, and foundations wedded to Scandinavian-American or Scandinavian-Canadian traditions, genealogy, language and culture that we find the widest use of national symbols, especially flags. We shall add vexilligerous Individuals with an interest in yachting and sailing. We can place the emblems in five groups, those that use:

1. National flags together with or without that of the host country (Canada or the U.S.A).
2. A blending of flags of Scandinavia and the host country.
3. A virtual flag created from elements of the above flags.
4. An emblem, seal, badge, coat of arms, or logo composed of flag elements.
5. No flags, but the colours appear with other symbol.

Examples of from the first group

- *Den Danske Pioneer* newspaper has a masthead with the Danish and the US flag.
- The Northwest Danish Foundation shows a mountain and conifer trees under a Dannebrog 'sun' (Fig. 31).
- Brigham Young University Finnish Club employs the flag of Finland on its web's masthead.
- Maine's Historic Swedish Colony employs on its website and on a sign at the colony's entry point, the flags of Sweden (dark blue flag on its website, light blue flag on the sign) and U.S.A. (Fig. 32).
- The Icelandic Association of Northern California website masthead shows Iceland's flag and the Golden Gate Bridge.
- The Nordic-American Web ring shows an image of a Viking ship and to the side two swallow-tailed flag, US and Norway. The US has a chief of blue with stars.

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Figure 34 Badge of the Danish Club of Ottawa, Canada, from its website.



Figure 35 Gonfanon of the Icelandic Canadian Club of Toronto, redrawn by KH from an image on its website.



Figure 36 The Federation of Danish Clubs, Gloucester, Ontario. Redrawn by KH from an image on its website.

- The Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce employs an acronymic logo with waving US and Norwegian flags to the left on their web masthead.
- St. Olaf's Catholic School in Bountiful, Utah has the U.S. flag and the Danish flag flanking its name.
- Finlandia Club of Calgary incorporates the flags of Canada and Finland into the brim of a Stetson hat (a symbol of Calgary).
- The Supreme Lodge of the Danish Sisterhood of America have two devices on their web masthead — a badge showing the two statues, U.S. Goddess of Liberty and the Little Mermaid of Copenhagen. There is also a heart whose construction results in the Dannebrog.
- Vancouver Island Danish-Canadian Club utilizes on its website the flags of Denmark and Canada.

Examples from group two

- The American-Danish Business Council has a star logo blending US and Danish colours.
- Vancouver Finlandia Club's badge shows Finland's flag with a red maple leaf over the long horizontal bar of the cross (Fig. 33).
- Finn Grand Fest shows a blending of the flag of Finland with the maple leaf and stripes from the host flags.
- The Swedish American Historical Society blends a crown, a star, and a flag half Swedish and half US into its name.



Figure 37 The arms of Norway between the U.S. and Norwegian flags from the emblem of the Daughter's of Norway (Døtre av Norge), U.S., from its website.



Figure 38 A logo on the website of the Danish Club of Houston combines the lone star emblem of Texas with the Dannebrog. Another symbol on the site shows a comic Viking figure superimposed on a Texan flag map.

Examples from group three

- *Den Danske Klub af Ottawa* has a badge in which a tuque (lumberman's cap) is centred on the Danish flag (Fig. 34).
- The Icelandic Canadian Club of Toronto has a swallow-tailed gonfalon bearing a falcon perched between a mountain and the ocean-waves, white on light blue (Fig. 35).
- The Scandinavian American Foundation of Georgia has four blue-edged rectangles separated by a 'cross' of white space.
- The Finnish-American Heritage Society forms a cross logo of a blue vertical bar and a red partly striped (white) bar. FinnFest USA uses a white cross flag but the field is composed of a typical scene in Minnesota (rock, lake, conifers, duck).
- The Federation of Danish Associations in Canada places a red maple leaf in the centre of the cross of Denmark's national flag (Fig. 36).

Examples form group four

- The Danish Club of Houston whose emblem is a map of Texas with the white lone star on blue and the Dannebrog in red and white (Fig. 37).
- The Danish American Chamber of Commerce of Northern California has a shield incorporating the U.S. and Danish flags with the Golden Gate Bridge.

Examples from group five

- Sons of Norway have a shield as their emblem, in Norwegian colours, bearing a Viking ship.
- The Daughters of Norway have an heraldic emblem, the golden lion on red, as in the Royal Flag (Fig. 38).

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- U.S. — Norway Forum also has a badge in red, white and blue, with a Viking ship and an oil-rig (?).
- Vasa Order of America shows its acronym on the cross of the order beneath the Vasa sheaf all in the national colours of Sweden.
- The Independent Order of Vikings has a badge with Viking ship and head, in blue and yellow.
- The American Swedish Historical Museum combines US and Swedish colours (with a crown).
- SCA Viking Circle likewise shows a badge with Viking ship in the national Swedish colours.
- The Icelandic Society of Edmonton uses a shield in red, white and blue, Iceland's colours.
- A few groups do not fit into any of these categories Norwegian-American Foundation, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Finnish American.
- Society of Delaware Valley, Icelandic National League, Finlandia Foundation, Norwegian Society of Texas, Nordic Fest (Decorah, IA), and the Swedish Finn Historical Society .

These images have appeared and may still be seen on the website of the respective organization.

A Quantitative Look at the Flags and Emblems Found

In gathering information from the Internet websites and from periodicals, telephone yellow-pages directories, Lloyd's registers, ethnic studies books and other publications, I acquired hundreds of images. I had no intention of carrying out a scientific survey of what is in the images, rather I simply grouped and counted the occurrences. There were 263 instances of the use of device or colours, etc. in or on logos and emblems, mastheads — the analytical breakdown is as follows:

1. National colours 73 (28%) (i.e. red, white and blue for Norway, yellow and blue for Sweden, etc. Excludes the flags).
2. Cross flags 57 (22%) (an actual Scandinavian cross flag, e.g.. Denmark's flag, or all five Nordic national flags).
3. Viking devices 56 (21%) (longship, dragon-head prow, sail, cow-horns, horned or winged helmet, a Viking figure or the head of a Viking).
4. Lion(s) 10 (3.8%) (Finnish, Danish, Swedish lion, Norwegian lion with axe; lion may be crowned or not).
5. Crowns 10 (3.8%) (Three crowns of Sweden).
6. Maps 6 (2.3%) (e.g. Finland, Texas, Manitoba).
7. National arms 5 (1.9%) (Shield of arms of Norway, Finland, Sweden).
8. Falcons 4 (1.5%) (Iceland).
9. Others 18 (6.8%) Heart 2, Windmill 2, Mermaid 2, Sun 2 (all Danish), Sailing ship 2, Horse 2 (Swedish), the Swallow-tailed format of a flag (Norwegian, Icelandic). and one each Sheaf (Swedish), Antlers, Sash (both Sámi), Joined hands (Finnish), Raven (Icelandic).

The non-Scandinavian devices were ignored in this count, except for maps. But generally the American and Canadian flags and colours, the maple leaf, a Statue of Liberty, birds, and stars were found. The national colours of the Scandinavian nations as seen in their flags and the flags themselves constitute the most popular way for North Americans with ties to Norden to identify themselves. Viking images are high in use owing to their wider acceptance as maritime and sports symbols. Heraldic arms and the lion or crown symbols come third. Yet Scandinavians can still find a few other choices to fill out the list. The cross alone does not appear as a Scandinavian symbol in this set of images.

It is my hope that this report may set in motion vexillological research on other ethnic influences on emblems in North America and elsewhere, especially the Irish, Scottish, Hispanic, German, and Slavic influences.

Notes

¹ Leif Ericsson — For an interesting and well-illustrated account of the explorers of Vinland and of all aspects of Viking life and activities, see *The Viking Age* by Paul Du Chaillu, New York, 1890, p. 158: 'Who is the Skjoldung

That steers the ship,
And a golden battle-standard
Hoists on the bow?'

² 'Sverdrup, Otto Neumann,' *The Canadian encyclopedia*, Edmonton, 1988, p. 2101.

³ 'Rölvaa, Ole Edvart,' Norwegian-born novelist and educator. He wrote the rites of passage novel *Peder Victorious*, part of an immigrant trilogy. He founded the Norwegian-American Historical Association. *Encyclopaedia britannica*, 1977, v. VIII, p. 643.

⁴ 'Ostenso, Martha,' Norwegian-born novelist. Her family came to Manitoba via the American Midwest. *Wild Geese* was published in 1925. *Canadian encyclopedia*. op. cit., p. 1593.

⁵ 'Magnusson, Karen Diane,' figure-skater, *ibid.*, p. 1285.

⁶ The question of an appropriate regional name is discussed by Fridtjov Isachsen in *A Geography of Norden*, Axel Sømme, ed., London, 1968, p. 13. Another name is Fennoscandia.

⁷ See notes 98 and 99.

⁸ Hulme, F. Edward, *The Flags of the world*, London, 189?, p. 13.

⁹ Gordon, W. J., *Flags of the world — past and present*, London, 1915, 1930, p. 3.

¹⁰ Smith, Whitney, *The Flag book of the United States*, New York, 1970, p. 11.

¹¹ Barraclough, E.M.C., and W. G. Crampton, eds., *Flags of the world*, London, 1978, p. 11.

¹² *Raven — a journal of vexillology*, North American Vexillological Association, Trenton. Vol. 1, 1994, states its claims to its title is based on Smith's work (see no. 10 above), p. 1.

¹³ Engene, Jan Oskar, 'The Raven banner and America,' in *NAVA News*, vol. XXIX, no. 5, (Sept.-Oct. 1996), p. 1.

¹⁴ The Flag Research Centre introduced its emblem in *The Flag Bulletin*, vol. IV, no. 1, (Fall, 1964). Although I say the vessel resembles a longship of the Vikings, it is actually described this way 'the motif incorporates a zephyr (gentle breeze) in the form of a ship bearing a flag'. Design by Louis Loynes of London, p. 22.

¹⁵ See H. Arnold Barton's *A Folk divided...*, Carbondale, 1984, p. 145 — a sketch, not contemporary, from Johan A. Enander's writings (*Valda skrifter*) shows a Swiss-like cross flag on the ship that brought Bishop Erik to Vinland.

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- ¹⁶ Pining and Pothorst are admirals mentioned in Thor Heyerdahl's *Great Norwegian expeditions*, Oslo, 1954(?).
- ¹⁷ Kenyon, W. A., ed. *The Journal of Jens Munk 1619-1620*, Toronto, p. 11; Lauridsen, P., *Jens Munk 'Navigatio septentrionalis'*, Copenhagen, 1883.
- ¹⁸ In Swedish *blå gul* means blue-yellow. In Sweden it is common to refer to the flag this way (*den blågula flaggan*). As a key phrase it can call up many sites on the Internet, e.g. The Swedish Corner which sells patriotic items — flags, ties, t-shirts with Swedish symbols on them.
- ¹⁹ Elstob, Eric, *Sweden — a traveller's history*, Woodbridge, 1979, p. 89.
- ²⁰ Furlong, William Rea, and Byron McCandless. *So proudly we hail — the history of the United States flag*, Washington, 1981, p. 18.
- ²¹ Kerrick, Harrison Summers, *The Flag of the United States: your flag and mine*, Columbus, 1925, p. 63.
- ²² Furlong, op. cit., p.18.
- ²³ Smith, op. cit. , p. 22. Thanks for the image of Wilmington's flag go to Rich Kenny, a collector of civic flags, Redding, CA. For a close-up of the city emblem visit <<http://www.ci.wilmington.de.us>>. We wonder then if the flag of Philadelphia itself and the flag of the Sons of the American Revolution, both in blue and yellow, might be carrying on this Swedish influence. Smith mentions the city was built on the site of an early Swedish settlement (*The Flag Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Fall 1964), p. 8; and Sten Carlsson refers to the Swedish colours on the coat of arms of Philadelphia in *Swedes in North America 1638-1988*, Stockholm, 1988, p. 23. However, Eugene Zieber makes no mention of a Swedish connection in his extensive treatment of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia arms, *Heraldry in America*, New York , 1984 (originally published in 1909).
- ²⁴ 'The Tercentenary begins,' *The American-Scandinavian review*, v. XXVI , no. 2 (June, 1938), p. 172.
- ²⁵ Eggenberger, David, *Flags of the U.S.A.*, New York, 1964, pp. 18-19.
- ²⁶ Furlong, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- ²⁷ Munksgaard, Jan Henrik. 'Dannebrog i blått på danske og norske skip' in *Sjøfartshistorisk årbok 1985*, Bergen, 1986, p. 143. See also Henning Henningsen, 'Danish West Indies flags,' in *The Flag Bulletin*, vol. XLI, no. 5 (207, Sept.- Oct. 2002), p. 174.
- ²⁸ St. Croix Yacht Club, est. 1948, *Lloyd's register of American yachts*, New York, 1966, p. 864 and col. pl. 17; *Stars register of yachts, clubs and flags 1998*, St. Petersburg, p. 162 and col. pl. 4. See also <<http://www.stcroixyc.org>>.
- ²⁹ Swahn, Jan-Öjvind, and Ola Jennerstan, *Saint-Barthélemey Sveriges sista koloni*, 1984, p. 15.
- ³⁰ Lovoll, Odd S., *The Promise of America*, Minneapolis, 1984, p. 9.
- ³¹ *New York Times*, 1851.
- ³² Whyman, Henry C., *The Hedstroms and the Bethel Ship saga*, Carbondale, 1992.
- ³³ *The Swedish element in America*, Chicago, 1931 p. 286.
- ³⁴ Gjøa Harbour, now part of Nunavut, has a flag in the style of most Northwest Territories flags of 1986 — blue, white, blue, with, in black, on the central vertical panel an Inuit fishing through an ice-hole. Telephone communication with the hamlet's Mayor Peter Akkikungnaq, May, 2003. The Inuit, naturally, prefer to honour their own traditions and not display ephemeral European events. The Inuktitut name for the settlement is Ursuqtuk.
- ³⁵ Sverdrup claimed all of his discoveries for Norway, *Canadian encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 113. A cartoon showing Roald Amundsen with the Norwegian flag being welcomed by the Polar King suggests danger for Canada's claims to the Arctic islands — seen in the American review of reviews, vol. 74, (July 1926), p. 34, from *Karikaturen*, Oslo.
- ³⁶ 'Arctic sovereignty,' *Canadian encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 113.
- ³⁷ Quoted in Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, *The Adventure of Wrangel Island*, New York, 1925, p. 60.
- ³⁸ 'Larsen, Eric,' *Canadian encyclopedia*, op. cit, p. 1179.
- ³⁹ 'Northeast Passage,' *Encyclopaedia britannica*, 1977, p. 259.
- ⁴⁰ Post-cards featuring the Hamlet Hotel, Copenhagen Square, and Danish-style dancers are produced by Mike Roberts, Berkeley, CA. The Solvang websites include <<http://www.solvangusa.com>>, <<http://solvang.com>>, and <<http://solvangcc.com>>. A windmill is a common symbol in use in the community.

- ⁴¹ Santa Barbara Yacht Club is a 40-minute drive from Solvang. See the club's burgee in *Lloyd's*, op. cit., 1966, p. 148 and pl. 4, and in *Stars register*, op.cit., 1998, col. pl. 17. The club was founded in 1872 but re-organized in 1932. The website is <<http://www.sbyc.org>>.
- ⁴² *The Swedish element in America*, op. cit. p. 286.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- ⁴⁴ Lovoll, op. cit. p. 182.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p 195. and Drenning, June, *They chose Minnesota*, St. Paul, 1981, pp. 240-241.
- ⁴⁶ Lovoll, op. cit. p. 182.
- ⁴⁷ *The Swedish element in America*, op. cit., p. 160.
- ⁴⁸ 'Sweden Day,' *New York Times*, June 26, 1939, p. 1.
- ⁴⁹ Harries, Kate. 'Ceremony honours Little Norway,' in the *Toronto Star*, May 9, 2002, p. A4; and 'Muskoka honours Little Norway', *ibid.*, May 6, 2002, p. A4.
- ⁵⁰ In 1946 Norway issued, a postage stamp to commemorate the help given by Canada in training Norwegian pilots. *Scott standard postage stamp catalogue*, vol. 1, 1995.
- ⁵¹ Such festivals have been held in Gimli, MB; Story City and Decorah, IA; Junction City, OR. Try 'Scandinavian festivals' and 'Finnfest' on the Internet.
- ⁵² Pederson, Chris, 'The Norwegian experience in Wisconsin,' <<http://dalekfactory.tripod.com/>>, site visited in May, 2003.
- ⁵³ Calmar, Alberta's yellow flag with blue bars represents two ethnic founding groups, the Swedes (hence the town's name) and the Ukrainians whose Zirka dancers appear in the centre of the flag. *Flagscan*, no. 54 (Summer, 1999), p. 4.
- ⁵⁴ Viscount, SK. Its ambiguous blue and yellow flag may point to the early settlers' Swedish and Ukrainian roots but also to blue Prairie sky above and the golden wheat fields nearby. *Flagscan* no. 42 (Summer, 1996), cover, p. 9.
- ⁵⁵ Neuman, Darrell, 'Flag news from south and central Alberta,' *Flagscan*, no. 44 (Christmas, 1996), p. 28.
- ⁵⁶ Letter and flag image from Bemidji Deputy City Clerk Kay Murphy-Schuett, April, 2003 <kmschuett@ci.bemidji.mn.us>.
- ⁵⁷ 'Bunyan, Paul,' *Encyclopaedia britannica*, 1929, p. 393.
- ⁵⁸ 'Newport,' *Encyclopaedia britannica*, 1929.
- ⁵⁹ Thanks for the image of Newport's flag to Rich Kenny (see note 23).
- ⁶⁰ 'Celebration of Royal Wedding Day,' *Illustrated London News*, April 13, 1863, p. 444.
- ⁶¹ Harrington, Kevin, 'Consortial banners of arms,' *Ensign & Jack*, Toronto, no. 11, 2000.
- ⁶² 'The Arms of His Excellency the Right Honourable Ramon John Hnatyshyn,' in *Heraldry in Canada*, vol. XXIV, no. 2, June, 1990, p. 3.
- ⁶³ Eds. of Time-Life Books, *Echoes of glory arms and equipment of the Union*, Alexandria, 1991, p. 274.
- ⁶⁴ Vanberg, Bent, *Of Norwegian ways*, New York, 1970, p. 37.
- ⁶⁵ Stefansson, op. cit., p. 60.
- ⁶⁶ Jones, Kenneth, 'How Canada almost claimed Wrangel Island,' *Canadian Geographic*, Aug./Sept. 1982, p. 57.
- ⁶⁷ 'Russians remove Wrangel colony,' *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1924.
- ⁶⁸ Berton, Pierre, *The Great Depression, 1929-1939*, Toronto, 1990, p. 95.
- ⁶⁹ See Engle, Eloise Katharine, *The Finns in North America*, Annapolis, 1975; *Terveisiä Ruusa tädit! — Kanadan suomalaisten ensimmäinen*, Tampere, 1984, p. 105; Stadius, Sven, 'Finnish origin, people of,' *Encyclopedia canadiana*, Ottawa, 1963, p. 138.
- ⁷⁰ *Industrial Worker*, Spokane, vol. 1, no. 12, June 3, 1909, p. 1.
- ⁷¹ Harrington, Kevin, 'Toronto seeks a flag again!,' *Flagscan*, vol. XV, no. 1 (57, Spring, 2000), p. 6, and 'Seven cities in search of a flag,' *Comunicaciones XI Congreso Internacional de Vexillología Madrid 1985*, Barcelona, 1987, p. 256.
- ⁷² *Lloyd's register of American yachts*, New York. Years examined were 1927, 1933, 1957, 1960, 1965,

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1966, 1970, and 1974, and *Stars register of yachts, clubs & flags*, St. Petersburg, 1998.

⁷³ *Lloyd's*, op. cit., 1957, 1965. See also *Kunglig svenska segel Sällskap årsbok*, Stockholm, 1967, and other years, for a colour plate of the club's flags.

⁷⁴ Gimli Yacht Club was visited by this writer in 1986. For information on Manitoba yacht and sailing clubs go to <<http://www.sailmanitoba.com/clubs/>>. The Pelican Lake Yacht Club is based in Brandon, Manitoba, <<http://plyc.info>>.

⁷⁵ There are many accounts of the New Iceland settlement, e.g. Wilkins, Charles, 'Little Iceland on Lake Winnipeg,' *Canadian geographic*, Mar./Apr., 1993, p. 80; Sommerville, S. J., 'The Twelve-year Republic,' *The Icelandic Canadian*, vol. 3, no. 4 (June, 1945), p. 5; Walters, Thorstina, *Modern sagas — the story of the Icelanders in North America*, Fargo, 1953; Kristjanson, W., *The Icelandic people in Manitoba*, Winnipeg, 1965.

⁷⁶ Arngrimsson, Gudjón, *Nyja Island — saga of the journey to New Iceland*, Winnipeg, 1997, p. 104-105.

⁷⁷ See *The Icelandic Canadian*, vol. 49, Winter, 1990/1991, p. 47, and other issues.

⁷⁸ Viking Yacht Club, Norwalk, Connecticut, est. 1954. *Lloyd's*, op. cit. 1965, p. 859.

⁷⁹ Viking Sailing Club, English Bay, British Columbia, established in 1967. Burgee designed by Ralph Sebastian. Visit <<http://www.vikingsailingclub.bc.ca>>.

⁸⁰ Vikings Yacht Club, est. 1912, Morgan, New Jersey. *Lloyd's*, op. cit. 1970, pl. 22.

⁸¹ Varangian Sailing Club, *Lloyd's*, op. cit., 1965, pl. 20.

⁸² Cowichan Bay Yacht Club was organized in 1913; burgee seen in *Lloyd's* 1927 and later.

⁸³ For naval and other maritime flags, ensigns, and burgees in blue and gold (or yellow) I would suggest the colours are a matter of 'brine and braid', i.e. the blue, the traditional colour for the sea, and the gold taken from rating badges and from the braids (rope-like trimmings) and buttons of naval uniforms, rather than attempt to see in them the Swedish colours. There is a virtual host of 'brine and braid' colours on the website *Sea Flags* by Joseph McMillan. Visit <<http://home.earthlink.net/~mcmillanj/seaflags>>.

⁸⁴ The writer has determined the Nordic identity of individuals from their names, including first names, based on his research in onomastics and his rudimentary study of the Danish, Swedish, and Finnish languages. He also relied on the occurrence of these names in biographical dictionaries such as the Danish *Blåbok* and Scandinavian 'who's who' books. 'When in doubt he left it out.'

⁸⁵ Millgard, V. Dennis, Livonia, Michigan, *Stars register*, op. cit., 1998, p. 980.

⁸⁶ See the appropriate volume of *Lloyd's*, op. cit., Barker 1957, 1965, no. 18; Flaacke 1965, pl. 63, 1970, pl. 72; Hough 1933, pl. 21; Payson, 1957, pl. 34, 1974, pl. 54; Rusch, 1933, pl. 57; Smith 1933, pl. 50; Soiland 1933, pl. 19.

⁸⁷ 'Three crowns' — see *Lloyd's* 1957, John Wendes, pl. 40, and Virgin Islands Club burgee. 1965, pl. 17. 'Lion and axe' see Soiland, above, note 86.

⁸⁸ *Lloyd's*, op. cit., Isbrandtsen 1933, pl. 22.

⁸⁹ The house flag of the Isbrandtsen Line may be seen on the FOTW site at <<http://www.fotw.us/flags/us~hfaa.html>>.

⁹⁰ Minnesota Vikings football team for a display of team flags and pennants see <<http://www.domeplus.com/Minnesotavikings/Flags/>> and similar sites.

⁹¹ Norseman Motor Cycle Club, established in 1961, is in Minnesota; see its website. Flint Icelanders is a Michigan hockey team.

⁹² St. Olaf's College is in Northfield, Minnesota. Email April 2003 from Mike Mihelich, <mihelich@stolaf.edu>. Thanks to Nathan Bliss, Bayport MN, for directing me to the College site.

⁹³ Lutheran symbols may be examined at <<http://www.epiphanymich.org/mystery/symbols>>, <<http://www.stpeterslutheranchurch.net>>, <<http://www.firstpresmuncie.org/woodwork/symbolsofthechurch>>, <<http://www.svenskakyrkan.se>> and elsewhere.

⁹⁴ St. Ansgar's Lutheran Church, Toronto <<http://members.rogers.com/stansgar/history.htm>>

⁹⁵ A drawing of the second Bethel ship, in Hedstrom, op. cit., p. 67, reveals that the flag bears the name 'Bethel' in capital letters on a white field.

⁹⁶ Harrington, Kevin, 'The Flag, arms, and civic arms of Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat),' *Flagscan*, vol. XII, no. 2 (48, Summer, 1997), p. 10.

- ⁹⁷ Lloyd's, op. cit., 1927, Allan D. Gould, pl. 16. Gould's name is not found in the list of yacht owners.
- ⁹⁸ 'Hans Island,' *The Canadian encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 960. The Danes considered Ellesmere Island to be no-man's land as late as 1919, *ibid.* p. 113.
- ⁹⁹ Huebert, Rob, 'Return of the Vikings,' *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Dec. 21, 2002.
- ¹⁰⁰ 'Greenland to defend itself,' *The Northern European Express*, Jan. 15-21, 2003, p. 6.
- ¹⁰¹ H. Arnold Barton (1992), quoted by Chris Susag 'Retaining modern Nordic-American identity amongst diversity in the United States today,' in *The Swedish-American historical quarterly*, Chicago, vol. LIII, no. 1 (Jan., 2002), p. 22. See private signals plates of various years in *Lloyd's*, op. cit., and *Stars register*, op. cit.
- ¹⁰² The reader is kindly asked to search on the Internet for these associations by name or subject.
- ¹⁰³ This refers to the Dalecarlian or Dala horse, a folk carving and toy often seen in souvenir shops in Sweden; see websites under this name. It is the central motif in the official logo of the City of Lindsborg. <http://www.svenskhyllningsfest.org/dala_horse.htm>.
- ¹⁰⁴ A sheaf of oats is the heraldic emblem of the Vasa dynasty. See Neubecker, Ottfried, *Heraldry sources, symbols and meaning*, Maidenhead, 1976, p. 135.
- ¹⁰⁵ The Sámi, formerly known as Lapps, have their own flag. Visit the Sámi Association of North America website (*Sámi Siidat*).

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