

A History of the Press in Sweden

20
SYLWAN

Den svenska pressens historia

A History of the Press in Sweden

Karl Erik Gustafsson
Per Rydén

NORDICOM-SVERIGE

The Cover

The theme of the illustrations by Thomas Fröhling
on the cover is newspaper distribution.

A postal rider from the 18th century
delivering foreign newspapers to Swedish publishers,
19th century postal women
delivering newspapers to the subscribers,
20th century newspaper stands located
where people stream by
and today's automobile-borne newspaper
delivery personnel who see to it that rural subscribers
receive their paper every day before 6 A.M.

The *Sylwan* series

of publications contains preliminary studies for
the history of the press in Sweden
and reports from the symposia that were held
in the course of producing this survey work,
as well as other newspaper and media research.
The name refers to Professor Otto Sylwan (1864-1954),
a Swedish pioneer in the field of press historical research.
He was initially active at the University of Lund,
later at the University of Gothenburg

Sylwan 20

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Introduction

For several years around the turn of the new century, we edited a four volume history of the Swedish Press. The fourth volume was published in the spring of 2002. We worked in teams drawn from ten well-qualified scholars: five literary experts, Claes-Göran Holmberg, Eric Johannesson, Gunilla Lundström, Dag Nordmark and Ingemar Oscarsson, and five historians, Lars-Åke Engblom, Sverker Jonsson, Birgit Petersson, Elisabeth Sandlund and Jarl Torbacke. A foundation collected and administered the sums needed for the project.

In the spring of 2008, Lars-Åke Engblom, a member of the foundation's board, suggested that a shortened version of the work suitable for translation to English should be produced. The foundation endorsed the plan and assigned us the task. With the larger work as a solid base and the contributions of our colleagues as a safety net, we carried out our assignment during the academic year, 2008–2009.

Most of the text can be recognized from the four-volume work. We have retained the chronological presentation. While shortening the text, however, we have added new research results. We have discovered new patterns and connections that were not previously apparent to us. Illustrations have been limited to a number of newspaper front pages, papers that have initiated or concluded an epoch in Swedish press history. The bibliography and references are, for reasons of space, available only on the project's home page (www.presshistoria.org).

The generally accepted starting year for the Swedish press is 1645, but these initial newspapers were produced on order of the State. The editors were anonymous. The first historical press personality, Olof Dalin, appeared a hundred years later during 1732–34 when he launched *Then Swänska Argus*, with the slightly older English publications, *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, as precursors. Dalin initially acted behind the scenes, but soon became known as a veritable newspaper and language genius.

Dalin's successful publishing was partly based on a slogan he had taken from Horatius: "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci" (He who mixes the useful with the enjoyable, gets every vote). This motto can be said to be a theme in our presentation.

During the 18th century, the distribution of news was not considered a good thing. It was common for those in power to prevent or hinder the spread of news. In the view of the authorities, news should only be published when they could be fitted into a larger context. But, starting in the 19th century, attitudes began to change. The accepted goal became

to publish newspapers that related the latest information as quickly and thoroughly as possible.

The provision of news and the influencing of popular opinion took precedence over entertainment. As a result, there developed a daily press on a broad front. The provincial press grew at almost the same rate as that in the capital. Local news became as important as foreign news. As a group, the provincial press was considered to provide a more accurate picture of nationwide attitudes than did the press in the capital.

During the second half of the 19th century, entertaining content had its breakthrough and broad, popular newspapers were launched in wave after wave. The driving forces included low per-copy prices and substantial advertising revenues. The subscription service was of high quality, the ordered papers generally being delivered at home.

Lars Johan Hierta, one of the outstanding newspaper publishers of the 19th century, would postpone a popular series if the political material so required. The otherwise so successful financier, A. O. Wallenberg, failed twice as a newspaper publisher because he refused to deal with light weight material. The labor union papers put the good of the party ahead of the readers' enjoyment and banned sports from their columns.

During the late 19th century the press evolved through specialization, but by the turn of the 20th century most of these specialties had been gathered in the large papers, "the dragons". That newspaper model has survived into the tabloid area. The single copy evening papers in the mid-1900's represented the furthest pendulum swing towards entertainment, without however abandoning everything useful.

The magazines went through a parallel development. The contents of the specialty magazines were gathered together during the early 1900's in the general family magazine. These have remained a leading genre. In the mid-1950's, however, the magazine press initiated a new round of far reaching and successful specialization for narrow segments.

The translation of this compact version of the history of the Swedish press was put in the best possible hands when the foundation succeeded in recruiting the Swedish-American professor emeritus, Lars Sandberg, to take on the task. Sandberg, educated at Harvard and a specialist on European economic history, served during the late 1990's as a guest professor in economic history at Uppsala University. The collaboration with Sandberg has been very stimulating.

Ugglarp and Lund in September 2010

Karl Erik Gustafsson and Per Rydén
Professores emeriti

1. An Initial Monopoly (1645–1732)

We are still sitting quietly here and the regiments are spread around closest to the cities of Malmö and Kristianstad in order to somewhat refresh themselves since no enemy need be sought on this side of the Sound.

So begins the journalistic report in the first preserved issue of the first real Swedish newspaper, *Ordinari Post Tijdender*. A heading on the first of the four pages reveals that it is “An extracted report from Field Marshall Gustaf Horn’s headquarters”. In case the presentation, with its repeated use of “we”, has led us to believe that it is an independent story from one of the newspaper’s war correspondents, we are quickly disabused of this illusion. The content of the newspapers had not yet been divorced from the official reports. That, however, does not preclude a good beginning to the presentation of periodic narratives.

The world’s oldest, still existing, newspaper, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, has been published in Sweden since 1645. Starting on January 1, 2007, its owner since 1791, the Swedish Academy, has put what is now an outlet for official notices on the internet (www.bolagsverket.se) at the disposal of Bolagsverket (the Swedish Companies Registration Office). Since three paper copies are still printed, however, the newspaper can be considered to have survived even in its original format.

Post- och Inrikes Tidningar is thus unique in having appeared during the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, that is all five centuries which as yet are covered in the history of the press. Sadly however, having said that, this grand story must immediately be saddled with reservations. Still, even some of these are of interest to press history in their own right and not just with regard to this particular newspaper.

The 185 years between 1645 and 1830 can, in a reasonably non-arbitrary manner, be said to consist of four stages of media development, from its very inception to the beginnings of the modern structure in which we still function. The first of these involves Sweden going from zero to one, that is, from no printed newspaper to just one.

A history of the Swedish press, such as the present one, deals primarily with those newspapers and magazines that were printed, had a number of issues, were generally available in Sweden and have been preserved. Thus

some questions arise as to which was the first real newspaper as well as concerning what year it was born.

In 1645, the Peace of Brömsebro with Denmark was also concluded, ending the fighting that figures in the background of the above report in the earliest preserved newspaper. The islands of Gotland and Ösel and the provinces of Jämtland and Härjedalen were permanently ceded to Sweden, as well as the province of Halland for thirty years. As was the rule, war was more instrumental than peace in developing the press. Denmark and Sweden had, one after the other, intervened in the Thirty Years War. Following early successes, Swedish war-time goals changed with the death of King Gustav II Adolf in late 1632. The regency government under Axel Oxenstierna wanted some compensation for its contributions to the war, but it was not until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 that it was granted German territories such as Vorpommern, Wismar and Bremen-Verden. It was during the latter years of this long war, during 1643 and 1645, that Sweden turned its forces against Denmark. Also it was during these years that Queen Christina reached her majority, having turned 18 on December 8, 1644, and assumed control of the government.

Sweden became a great European power. With the help of foreign capital and immigrants, the Country became the leading exporter of iron and copper. The weak link, however, was the limited population that barely exceeded one million inhabitants.

A necessary condition for the press was the growing need of government and industry to gather and spread information, both during war and during peace. The development of printing technology during the 15th century had made possible the creation of a newspaper press. Production in the volumes required by a modern press could only be achieved by utilizing this new technology.

Newspaper Precursors

Movable-type printing, as developed by Johann Gutenberg, was first applied to the production of books and other items that were only issued on a single occasion. The first printed book preceded the first newspaper. That is the natural ordering, despite the fact that the basic technology for producing multiple copies was the same. The method of printing books that had been developed in Germany in the middle of the 15th century had spread to Sweden within a few decades. The first book, *Dyalogus creaturarum optime moralizatus* (Morality Dialogues of the Creation) was printed in 1483 at the monastery on Gråmunkeholmen in Stockholm by the German book printer Johan Snell. The appearance of newspapers and

magazines in a later phase is related to their periodicity, that is, they were intended not just to be published on one occasion but were assumed to be ongoing.

The printed and regularly published newspapers and journals naturally had their antecedents. Handwritten periodicals have existed ever since the *Acta diurna* of antiquity. Newsletters, especially those with commercial content, were in such demand that, for example, the Fuggers in Augsburg issued them virtually daily. The title, *Ordinari Zeitungen*, also lent itself to successors. During the 16th century, numerous printed “Neue Zeitungen” appeared. These were occasional publications that dealt with spectacular events in text illustrated with woodcuts. Printed, regularly issued, publications also existed during the 16th century (starting in 1588) in the form of reports of masses. A monthly magazine, *Rohrschacher Monatschrift*, also was published in Augsburg starting in 1597.

Circulars and handwritten newspapers and journals play more of a role in a broader history of communications than in a history limited to the press. Their form and approach would later be adopted by the printed newspapers, but to some degree they also lived on as separate phenomena. One of the advantages such non-printed material was that it could more easily evade censorship.

To discover the identity of the earliest newspaper, either in Sweden or in the rest of the world, it is necessary to determine when these precursors evolved into a true newspaper press. In practice, it has frequently been difficult to reach consensus on how these definitions should be implemented.

Starting Early, But Not First

The Swedish starting year of 1645 was relatively early. Still it lags the first European newspapers by several decades. Especially Germany and the Netherlands were unquestionably earlier, even despite disagreements resulting from difficulties in reaching consensus concerning the degree of preservation, continuity and other characteristics required to qualify a publication as a newspaper. The first decade of the 17th century can be credited with the beginnings of printed, current and frequent broadsheets. For some time, 1609 has been accepted as the birth year of the newspaper press. It is associated with the weeklies *Aviso* in Wolfenbüttel and *Relation* in Strassburg. 1605 also has been nominated since *Nieuwe Tydinghe* became available starting in that year. Since its publication remained irregular until 1617, however, its claim has not stood the test of time. Archival discoveries have now determined that Johann Carolus

(1575–1634) began to publish *Relation aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien* in Strassburg as early as 1605. Thus it became possible to celebrate the 400 year anniversary of the press already in 2005.

During the 1610s a number of German newspapers were added along the principal trade routes. Such was the case in Cologne in 1610, Frankfurt am Main in 1615, Berlin in 1617, Hamburg in 1618 and Stuttgart in 1619. During this establishment period, Basel, Vienna, Prague and Amsterdam were also endowed with newspapers. London got its first newspaper in 1622 and Paris followed in 1633. This initial development phase was completed in 1650 with the establishment of *Einkommende Zeitung*, the world's first daily newspaper, in Leipzig.

Among the other Nordic countries, Denmark has a history of press development that in many regards parallels that of Sweden. Given its location closer to the European Continent, however, the early steps were taken somewhat sooner there than in Sweden. Copenhagen thus became one of the cities where itinerant book printers and sellers took the opportunity to start a newspaper. It may have happened in 1634, but the name of the paper is unknown as is whether it was published in German or Danish.

Swedish Quasi Newspapers

An examination of the publications issued in Sweden or by Swedes yields some that fail to meet the criteria of timeliness, publicity, periodicity and breadth of coverage that currently are usually relied on.

In 1606 the paper entitled *Sanfärdige Förskräcklige Nyia Tijdender, om hwadh sigh in uthi Stralsundh staadh* first appeared. It has been mentioned as perhaps being Sweden's oldest newspaper. It, however, lacks both periodicity and breadth of coverage, as well as not being the first of its kind.

In 1624, Olof Enæus Olofsson issued *Hermes Gothicus*. Unlike most of the early Swedish printed material, it was produced outside of Stockholm, in the modest-sized city of Strängnäs. The title is impossibly long, but of interest as a description of the paper's content: "Where many remarkable things are reported to have happened, not just those in the Svea and Göta Kingdoms (Sweden), but also in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, England, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Russia, the land of the Tartars and Turkey. For all those who wish to be informed of the most recent changes in the World for their great benefit and enlightenment". This publication, with its forty pages, covers a long list of places in the form of letters translated from German. Even more remarkable is

the inclusion of domestic reporting consisting of letters from the city of Nyköping and Stockholm describing the death of Gustav II Adolf's first daughter Kristina Augusta and her conveyance to the mortuary. With its size and breadth of coverage, the appearance of *Hermes Gothicus* can be seen as a spectacular birth. It is unknown, however, if the paper was distributed, and it is very unlikely that any more issues were ever produced. Thus, while it had breadth of coverage to an extreme and was remarkably current, it lacked periodicity and may not even have been actually published. At the very most, it can be considered a precursor of the Swedish periodical press.

In 1630, Swedes began to produce newspaper-like publications intended for a broad public on a large scale. This development was associated with Sweden's entry into the Thirty Years War that same year. A straight-forward manifesto proclaiming King Gustav II Adolf's justification for the Swedish involvement was published in a number of languages. Sweden was forced to adapt itself to the more advanced developments that had occurred in Germany. Seldom has the place of the press in a nation's arsenal been so clear and the role of war in its development been so apparent. The Swedish publications produced abroad unquestionably influenced the Swedish press, but they can not be integrated into it.

Probably the best-known of the non-recurring accounts, *Gründliche Erweisung*, which presents the Swedish version of the Battle of Breitenfeld, was published in 1631. It is frequently mentioned in the international press history literature.

In 1632, the year King Gustav II Adolf was killed at the Battle of Lützen, the Swedes had taken the further step of accompanying the force of arms with a steady stream of propaganda. *Ordinar Post und Zeitung aus dem schwedischen Posthays zu Leipzig* was created. A newspaper certainly, but not a Swedish one.

Even in Sweden, publications were produced before 1645. Some of them have also been preserved. While they fail the test of constituting a press, the process of rejecting them has created an opportunity for more precisely defining what qualifies as a newspaper.

ANNO 1633 is of approximately the same dimensions as *Ordinari Post Tijdender*. Provided with the number 36, it might be part of a weekly series of news sheets. The only preserved issue, however, reports on individual military incidents. It is timely, and it was certainly published, but it lacks breadth of coverage and its periodicity is in doubt despite the numbering.

During the following year, *Aviso* is represented by five unnumbered booklets, printed by Henrik Keyser and issued between March and June.

Each was provided with a woodcut illustration and filled eight pages. Much of the contents were descriptions of gruesome battles, including the Swedish capture of Frankfurt an der Oder.

As indicated by the numbering and the first two words of the title, *Extract Skrifwelse ifrå Helsingborg* commences a series of ten continuous and coherent military reports. In particular, they provide testimony concerning the fighting in Scania. A couple of them also exist in German translation. Printed by Keyser between February 19 and June 12, 1644, they are close to the first recognized Swedish newspaper, and not just chronologically. It is impossible to exclude the possibility that there were earlier publications of sufficient periodicity that they could be considered the first newspaper. A few of these have been discussed, for example an *Ordinarie Post Tijdender, ANNO 1645*, that is supposed to have been associated with Queen Kristina's majority installation in December of 1644.

But 1645 Is the Year – at Least for Now

Nonetheless, 1645 must still be considered to be the birth year of the Swedish press, even if the possibility remains that new archival discoveries will change the chronology. Examining the precursors, moreover, makes it clear that the steps taken with *Ordinari Post Tijdender* actually were not large. This is true for almost every aspect, from the one-sided emphasis on warfare and the strictly national perspective to the size of the circulation. In some regards there is even a step backwards. The woodcuts that were present in some of the precursors are eliminated. The only distinct feature is the use of the newspaper's logotype. Indeed, it is its recurrence in issue after issue that, in addition to orienting the first readers, clinches the case. The logotype also occupied a considerable part of the entire printable space.

It was a large step, but large the newspaper was not. The size of the earliest newspapers was modest. At the very beginning, the pages in *Ordinari Post Tijdender* were approximately 16 by 11 centimeters, roughly the size of a modern pocketbook. Not much text fits into such a space. The oldest preserved Swedish newspaper contains just over 5,000 characters, approximately half of today's tabloid page. Page sizes might vary somewhat from issue to issue, and would continue to do so for about 250 years – until the introduction of the rotary press. It was one of the few ways a paper's size could be adjusted in response to the material and type setting capacity available.

In almost all regards, Swedes copied what had been done, and what

they had experienced on the European Continent. But there was also an important difference, one that might well have played a role much later. While on the Continent the initiative was usually taken by book printers, often in the face of competition and motivated by potential profits, in Sweden the government was much more of a driving force. Under the circumstances, that was virtually inevitable. The creation of the Swedish press can be seen as an expression of the general campaign to modernize Sweden that is especially associated with the name of the long serving chief minister, Axel Oxenstierna.

It has been said that the most important task was to keep the populace in a good mood. That consideration applied to the suppliers of newspapers as well as to other news purveyors. Sheriffs and clergymen were instructed to avoid spreading bad news. The distribution of information deemed dangerous to the safety of the realm was punishable by death. Such was the narrow scope within which the first newspapers had to function.

The Relationship of the Press and the Postal Service

For centuries, the press and the postal service have been intertwined. The very name of the longest-lived Swedish newspaper reveals that fact. The postal service has played a double role vis à vis the press. First, it has helped gather information and then, in a processed and multifaceted form, it has distributed that information. Initially the first task was the most important, since the postmasters possessed great stores of information.

Without the mails, no newspaper press was conceivable. The creation of a postal service, in turn, was an important stage in the organization of a cohesive state. Following preparatory steps in the 1620's, the Swedish postal service was regularized in the 1640's. Information that had previously been restricted to a German audience would now also reach the stay-at-home Swedes. Further evidence that the initiative came from on high can be found in the official prescription for how a newspaper should be constituted that was prepared ahead of time. The first set of instructions was issued in January of 1643. The second, largely identical with the first, followed in July of 1645. These had room for pregnant formulations, many of which came to be applied in practice. Be sure to recruit good correspondents in Germany, Holland, France, Italy and "elsewhere", preached the highest authority in the land. News came from afar. The world took precedence over one's own country, and even more so over one's own city. In direct contradiction of what is currently the

case, that rule was taken for granted for centuries. It was not until 1761 that *Inrikes Tidningar*, a domestic counterpart to the postal papers first appeared.

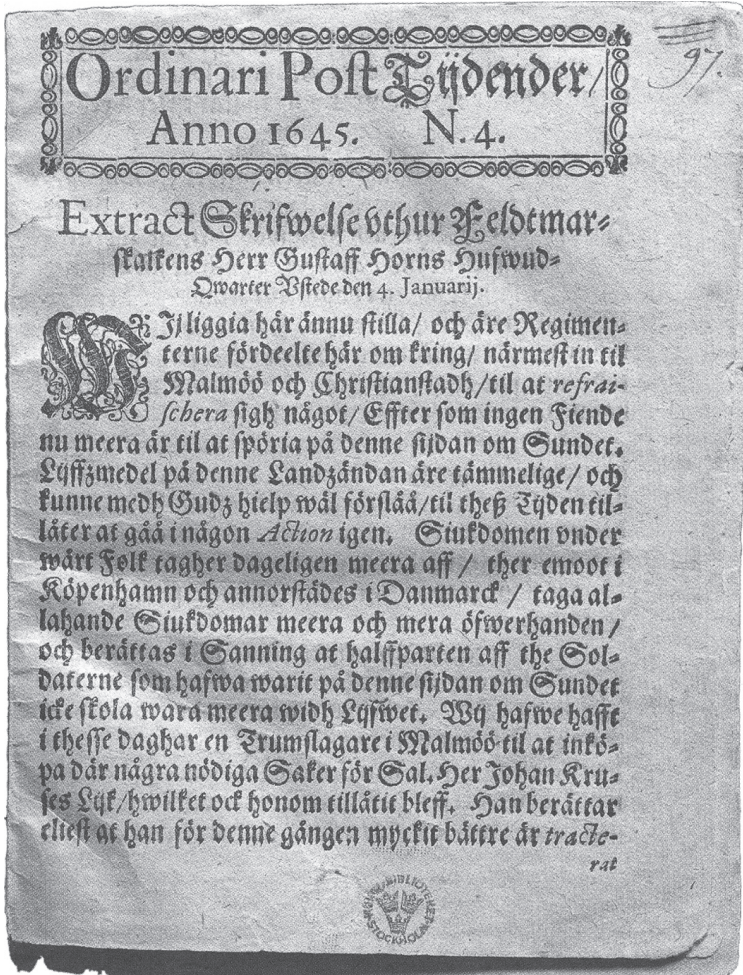
Foreign content was utterly dominant during the 17th century. In the first year, it constituted two thirds of the content and that share had grown even further by the end of the century. One should not, however, be tempted to believe that the government simply ordained a totally dominant international perspective free of encumbrances. While desiring an opening to the outside world, the authorities also provided strict instructions as to how that world was to be presented. Those responsible for newspaper content were exhorted to proceed with “caution”. This warning applied with regard to foreign material that “was provided as short and printed extracts in our Swedish language” as well as to commercial news in the form of current prices. Above all, however, it surely applied to the presentation of statements from the Royal Chancellery.

A government controlled newspaper might reasonably be thought to be the best of all possible sources for these events. Such was the not case – naturally, one is ready to interject. The wording of the instructions is more decisive when it comes to drawing a line for what is to be related. It was a matter of the editor acting “with discretion, good sense and accommodation, to prevent what lacks truth from seeing the light of day; and that he moderates all things so that neither his Royal Majesty and the Crown, nor others who reasonably deserve respect, are placed in any predicament”.

A Chronological Detour

The abdication of Queen Kristina on June 6, 1654 and the death of Karl XII on November 30, 1718: the early years of the Swedish press certainly witnessed dramatic events. One is tempted to picture how the modern press would have handled them in order to clarify what for a long time was not done. Among other matters, the history of the Swedish press deals with the gradually increasing role of newspapers and magazines in depicting Swedish reality. The road to journalistic dominance of this pantomime was long, but it is sufficiently important to note that it had begun with the creation of the newspaper sector.

Notices is said to be the only genre unique to newspapers. Even if that assertion can be challenged by the adoption of abbreviations in other types of media, the early press was in all important regards characterized by exemplary brevity. On the other hand, it can be argued that these notices were the equivalent of other forms of publication in later newspapers.



At least for the time being, Ordinari Post Tijdender must be considered the start of the history of the Swedish press.

Among the other genres that were introduced during the very first year of *Ordinari Post Tijdender's* existence was the advertisement – the first of these, advertising a psalm book, appeared already in August 1645. Purely typographically, these advertisements were scarcely different from the notices. Still, it is important to note that even this early monopoly newspaper benefited from the two sources of income that ever since have played a decisive role for the press.

Independence could hardly be expected. Even the initial instructions called for the editors to translate items from foreign newspapers. At least until the establishment of press bureaus in the mid-nineteenth century,

such translation and reworking was accepted as a matter of course. It was a both convenient and cost effective way to work that initially was made possible by the monopoly and could continue long thereafter thanks to the readers' lack of insistence on originality. At least two positive results of this approach, however, should be noted. First, the readers received a glimpse of the world beyond the Country's borders. Second, the translators, in addition to adopting the actual contents, stayed current with the editorial innovations in the foreign newspapers.

Personalities, especially those that put their stamp on a newspaper, were in short supply for some considerable time – this is another close at hand contrast that can be observed between early and recent press history. There were several reasons for this situation, some of which have already been mentioned. It does not, however, exclude the possibility, despite the brevity of these texts, of sometimes detecting a personal touch. Still, even in such cases, it is seldom possible to determine who grasped the pen. For a variety of reasons, the signing of contributions was not practiced until some considerable time later.

The first important personage in the history of the Swedish press was Johan Beijer (1606–69). It was to him that the important instructions were first directed. He, however, was more a man of the postal service than of the press. We have no idea if he himself ever wrote a single line. Given his position, however, it is more likely that, like a modern editor, he just wielded a pencil over texts that others had written but for which he bore the ultimate responsibility.

One should not, however, be deceived into believing that the age as such was anonymous. During the 17th century there were, in fact, a number of sharply defined writer personalities. Moreover it can be noted that among these Haquin Spegel and Lasse Lucidor at least inter-acted with the press by criticizing it.

Moreover, as is always the case, it is possible to use the texts themselves to infer a picture of the person from whose pen it flowed. As is still the case, much of what appears in the newspapers remains anonymous. The early papers provide useful practice in determining an author's characteristics from what appears in print.

The World's Best Preserved Collection

Newspapers are perishable. Determining whether or not the first Swedish newspaper can be said to have been published without interruption, is fraught with difficulties. In its early stages, it is often difficult to know whether a missing number, or even a whole annual series, was actually published.

For the year 1645, an almost complete series of *Ordinari Post Tijdender*, including supplements, has been preserved. Starting with issue number 4, only number 11 is missing. The best collections are available in the Royal Library and in the Uppsala University Library. The title and numbering of a newspaper are important as expressions of its identity. Also in this regard, *Ordinari Post Tijdender* is epoch making, displaying a degree of stability that had not been demonstrated earlier. In any case, it can not be established before the magic issue number 4.

The subsequent years also raise numerous problems that must be addressed. Despite occasional gaps, during the period 1645–1651, it seems pretty clear that *Ordinari Post Tijdender* appeared regularly. The years 1652–54, however, are critical, since for this period only a single issue has been preserved. Thus the paper's continuous existence hangs by a fragile thread, especially since no explanations exists for why the preservation of the papers should have more precarious during these years than previously. An alternative interpretation is that the paper took a time out – presumably because in peacetime there was insufficient news to report.

Generally speaking, the preservation of newspapers, even from an early date, has been surprisingly good. This is the result of several mutually reinforcing causes. Initially and for some time thereafter, the papers were not particularly bulky, nor were they as strikingly different from books as was later to be the case. Moreover, the authorities' perceived need to maintain control caused them to devote special care in dealing with periodic publications. The directive to preserve a copy of every printed item was issued as early as 1661, that is, only a decade and a half after the birth of the Swedish press. This obligation to provide the authorities with a copy of all printed materials has continually been enforced ever since, even after the original censorship motive had ceased to exist. In addition, since for long periods of time Sweden has been spared from warfare, natural disasters and library fires, the Country's collections of printed materials are among the most complete in the world.

But gaps exist – and therefore also the possibility of finding additional old newspapers. Thus, for example, a few years ago a complete annual series of *Ordinari Post Tijdender* for 1664 was discovered in Greifswald. Previously, only scattered issues had been available.

A Long Standing, Limited Distribution

The fact that the early newspapers attract scholarly interest that vastly exceeds their limited content and lack of originality, naturally enough, depends on their ability to cast light on fundamental questions concerning the press.

Their distribution was limited. Early on and for a long time, newspapers were expensive. According to a price list (*Taxa aff Aviserne*) from the late 1640's, an annual subscription to *Ordinari Post Tijdender* cost "2 Dlr 8 öre in silver coinage or 1 1/2 Riksdaler". Two and one quarter daler in silver was equal to over five and one half daler (5.625) in copper coinage. In 1645, an average worker's annual income is reported to have been 284 daler in copper coinage – partially paid in kind and naturally subject to considerable variation. A very rough calculation thus indicates that a week's wages were required to pay for an annual subscription.

In sharp contrast to the current situation, early circulation numbers are seldom available. The number of copies printed was no doubt modest and increased only slowly. The relationship between newspaper and book copies was altogether different from what it is today. Each issue consisted of perhaps a few hundred copies. It was almost literally a matter of print on demand. Since the customers obtained their paper in the immediate proximity of the press, it was possible to keep track of sales. A special type of token was used as payment. Some of the papers also were distributed to the rest of the Country.

It is only in very recent years that the early postal newspapers have become widely distributed. Thanks to the Royal Library, the early annual series have been scanned and laid out on the Internet. Thus, for the first time, these early issues have become available to an enormous public all over the world. This new situation has also opened up entirely new perspectives for research on press history.

A Second Newspaper

From zero to one was thus the first step in newspaper history. Just as obviously, the second was from one to two. Even though that second step can not be given the same weight as the first, it still represents an important development. At least such was the case once a second paper became sufficiently well established to provide access to more than one voice. At that point, the initial monopoly was at an end.

The appearance of an independent and persistent competitor, however, took time. Just as historians are confused by years without preserved newspapers, there were years with more than one newspaper title without there being two separate publications.

Thus, during 1655, there was both a newspaper with a variant title, *Post-Tijdender ifrån åthskillige Orter Åbr 1655*, and one with a totally different title, *Några Nya aviser*. Both were the same postal paper! It almost seems as if there was fear of wearing out the title. Name changes

were frequent. *Några Nya aviser* served during the years 1655–60. After a possible gap in 1661–62, the original *Ordinari Post-Tijnder* was re-adopted through 1673. During the years 1674–78, the name was once again different, *Swenska Mercurius*, but the paper remained the same and the original title was restored during 1682–86.

For thirty years, from 1686 all the way to 1716, *Ordinarie Stockholmske Posttidender* served as the title. For that time, it was a case of unique stability. That, however, should not mislead one into believing that it dealt more than marginally with a paper whose content was related to the city of publication proclaimed in the title.

In 1717, an apparently drastic change occurred. Stockholm, which has been totally dominant in the history of the Swedish press, lost its newspaper. Instead a direct continuation of the postal newspapers appeared in the city of Lund, only relatively recently ceded by Denmark and effectively absorbed into Sweden. The site of their publication is also noted in the three different newspaper titles used: *Lundska Lögerdags/Onsdagz Courant – Lundska Onsdagz/Lögerdags Post-Tijnder – Lundska Post-Tijnder*. Formally, this can be said to be the beginning of the provincial press that was so important in Sweden. In actuality, however, it was simply more evidence of how tightly Sweden's only newspaper was still tied to the national government. This was the period that King Karl XII spent in Lund, and the Nation's only newspaper moved with him. There it was published for just under a year, from August 10, 1717 until June 19, 1718, initially with two issues per week but later reduced to one. "For all those that are curious concerning, and wish to learn about, the remarkable things that might happen at this or that court, be now informed that I intend to please them with some news."

Despite the presence of Lund in the newspaper's title and the use first of a picture of the City and later of its coat of arms as a kind of expanded logotype, the paper should not be viewed as local. Although an ordination and a, fireworks-accompanied, vice-chancellor installation are mentioned, the paper is drowning in foreign news and notices from the Royal Court and the rest of the Country. Moreover, the King's departure in June of 1718, barely six months before his death at the end of that year, also marked the end of the newspaper. After that, Lund would not have its own paper for a very long time. Starting in 1720, it was once again *Stockholmske Post-Tijnder* that took over. During the interval years (1717–18), *Stockholmske Kundgiörelser* had been published in the capital.

No, the second Swedish paper was not a newspaper at all, but that other important type of periodic publication: a magazine. *Relationes Curiosæ* appeared on the scene for the first time in 1682, and a publication

with the same name appeared punctually during the new and, from a publishing perspective, much livelier 18th century's first and second year. Ever since, magazines have had considerable shorter lifetimes than newspapers.

Right at the end of the period of Carolingian Autocracy, however, magazines became more than a fleeting precursor of the new order that became dominant half a decade into the new Age of Liberty. *Dædalus Hyperboreus* (1716–17), *Nödiga Förnuffts Öfningar* (1718–22), *Acta Literaria Sveciæ* (1720–29), *Stockholmiske Relationes Curiosæ* (1723), *Menskilig Försigtighet* (1724–25) and some additional titles in themselves constituted a new order and were omens of an even greater transformation to come.

2. A Whiff of Freedom (1732–72)

Sweden's position as a great European power came to an abrupt end with the death of Karl XII in 1718. The ensuing Age of Liberty then lasted until King Gustav III's political revolution, or coup d'état, in 1772. The conflict that is hinted at in the choice of terminology is also reflected in attitudes toward the period that separated these remarkable monarchs. Those who speak of a revolution with Gustav III as its hero are prone to see the Age of Liberty as a time of partisan struggles and corrupt dealings with the European great powers. Those who prefer the term coup d'état are more likely to consider that period, lasting a good half century, as a harbinger of modern parliamentary democracy. Whichever position one chooses, however, it is clear that newspapers and magazines made great strides during the Age of Liberty. They grew in numbers. They became influential and, over time, developed the independence that allowed them to intervene in the power games played by the various political groupings. By the same token, they assumed a greater role in the molding of public opinion and in the sketching of Swedish reality. The periodic publications in Sweden had begun their journey towards freedom.

In Swedish press history, the year 1732 is an obvious turning point, even more so than 1718. The former witnessed an event that particularly concerns the press. A well-known description of Swedish reality that dates from 1732 starts as follows: "With that I left the city of Uppsala on May 12, 1732, which was a Friday, at 11 o'clock, when I was only half a day short of being 25 years old. Now the earth begins to thrive and smile, now Flora comes and sleeps with Phoebus." The hand that held the pen belonged to Linneaus. He was the foremost in a line of personages that gave Sweden a role in Europe other than that of a military great power. Linneaus' travel chronicles, of which that to Lappland is the freshest, fulfilled all the requirements of reporting. He described the barns on the plains around the city of Umeå and the beauty of Kvikkjokk. He met the Sami people and experienced the fells. He observed and named his surroundings. His presence permeates his writings.

Later in that same year, a young man almost the same age as Linneaus, who also passed through Lund on his way out into the wide world, earned anonymous fame as the publisher of *Then Swänska Argus*. Olof Dalin (1708-63) was the son of a Lutheran priest from the area around

the city of Falkenberg, who was to put his mark on of the development of the Swedish press. Linneaus would have been a suitable correspondent for Dalin. Such, of course, was not the case. Still it is interesting to compare their descriptions of reality with each other. So doing forces one to admit that it was not the press that was responsible for discoveries in the reality of the day. Nonetheless, Dalin took a major step forward. He had something of the same flexibility and powers of observation that Linneaus possessed. His talents were displayed in a remarkable ability to imitate various styles of writing. No other Swedish newspaper man has been able to match his epoch making contributions, both to the Swedish press and to the Swedish language.

Incorporating Foreign Innovations

Dalin was only 24 years old in December of 1732 when he started publishing *Argus*. His work experience consisted of several years as a private tutor in Stockholm. His remarkable receptivity, however, allowed him to adapt to his calling as a magazine editor. Dalin's repertoire included virtually every genre and writing style and might well be seen as imitative. In *Argus*, however, that could be turned into an advantage. *Argus* outlived his lifetime and is still worth reading.

An important explanation for how the young Dalin could serve up so much material worth reading in such a short time was that he borrowed fresh ideas from foreign magazines. The periodical with essays was an internationally accepted phenomenon. Its origin can be traced to Richard Steele's *The Tatler*, which was published in London between 1707 and 1709. The so-called "essay paper" format that emerged was perfected there, as well as in *The Spectator* published by Joseph Addison during 1711–1712 and in 1714. The latter was Dalin's foremost inspiration. In several regards, these publications were characteristically British. In their emphasis on ethical questions, they were participants in a critical debate concerning developments within England. In the history of communications, the printing of the discussions that had previously been limited to coffeehouses and other meeting places, thus shifting them into the media, has been considered a decisive step. It has been seen as the beginning of an era of middle-class public discourse.

Even if one can question whether or not a sufficient number of these preconditions were met, the moralizing magazines certainly made an impression in a number of other countries. In Germany, imitations appeared, among them *Der Patriot* (1724–26). The most important French language magazine was *Le Misanthrope*, published in the Netherlands by

Eben
Swänsta
ARGUS
N:o I.



Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit
utile dulci. Horatius.



GEORGHOLM,
Tryckt hos Benjamin Gottlieb Schneider.

Olof von Dalin initiated a new phase in the history of the Swedish press and language. Unlike Horatius and Schneider, his name did not appear on the first cover page of Argus.

van Effen. In Denmark, progress was more sluggish. For almost the first time, Sweden took the lead and influenced developments in her southern neighbor. A translation of Dalin's magazine paved the way for *Den danske Spectator*.

Dalin borrowed freely and from many sources. He did not restrict himself to magazines, but also helped himself to the work of a number of English and French poets. The ground had already been prepared in Sweden with the appearance of *Sedolärande Mercurius*. It was published by Carl Carlsson (1703–61) and his brother from June 1730 until October 1731. Even at the time, it was realized that *Argus* had a connection to, among others, Steele and Addison. The extent to which Dalin took his ideas also from their imitators in other countries has only been revealed by recent research.

Considering *Argus*' limited independence and originality, its success requires an explanation. The borrowing has to be viewed in context. The lifting of material, approaches and ideas, of which comparative press history offers so many examples, was a natural step in the development of mass media. Moreover, previous to the Romantic Movement, the demand for originality that seems natural to us today did not exist. Quite the contrary, it was considered a feather in one's hat to be able to imitate in a backwater language.

Dalin was an imitator. Still he contributed a good deal. Unlike other copycats, he had a talent that distinguished him from the herd of "untalented imitators and plagiarists" who quickly made the moralizing magazine seem old fashioned. A quarter century after Steele and Addison had originated the genre, Dalin created a version sufficiently Swedish that his audience recognized itself. It has been asserted that he was typically Swedish with his "touch of ultra patriotism" and a Swede's typical light-heartedness. Dalin's greatest national contribution, however, was his supple use of the Swedish language. There the mimic displayed considerable breath by skillfully utilizing various styles, not least in benefiting from the spoken language around him. From these parts, he created something new. That is why Dalin is the only newspaper man who also has left his mark on the history of the Swedish language. He initiated the era of later new-Swedish that stretched all the way from 1732 to 1900.

Dealing with Censorship

The imitation of foreign publishers had another dimension worth noting. In 1695, England had taken an important step towards freedom of the press. A ban on censorship was introduced. Thus, for example, the mate-

rial that Dalin lifted from *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* had been created under very different conditions than those that prevailed in Sweden.

In 1686, Riksdagen (the Swedish Parliament) had established a special authority, a censor librorum, to examine manuscripts destined for publication. During the first year of the Age of Liberty, a Chancellery Ordinance (1719–20) specified what the censors should look for. Nothing that was “offensive or indecent” could be printed. The censors, in turn, were responsible to Kanslikollegiet (the Chancellery Board), whose permission to publish they, at least in principle, were supposed to obtain.

A press free of censorship has remained the exception all over the world. Also in Sweden, it was a long slog. How repression there was eventually overcome is a matter of general interest. It began during the latter part of the Age of Liberty, more than a century after the first Swedish paper was started and three hundred years after the invention of printing with movable type. It is reasonable to assume that innovations in technology and distribution played a role. It is not, however, obvious that they always accelerated developments.

Censorship must be considered the deadly enemy of journalism. Nonetheless, there are those who paradoxically refer to pre-publication examination as “journalism’s best friend”. It represented “the first real recognition of journalists and newspapers”. In any case, the history of the Swedish press yields examples how censorship led to games of hide and seek. Since Dalin died a few years before censorship was abolished for the first time in 1766, his entire life’s work was subjected to it. Even the name of his magazine reflected his accommodation to authority. He had originally intended to name it “The Outspoken One”, probably inspired by Steele’s *The Tatler*, meaning gossipmonger.

Dalin also displayed his flexibility in dealing with the censor. He stretched the limits of what could be published. Still, he had to recognize boundaries. On political questions there was little room for maneuver. Turning against the parties, however, was not all that daring, even though they opposed each other. The censor has been described as having a “well-meaning, fatherly” attitude towards the magazine. It was at least partly expressed in editing that more closely resembled proof reading.

Argus did not have any well-defined agenda. Dalin supported moderation and criticized deviations from it. In religion, he was far from orthodox, and his attacks on the clergy displayed traits from the Enlightenment. During his second year of publishing *Argus*, one issue (no. 15), was censored on religious grounds.

Politically, Dalin sided with the Royal Court and the emerging opposition of the Hat Party. In March of 1733, the Chancellery Board ordered a halt to his publishing activities. The ban, however, was rescinded

after a few days, possibly the result of Court influence. In this attention-generating case, the Chancellery Board maintained that the censor had been too lax in its examination. In a later issue, the publisher offered an apology. During 1734, the censor warned against excessive involvement in parliamentary matters. When it came to manners, it was simpler and freer. No one admitted to, or defended, luxury, snobbery or intellectual conceit.

Dalin was compelled to deal with the censorship. His later production demonstrates how it is possible to write one thing and mean another. Some words were especially sensitive. The Age of Liberty had trouble dealing with the word "liberty". In other cases, code words were used. "Cheese" might mean English subsidies while "onions" was the Russian equivalent. Secret codes are always intriguing and whispers are sometimes louder than shouts. The reader is held in productive uncertainty: Am I among those who fully grasp this? Is there something else that I should understand?

The pleasant and the practical were merged so universally and so successfully that no detailed rendering of reality was demanded. Dalin came along at the right moment. But he also possessed the right qualities. Not without cause, it has been said that no other Swedish writer was as great an immediate hit. Throughout the history of the Swedish press, it is difficult to find such enthusiasm and quick success. For that time, the circulation was impressive, and this despite the magazines being far from cheap. An annual subscription cost 7 daler in copper coinage, while single issues cost 2 öre in silver. The printer reported that there were 500 subscribers, to which several hundred single copies probably should be added.

Testimony concerning the impression made by the magazine is favorable: "Most of us still remember with what expectation we awaited the usual day when these sheets were distributed, and we undertook to read them just like going to the table with a hungry stomach. No author in this country has up to this day been equally successful."

After 104 issues, or sheets as they were called at the time, representing two years, from December 1732 until December 1734, it was all over. It can be noted that foreign publications also had a limited lifetime. When it became known that the editor was getting tired of the magazine, many readers, including Queen Ulrika Eleonora, urged him to persevere. The expressions of desolation were strongly worded: "There was sorrow virtually throughout the land, as for an inexplicable death, when *Argus* in 1734 threw down his pen." It is also just about unique among periodic publications in later being reprinted and reissued.

A Swedish Press

A century after the appearance of the Country's first newspaper, it is possible to speak of a Swedish press. In this context, it means that Sweden had a sufficient number of newspapers and magazines so that the inevitable closing of some of them did not risk recreating the monopoly situation of the pioneer years.

The decades around the middle of the 18th century encompassed the decisive changes. During the *Argus* decade of the 1730s, an average of five, and a one-year maximum of seven, newspapers and magazines were published. During the 1740s there was a modest increase to an average of seven and a maximum of ten publications. During the 1750s, however, these numbers nearly doubled to an average of fourteen and a maximum of eighteen periodicals. The absolute numbers increased by even larger steps in the following decade, to an average of twenty-five and remarkable maximum of forty-seven. This was the beginning of the almost continuously rising curves that characterized the development of the Swedish until roughly 1990.

Number of Newly Established Publications Per Decade, 1732–69

<i>Period</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>Provincial</i>	<i>Total</i>
1732–39	15	1	16
1740–49	8	1	9
1750–59	19	4	23
1760–69	51	17	64

The entire 1730s were dominated by the essay papers, a further sign of Dalin's success. His successors tried in vain to satisfy the latent demand that *Argus* had revealed: *Den Philosophiske Mercurius* (1734), *Den Swenske Patriotten* (1735), *Skuggan af den döda Argus* (1735), *Samtal emellan Argi Skugga och en obekant Fruentimers Skugga*, *Tanckar Öfwer Den Swenska Oeconomien* (1738), *Thet Swenske Nitet* (1738), *Then Swenska Sanningen* (1739–40).

These publications were short-lived. That is also a commentary on essay papers. Even if morals might seem timeless, the moralistic genre soon seemed out of date.

No Longer Alone

The creation of the Swedish press also changed the situation of the postal papers. They retained a central position, but still they were in constant retreat.

The monopoly began to be challenged during the Age of Liberty. Created through government initiative 1645, *Ordinari Post Tijdender* remarkably enough, had survived. Nonetheless, it has gradually become an ever smaller component of the Swedish press. Throughout the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, the postal papers had been alone on the newspaper market, thus providing 100 per cent of the Swedish circulation. Thereafter, however, one competitor after another emerged. Over time, they also introduced new ideas, new types of content, new approaches. In a history that emphasizes innovation, the postal papers fade further and further into the background. Eventually, their circulation of a few thousand copies amounted to only a few tenths of one percent of the national total.

Already in 1732, the others had taken over, at least when it came to regularity of publication. That, however, did not stand in the way of the postal papers retaining a leading position. It is even possible to speak of re-birth in 1720. This expansion was quite slow, but 1736 can be considered a milestone year: “one is inclined to include in the gazette more useful and amusing news from domestic and foreign locales than previously”.

Generally speaking, France was given the most attention although, over time, England became a serious competitor. During the early years of the Age of Liberty, the postal paper was praised for its impartiality. With increasing inter-party strife, and involvement in foreign wars, however, it became increasingly difficult to follow a course that pleased everyone. If this was a result of the newspaper being too timid can be discussed. In any case, protected by the General Director of the Postal Service and by the Chancellery Board, the newspaper was seldom the object of complaint by foreign powers.

An Immigrant's “Uncalled for Enterprise”

The establishment of any newspaper is usually justified in terms of the wants and needs of the public. The appetite for *Argus* can be considered a contemporary example. But naturally, there were also other motives. There were both groups and individuals who wished to spread their vision of the Country and their ideas of how conditions, to the extent pos-

sible, should be altered. Once having obtained a printing press, periodical publication was a rewarding possibility for regular argumentation. The increased flow of advertisements also advanced developments. During the Age of Liberty, there was a sharp increase in advertising. By the end of the period, advertisements filled not only the last page of the postal papers, but often also a special supplementary insert.

While the Swedish press was started under the auspices of the authorities, its expansion was fostered by individual entrepreneurs, quite often immigrants from other countries, especially Germany. Higher authority, mainly in the form of the Chancellery Board and the General Director of the Postal Service, however, guarded the position of the postal papers in two different ways. Either encroachment on their bailiwick could be directly prevented or else the plans of others could be frustrated by expanding the postal papers' own activities. The central pillars of the monopoly could not be undermined, but plans were spun for starting periodical publications in areas that the authorities considered less crucial.

Following the German pattern, local advertising sheets were printed. Here the earliest initiative was taken by a German immigrant, Albert Giese. In *Stockholms Handels-Mercurius*, which he was licensed to publish in 1731, he tried to expand the newspaper's contents but was stymied by advocates for the postal newspapers. He complained in his paper while also flattering the authorities. He also made a minor attempt to provide local news before he threw in the towel in 1735. The Chancellery Board reproached him for "his uncalled for enterprise".

In addition, Giese's plans were impeded by the establishment of *Anmärckningar Wid Swenska Post-Tidningarne*. The thought was that this weekly paper would provide a more penetrating type of background articles. Sometimes, however, it became more of an outlet for material that did not find room in what was called *Stockholmske Post-tidningar*. While it maintained this close relationship to the principal newspaper, in other regards it can be regarded to be a forerunner of magazines devoted to the pleasant and the practical. *Anmärckningar* lived on for a quarter of a century (1734–59), until it was replaced by *Inrikes Tidningar* in the fall of 1760.

Competition in Stockholm

The action was mostly in Stockholm. As a result, the initial monopoly began to loosen up, although it did not occur without resistance. Persistence and originality, however, allowed the opposition to be overcome, even if progress was slow. As motivation for the creation of new publica-

tions it was necessary to point out new needs. As a result, highly specialized products began to appear while those that would directly compete with existing publications were compelled to wait.

The new needs manifested themselves in various ways. Prominent among them was the provision of local news. When the postal papers were started in 1720, they only contained foreign news. After just a few years, however, the thought of including what in “Stockholm occurs” was at least expressed. Still, action lagged.

Stockholm Gazette commenced publication in 1741, and can be considered the first newspaper with local content. The publisher was able to obtain permission for his paper because it was entirely in French. The readership was thus limited and the project was far from a financial success. Nevertheless, it was still an opening for the provision of Swedish news. Most important of all, it provided a port of entry for the first of the many newspaper families that played such a decisive role for the Swedish press.

Bank Note Printer, Rag Collector and Local Newspaperman

The Momma newspaper family originated in the Netherlands and had established itself in Sweden in the middle of the 17th century. Before Peter Momma (1711–72) started up his French language newspaper, he had been responsible for printing Riksbanken’s (the Central Bank’s) notes. He was also a pioneer in Sweden with regard to cast type. In addition, he established a paper mill and organized the collection of the rags needed as a raw material.

In February 1745, he had reached the point of publishing *Stockholms Weckoblad*, inspired by German models and issued every Saturday. The newspaper concentrated on newly published foreign and domestic books as well as on notices “if someone wants to let a house or a room, buy something or similar public things”. It might seem at once both too general and too specific and it was no doubt the intent, once permission to publish had been obtained, to stretch the bounds of the content. The tight rope balancing act must have succeeded, even if one of the sections of the two part paper, “Learned Articles”, could contain series of articles that stretched on for years. The other section included, in addition to, advertisements, personal news, travel information, market prices and the weather. It constituted the seeds of the in due time totally inescapable local journalism. The only actual reporting that found room in the paper, dealing with the risk of fire in the Royal Palace and the need for display-

ing street names, however, was in the form of letters to the editor.

Peter Momma attained a position that allowed him to stretch boundaries. On one occasion he was accused of printing publications that had not been subjected to examination by the censorship office. He responded by asserting that by custom royal book printers were not required to submit for censorship material that originated with the King or those around him. He also managed to make *Riksdags-Tidningar* a best seller. It occurred when, in June of 1756, he was able to report news of the failed coup d'état orchestrated by the supporters of the Royal Court. His competitor Gjørwell testified that there was virtual chaos in front of Momma's sales outlet.

Idiosyncratic From the Start in Gothenburg

Sweden has better population records than most other countries. Tabellverket (The Statistical Office) established in 1749 was in several regards ahead of its time, but the population it was to track was not large, barely 1.8 million inhabitants. Following a rapid expansion during the 17th century, when its population rose to almost 60,000, Stockholm was far and away the largest city. Following the end of Great Power Era, however, the capital's population stagnated. Slow growth then resumed during the Age of Liberty, but by 1800 the population did not yet exceed 75,000. The considerable smaller provincial cities began to surpass Stockholm in some regards: Norrköping as an industrial center and Gothenburg as a seaport. When the Swedish press after half a century definitively established itself outside the capital, the number of distinctly urban newspapers per city largely followed the population ordering. *Göteborgs Wecko-Lista*, published starting in 1750, was the first attempt in the idiosyncratic newspaper city of Gothenburg. It most closely resembled the five-year-older weekly paper in Stockholm. The publisher was the book printer Johan Georg Lange (1722–92). The latent demand for the paper was most clearly demonstrated by the flood of advertisements. The text was old fashioned moralizing and probably translated from foreign sources. "Moral Good Fortune" is a rubric that promised more than it could deliver. Moreover, especially among the witty population in Gothenburg, it must have been a bad omen that this paper was said to have as almost its sole virtue that it did not try to be funny.

Johan Rosén (1726–73) immediately provided Gothenburg with a colorful and aggressive newspaper man. He was a priest without a parish. A Lectureship in oratory and poetry did not provide sufficient income and he found his way into journalism. In 1759, he began publishing

Göteborgska Magasinet, to which soon was added a supplement entitled *Hwad nytt i Staden* (What's New in the City). In 1763, it was converted into *Göteborgska Weckobladet* which lasted until 1766. The not very persistent Rosén was supported by Johan Gothenius, with whom he later quarreled in print. Conflict was apparently Rosén's lifeblood. It vitalized him while simultaneously annoying others. The competing *Göteborgs Nyheter* (1765–1848) partially motivated its existence with this irritation. It proved to be longer lived, not least because it attracted the most advertisements.

Göteborgske Spionen (The Gothenburg Spy, 1766–73) was edited by Rosén's brother-in-law Bengt Öhrwall (1728–73). All indications are, however, that it was the combative Lecturer himself who, during the brief period of freedom of the press, scrutinized poor sanitation, military excesses and bad poetry. Rosén promised "to not touch on subjects other than those that generally concern us as human beings, Christians, Swedes and Gothenburgers". He became local and down to earth, as well as eager to use his paper to advance his own interests. He was able to present social evils in a way that was both new and controversial.

It is significant that before his death Rosén was able to reinvent himself with another newspaper, *Hwad Nytt?* (What's New?, 1772–85), which was on the cusp of a new age. There, Rosén also described the coup d'état in greater depth than was the case in other newspapers. In general, he once again demonstrated that he was considered interesting, and not just in Gothenburg, but throughout the entire Country.

In the Country's Third City

As the home base of the Swedish Navy, Karlskrona grew rapidly, and by the mid-18th century, with over 10,000 inhabitants, it was the country's third largest city. Barely lagging behind Gothenburg in population, it naturally was also close behind in the establishment of its first newspaper. *Carlschronas Weckoblad* began publication in 1754. The founder, a book printer, died after only a few months, but his widow took over until 1758. In that year, she married a new editor who, in turn, died in 1766. After a few years back in charge, she was able to turn the paper over to a son-in-law.

Among what the readers had to endure were repeated complaints that they were too few and that the paper was losing money. More generally, the editors had trouble deciding what was worth printing. In addition to occasional local news stories, the newspaper for years served up a piece meal novel. Having thus anticipated the serial, and looking for some-

N:o 1.
Norrköpings Weko-Tidningar.
 Den 14 October År 1758.

Följande Resande äro ankomne:

Generai Adiutanten Alexander Magnus von Håffen ifrån Stockholm til Småland. Vice Håradshöfdingen Kappelman til Nor-ladugård. Capitl. Cronstedt ifrån Calströna til Stockholm. Vice Håradshöfdingen Walldf ifrån Stockholm neder åt Landet. Dy handlaru Brånting ifrån Stockholm til Borås. Smersten Sprengport til Stockholm. Svermasmästaren Omist och Secreteraren Christiernin i Bergs Collegio ifrån Örebro til Windås. Secreteraren Boje ifrån Stockholm. Rådman Wåller ifrån Stockholm Logerar hos Kållarmästaren Eggæ. Baron Lejonhjelm och Uffejoren Jaggström ifrån Linköping, samt Bruckspatron Carlström ifrån Råninge. Och Bruckspatron Helvig, samt Eroneten Helwig ifrån Rodiga Bruck Logera hos Handelsman Gryssell. Grefmannen Taube ifrån Gråsten, är åter utress. Afkaldes reste i dag Politie Borgmästaren här i Staden Gustav Henric Höferstedt til Stockholm.

Ifrån den 8 til den 14 Octobr. äro i Norrköping födde: 1 Piltbarn, 4 Flickor, 4 Brudepar wigde, samt begrafue 3 gamla Personer, och 1 Barn.

Namnen på de dödde gamle Personer med deras sluddomar:

I St. Dlofs Församling: Smeden Johan Wallts Hustru, Anna Hellman af Håll och Sting. i Barn. I St. Johannes: Brokarlen Jonas Bergstedt af långsam Grofa. Pet. Wallares Enka, Annika Jonsdotter.

Under Lofning liggande Fartyg: Capitain, Lieutenanten wid Kongl. Smiralitetet, Fr. Mr. Stierman ifrån Köpenhamn, med rådt Segel och Sill. Lieutenanten wid Kongl. Amiralitetet Ström ifrån Strålsund, med Barlast. Capitain, Lieutenanten Blesing ifrån Carlströna med Hampu och Linne. Skepparen Johan Fr. Frank ifrån Amsterdam, med Tobaks, Kläder, Styrdegods, Ost, Holländsk Sill och Talspannor. Skepparen Håkan Eullin ifrån Stockholm med Salt, Lin, Smör, Lar, Lårst, Talg, Krut, Dref, ut. Skepparen Lars Berlin ifrån Stockholm med Lackjärn, Hårkoppar, Bly, Stål, Galtmeja, Nålwer, Såpa, Tran, Lin, Smör. Hans Larsson ifrån Hland med grå Kall, och Rötter. 18 Stycken Wedbåtar.

Under Lofning liggande Fartyg: Skepparen Johan Wendler, hemma här i Staden, wil til London. Johan Boström til Stockholm. Dlof Öbr til Stockholm. Bernson til Stockholm. Gustav Lind til Stockholm.

I denna Weka äro följande Fartyg här ifrån afgangne til nedannämde Orter:

Gustaf Södergren til Stockholm med Wjdt och Svanemål. Dlof Södergren til Stockholm med diverse Persedlar. Eric Rosenblom til Marstrand och Håtta Lotsgård med Silfverer Förnödenheter. Petter Teberg til Stockholm med Stångjärn och diverse Persedlar. Petter Boos til Stockholm med Plant och Bräder.

Mylligen inkomne Victualie: Waror finnas til röps:

Dansk Sill, hos Joachim Lind: Holländsk dito, hos Algebr, Hellman, Dahlin och Houberts: hwitka syra sednare, tillika med Johan Lindahl, afwen hastwa Holländsk Ost, af hese Slag.

Sör,

Norrköpings Weko-Tidningar, here represented by its first issue from 1758, is the oldest true daily newspaper that is still published in 2010. It is now titled Norrköpings Tidningar.

thing “more entertaining”, in 1774 the paper switched to fables and poems. The prescient examination of the merchants’ sales tricks was also a flop, and in 1765 the editor was reduced to bawling out his readers.

Under Hans Bergström (1735–84), later a pastor in Helsingborg, there was a considerable revitalization and a literary uplift took place.

The history of serialized fiction could not be written without reference to the paper. The statute of 1766 strengthening of the freedom of the press also left its mark on the Karlskrona publication. The newspaper became much more current. Disputes between individuals were subjected to the light of day, as were the questions considered at the Riksdag of 1769.

A Long Life in Norrköping

Norrköping was also one of the cities favored by the government during the Age of Liberty. This was especially reflected in the support lavished on the textile manufacturers, which were the principal driving force that caused the population of the city to outdistance that of nearby Linköping. Norrköping became the Country's fourth largest city, with a population three times that of its neighbor and with an industrial output three hundred times as great.

Consequently, the city was also among the first to provide a sufficient base of support for the publication of an early newspaper. *Norrköpings (Weko) Tidningar* was started in 1758, and assumed the same format as the newly established papers in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Karlskrona. Approximately half of the four pages were devoted to news, only to a very limited extent of local origin, while the other half contained literary material. The newspaper seemed harmless enough, but one of the early attempts to influence public opinion attracted special attention. A submitted article directed criticism against the parliamentary estates. The Municipal Court responded with a death sentence – but the Court of Appeals thought fourteen days of imprisonment was sufficient.

The Royal visits provided stimulus for something resembling local reporting. Only after 1790 was there an alteration in the contents, at least partly resulting from the space devoted to the news of dramatic events happening abroad.

Norrköpings Tidningar, which started with two issues per week in 1787 and expanded to three in 1800, is today Sweden's oldest still published paper – with the exception of *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*. In *Norrköpings Tidningar* the publishing widow played an especially prominent role. She led the paper for 37 years without requiring an assistant. She also acquired a new press and was able to save the paper following a fire in the print shop. This indomitable spirit of survival has lived on in the paper to this day. The, a few years older, newspaper in Karlskrona was closed down in 1935, but the paper in Norrköping has become the basis for a successful concern with ownership interests well beyond its original home.

Finally Came the Domestic Newspaper

It was only with the establishment of *Inrikes Tidningar* (Domestic Papers) that there was a decisive change in the situation. The newly appointed Postal Director, Mathias Benzelstierna (dead 1791), with reference to France and England, raised the question of “a type of domestic paper”. In so doing, he pointed to a number of areas which so far had not been the subject of reporting. The newspaper began to appear in the fall of 1760. The typography was the same as in its predecessor, but precisely because so much was the same there is every reason to call attention to the various differences. The newcomer had a livelier approach. It was as if one had for the first time considered what people wanted to read and what they could identify with. A ten-point program for the contents of the paper was presented. It included both “fortunate and unfortunate events”. It must be considered the first thought-through editorial program for a Swedish newspaper. Under the circumstances, it was also to a large degree successfully implemented. It also managed to include even distant parts of the Country in its reporting. It was an important step on the road to a journalistic conquest of reality.

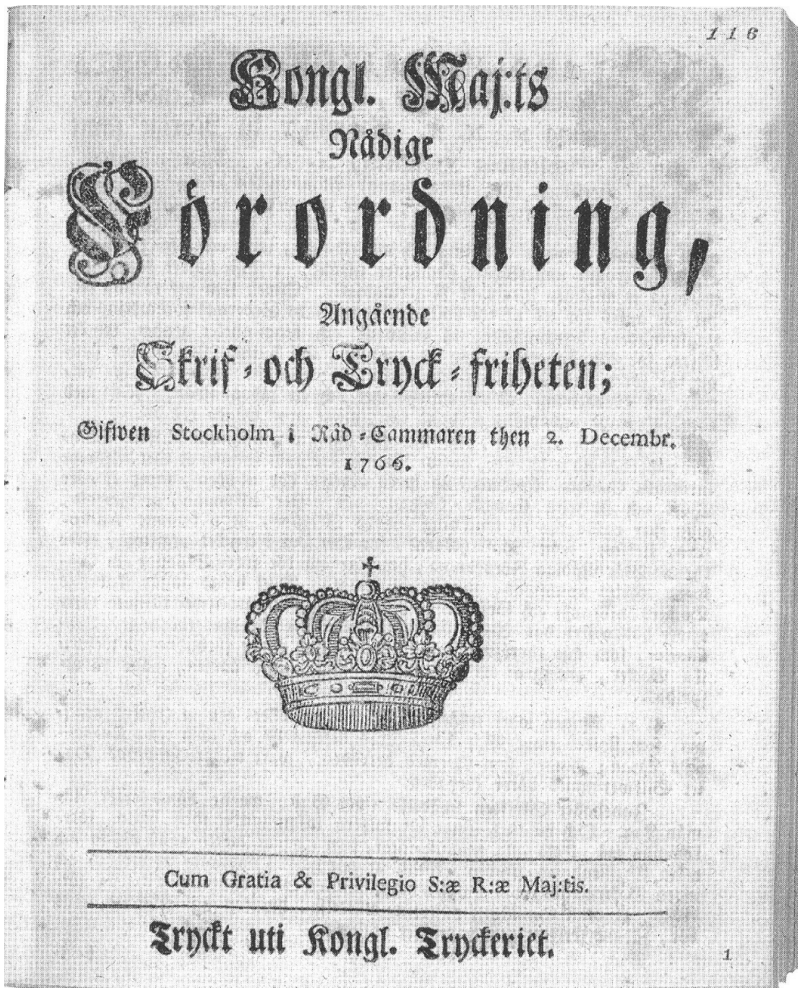
These efforts were also protected by strict rules forbidding the reprinting of the newspaper’s contents. Following 115 years with the postal papers, whose titles had eventually been stabilized, it was realized that there was a need to cover other fields as well.

The First Constitutional Provision

The most attractive manifestation of the spirit of the Age of Liberty was *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådige Förordning Angående Skrift- och Tryckfriheten* (the Freedom of the Press Decree) issued on December 2, 1766). Not only was it path breaking in Sweden, even in an international context it was a remarkable document. At the time, no other country had gone as far in guaranteeing the freedom of the press.

Enlightenment was a major characteristic of the Swedish Age of Liberty. The Country felt a psychological need to compensate for its wartime losses through participation in the development of ideas, discoveries and inventions. Initially, it was a matter of catching up with the rest of Europe by borrowing from abroad. In time, however, talented Swedes also began to further develop the impulses that had been imported. Among these advances, it is possible to include the codification of freedom of the press that evolved during the 1760s.

Anders Nordencrantz (1696–1772), an economist by profession, was the leading proponent of introducing enlightenment ideas to Sweden,



In 1766, the Enlightenment received admirable expression in the first constitutionally based freedom of the press ordinance.

especially with regard to freedom of the press. Having to struggle with censorship himself, he began his mission as early as the 1720s. He returned to the cause during the somewhat more tolerant 1750s. Nordenkrantz was a supporter of universal freedom of the press as well as of public access to official records. The demand for increased insight into government activity has remained a central aspect of the Swedish attitude towards the functions of the mass media.

A pupil of Nordenkrantz, Anders Chydenius (1729–1803), was the principal parent of the Freedom of the Press Decree that was finally adop-

ted after having been considered by three parliamentary sessions. More generally, it was considered to be “a good constitutional expression of the Liberal press ideology”.

Censorship was abolished except for theological writings. Still, there remained many things that could not be slandered: God, evangelical doctrine, the constitution, the Royal Family, the Parliament, the Royal Council, individual citizens and foreign heads of state. Official secrecy was abolished. The decree was classified as an “unswerving constitutional principal”.

A New Paper for a New Age

The new freedom of the press decree resulted in lively journalistic activity. All these new publications, however, were not well mannered examples of the blessings of a free press. The most important among them was *Dagligt Allehanda*, quickly established in the year following the decree. The new freedom of the press, however, proved to be short-lived. It ended together with the Age of Liberty in 1772, after an existence of only six years. *Dagligt Allehanda*, however, lived on until 1944, when it was replaced by *Expressen*. It must, and not just because of its endurance, be considered one of the truly important newspapers in Swedish press history.

To begin with, the paper was only a supplement to Momma’s *Stockholms Weckoblad*. A month elapsed before it was baptized *Dagligt Allehanda* in November of 1767. It appeared at midday Monday through Friday and on Sunday. On Saturday, the mother paper was published. In retrospect, its contents might be considered sparse, but there was useful information in the form of current prices and, not least, advertisements. These included the first death notices in the Swedish press.

Early success paved the way for the newspaper to have an independent life, appearing six times per week starting in 1769. This coincided with Peter Momma turning the enterprise over to his son Wilhelm. He, in turn, promoted developments by utilizing several years of free postage, earlier daily publishing, improved distribution and more appealing contents. Sadly, following personal bankruptcy, he fled the Country in 1771.

While the Momma family was in charge, *Dagligt Allehanda* usually consisted of a single sheet of quarto size with printing on both sides in a single column. Sometimes, however, the paper had four pages. Approximately half the contents were advertisements while the other half consisted mainly of standardized information of market prices, share values, sermon schedules, the weather, travel information and law court

information. A small section reported foreign news. Advertising made the newspaper profitable. Those who contributed material also paid their way. In due course, the great writers also began to make their appearance.

In the history of the Swedish press, the newspaper families, or more often the newspaper dynasties, have played a fundamental role. The extended Momma family is the first to have had a major impact. When the son disappeared from the Country, his sister Elsa, married Fougst, (1744–1826) assumed the tiller. When her parents died in 1772, she took over together with her husband Henric (1720–82) and when he died she took control of the entire enterprise by herself. She was also appointed Royal Book Printer. Her experience included working as editor for *Stockholms Weckoblad*. Unlike both unmarried and married women, as a widow she was legally competent to control her own affairs. She became the most remarkable of a line of publishing widows. In 1834, the family enterprise was taken over by the, today still active, firm of P.A. Norstedt & Söner, and thus in a sense lives on.

3. An Enlightened Autocracy (1772–1809)

Sweden's history used to be that of its kings. Similarly, its press history has been divided according to the reigns of its monarchs. In fact, however, Gustav III was the last king who had such a major impact on the conditions under which the press functioned that he must inevitably be associated with a period in the development of the Swedish media. During his 20 years in power (1772–92), the world was transformed by the great French Revolution. His own life ended in murder. But even if the era belonged to him and the newspapers were characterized by it, the press was not the principal source of information concerning decisive events. The King himself worked to limit what the people were told.

Gustav III is one of the most controversial rulers in Swedish history. Regardless of the position one takes, however, it is impossible to deny that this theater-loving monarch played a major role in the struggle for power. He was unwilling to cede the public square to the press. His policies were not straightforward, and he was difficult to predict. Himself a poet, he collaborated with other writers, including some whose home base was in the press. But daring exposés could be suppressed with the use of threats, bribes and rewards. At the same time, the willful king wished to play the role of an enlightened monarch. He ruled over an enlightened autocracy.

In its entirety, the period 1772–1809 is one of the most dramatic in Swedish history. It began and ended with a coup d'état, and its great reversal of fortune was an act of regicide. That part of its history that concerns the press can, for the first time, be written on all levels. The changes are reflected not only in new genres, but also in the new ability to earn a living with one's pen. The newspapers and magazines now, at last, had room for depictions of Swedish reality that could not be found elsewhere.

A Limited Freedom

The Age of Liberty came to an abrupt end on August 21, 1772. The bloodless coup made all constitutional provisions inoperative. Some

doubts, however, initially remained as to whether or not the latest of them, the Freedom of the Press provision of 1776, remained in force. The question was answered only a few days later when a formal ban on discussions, in speech or print, dealing with the political parties of the Age of Liberty was issued. The next step in specifying the new order, a collection of freedom of the press regulations adopted in 1774, although phrased in flowery language, resulted in limitations. Some of what had been achieved in 1766 was rescinded. The new regulations, which were not given constitutional status, were intended to protect the King from any-and-all criticism. The greater responsibility placed on the printers was also intended to dampen public debate, since it made them *de facto* censors. In 1780, the printer was made legally liable for the contents. It was a way of stemming the partly concealed opposition that was being expressed. Among the other control mechanisms that were activated were licensing requirements, the establishment of a confiscation institution and limitations on newspaper content (1785).

In the middle of all this was a king who wished to be considered a man of the Enlightenment. In some regards he was. He worked to abolish torture during interrogations. He wanted to restrict executions. He protected the small Jewish community. Initially, he felt that he deserved praise for his contributions to the freedom of the press. He submitted the pretty words in the decree of 1774 to the aged Voltaire and wrote in a covering letter: "Your writings have enlightened princes as to their true interests. Thus it is especially fitting that you first of all receive the homage that good sense bestows on humanity." But Voltaire did not reciprocate with an ode of praise as he had done previously when the Danish freedom of the press was expanded.

Reality differed greatly from the picture that the words had painted. As was demonstrated by a number of spectacular cases, in practice, arbitrariness was far reaching. The result was uncertainty about what could be formulated – and how it could be said. Nonetheless, the Gustavian era became a splendid period also in the history of the Swedish press. For the first time, the persons behind the texts can be identified one after another, even if they did not always appear openly. And never before had so many of them been so closely associated with the throne.

The Number of Papers Has Implications

The limitations on the freedom of the press left its mark in a reduction in the number of newly established publications.

Number of Newly Started Publications Per Decade, 1770–1809

<i>Period</i>	<i>Stockholm</i>	<i>Provincial</i>	<i>Total</i>
1770–79	65	17	82
1780–89	46	16	62
1790–99	32	25	57
1800–09	10	13	23

On several occasions, the authorities let it be known that they considered limitations on the supply of newspapers to be perfectly legal. To the extent justifications were offered, they were, to say the least, peculiar. In 1774, obstacles to the provincial distribution of papers were introduced. Alleged concern for the postal service's weak horses resulted in a ban on including newspapers in mail shipments, despite the fact that the publishers offered to pay the resulting extra costs. In 1785, the Chancellery Board concluded that *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*, *Inrikes Tidningar* and *Dagligt Allehanda* were all the newspapers that were needed. In connection with this same review of the press, thoughts were also expressed concerning those subjects that the press should best avoid. The Board recommended that the King follow a restrictive policy. Gustav III, however, protected certain newspapers, prominently including *Stockholms Posten*.

For a short time following the murder of the King, the number of newspapers became considerably larger. During the 1790s, however, the rate of newly started papers once again started to decline, to be followed by a virtual nose dive under the new iron-fisted regime of the early 19th century.

Competing Specialized Newspapers

Despite the limitations on the rights of free expression, the Gustavian period witnessed a never before seen degree of press activity. It took the form both of competition among the newspapers and the appearance of journalistic personages. *Dagligt Allehanda*, a fruit of the brief period of press freedom enjoyed during the late 1766, retained its leading position, especially as an outlet for advertisements. Its early circulation has been estimated at 1,500 copies, a number which had increased by a third when the 19th century dawned.

Proclamations and advertisements of goods and services soon filled over half the newspaper and also required special supplements. The publisher appeared to have everything going for him. If the paper should be prosecuted, the individual writers were liable. Nonetheless, the con-

tents were considered both varied and worth reading. Several of the leading writers of the time, among them the beloved poet, song writer and troubadour Carl Michael Bellman (1740–95), were contributors. In his “epistle” 48, “The sun gleams bright and plump”, he presents a panorama that displays most of the virtues of good reporting. In due course, he also was tempted into becoming a newspaper publisher. His short-lived paper *Hwad Behagas?* (What Pleases?, 1781), however, did not reflect contemporary Sweden the way his “Fredman” poetry did, and it was, a failure.

In other areas, *Dagligt Allehanda* lagged behind its competitors. *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* maintained the initiative in the reporting of foreign news, while *Inrikes Tidningar* quickly established a comparable leading position with regard to domestic coverage.

Starting in October of 1778, *Stockholms Posten* joined the fray. Its originality lay in the more important, not to say dominant, role played by its writers. The most prominent of these were Johan Henric Kellgren (1751–95) and Carl Peter Lenngren (1750–1827). *Stockholms Posten* quickly achieved a leading position. Especially during the years following the mid-1790s, the paper contained a larger relative share of contemporary literature, than any other Swedish publication, before or since. In addition, it was the prime outlet for literary and theatrical reviews. Lenngren has unfairly been overshadowed by Kellgren and become known primarily as Anna Maria Lenngren’s husband. In fact, he represented a strong social pathos which was reflected not only in his own writings but also influenced the better half, and greater writer, in his childless marriage. He also represented continuity at the paper, and thus provided the framework for the literary works created especially by Kellgren but also by Thorild and Leopold.

The Constant Gjörwell and the Blessed Pehr af Lund

In the long row of journalistic personages, there was one that was almost always present, Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1731–1811). For “the patriarch of learned tasks”, his position was more the result of breadth than depth and of perseverance than wit. His lifetime stretched from the early years of the Age of Liberty through the entire Gustavian era and two years into the new post-1809 period. Much of that time was devoted to his journalistic career, from the middle, until the end, of the 18th century. Being a prolific and persistent writer, he had a thumb in every pie. He was both sentimental and loquacious. He has been called the great gossip of the time and was far from innocuous. Early in his career, he began collecting material in the form of letters, diaries and other documents.

Not least in his letters to his children, he emerges as a person of great vitality. He was universally involved. He knew just about everything, and he could relate some of it in public – and a good deal more in his letters. Despite, or perhaps because of, not being profoundly original, he embodied the characteristics of his time. He was not rich. He gathered his friends and guests in his home. He made his life a work of art.

He involved many writers in his enterprise, where *Den Swenske Mercurius* (1755–65) was epoch making. With the assistance of his co-workers, he almost created his own separate press. One of his last contributions was a grandson, Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, who was to become one of the great Swedish journalists of the 19th century.

Pehr af Lund (1736–1806) was a more daring challenger of the status quo. He can be said to have been the first professional journalist in the Country. During the years 1781–84, he managed to keep alive his newspaper *Dagbladet: Wälsignade Tryck-Friheten* (The Daily Paper: Blessed Freedom of the Press). Although the name varied somewhat over the years, its titles continually served as criticism of the limitations placed on freedom of the press. Both in the name and the contents of the paper, however, he was able to utilize satire so skillfully that the authorities had difficulty finding a section of the law that he had actually violated. Often it was a matter of saying one thing and getting the reader to understand that he meant something else. Finally, succumbing to methods that would survive well into the next century, “legal harassment, bribes and psychological pressure”, Lund was forced to close down. Like many others, he would reappear after the death of Gustav III.

Kellgren Makes His Marks

Kellgren belongs among Sweden’s foremost newspaper men. During his hectic life, he had time for almost everything. He was part of a small radical enlightenment phalanx, and, in *Stockholms Posten*, he was able to pursue “popular agitation for a radical enlightenment movement”. He became known for his hot temperament. Like other commoners at the time, it was only thanks to his literary contributions that Kellgren found a place in the world of Gustavian culture. A decidedly urban writer, he had studied in Åbo (Finland) where he read the radical enlightenment writers, prominently including Voltaire. His youthful poetry appeared in *Åbo Tidningar*. In 1777, Stockholm beckoned and there he published in, among other outlets, Gjörwell’s *Samlaren*. His breakthrough poem, “Mina Löjen” (My Smiles), appeared in 1778 in the Gothenburg newspaper *Hwad Nytt? Hwad Nytt?*

Following in Dalin's footsteps, Kellgren found employment as a tutor and thus gained access to a new set of acquaintances, including Carl Peter Lenngren. It was probably the latter who put Kellgren into contact with *Dagligt Allehanda*. There he distinguished himself as a stern critic. He called one poet a "rhyming wretch". An anecdote concerning a medieval passion play resulted in a prolonged trial which ended with his conviction. His loyal friend Lenngren supported Kellgren's cause, but the paper was closed to both of them. Thus the door was opened for a publication of his own.

In the very first issue of *Stockholms Posten*, dated October 29, 1778, Kellgren published his "Thoughts on Scrutiny". In it, he defended tough minded criticism, partly on the grounds that it should be just as strict in Sweden as it was in the path breaking countries. At about the same time, he was employed by Gustav III to write opera librettos.

Kellgren's journalistic involvement fluctuated. During the second half of 1779, he was away from the capital and discovered that in his absence the newspaper deviated from the course he had staked out. In 1780, he assumed the editorship himself and worked very diligently for a few years. It was during this time that he established close contact with his readers. He became less complex and funnier. Inadequate rhymers remained among his favorite subjects. That, however, did not impede his campaign in favor of Voltaire. This also evolved into a feud with his competitor *Dagligt Allehanda*. Already in 1781, however, he once again changed his approach and adopted a more principled type of criticism.

An Impassioned Debate

In the spring of 1782, a fight over "The Passions" erupted. It can be considered the first great debate in the Swedish press. A quarrel requires two gifted protagonists each with a conflicting opinion, neither of which is completely right. Thomas Thorild had written his great poem in an emotional style that was then just emerging and in blank verse. Kellgren had a greater appreciation of Thorild's achievement than his immediate surroundings. Such recognition, however, naturally enough, was insufficient for the new man. Following a few exchanges, Kellgren applied a sledge hammer in the form of a devastating satire: "Concerning the Edict on Snow Shoveling". It is one of the cleverest rejoinders to be found in the Swedish press.

That, however, did not end the fight. During 1784, Thorild published *Den Nye Granskaren* (The New Examiner), in which Kellgren was constantly criticized. Kellgren was largely occupied elsewhere. He intensified

his collaboration with the King. At the start of 1786, he was admitted to the Royal Swedish Academy.

In 1787, however, Kellgren reemerged in his paper as an advocate for the association *Pro sensu communi*, and presented its belief in reason in the poem “Man äger ej snille för det att man är galen” (Just Being Crazy Does Not Make One a Genius). Among its targets were the Freemasons and other closed circles, some of whom had contact with the King. A few years later, he declined an offer to compose verses for the King. He wished to be independent and was prepared to sacrifice the benefits he received from the King. He was, however, allowed to keep his royal allowance.

It was in this situation that Kellgren became the true leader of his newspaper. With his freer attitude, he kept up with political developments and despaired over the trend towards autocracy in 1789. It made him receptive of the revolution. At the same time, both his personal and poetic attitudes were transformed. This also found expression in the newspaper where he, on January 7, 1790, published “Den nya skapelsen” (The New Creation).

His most productive period in the newspaper lasted until the end of 1791 when his tuberculosis broke out. By that time, the foundation of both literary and theatrical criticism in the Swedish press had been laid. Not only are they among the oldest journalistic genres, they are also among the least changed. Public opinion was influenced through esthetic means. This was partly explained by the impossibility of writing openly on other subjects. Criticism thus also became a forerunner of the type of moulding of public opinion that later took the form of editorials and debate articles.

Thorild, The Anticritic

Kellgren's criticism was itself criticized, especially by Thorild in *En critic öfver critiker* (A Criticism of Critics), whose first part appeared in the fall of 1791.

“Criticism is a light unto the poet's feet. Without its help, he will seldom find the Temple of Good Taste”, Kellgren had written in *Stockholms Posten* already on October 29, 1778. He wanted to demonstrate that even in retarded Sweden there was need of on-going scrutiny, just like in France and England. The right also to freely criticize cultural output needed defending. He argued in a manner that is no longer acceptable: “If someone dares to say: this child would be more pleasing if it wasn't so ugly, if it halted less, had a livelier coloration, if all its parts were plump and proportional, etc. Soon one would shout loudly: What a cruel satire!

What ill-bred scrutiny! What a cruel heart, to blame a poor cripple, who had been begotten by his father with the best of intentions!”

It was not yet established usage to scrutinize writings: “around here, a critic is considered an assailant and scrutiny as a question of honor.” But others have to endure, argued the man from *Stockholms Posten*. “One sees daily, and without giving offense, how doctors and surgeons in public papers accuse each other of making mistakes and being ignorant.” Other tradesmen can be exempted. A shoemaker who knows his handicraft should not be criticized. What Kellgren might wish to do in the still modest Swedish public arena is another matter and (criticism) is absolutely necessary if things are to improve. “A bad writer who is carefully scrutinized has no right to demand protection, as long as he is not attacked personally.”

Thorild took on the task “of explaining all of nature and to reform the entire world”. Perhaps he should be classified as a typical head strong Swedish troublemaker. It could, as it was in the subscription application for *Den Nye Granskaren*, be formulated as a journalistic program of “daring and free thought”. Not for nothing did he present himself there as surrounded by “smirking lackeys of the mighty One”. Similarly, it was not for nothing that the magazine’s first two issues were taken up by “En traktat öfver tryckfriheten” (A Treatise on Freedom of the Press). One of his many projects was the creation of a world-encompassing republic where the geniuses held sway. He even believed that he could start realizing it in England in 1788.

Back home in 1790, on the other side of the French Revolution, Thorild threw himself into other projects. In addition, he resumed the debate concerning criticism and delivered the most important Swedish presentation of the subject in his criticism of criticism. He derives three laws from a basic truth “To accept everything for what it is”: “To know what should be judged”, “To judge everything according to its own level and kind”, “Nothing is done in order to make errors, but to contribute”. To a large extent, Thorild supported the old idea that one should not criticize. But even though he rejected all criticism, he still suggested a target for all sensible criticism.

The Irony of Anna Maria Lenngren

Anna Maria Lenngren (1754–1817) became permanently associated with *Stockholms Posten* in 1780, the same year that she married Carl Peter Lenngren. Starting in 1790, when the newspaper assumed a more literary character, she became its most diligent and clever contributor and would

remain so until the new century dawned. Her modesty was genuine. She was clearly bothered when her identity was revealed when the Swedish Academy honored her in 1797. She opposed having her poems being published in book form as long as she lived. She also insisted that the title would simply be *Skaldeförsök* (Attempts at Poetry). Still her poems have more life today than those of the other Gustavian poets with the single exception of Bellman. Her irony mocks those who fell certain they know what she meant. That is a good down payment towards immortality.

She was a blessing for a number of newspapers. First of all there was her hometown paper, *Upsala Stads Weko-Tidning* (1774), and, shortly thereafter, *Hwad Nytt? Hwad Nytt?* She demonstrated that *Argus* was still topical. To *Stockholms Posten*, she contributed both verse and prose. She was influenced by her husband's social pathos and became an acute observer both of categories of people and of individuals. Her psychological perspicacity made her unusually free of rhetoric. Her humor was not an obstacle to insight, as in "The Diary of a Merchant Wife Here in the City" (1784). She stands for new type of realism and can thus be considered one of the earliest innovators in the periodic literature. In addition, she provided a pattern for the design of the domestic division.

Of course, she was neither innocuous nor impervious to criticism. But her position only became stronger during the 1790s. In the autumn of 1790, the family moved into Klara, apparently thanks to increased income from the newspaper. Of the various literary forms, the ballad now became the most topical for her. She was close to Kellgren and also became acquainted with Bellman. The publication of *Fredmans epistlar* in 1792, with Kellgren's repentant introduction, is the best known expression of the ballad's literary acceptance. Lenngren assisted Kellgren during his illness. After his death in 1795, Lenngren was virtually the only poet in *Stockholms Posten*. It was when her masterly work was produced. What might seem idyllic was still affected by the upheavals of the time. The caustic rendering of the nobility reveals a revolutionary influence. Even in the perpetually cited "Pojkarne" (The Boys) it is possible to divine the influence of Rousseau "A few words to my d. daughter, if I had one" (1798), still gives rise to interpretation disputes.

Leopold the Survivor

Together with Bellman and Lenngren, Carl Gustaf af Leopold (1756–1829) is buried in the Klara Cemetery in Stockholm. At the tender age of 15, he made his debut in the newspaper in his hometown of Norrköping. His long career would go on to outlast those of his compatriots. He re-

ceived his breakthrough as a poet and critic in 1785. He became a literary collaborator of Gustav III and a member of the Swedish Academy. He debated with Kellgren, but over time assumed part of the latter's role as a critic. In his professional manifesto, "Genius and Taste", however, he assumed a less rigorous position. During the years 1785–92, he contributed to *Stockholms Posten*. In due course, he moved closer to Kellgren and joined his side when the feud with Thorild flared up once again. His work as a playwright brought him into close contact with the King. But, like Kellgren, he tried to safeguard his independence. As an opponent of violence, he appealed to the King to show mercy to the Anjala mutineers. The death of the King changed his standing. More than anyone else, Leopold pursued his journalistic work after the death of Gustav III and even after the overthrow of his son Gustav IV Adolf. He was a survivor.

The King Donates His Newspapers

Gustav III founded a number of cultural institutions that have had a lasting influence in Sweden. For him, the theater and the opera, in which he actively participated, were of primary concern. The The Royal Academy of Letters had originally been established in 1753 on the initiative of his mother, Queen Lovisa Ulrika. After a few inactive years, however, it was reactivated in 1786. That same year, the King took the initiative for the Swedish Academy, patterned after its French precursor. On it, he left room for some of the Country's leading writers, including Kellgren and Leopold. To the extent that they were also newspaper men, their inclusion in circles that also included *grands* can be taken as evidence that journalists had achieved a central position in society – even if their elevation was otherwise motivated.

The King was aware of the importance of the press, although it was manifested principally in a desire to subject it to limits and control. Before himself falling victim to an assassin's bullet at the Opera Masquerade Ball in 1792, he had taken a step that was of great importance for a pair of newspapers. Back in 1786, he had promised that the Academy would receive 1 000 Riksdaler per year "for all time" from the revenues resulting from publishing "Swedish Notifications". When Postmaster General Benzelstierna died in 1791, this commitment was expanded by making the Academy the sole owner and publisher of *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar*. Three members of the Academy were put in charge of the papers.

The terms of the transfer were carefully prescribed in four documents. No matter how strictly ownership and administration were specified,

however, the transfer can still be considered a step towards independence. The government initiative that had been decisive in the early stages of creating a Swedish press had played out its role now that the independent Academy had become the owner. Regardless of how close the relationship with the government continued to be, an important change had occurred, not just for the two papers, but for the press in general.

The change in ownership, however, did not result in any change in the contents. Still, starting in 1793, *Inrikes Tidningar* also added a third publishing day and the publication schedule of the twins was adjusted so that every weekday except Sunday was covered.

Guardianship and Frequent Reversals

For twenty years, Gustav III had dominated the scene. After his murder, a regency government held sway for four years until the new king reached his majority. The winds shifted frequently and greatly affected the press.

Censorship was reintroduced. In addition, the importation of French books was forbidden. Various influences crisscrossed. Limiting the inflow of revolutionary ideas could be seen as a continuation of the dead king's policies, other measures could be considered as a reaction to the murder. The head of the regicide investigation was also made responsible for the censorship. As such, he reported that he had stopped numerous writings that were critical of the late king.

The general impression is that both the censorship and the import ban were enforced more strictly than before. The new censorship, however, only lasted for two months. In July of 1792, a new freedom of the press ordinance, that on the surface seemed to grant virtually total freedom, was introduced. The regent, Duke Carl, had been inspired by Carl Gustav Reuterholm, the strong man in the new government. Even more than was the case in 1774, however, it was a matter of pretty words. In fact, the new regime had no interest in protecting the right to freely express one's opinion. Rather, the ordinance constituted an attempt to use a vague and disingenuous openness to reveal those who held views considered dangerous to the state. One of those who pointed out the problems was Thomas Thorild, even though he still believed in the regime's good intentions. As a matter of principle, one of the interesting directives in the ordinance was that directed against anonymity. It might seem to be an attractive thought that everyone was entitled to express themselves in print "as soon as the author has attached his familiar name, which is also printed". The regulation, however, does not seem to have been applied.

The ordinance was only in effect from July to December of 1792.

Whatever overall view one might take of it, however, there is no denying that this period witnessed several important launchings or re-launchings. Pehr af Lund was able to return with *Dagbladet: Wälsignade Tryck-Friheten*. The book publisher Johan C. Holmberg (1743–1810), who had lost his license for *Stockholms Posten*, was granted permission to publish *Extra Posten*. In it, Leopold came to be the dominant spirit. It was to be his most important contribution to the history of the press, distinguished by an enviable ability to establish contact with his readers. Leopold also had a pronounced ability to stay on good terms with those in power, first Reuterholm and then Gustav IV Adolf.

On December 21, 1792, the time had once again come for a strict limitation on what could be said, written or published. On the front page of *Stockholms Posten*, Kellgren responded with his poem “Ljusets fiender” (The Enemies of Light). It has been said that it was only by chance that the poem appeared to be a commentary on the restrictions on what could be written. An observer who, like the authorities were required to do, reads the rhymes literally, can only conclude that it is aimed at the darkness of the winter solstice. A description of the revolution at the end of the poem, alluded to as a house fire on the South side of Stockholm, was never included.

Speaking Frankly? No Thank You!

Kellgren was among those who in various situations became aware of the difficulties of speaking, or writing, frankly. And it would not become easier. His view of the king with whom he collaborated had already become increasingly critical during the late 1780s. When, during his final years beset by ill health, he maneuvered his way among the threatening shoals, he was accused of being too careful and too often heaping flattery on the powerful. In the uncertain situation that, not least, impacted the newspapers, a way of saying one thing while perhaps meaning another, developed. At a stage where the rules on what it was permissible to say not only were subject to frequent lurches but were also imprecise, the temptation to make things difficult for the authorities lay close at hand. For example, was it legal to quote the American Constitution’s assertion that no one was born to rule or to judge? Most readers would naturally take this as a criticism of Swedish conditions, but since it was not expressly stated, no one could be successfully prosecuted.

This was a problem that accompanied the further evolution towards true freedom of the press. When this freedom had finally been achieved and the press turned its attention to a mass audience, it supported demands for clarity and simplicity.

Kellgren became the foremost practitioner of the art of saying things without being unequivocally tied to a particular stance. Thorild was his exact opposite in this regard as well. He despised everything that was not frankly expressed. That, however, did not mean that in those turbulent times he followed a more consistent line. Still, regardless of the weather, he was an irritant.

At one time, Thorild had hoped to become Gustav III's court philosopher. For a while following the murder, he looked forward to Reuterholm putting himself at the head of a revolution. Having written treatises on the subject, Thorild had the opportunity to express his thoughts during the brief interlude of freedom of the press. In direct connection with the new restrictions on that freedom, he was arrested on December 23, 1792. In February of the next year he was sentenced to four years of exile from Sweden. With travel money and an allowance provided by Reuterholm, he left the Country. In 1795, he was appointed a professor and librarian in Greifswald (located in Swedish territory in Pomerania), where he worked until his death in 1808.

The Barren Years

The tumultuous years following the death of Gustav III, might have ended in 1806 when the regent, Duke Karl, was replaced by his now adult nephew Gustav IV Adolf. Initially there were some indications that the restrictions on the press might be relaxed. Leopold was among those who hoped that a new freedom of the press ordinance would result in greater freedom and clarity. But after even the newspaper for which he wrote, *Extra Posten*, was forced to close in 1795, nothing remained of all the new publications that had sprouted during the brief period of freedom in 1792.

The hopes pinned on the new King were almost immediately crushed. Whatever he might have inherited from his father, it did not include any interest in cultural subjects or literature. To the extent that he was interested in developments abroad, it mainly concerned those that could be used to limit the exchange of ideas in Sweden. The preparatory work on the Danish law enacted in 1799 that severely limited the freedom of the press, was closely followed in Sweden. Inspired by the Danish planning, Sweden jumped the gun in 1798 by issuing an edict concerning responsibility for violations of freedom of the press ordinance. The previous complaints concerning uncertainty about what safely could be said and written, was now answered in spades. Be careful what you wish for! Not only did even existing newspaper have to reapply for a charter, they were also informed in detail what subjects they were allowed to deal with.

Georg Adlersparre (1760–1835) resisted the repression. His magazine *Läsning i blandade ämnen* was among those that attempted to persevere. It was also where Leopold sought professional refuge starting in 1797. When the magazine was forced to cease publication, Adlersparre took the opportunity to take up two especially sensitive questions, the master-servant legislation and the position of the nobility in society, in his last issue. He continued his struggle in other writings, and it is apparent that his persecution by the authorities crossed legal boundaries. The censorship was expanded and also came down on *Dagligt Allehanda*. Material from abroad was subjected to special scrutiny. When it became difficult to control the foreign news in the provincial press, the problem was solved by simply banning it altogether. The sanctions against those who violated the restrictions consisted of substantial fines and the suspension of their charter for a period of varying length.

4. From Romanticism to Realism (1809–30)

The year 1809 unquestionably represents a turning point in Swedish history. The war with Russia resulted in the loss of Finland. A coup d'état removed Gustav IV Adolf from the throne. He was replaced by his uncle Karl XIII who in short order was endowed with not one but two adopted heirs. The second of these, Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, who was to reign from 1818 to 1844, not only founded a new royal dynasty but also a new Swedish foreign policy. As for the press, 1809 was a red letter year not only because of the great transformation of the Country, but also because the regulatory structure concerning what could be reported and discussed was revised and ordained in a new freedom of the press ordinance.

In some sense, this was where modern Sweden began, and the press, as one of the crucial expressions of modernity, would mirror, advance and challenge events. During the 19th century, the conditions for the newspapers were decisively altered. Most of the steps forward that still characterize the press occurred after the next decisive year, 1830, but some of the preconditions for renewal bear an earlier date. The literary and intellectual fashion wandered forward from romanticism to realism. The evolution of these two great movements can readily be followed, not least in the periodic literature.

Handling Freedom

As has been related above, the adoption in 1766 of Sweden's first constitutional provision regulating freedom of the press was followed by frequent upheavals, hither and yon, concerning this question. This process continued during the years 1809–1812, when rights and obligations were repeatedly revised in frequently occurring steps. The experiences of the Age of Liberty and the Gustavian era were of great value. Use was also made of what had transpired in countries such as England, France and Denmark. Some of those who had personally borne the brunt of the repression, such as Georg Adlersparre and Carl Gustaf af Leopold, had an opportunity to benefit from those experiences. At one point, Leopold

served as the leader of these efforts. Guided by his remembrances of a time when authors were kept in uncertainty concerning what they could write, he was tempted to go far in specifying rules.

The brand new constitution of 1809 contained in paragraph 86 a formulation that has become classic in Sweden, even if it came to be applied in ways that did not fully live up to the exact wording: "Freedom of the press means that every Swedish man has the right, without facing any governmental pre-publication obstacles, to publish writings: to afterwards only be answerable to a legally constituted court for their contents and under no other circumstances be subject to punishment than if the contents clearly conflict with a law intended to maintain public order without suppressing general enlightenment." Thereafter followed a codification of the principle of open public records.

The ensuing freedom of the press ordinance was intended to convert the general principles of the Constitution into specific legislation. This ordinance of 1810 harked back to the pioneering legislation of 1766. Censorship was abolished and the public availability of government documents was proclaimed. Authors, not the book printers, were made responsible for what they had written. In the case of periodicals, however, the onus was laid on the publisher.

The 1810 freedom of the press ordinance was immediately put to the test, and during these dramatic events it did not please all groups. The Danish prince, Karl August, who was the initial choice to succeed the childless Karl XIII, died while inspecting troops a few months after the freedom of the press had been codified. When, in June of 1810, his funeral cortege paraded through the streets of Stockholm a mob lynched the Country's Lord High Steward, Count Axel von Fersen the younger. *Nya Posten* was blamed for having spread the notion that Fersen and other aristocrats were responsible for the death of Karl August. *Allmänna Opinionens Organ* likewise made use of the greater leeway allowed by the new ordinance to maintain that the Swedish people had reasserted themselves. Only a few months after these events, the freedom of the press ordinance was made more restrictive in violation of the Constitution.

A New School Sounds the Trumpet

The poets took the lead. In those agitated times, a miserable fable about "The Foxes" could contribute to the lynching of Count von Fersen. But more and better poets took advantage of the new freedom of the press. Inspired by the German Romantics, Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785–1827) founded the magazine *Lyceum*. It, in turn, became a target of Per Adam

Wallmark's (1777–1858) *Journal för Litteraturen och Theatern* by the end of the first year under the new ordinance.

For several years, young people had gathered into secret societies, especially at Uppsala University, where the belief was fostered that the darkness of the iron fisted years would be followed by a new dawn. What, starting in 1808, became known as the Aurora Society, included, among others, Per Daniel Amadeus Atterbom (1790–1855) and Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad (1788–1852). These apparently unworldly youths joined their German role models in believing not only that their poetry could transform literature but the entire world. They were soon labeled the “new school” while their opponents were bundled together as the “old school”. There was much talk of a revolution, but, despite everything, their true interest was poetry, not politics. When these grandiose thoughts were freely expressed in high-flown phrases, the exponents of the old school felt challenged. Wallmark, who was close to the elderly Leopold and the new Johan Olof Wallin (1779–1839), fought stubbornly on behalf of the old school.

After only a couple of issues, *Lyceum* was replaced by the bi-weekly, and more sharply satirical, *Polyfem*, the driving force behind which was Johan Christoffer Askelöf (1787–1848). Literary criticism also took a step forward. Initially, the Uppsala phalanx worked in cooperation with the Stockholm circle's outlets. This was most strikingly the case with Atterbom's satirical play *Rimmarbandet*, which was published in June of 1810. It utilized pseudonyms for their opponents, the most famous of which being Markall for Wallmark.

Over time, the initiative shifted to the Uppsala group. In August of 1810, the periodical *Phosphoros* began publication, characterized by its sunrise red cover. Atterbom was the dominant contributor. The Romantics also included Palmblad, who that same year had taken over the academic book press in Uppsala. The new publication became an important pillar of the Romantic Movement. In addition to their sophisticated intellectual ambitions, the group was eager to reach a wider audience. *Elegant-Tidning* of 1810 was a short-lived attempt in this direction. Starting the following year, *Poetisk Kalender* was more successful with a circulation of approximately 500 copies. *Phosphoros* was replaced by *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*, a weekly periodical that appeared for more than a decade (1813–23). It was the new school's fighting vehicle.

The 1810s became the golden age of Romantic poetry. It was published in newspapers and magazines. None of the principal poets published a single collection of their work during that decade. Poetry became the companion of polemics. Claiming its place, making its voice heard and attracting a larger readership, all required being against something.

There are a number of feuds in the history of the Swedish press that mark important phases in the formation of public opinion. Kellgren and Thorild were the first such duelists. During the next stage of development, there were more actors.

In any case, the great struggle between the old and the new schools was the longest such conflict ever among publicists. The new school forged its own way and established new ways of thinking and writing and thus of debating and arguing. As during the reign of Gustav III, literature enjoyed a remarkably strong position. It came, however, at a high price. The splintering was long lived. Some major poets choose to remain indifferent. Beside the old and the new school, a number of neutrals emerged – for example, Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846), adhered to this group. The feud contributed to the impression that the freedom to publish could be abused. Palmblad was warned by the Uppsala University council and Atterbom was summoned to a meeting with the Royal Chancellor.

There is reason to ask oneself if the struggle concerned anything else beyond what was openly said. There is only one thing that combatants will never admit, but which is obvious to outside observers: they need each other.

Grevesmöhlen: A New Type of Publicist

Just as during the first period of freedom of the press following 1766, there existed a pent up desire for individual expression. Revolutionary ideas and earth shattering events provided the necessary material. Among the important changes was that once again it became possible to convey foreign news that did not coincide with what was presented in *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*. The dramatic happenings in Europe, including Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812, were not only of interest in themselves, but were also of importance for how Swedish foreign policy should maneuver the Country among the threatening shoals.

In addition to this inevitable recounting of world events, however, the liveliness of the press was affected by the beginnings of the rapid 19th century professionalization of journalism. Among the pioneers were writers who, either for personal gain or to attract attention, tested the boundaries of what was permissible.

By the time of the 1809 coup d'état, Carl August Grevesmöhlen (1754–1823) had already managed to serve as head of the Customs Department, been suspended from that post and gone bankrupt. He utilized the new freedom of publication to issue brochures attacking his opponents. At the same time, he advocated radical measures, such as fairer

taxation and a two chamber parliament. These brochures earned him a good income and made him appear to be a man of the people. This, in turn, made him useful to the new regime.

In his newspaper *Åskådaren* (The Observer), after a year followed by *Trompeten eller Krigsförklaring mot allt ondt* (The Trumpet or a Declaration of War on all Evil), he successfully continued his campaigns. His straightforward prose is striking in comparison with his romantic contemporaries. Grevesmöhlen became a lively supporter of the new regime. He also became a tool of the newly adopted heir and his third newspaper *Skandinaven* received financial support. In it, he tried to support the new foreign policy. Nonetheless, the paper was forced to cease publication as a result of the new “freedom” of the press ordinance enacted as of July 16, 1812.

Judgments on Grevesmöhlen diverged during his lifetime and have continued to do so ever since. It has been said of him that he was driven by a “fortunate combination of hate towards aristocrats and bureaucrats and need for money”. He was a product of his time. With his mixed motives, he would also have successors.

A New Royal House and New Limitations

The succession to the throne also played a decisive role for the freedom of the press. The unfortunate death of the first adopted heir resulted in events that were taken as proof that the freedom to publish had been taken dangerously far. The second heir became the driving force behind the rule changes that were promptly implemented.

As one of Napoleon’s generals, Jean Baptiste Bernadotte had rapidly advanced to the rank of Field Marshall. Napoleon gave his approval when he was proposed as heir to the Swedish throne. His support, however, was much greater in Sweden, a country which longed for revenge against Russia. Events moved very quickly following Bernadotte’s arrival in Stockholm in the fall of 1810. Although he did not ascend the throne until 1818, he immediately put his stamp on Swedish politics. Already in March of 1811, when the King fell ill, he assumed the Regency. Generally speaking, his policies did not meet the expectations of his supporters. Rather than making an effort to re-conquer Finland, his foreign policy was directed at closer relations with Russia. And domestically, the erstwhile revolutionary adopted a Conservative course. His views quickly became apparent in his attitude towards the newspapers. While in other regards he distanced himself from France, with regard to the press he emulated Napoleon’s restrictive attitude: “A printing facility is an armory

that should not be made available to just anyone.” The French Emperor had implemented his attitude by banning most daily newspapers.

In Crown Prince Karl Johan, as he was now titled, the Liberal circles who wished to extend the new freedoms to publishing encountered a powerful opponent. Thus the freedom of the press ordinance of 1810 was short lived. Its demise resulted both from the changed political situation, domestically as well as internationally, and from the experience of the ordinance’s practical consequences. There was talk concerning “the careless and sometime socially disruptive utilization” that had occurred. And it was precisely the press that was the target. The notion of renewed censorship was discarded, but the limitations nonetheless were striking. Some of those who, only a few years earlier, had urged greater freedom of the press, now worked for its limitation. The hopes pinned on the new heir played a decisive role. Among those who were quick to defend the legislators’ efforts to prevent abuse of the freedom was Grevesmöhlen.

Karl Johan thus immediately attained almost everything he wanted. It is best known as the introduction, or re-introduction considering Gustav III’s enactment of 1785, of a license revocation right. From now on, periodical publications would require a license issued by the Royal Chancellor, and none would be issued to those considered unworthy. The Chancellor could revoke the right to publish if distributing the material in question was considered harmful to public order, intruded on personal rights or was slanderous. Such action was then to be reported to the government. The struggle against this revocation right was to become especially noteworthy during the succeeding decades, and in time it was totally successful. It is worth noting that this right to suppress periodical publications was introduced during Karl Johan’s early years and was abolished in 1844, the year he died.

Aside from its actual contents, what was most striking about the new freedom of publication ordinance was that it was enacted illegally. Since it was a constitutional provision, action required approval by two consecutive Riksdag sessions with an intervening election. Such was not the case. It was argued, unjustifiably, that some parts of the proposal remained from the previous Riksdag.

Among the changes was the introduction of juries in freedom of publication cases. It had been on the agenda of several Riksdag sessions before it was finally approved in 1815. Karl Johan welcomed this innovation – apparently hoping that juries also would contribute to limiting freedom of the press.

The major constitutional work was now completed. In sharp contrast to the sometimes hectic activity that had been ongoing ever since the

1760s, and which culminated in the finalization around 1810, no more changes were to occur for a long time. The sole exception to that rule was the already mentioned abolition of the revocation power.

The ensuing developments would in every important regard be implemented without any change in the written constitution. This contributed to the impression that the poor and badly mauled country had achieved a new level of stability. After having participated in the defeat of Napoleon and forced Norway into a personal union, Sweden was no longer involved in warfare. In a similar fashion, the constitutional laws that were to regulate the Country's evolution towards democracy remained intact.

The Academy's Two Becomes One

They were there the whole time. The Royal Swedish Academy's two newspapers: *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* and *Inrikes Tidningar*. They were taken for granted. They still retained a considerable portion of the total newspaper circulation. But here, like in the real world, their predictability made them easy to forget. The more the press collectively advanced and changed in spite of its constraints, the more obscure the role of the postal newspapers became.

In a few cases, it is possible to find testimony from an occasional reader who in earlier years benefited from the sheet: "He opened an old table drawer where, among cheese rinds and pieces of bread, a bunch of a more or less complete set of issues was shoved in, fortunately the issue I sought was included. On the way home, I first experienced what it is like to be carrying a literary offspring." The inspiration was hardly from the paper, but it at least contained an announcement of the year's literary contest. Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783–1847) entered and in 1803 was rewarded with the Royal Swedish Academy's Grand Prize for his "Äreminne över Sten Sture den äldre" (Memorial to Sten Sture the Elder). He himself would become a member of that group, thus building a bridge to a later period and to the defection to Liberalism that he declared in the first issue of *Litteratur-Bladet* in February of 1838. It was also a passage in the spirit of the times, from the romantic to the realistic.

Being the most favored publication, "Rikets Allmänna Tidningar" had survived through the historical and legal turmoil. Also on the personal level continuity was maintained. Gustav Wagner (1748–1819) had worked in the two postal newspapers without being noticed from 1784 all the way up to his death. He had two successors, one for each paper. The circulation was declining but during the 1810s it still amounted to approximately 5,000 copies.

By 1821 it was time for a merger. There were compelling reasons. It was a rather artificial situation to have a pair of twin like newspapers, one covering domestic and the other foreign news. Once the King and the Royal Chancellor had approved the proposal that had long hovered in the air, the readership was also informed. It was appropriate that special emphasis was placed on the benefits for the foreign reporting. Mention also began to be made of the foreign newspapers that served as sources, principally *Hamburger Correspondent*, *Journal des Débats*, *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Times*.

Generally it can be said that the literary, learned or highly situated gentlemen among the Swedish Academy often had displayed a rather disinterested attitude towards their two publications, at least as long as the papers fulfilled Gustav III's generous intention that they would serve as the financial milk cows for the organization's activities. But there were exceptions. The great Wallin, shortly after his outstanding achievement with the psalm book of 1819, presented a proposal that the papers should emulate their competitors in terms of appearance. The transition from quartos to folios resulted in close to a doubling of the text. Subscription and advertising prices were increased. Despite, or perhaps because of, these measures, the circulation continued to decline. By 1824, it amounted to 3,810 copies, a level it essentially maintained for the rest of the decade. Starting in 1832, however, it fell below 3,000. By 1838 it was fluctuating at a level below 2,000, a number it would not again exceed until the early 1860s.

The All-Around Genius Invents a New Genre

"As I promised you, to the best of my ability make the events of the day's proceedings pass, in a reasonably comprehensible form, before your mind's eye." So did Georg Scheutz (1785–1873) address the readers of the newspaper *Anmärkaren* (The Commentator) when he presented an account of what had transpired in the Vaxholm district court (located in the Stockholm archipelago) on September 3, 1819. He addressed his readers directly in a letter-like format. He explains his intent to go beyond a short summary and defends his distribution of his experiences with a handy explanation. "The public nature of the investigation, my friend!" And he chooses to present "the legal components of the day's doings – dramatized!" In so doing, he refers to no one less than Shakespeare. This has its own special background – Scheutz was one of the early translators of English drama. But it is also possible to draw parallels with how one of the most important aspects of journalism, the interview, emerged

from the American newspapers' coverage of trials. But the interview was only introduced a decade and a half later.

What Georg Scheutz accomplished with his reporting from Vaxholm was so remarkable, both in terms of content and of form. Developments have so totally followed his path that it is necessary to explain why what he did was remarkable. Scheutz made a contribution to an ongoing court case. A cottager and his wife had been murdered in March of 1919. A farm hand confessed to the murders and also named his brother and his parents as accomplices. It emerged that these confessions had been obtained under torture administered by a local police officer known for such practices.

Scheutz was not alone in noting these circumstances. The noble landowner was the first, and finally even the King himself seems to have had his eyes directed at the situation. Several newspapers took up the matter. Also in *Anmärkaren* a number of pens participated, including that of the editor Fredric Cederborgh (1784–1835), who otherwise was principally known as a pioneer of the Swedish novel. As a publicist, however, he carefully watched his step. Thus it was Scheutz who, in his capacity as co-editor and part owner, gave the paper an entirely new profile. Eventually it led to an attention getting parting of the ways. Scheutz had to continue his efforts in other outlets, among them *Stockholm Courier* where he continued his reporting during 1820. There the publishers, Sven Lorens Theorell (1784–1861) and Johan Peter Theorell (1791–1861) participated in the ongoing discussion that also came to deal with the police officer's superiors and the revocation right. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court which finally rendered its verdict in 1825. The County Governor, who had been convicted in the lower court, was absolved of blame. Meanwhile, the political climate in the Country had changed to the extent that *Argus*, where Scheutz now worked, reported the verdict but did not dare to comment on it.

Nevertheless, something had been achieved. The way the matter was handled was a precursor of what was to come. The multifaceted Scheutz was in several regards a pioneer of Swedish journalism. He wrote the first personal account of court proceedings to appear in the Swedish press. His coverage of the trial has interview-like aspects. He can also be said to have participated in a journalistic campaign, yet another of the journalistic innovations that only had its breakthrough towards the end of the 19th century. He was so far ahead of his time that he had no immediate emulators.

On Stamped Paper

The press is dependent on paper. This finite and fragile resource has thus been decisive for the development of newspapers. Recently there has been talk of a paper-free society. Lack, or at least a shortage, of paper, however, was a characteristic of earlier stages of development. Various technological innovations were not always well synchronized and demand did not always consider supply.

Paper is an old invention. The ordering of fibers to create a foundation for writing dates back thousands of years. The difficulty lay in developing a material that was not only suitable for recording human thoughts, but also was easy to handle, cheap and durable. Initially, the raw material was rags. It was expensive. As other aspects of newspaper production evolved, paper supply threatened to become a bottleneck. Even by the early 1810s, paper production had started to advance beyond a pure handicraft. Not least, it included a method for the continuous production of paper. These advances, however, further emphasized the need for another raw material besides the limited supply of textile rags. The idea of using wood was considered as early as the 18th century, but it was not until the middle of the 19th century that the technical problems were resolved. The first such product, mechanical wood-pulp, did not begin to be produced in Sweden until 1857. Only by the 1870s had the technology advanced to the point that the Country could benefit from its practically unlimited supply of wood.

Paper contributed to the high cost of newspapers and limited their size. The latter was also constrained by the presses that, well into the 19th century, could only handle the four-pages that had been customary ever since the earliest newspapers of the early 17th century. Only limited relief could be obtained by gradually increasing the size of the four pages or by separately printing an additional four.

Between 1824 and 1872, a period including decades of important steps towards modernization, the Swedish newspapers and magazines paid a stamp tax on their paper. Especially they who have the great privilege of encountering an original paper will be taken aback by the stamps that these papers contained during much of the 19th century. There one can find a ring with three crowns inscribed. It is easy to associate it with a government controlled publication. Such, however, was not the case. It is a case of postage stamps. These stamps served as assurance that the newspaper had paid the paper tax. In principle, this meant that the newspaper enterprises used extra expensive paper to print on – in return, however, the postal service would forward their publications free of further charges. Similar procedures were used in other countries, a fact referred

to by defenders of the method. The system, however, contained obvious inconveniences and inequities.

According to the critics, the level of the tax was higher than what was imposed on other branches. The resulting suspicion that the stamp tax was part of an anti-press policy was difficult to refute. Starting new papers and expanding existing ones was made especially difficult. The stamped paper must, of course, be purchased in advance. That was easier to do with a reasonably constant circulation. Buying in advance meant tying up capital, or even wasting it if the paper was never used. Purchasing too little was hardly any better, even if it was evidence that the paper was growing. The taxation could be defended from a resource utilization perspective. It was important to be careful in the production process. Being careless with proofs and corrections could prove costly. The temptation to cheat and print part of the issue on unstamped paper naturally existed, even though the violation was self evident.

For the press as a whole, the redistribution of two important costs, paper and postage, might even out. The effect, however, was far from neutral among the various papers. Those that required relatively little paper but were geographically widely distributed benefited, while locally distributed, large newspapers were severely disadvantaged. It is uncertain if those who worked for the introduction and maintenance of the system were fully aware of its consequences.

Similarly to the way current readers of 18th century newspapers can be pleased about their condition, posterity can be pleased with the stamp tax that was a burden for approximately half of the 19th century. Since the sales of the stamped paper are generally documented, it is possible to calculate quite accurate numbers for the circulation of newspapers and magazines during this period. It is striking how small these circulations often were. Many of the provincial papers survived for long periods with circulations of less than 500 copies. A few even managed with less than 100.

The newspaper stamp tax had at least three consequences that were not apparent to everyone. It limited the expansion of content, or – from the opposite perspective – contributed to reducing the waste of paper. It favored the nation wide distribution of papers. Finally, it has made it possible to determine circulation levels during a period that predated the systematic release of circulation numbers by 100 years.

A Successful Police Paper

As the reader will recall, *Dagligt Allehanda* was a creation of the first freedom of the press era following 1766. Initially, it had little effect on public opinion. In the early specialization derby, it had chosen to concentrate on advertisements and official and private notices. In so doing, it was similar to, and to some extent competed with, the postal papers. In 1823, J. P. Theorell attempted to change the contents by putting greater emphasis on providing news and molding public opinion. The readers were not appreciative. The circulation began to decline, even if it was not until the 1830s that it regularly fell below 2,000 copies.

A number of challengers arose. The most important was *Stockholms Dagblad*, founded in 1824, which in its very first year matched the circulation of its older competitor and was soon to exceed it. In due course, the new creation would become one of the Country's major newspapers. Almost no large Swedish paper can match the many phases it went through during the more than 100 years of its existence. Initially, it was described as the "police paper". This was based on its purchase of *Dagligt Allehanda's* monopoly of reporting, among other items, the police department's announcements. But in addition to its thus obtaining an official function and thereby nibbling on the postal paper's market, it also provided news from that same sphere. It was a type of crime reporting with an unquestionable appeal. Developments proceeded rapidly and were reflected not only in an increased circulation but also in a larger format. Traces of a number of the mechanisms that would drive the evolution of the modern press can be detected at this stage. The dual benefits of advertisements, to yield revenue and at the same time attract readers, also were emphatically demonstrated. By 1826, *Stockholms Dagblad* consisted 80% of advertisements. *Dagligt Allehanda*, which only attained a 60% share, was a money losing operation. This dominance of advertisement lasted until the end of the 1860s. It also created a fortune for Jonas Walldén (1897–72), the first of a new, and for a time, very successful newspaper family.

Modern Papers in the Offing

Many of the preconditions for the great modernization of the Swedish press were now in place. Indeed there were predecessors and phenomena that might even justify the general view that 1830 was the magic year.

As has already been partly observed, the foundation of much of what constitutes modern development was laid during the post 1809 years. The legal framework was constructed. Some of the newspapers that

would succeed in modernization were already in existence. The struggle for increased freedom, especially against the revocation power, was already under way. Key actors were in place and some of them, as in the case of Scheutz, were far ahead of their time.

The exemplar of time, however, was Johan Johansson (1792–1860). His outlet was *Argus*, which assumed the legacy of Scheutz' *Anmärkaren* when the latter ceased publication in 1820. The initiative slid over to Johansson and, under many names, *Argus Den Andre*, *Argus Den Tredje*, *Nya Argus*, *Nya Argus den Andre*, *Nya Argus den Tredje* and *Nya Argus in Stockholm*, utilized the mechanism of ever new licenses that the revocation power invited. He also set the Liberal agenda when, with inspiration from England, he argued for increased economic freedom and greater Parliamentarism.

Reporting and campaigning, these were the concepts and tools that the new freedom used to defend itself: with innovators such as Scheutz and Johansson, in principle all the building blocks required for the breakthrough of the modern newspaper were in place. What is more, the individual who was to assemble these blocks in a new way that fitted the times and pleased the public, Lars Johan Hierta, was already active before 1830.

5. The Triumphant Liberal Wave (1830–58)

Starting in Stockholm, during the first half of the 19th century, a tidal wave of new Liberal newspapers swept over Sweden. They took the initiative, not only with regard to the press itself, but in politics as well. They demanded popular representation in the Riksdag and economic freedom, especially the elimination of guild-based restrictions. This latter economic Liberalism proved easier to achieve than political reform.

Older newspapers were driven out. New owners, often from a different background than those of the 18th century, introduced new modes and genres of journalism and were as interested in technology and markets as in content. The flood of new entrants peaked shortly after 1830, the year of the July Revolution in Paris and the November Uprising in Poland. The new publishers felt a need for newspapers that would report events quickly and in detail. Even that raised the hackles of the highest authority. To the adherents of the monarchy, the press was a republican evil. The Liberal papers had to struggle for the right to influence public opinion.

Hierta Enters the Scene

In Stockholm, Lars Johan Hierta (1801-72), the scion of a noble family, quickly established a leading position within the Liberal press for himself and for his newspaper *Aftonbladet i Stockholm*, founded in December of 1830. During the 1820s, Hierta had worked for the leading Stockholm papers. In the fall of 1828, together with a member of the legal profession, M. J. Crusenstolpe (1795–1865), he had started his first newspaper, *Riksdags-Tidning*. The paper was published thrice weekly while the Riksdag was in session.

In order to “stand on his own two feet”, in 1829 Hierta used inherited money to purchase a printing establishment. There *Riksdags-Tidning* was produced during the remainder of its existence and *Aftonbladet* from its inception. The printing plant became the basis for a rapidly growing publishing business. When *Aftonbladet* first started, the printing plant had roughly thirty employees. From his very first day as a printer, Hierta

No 1. 1830.

AFTONBLADET

I
STOCKHOLM. den 6 December.

Måndagen

Priset i Stockholm: för helt år 10 Rdr., halft år 5 Rdr., 3 månader 2 Rdr. 24 sk. Banco. Prenumeration och utdelning i Litströms bokhandel vid Mynttorget; Brömans bod i hörnet af Eretningsgatan och Clara Bergsgård; Linnrot's bod vid Norrmalmstgatan och Eriksens bod vid Södermalmtorg. Annonser mottagas endast i Janströms bod, till i skilling Banco räkna. Utdelningen sker kl. omkring 4 eftermiddagen.

Post- och Inrikes Tidningen för i dag omfattar följande:

I Göteborg utskred den 30 November kl. 2 e. m. en härlig eldsvåda i Muthsgödet. Elden började i Håkaren Ramstoms hus och spaltade i sine dermed sammanbyggde, allt träså, hvilka stodo i full låga, innan sprutorna hunno fram. Likväl lyckades man öfvertalt en ydre lokal, stark bläst och af lagen eastillgång, sålka, sedan 63 hus nedbrunnit.

LEDIG TJENST.
Skeppsnittare-tjensten i Carlshamn sökes inom 36 dagar efter den 30 October.

LEVERANS
Gill Flötan i Skeppsholmen, af: bräder, krita, valmaln, tjära, tjära, buttern. Anbud till kl. 12 den 7 Dec. hos Förvaltningen af Sjöväsendet.

AUCTIONER:
Den 27 Dec. kl. 12 i Krigs-Collegium och Lands-Cassiet i Malmö, 5 å 10 års arrende å f. d. Kungs-Ladugårdens Remmar 104, Nr: 11, 22, 24 och 10, och en värdverden med Holländska sténar.
2 nye Botryskifvor säljas å Stockholms Auctiions-Kammare den 13 denne kl. 10.
Auction för aff. Händsköfningen Ehrenstems concurrens räkning, den 29 Dec. kl. 10 e. m. på skillet, st. Utersåk, i motal i Nors socken i Wermland.

KALLELSER I CONCURRENS.
Aff. Händlanden L. Calas Bergensare till Rikhus-Rätten i Uppsala, nya helgfria rättegångsdag efter: den 7 Jan. 1831 före kl. 12.
Aff. Händsköfningen f. d. Riksdagsfullmäktige Casper Wikmans bergensare till rättegången å Norunda sommar-ting 1831 innan kl. 7 e. m.
Aff. Kyrkohäraden C. H. Alms bergensare; Waddö och Hagerö Heds-Rätt, å rättegången af Gösta Ting, natt och år efter 4. 19 Oct.
Aff. Nämndsmannen Matt Jansson i Runarö bergensare; Waddö Heds-Rätt, 3 rättegångs månader efter 4. 19 Oct.
Aff. Kyrkohäraden, Öfverstejmät. G. E. Petersens bergensare till: Ting i Rånby by; Rånby socken i Norrbotten, d. 7. Jan. 1831 innan kl. 7 e. m.
Aff. Bonden Anders Olafsson i Mittel-röd socken bergensare; Juste Heds-Rätt, i rättegång 6 mån. efter d. 6 Juli 1830, kl. 7 e. m.

TESTAMENTEN.
Her Johan Kullbergs och dess Fru, f. d. H. U. Lundens; communiceradt af Rådhus-Rätten i Utsal.
Aff. Bokhållaren P. P. Mellénbousers; communiceradt af Froskärs Heds-Rätt d. 29 Sept.
Aff. Demeiselle Carolina Christina Grubb; Westerviks Rådhus-Rätt d. 17 Nov.

LAGFART.
3 uppbudet å 3-38 årls Mtl skattehemman i Öfverklänns: Högå och Nysätra Tingsdag, d. 26 Febr. 1830.

KALLELSE Å
Magnus Samuelson i Mjölbråd till Högålands Heds-Rätt, efter i månad från 16 Nov., angående en inbeteckning i hemmanen Sjögården och Hjelmöns Kyrkogård.

ÄRF LEDIGT
efter Bokhållare-Geodlen J. Fröstöm, död i Ryck krigstjenst. Anmälan hos Justitium-Collegium i Stockholm.

ÖMYNDIGE FÖRKÄRADE:
Kammarförvaltern i Kongl. General-Doll-Styrhusen Heron Elias Billberck. Förmyndare: Herr Kammar-Rätts-Rådet och Råd L. G. Billberg.
Landsbotten Jus. Andersson i Mjötö, Waddö Tingslag. Förmyndare: f. d. Nämndsmannen Anders Andersson i Gånge.

Diverse Kungörelser:
Sjunde af Byråbergs Tobaksfabriköfvelse i Galmar uppbudet.
Domen i Herr Lagmannen N. C. Sanezsons Concurs finnes å Tidlunds källare i Uppsala.

KALLELSER Å BÖRGENÄRER.
Länkbombardären A. Kallings den 11 Dec. kl. 3 1/2 i No. 2, 21. Aurora, Stockholm. Händlanden L. G. Lundgrens, den 11 Jan. 1831, kl. 10, Stokkällaren i Skara. Rits Anderssons i Hälén, d. 19 Dec. kl. 10. Ulleråds kyrkby sockenstuga.
F. d. Kammarvärdaren E. P. Lindstedts, d. 23 Dec. kl. 10, Kammar-Rättens rum i Malmö.
Assessoren C. Elman; d. 29 Dec. kl. 10. Fru Pehrmanus hus i Alingsås.
Aff. Auktionsmästaren D. Carells; d. 29 Dec. kl. 12, 18. Assenlöfens-Källaren i Nykölping.
Händlanden Niels Brännbergs; d. 29 Dec. kl. 10. Foras hos Systemmannen.
Kammarherren Baron Fierewoods d. 3 Jan. kl. 10. Källarmästaren Lundgrens hus i Linné-Öfving, för flere angelägenheter.

PRIVILEGIUM EXCLUSIVUM.
För Victor Sjöberg å en handgräns med släng för eldskåning.

BORTKOMNA DOKUMENTER.
Brand-forskrifvs brev: No 422, å Danvika-Lägenheten Kollotten i Stockholms Län; Nr: 625, 626, 1069 å Sjöls Bråk i Vermland; Nr: 15, 555. Gladkärs Jernbruk.
Favorer: Å 800 Rdr till Olof Larsson i Munkered; af Bergs-Rådet J. G. Grey; å 300 Rdr af aff. fröken Lovisa Fr. Fleming. *Andens postorder* Nr: 219, 220, 633, 868.

SPEKTAKLER.
I dag: *Edwinski och Florenska eller Polskt grafvårn*; samt *Manon och Alceste*.
Nästa torsdag: *Fru Eckhoms recita* *Turttulle och Herr des Chantreaux*.

CONCERT
nästa Lördag för Mr C. M. Crelius.

SAMMANTRÄDEN.
Wetenskaps-Academien d. 8 des kl. 5. Ledamöter af St. E. No 2, d. 8 des kl. 5. — af N. C. d. 6 des kl. 10. Svarans 3 afdelning d. 8 des kl. 4. *Neptuni Ordens 4 grad* d. 8 des, kl. 7. *Ordens Uthörsene* Kyrkogård d. 10, å stora Borsalen.
Polymia d. 8 des kl. 4 e. m.
Redlige Svarar d. 10 des kl. 8 e. m.
Sällskapet L. S. d. 8 des kl. 5.
Ledamöter af A. O. C. i morgon Tidag kl. 7.
Musiköfningssällskapet, i morgon kl. half 7.

Ständens Öfhyter:
Sista Fredagens ständiska poster medförde inga nyheter af serledes art, om man icke dit vill rikna den redan förut med Englandsk posten, erlidna underrettelser, att den Weilingtonske Ministern fallit, sedan hertigen af Wellington i Öfverhuset och Sir Robert Peel i Underhuset jemnat sina platser. Närmaste ordelningen härtil var förlustad af en votering med öfvertydlig minoritet, i en proklamations-löfga förnämde civilisat. Man känner icke ännu bestämdt den nya ministern; enligt tidningarne gifver Hamburg vill man dock veta, att Lord Grey, som af det s. k. Whigpartiets chef, efter-

Having been started as Aftonbladet i Stockholm in 1830, the paper, following 25 name changes, finally became simply Aftonbladet in 1852.

strove to mechanize the plant. Evidence for his passion for mechanization can be found in his 1832 publication of the Englishman Charles Knight's work "On the Benefits of Machines".

During the summer of 1830, a political opposition paper, *Medborgaren* (The Citizen) (1829–1832) was produced in Hierta's printing plant. It was established by his cousin, Lieutenant Colonel Gustaf Hierta (1791–1859). The paper's license was revoked on several occasions, but

the publisher learned to live with it. On each such occasion, the name of the paper was simply changed.

Crusenstolpe became the editor of an entirely different newspaper, *Fäderneslandet* (The Father Land, 1830–33). It initially received financial support from the Royal Court, but after a parting of the ways between the Court and the publisher, the paper closed. Crusenstolpe reappeared as the publisher of a scandalous monthly, *Ställningar och förhållanden* (Positions and conditions), where he commented on both major and minor aspects of life in Stockholm at the time. In 1838, an ironic column concerning an appointment by the Royal Council made on a Sunday, a violation of the Sabbath Laws, resulted in the former royal favorite being charged with lese-majesty. According to the clever prosecutor, it was enough that the King had participated in the Council. The resulting sentence was three years imprisonment. Crusenstolpe's trial resulted in demonstrations and street brawls in Stockholm during which several persons were killed. This so-called Crusenstolpe feud undermined the attempts of the King and the Government to prevent freedom of expression.

French Inspirations

Hierta had many foreign examples to draw on for *Aftonbladet*, most of them French. In a letter to Georg Adlersparre, his mentor and a very good friend of his father, Hierta pointed to *Le Globe*. He emphasized, however, that he was only concerned with its first year of publication, before it increasingly became an outlet for utopian Saint-Simonism. Another important French precursor was the *Journal des Débats*, with its circulation of no less than 20,000 copies.

The great success of the *Journal des Débats*, despite the unfavorable position of the press under the First Empire, resulted from its policy of following the official paper, *Le Moniteur*, in its news reporting while including its commentary in a typographically separate part of the paper. This feature article section, or “the serial”, was introduced early in 1800. Thus, for example, theatrical and literary reviews contained allusions to the current political situation.

Aftonbladet immediately achieved a circulation of approximately 2,000 copies. During the 1830s it rose to around 6,000 and the following decade approached 9,000 copies.

The newspaper had its license revoked on fourteen occasions, one of which was during the Crusenstolpe feud, and was prosecuted eight times. The first prosecution concerned a few derisive lines from 1831 claiming that the pro-Russian position that the official paper, *Posttidningen*, was

instructed to adopt made it an organ of the Russian Imperial Court. *Aftonbladet* was acquitted. The first license withdrawal occurred in 1835. The following day, the newspaper was issued with a supplemented title and a new legally responsible publisher, but was otherwise unchanged.

Aftonbladet had several advantages over its competitors. Being the only paper published in the evening, it was always first with foreign news. The paper emphasized news and was caustic in its commentary. It had a broad and varying content of text and advertisements. The latter were limited to at most one quarter of the space. A popular section, containing lighter material, was called the "Kaleidoscope".

Hierta also devoted himself to other lines of publishing. In 1833 he began publishing a series of cheap, popular booklets. These were at most 100 pages long and appeared weekly. They were distributed through home delivery and book stores, but in time largely by mail. Since the booklets were printed on stamped paper, they were exempt from postage charges.

Hierta was a typical industrialist and entrepreneur of that time, being willing to try new methods on new markets. In 1839, he started to produce candles and in 1848 a textile mill and dry goods production in the city of Gävle were added. His interests also expanded to include railways, shipping lines and even a peat bog on the island of Gotland. Starting in the late 1840s, he operated a wholesale business in Stockholm.

Hierta was in every sense the leader of *Aftonbladet*, "The Prince of *Aftonbladet*". Still, he had well-known colleagues. In anticipation of launching the paper, he gathered a handful of equals, but only one of them, Andreas Möller (1800–55), who was put in charge of the "Kaleidoscope", played a major future role. Carl Liljecrona (1794–1856), who in 1832 had established the Liberal *Skånska Correspondenten* in Lund, and Nils Arfwidsson (1802–80), who came over from the official *Posttidningen*, were responsible for the foreign policy commentary. The literature critic and editorial writer J. P. Theorell was previously the owner of *Dagligt Allehanda*. The editorial staff also included Georg Scheutz. The theater expert was Anders Lindeberg (1789–1849), previously editor of the in 1833 abandoned *Stockholms Posten*. Among the contributors were the author Wilhelm von Braun (1813–60), the physician C. A. Wetterbergh (1804–89, "Uncle Adam") as well as C. F. Ridderstad (1807–86), S. A. Hedlund (1821–1900) and Rudolf Wall (1826–93). The last three were later to become prominent as leaders of their own newspapers. When Theorell read the first test issue of *Aftonbladet*, he concluded that "this fellow is going to eat us all up". Consequently, he sold his own paper and found employment with Hierta.

At the end of the 1830s, Hierta recruited two promising colleagues. One of them was Wendela Hebbe (1808–99) and the other Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866). Hebbe became the Country's first professional female journalist. She began by translating novels for the booklet publishing division, but later, when the popularity of the booklets began to wane and the cost of their publication increased as a result of a higher stamp tax, she became a contributor to the paper's serial division.

Almqvist, who evolved into one of the Country's most radical journalists, made his debut in *Aftonbladet* in 1839 with a series concerning the Swedish child rearing system. He wrote at least 700 articles, three quarters of which were published in *Aftonbladet*.

Aftonbladet as an Inspiration and an Irritant

The appearance of *Aftonbladet* influenced newspaper publishing throughout Sweden. Around the Country, Liberal newspaper enterprises were started. In Stockholm, the already existing Liberal papers were revitalized. By hook or by crook, the Royal Court and the government, in addition to utilizing the more restrictive freedom of the press ordinance to weaken the Liberal press, encouraged the creation of a newspaper to serve as a counter weight to *Aftonbladet*.

In Stockholm, Momma's newspaper *Dagligt Allehanda* was transformed following *Aftonbladet's* footsteps. Theorell sold the paper to V. F. Dalman (1801–81) and his brother-in-law Nils Arfwidsson (1802–80). Under Dalman's leadership, it became *Aftonbladet's* strongest competitor within the Liberal press. During some periods, it was considered the leading instrument of the opposition.

As a counter move to Hierta's novel publishing in booklet form, in 1839 *Dagligt Allehanda* introduced a features division, a section for "short stories, theatrical and other minor news items, anecdotes etc." and later for serialized novels. During the 1840s, in the feature division, the precursor *Débats* published popular serialized novels such as "Paris Mysteries" by Eugène Sue and "The Count of Monte Cristo" by Alexandre Dumas.

The serialized novels in *Dagligt Allehanda* were not as good. Moreover, serial sections quickly appeared in virtually all Swedish newspapers except *Aftonbladet*. Hierta waited until 1841, despite the fact that his cousin Gustaf had introduced the Swedish press' first feature section in *Stockholms Weckoblad* (1838–39).

The Stockholm paper most damaged by Hierta's success was *Argus*. It was forced to close in 1836, but it had a successor in the form of the weekly *Freja* (1836–42). It was edited by K. A. af Kullberg (1813–57)

in cooperation with *Argus*' previous editor, Johan Johansson. In *Freja*, as previously in *Argus*, he accused *Aftonbladet* of duplicity, for being both a business enterprise and an ideological instrument. In *Argus*, Johansson had called *Aftonbladet* "a pure, unadulterated speculation" and in *Freja* he branded the newspaper as "an unfettered lackey for hire" and a "rumor monger willing to do anyone's bidding for a pittance". Hierta seldom responded to such invectives but on one occasion in 1833 he replied that his paper had one great fault – "that is, 3,000 subscribers" – but he thought he could live with that.

On two occasions in 1837, af Kullberg published parodies directed at *Aftonbladet*, which he titled *Det sista Aftonbladet* (The Last Aftonblad). The laughter almost caught in af Kullberg's throat when he was prosecuted for not having obtained a publishing license for the first of these. When the Royal Chancellor realized that the intent was to get at *Aftonbladet*, however, he dropped the charges. Three months later, the second parody appeared, this time with the required permission.

Opposing the Opposition

The government side utilized the official *Posttidningen* in its competition with the Liberal press. A consortium of government supporters leased the paper for five years from the Swedish Academy. The paper was given a new name, *Sveriges Stats-Tidning*, and a new format. P. A. Wallmark, a librarian who advocated gradual social development, was appointed editor. In order to improve the financial situation, the subscription rate was increased, but to the detriment of the circulation. Postal employees were relied on to recruit subscribers and the monopoly on publishing legal notices was exploited by sharply increasing the fees charged. A number of writers with good reputations were recruited, but they were difficult to retain. Although the deficit that arose was covered with public funds, the consortium did not renew its contract. Instead, Wallmark himself took over and operated the paper with financial support from the King. The previous name was restored. The paper was to be in favor of reform without subversive demands and Conservative without being totally antediluvian, but none of this helped.

Another Conservative newspaper project assisted by the King was *Svenska Biet* (1839–44). For a time, it was the principal outlet for opinion loyal to the government. With the financial support of the Royal Court, the paper gradually adopted daily publication. After Karl XIV Johan died in 1844 and his successor, Oscar I, displayed no interest in the paper, it failed.

None of these projects with direct Royal involvement succeeded. Instead the principal Conservative force in the press was *Svenska Minerva* (1830–48), founded by J. C. Askelöf, a man with experience of many newspaper projects. The newspaper was clearly a counter weight to *Aftonbladet*, but it was only published twice a week until 1834 when that was increased to three times. The newspaper stuck to the old press traditions. Askelöf disliked the hunt for news and declared his newspaper to be a reasoned and critical organ on a high intellectual plane. News was withheld until it could be subjected to suitable commentary. The newspaper was characterized by great expertise, linguistic elegance and restrained polemics. Askelöf enjoyed a good reputation, even in the opposite camp. *Svenska Minerva*, however, regularly defended the King, not least in regard to his friendly attitude towards Russia. As a result, the paper was condemned as the “Russian Minerva”.

When illness compelled Askelöf to transfer his paper, it came as a surprise that it was to the Liberals Argus-Johansson and Anders Lindeberg, since both were his long standing antagonists. Nor did the newspaper survive the take-over.

Liberals Throughout the Country

In the provinces, Liberal newspapers were started in a steady stream during the decades following the appearance of *Aftonbladet*. They challenged not only the pre-existing newspapers in their home towns, but also the Liberal Stockholm press.

In Gothenburg, a newspaperman of the old school introduced a new genre, commercial news. His name was Georg Löwegren (1775–1833). He concluded that commerce and shipping, which had recovered after the Napoleonic Wars, should have its own outlet. He began carefully. In 1819, he added a supplement, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* to his principal paper, *Göteborgs-Posten* (1813–32). After a year, the supplement became a section of the principal paper but then the publication license expired.

A commercial accountant named Magnus Prytz (1802–74) applied for a new publishing license for a newspaper using the same, but now relinquished, title. Prytz was the son of a wholesaler and had married into one of Gothenburg’s leading families. He began by issuing his new paper as a supplement to *Götha Runor*, a literary-political newspaper that had been started in 1831. After fourteen issues as a supplement, in 1832 *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* started appearing as a separate paper under its own name. The paper was published six times weekly.

Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning became an outlet for Liberal opinion in Gothenburg and demanded the same reforms as *Aftonbladet*. Prytz was a more consistent Liberal than Hierta, but less talented.

The newspaper quickly had an impact. The local authorities tried to hinder it by forbidding the paper from including official announcements. Prytz published them anyway and simultaneously broadened the contents. In order to improve the finances, he reduced the publishing schedule to thrice weekly, not returning to daily issues until 1844.

Among the contents, “Parliamentary letters from Stockholm” attracted particular attention. These were written by Gustaf Hierta who was employed as the paper’s Stockholm correspondent in 1835. He was succeeded by the author and journalist August Blanche (1811–68), a contributor to, among other publications, *Freja. Handelstidningen*’s first permanent staff member, starting in 1836, was Carl Magnus Ekbohrn (1807–81), later to become a famous lexicographer. Some attacks against Russia in Hierta’s correspondence caused the first license revocation for the paper. Prytz, who was unprepared, was forced to use a temporarily unutilized license for *Götha Runor*. Thus it too became involved. The problem was solved by Prytz issuing the newspaper as a prospectus for a new paper, something which did not require a license. Accordingly, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* was published as a supplement to a non-political newspaper, then as a prospectus for a newspaper that Ekbohrn was trying to get licensed, and so on. The revocations had the effect of making the newspaper seem to be a nest of radical agitators, which helped the circulation. Altogether, the paper had its license revoked five times.

Medborgaren (1845–46) was started as a Conservative counter weight to *Handelstidningen*. When it failed, the King urged the provincial governor in Gothenburg to try again. Despite concentration by the new paper on financial news, it too failed.

North of Stockholm, Hierta had a follower in A. P. Landin (1811–81). In fact, he was called “the Lars Johan Hierta of Northern Sweden”. His business plan was to use his paper *Norrlands-Posten*, that he had founded in 1837 in Gävle, to “colonize Northern Sweden with literature”. He wanted to create a regional newspaper for the “northern cities and towns”. As a publicist, Landin’s ideal was *Dagligt Allehanda* and he was politically closer to it than to *Aftonbladet*. Like Hierta, Landin was a successful businessman. He operated a number of graphic enterprises, package shipping services and paper mills. He was forced to abandon his regional project, but he established printing shops in the cities of Sundsvall, Östersund and Söderhamn. There he printed the local newspapers

Alfvar och Skämt, Jemtlands Tidning and *Helsingen* starting in 1841, 1845 and 1857 respectively.

The increasing importance of the press as a political instrument created a tendency for newspaper publishers to persist even in the face of financial losses. In 1841, Jon Engström (1794–1870), a military physician and forest products industrialist, founded *Barometern* in the city of Kalmar in order to serve the Liberal cause. Engström was concerned about the social problems of the day, especially the abuse of alcohol. After just a few months, he faced competition from the royalist *Calmar-Posten*. The two newspapers were printed in the same facility, but Engström was harassed by the owner. He first transferred his printing to Liberal colleagues, before finally starting his own printing facility. *Barometern* defeated *Calmar-Posten*.

In Örebro, Nils Magnus Lindh, a pioneer in Swedish printing technology, started *Örebro Tidning* (1806–52). Lindh installed Sweden's first high speed (cylindrical) press which Hierta unsuccessfully tried to purchase. Lindh's paper was Conservative and for a long time without competition. During the extra ordinary session of the Riksdag of 1810 held in Örebro, where the Napoleonic Marshall Jean Baptiste Bernadotte was elected heir to the Swedish throne, Lindh published a Riksdag paper. Lindh also profited handsomely from a line of bandit novels. The eventual Liberal challenger, and winner, in Örebro was *Nerikes Allehanda*, founded in 1843.

“A Politically Apathetic City”

Prominent Liberals throughout the Country exerted continual pressure for the establishment of Liberal newspapers. G. F. Asker, deputy judge on the Göta Court of Appeals in Jönköping and later mayor of that city, wrote to his fellow jurist Crusenstolpe that Jönköping was a politically apathetic city. The existing newspaper, *Jönköpings Tidning*, contained no opinion articles and was only lukewarm in its support of reform.

In Jönköping, Johan Sandwall (1814–67) heard the call. He was not a journalist but an organizer who succeeded in recruiting a number of outstanding writers. Following university studies, Sandwall was employed by Småland's Private Bank, where he advanced to an accountant position.

Sandwall began his journalistic career in 1843 by purchasing the city's largest house. A few months later, together with one of the sons of the publisher of the existing newspaper, he founded a book printing shop, a book publishing house and then a newspaper, *Jönköpingsbladet*. There was room for everything in his large house. A few years later, Sandwall

took over the entire business. Thanks to his efforts, the newspaper came to be characterized by cleverness and topicality. It contained political articles and debate contributions in letter form, as well as featuring serialized fiction.

The newspaper's most important contributor was Almqvist, who reported on parliamentary matters. There he was able to publish commentary that was considered too radical for *Aftonbladet*. The economist and social reformer Georg Swederus (1796-1888) wrote on questions concerning economic deregulation. Maria Bergéron, Asker's sister, reported from Paris, even during the revolutionary year 1848. Viktor Rydberg (1828-95) was hired by the paper as a proof reader but he also wrote for the serial division. *Jönköpingsbladet* was published every non-holiday Saturday. Success resulted in an expansion from weekly to bi-weekly publication, and to more news from Stockholm and the neighboring provinces.

Sandwall engaged in a non-stop feud with *Jönköpings Tidning*, the newspaper published by his partner's father, and thus challenged the establishment. He immediately endorsed the principles proclaimed by the February Revolution and was supported in the paper by Almqvist's contributions and Bergéron's reports from Paris. His relations with the provincial governor and the establishment worsened and the debate between the two Jönköping papers intensified. Sandwall's business flourished until he began to speculate in aquavit on the Stockholm Exchange. In addition the whole economy experienced a crisis following the February Revolution. Sandwall was unable to obtain more loans and was compelled to restructure his finances. At the same time, he received an offer from Prytz to take over *Handelstidningen*. In the summer of 1848, Sandwall settled his affairs in Jönköping and bought *Handelstidningen* on the installment plan.

Sandwall revitalized *Handelstidningen*, doubled the size of the editorial staff and engaged a printer with a high-speed press. The circulation increased to 2,000 issues, of which almost half were distributed outside Gothenburg. *Handelstidningen* became easily the largest provincial paper. In Jönköping, the circulation of *Jönköpingsbladet* declined.

A dispute arose between Prytz and Sandwall concerning payment for the paper for a time resulting in the publication of two versions of *Handelstidningen*. Prytz had a title in reserve that he could use. The conflict ended when Sandwall was charged with embezzlement by Småland's Private Bank. While an accountant for the Bank, he had helped himself to 300 newly printed fifty kronor notes out of a shipment of 2 000 such notes. In order to avoid prosecution, Sandwall fled to America in 1851.

The Fourth Estate

Despite the fact that the freedom of the press ordinance of 1812 had given the government increased power over the press, the latter achieved a strong position in Swedish society. Within the daily press, tension arose between the newspapers in the capital and those in the provinces. The latter maintained that their activities were in no way less important; they served as spokesmen for their regions and participated on an equal footing in national debates. Because of their closer ties to their readers, jointly they were able to present an accurate picture of the popular will.

In his monthly magazine *Litteratur-Bladet* (1838–39), Erik Gustaf Geijer asserted, with reference to de Tocqueville's 1835 book, *Democracy in America*, that the press had become a powerful third governmental component (or fourth estate) of society. *Litteratur-Bladet* was the most influential magazine of that time. It had received a flying start when Geijer in the first issue announced his switch from the Conservative to the Liberal camp.

In the first issue of *Östgöta Correspondenten*, published in the fall of 1838, its founder, Henrik Bernhard Palmær (1801–54), alertly used his editorial comments to take up Geijer's judgment concerning the role of the press. It was written in the form of a response to a letter from a former fellow student: "Geijer's *Litteratur-Bladet* has piqued your interest, especially his statement that the periodic press is a third branch of government. Furthermore, you render me the undeserved honor of wanting to hear my views on the subject." Palmær's answer – entirely in accord with Geijer's argument – is very entertaining and very defiant of the first estate, which is ridiculed on the basis of sophistry taken from the Crusenstolpe feud.

Palmær, who had worked at *Aftonbladet*, edited his paper in Hierta's caustic and relaxed style, but he lacked the latter's persistence. After a year he left the editorial chores to a staff member, and in 1840 he sold the paper to C. F. Ridderstad.

The Emancipation of the Provincial Press

There were a number of reasons why the provincial press wished to assert its independence. One of these was that the papers in the capital had a tendency to denigrate their country cousins. Another was that the Liberal provincial papers were frequently accused by their Conservative competitors of being *Aftonbladet's* lapdogs.

In 1839, *Östgöta Correspondenten* took the lead for a movement re-

ferred to as the emancipation of the provincial press and which was to be a struggle against “the capital’s newspaper dictators”. Others involved were Jon Engström and Georg Améen (1811–98), editor of *Najaden* in Karlskrona.

Ridderstad proposed in a letter to Améen that a paper controlled by the provincial press should be started in Stockholm. In an appeal to the public, they called for a new “chief paper” for the Liberal opposition. Argus-Johansson, who considered himself a greater newspaper man than Hierta and expected posterity to confirm his judgment, supported the project in articles and exhortations to various provincial papers. The emancipation movement culminated in 1842.

In the 1840s, Sturzen-Becker noted that the Swedish provincial press had “achieved a weight and dignity that one scarcely could have imagined earlier”. During the years between 1830 and 1860, more than thirty additional Swedish cities, especially centers of trade and manufacturing, became endowed with newspapers. Given their location, they principally were directed at a new readership, the bourgeois middle class. By 1860, roughly two thirds of Sweden’s cities had a newspaper providing news and advertising. The total number of papers was approximately eighty.

A Feverish Delight

On his accession to the throne in 1844, Oscar I aroused high hopes for a change in policy. The new King included Liberals in his government and displayed interest in economic deregulation and popular representation questions. In foreign policy, he was less pro-Russian and more willing to grant Norway equal status within the Union with Sweden. Parts of the Liberal press were afflicted with what was popularly called “a feverish delight”.

Aftonbladet moderated its criticism and *Dagligt Allehanda*, became a virtual government outlet. Following a Norwegian example, *Freja* was renamed *Den konstitutionelle* (The Constitutional). The paper urged the King to appoint a parliamentary based ministry and give the Riksdag a Western European style role.

The task of scrutinizing the King and the government now rested with the Liberal provincial press, especially *Handelstidningen*, *Jönköpingsbladet* and *Norrlands-Posten*. Prytz declared that *Handelstidningen* would not be satisfied with hoping. Sandwall criticized the government’s hesitancy. Landin considered that the Liberal newspapers, as a fourth estate, had an obligation to push the Country’s political leadership forward.

When the anticipated reforms failed to materialize, Hierta abandoned

his wait and see attitude. *Dagligt Allehanda*, which in 1847 had been sold by Dalman to the jurist Elof Lindman (1819-93), joined the provincial papers on the bourgeois left. By the autumn of 1847, the infatuation with the new regime had turned into a crisis of confidence. A new center of opposition, The Friends of Reform Society, was started in Stockholm in 1848. It established branches throughout the Country and worked across estate lines on questions concerning political representation. *Handelstidningen* assumed the role of chief outlet for the supporters of reform at the end of the 1840s. Sandwall wanted to make it a national publication, “a completely open-mined newspaper of the same scope as the large Stockholm papers”.

During the 1830s, there were more than forty court cases involving the freedom of publication, but barely more than half resulted in a conviction. The initiative often came from the King and his loyal officials tried to influence the courts. The numerous jury acquittals irritated the King. In a letter from 1852, he wrote that the press had outgrown society and that with its “poisonous fumes” it had infected the political atmosphere. He wanted to limit the freedom of the press. In his letter, he asserted that the press had fallen into the hands of persons “who pursue their responsible calling as a money making speculation and exploit for their own profit the ignorance and passions of their readers”. A bill to deprive the freedom of the press ordinance of its constitutional status was presented in 1854. The proposal was approved by the Committee on Constitutional Questions, but only after a tie had required a drawing of lots. The matter was then continued to the next Riksdag at which, in 1856, it was rejected by all four estates (Nobles, Clergy, Burghers and Peasants). “If the press were to exert its power”, Argus-Johansson wrote in a 1855 letter, “it would be the strongest of all forces in society”.

Hierta Leaves *Aftonbladet*

In 1847, Hierta sold his printing facility to his foreman Johan Beckman, but kept the newspaper. During 1848, its circulation was heading for a record level of 9,000 issues. The newspaper enterprise was the Country’s largest and very profitable.

The Royal Court was displeased with *Aftonbladet’s* strong position, and a growing Conservative opinion argued that Hierta had revolutionary and republican sympathies. But even among moderately Liberal politicians there was dissatisfaction with the paper. They felt that a “dignified and truly Liberal” counterweight to the excessively radical *Aftonbladet* was needed. They especially targeted Almquist and Gustaf Hierta.

In the spring of 1848, share subscription for a new major daily newspaper commenced. It was intended to support the representation bill currently on the Riksdag's agenda, as well as other Liberal proposals. The designated editor-in-chief was the university fellow Per Erik Svedbom (1811–57). He despised *Aftonbladet* and was eager to help “exterminate” it.

Suddenly, however, an alternate solution to the Moderate-Liberal press problem appeared. The Liberal, but royalist, V. F. Dalman contracted with J. A. Walldén to publish a supplement to the latter's *Stockholms Dagblad*, with the eventual goal of establishing an entirely new paper. During the summer of 1848, the supplement, *Stockholms Aftonpost* started to be distributed free to *Stockholms Dagblad*'s subscribers. *Stockholms Aftonpost* received financial support from the government and included articles ordered by the government. Dalman supported both the government and the representation proposal and enthused for other Liberal reforms.

Interest in a Moderate-Liberal newspaper enterprise waned, but not everyone gave up. A. O. Wallenberg (1816–86), a naval officer and later the founder of the Wallenberg financial dynasty, was one of those who persisted with undiminished determination. He contributed capital and recruited share subscribers, but he also insisted that the new paper live in peace with *Aftonbladet*.

In the fall of 1848, the opportunity to purchase *Aftonbladet* suddenly materialized. Svedbom was informed that Hierta might sell at a price equal to one year's gross revenue, slightly more than 100,000 Riksdaler, and agree to not start any competing newspaper. A new consortium was formed, to which King Oscar I contributed 10,000 Riksdaler, and a preliminary agreement was reached with Hierta.

The transaction stranded on the buyers' insistence on getting rid of Almqvist and Gustaf Hierta. They were to be pensioned off and banned from the profession. The Royal Court offered to provide the necessary funds, but neither Hierta nor Svedbom would accept a payment with such conditions attached. There was no deal. In November of 1848, Hierta made it known that Almqvist had made a purchase offer, but that transaction also came to naught.

In this situation, Wallenberg discussed the possibility of merging with a weekend paper with a serial division in order to “thereby be rid of the damned trouble of getting hold of light material”, Wallenberg wrote to his older brother, who he had involved in the newspaper transactions. Finally, the Wallenberg brothers decided to publish a weekly paper in the format of a daily. They had to assume principal responsibility since Svedbom was no longer interested. The test issue of the paper, *Bore. Veckotidning i Stockholm*, appeared in December of 1848. The trade wind

“Bore wants to bring a change in the weather within the northland’s intellectual world – but Bore does not want to grow into a storm”.

The brothers Wallenberg left *Bore* in April 1849 out of concern for the younger brother’s military career. Gustaf Lallerstedt (1816–64) took over the leadership of the paper. *Bore* succeeded in achieving a circulation of 2,000 copies in 1850 and became a daily.

The negotiations concerning *Aftonbladet* took an even more dramatic turn when Almqvist, under suspicion of forgery and attempted murder, fled to the United States in July of 1851. The episode was a hard blow for Hierta to bear.

Hedlund Reports for Duty

S. A. Hedlund wrote to Hierta, both to express sympathy and to offer his services. Hierta could well imagine hiring Hedlund, or even selling him the paper. The upshot was that Hedlund joined the editorial staff in 1851.

Following university studies in Uppsala, and a time as a tutor at an estate, in the fall of 1847 Hedlund had begun to review books and theater performances in *Dagligt Allehanda*. On assignment from the newspaper, he traveled to Paris in 1848 to study the effects of the February Revolution. He sent fourteen letters to the paper in which he displayed his republican sympathies. Following his return from Paris, Hedlund was designated to be the reform movement’s secretary in Stockholm. When the movement split, however, and its center of gravity moved to Örebro, Hedlund followed along in 1849 and became the secretary of the General Reform Committee. He combined this work with being the editor of the Conservative *Örebro Tidning*. There he argued in favor of religious freedom and workers’ welfare in addition to criticizing the existing, privilege based society. The radical Hedlund could hardly remain with *Örebro Tidning*, even if he was allowed to convert it into the principal outlet for the Liberal reform movement. In 1851, he left Örebro.

Hedlund was more radical than Hierta. Their ways parted mainly concerning parish and religious freedom. Hierta was strongly critical of the revivalist movements, while Hedlund was one of its foremost defenders.

Hedlund became the managing editor of *Aftonbladet*, but he was not allowed to buy it. With Almqvist out of the picture, a reconstituted Moderate-Liberal consortium, including some of those who tried to buy the newspaper in 1848, was able to purchase it in late 1851. *Bore* ceased publication and the firm was taken over by the newly started, Conservative *Svenska Tidningen*.

Carl Fredrik Bergstedt (1817–1903), a university fellow in Greek, became the new editor-in-chief of *Aftonbladet*. He started out with a great attraction, namely a series of articles entitled “England in the Fall of the Year 1851”, by the world renowned writer Fredrika Bremer (1801–65).

Bergstedt and Hedlund did not see eye to eye and, after just a few months, Hedlund departed. With the coming of the New Year, he applied for the position of editor at *Handelstidningen*. Prytz needed to once again resuscitate the paper since, following Sandwall’s flight to America, the circulation had fallen by 20 per cent.

Hedlund was hired and offered part ownership. In 1857, together with C. J. Lindskog, he bought out Prytz and became the paper’s legally responsible publisher. At the time, the circulation was approaching 3,000 copies. Rydberg, who had ended up on the outside during the back and forth between Prytz and Sandwall, returned to *Handelstidningen* in 1855.

After he had become the new “Prince of Aftonbladet”, editor Bergstedt declared that “freedom” was his highest principle, but that his Liberal exemplars were English and Danish, not French, and that he valued cooperation among individuals. As to journalism, he disliked “slandrous polemics” and wanted to raise the tone of public debate.

Under its new leadership, *Aftonbladet* gained a reputation for being boring. The light touch disappeared. It was not just because three university fellows in a row had served as editor-in-chief that the paper was called “The Schoolmasters’ Aftonblad”.

Politically, *Aftonbladet* became greyer and *Handelstidningen* became redder. The latter replaced *Aftonbladet* as the leading Liberal newspaper in Sweden. Hedlund, who Hierta had given the epithet “the young firebrand” when commenting on his letters from Paris in 1848, replaced Hierta as leader of the Liberal press.

Hedlund’s political stand can be described as state-supported Liberalism. He argued for the construction of a large scale system of state-owned, trunk railway lines and supported the proposal of Finance Minister J. A. Gripenstedt to finance such an investment with foreign loans. Hedlund also supported the Finance Minister’s policy of intervention during the economic crisis of 1857. He fought for free trade and Scandinavianism, until it became apparent that the Western powers would attack Russia in the Crimea. This raised the prospect of Finland being returned to Sweden, which was viewed by the Norwegians as undesirable. They feared it would make Sweden’s position within the Swedish-Norwegian Union too strong. Hedlund responded by adopting what approximated an anti-Norwegian attitude.

Hedlund procured a strong position for himself within the Swedish press. Rydberg was his most important contributor. Hierta provided reports from the capital, until he was replaced by Rudolf Wall. Argus-Johansson exchanged frequent letter with Hedlund, and continually contributed to the paper. The Finance Minister was happy to discuss government business with Hedlund.

Adult Education

Even though magazines participated in the political debate, Geijer's *Litteratur-Bladet* can serve as an example, their publishing was more affected by technological than by political developments. The new illustration possibilities were exploited not just by the picture magazines dealing with current goings on, but also by the fashion magazines. The widespread publication of serials in the daily newspapers inspired the magazines to include captivating and easily accessible texts.

In the early 19th century, the British Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge started a low-price magazine intended to foster adult education. The idea came from France, where Émile de Girardin in 1831 had launched the *Journal des connaissances utiles*, which quickly reached a circulation of 130,000 copies. The British magazine was named *The Penny Magazine* and was published by the entrepreneurial Charles Knight. It was illustrated using the new xylograph technology and printed on rapid presses. A great initial success, its circulation peaked at 160,000, and then retreated. Neither Knight nor the Society wanted to include "useless" fiction. The market was soon conquered by cheap, illustrated magazines that featured risqué novels, the so-called "penny dreadfuls".

In Sweden, a sister organization to the British Society (with the same name translated to Swedish – *Sällskapet för nyttiga kunskapers spridande*) which set out to publish a popular magazine for adult education was formed. The Swedish Society tried in vain to purchase the pictures from *The Penny Magazine*. They had to be content with a quarterly publication without illustrations, but cheap, *Läsning för Folket* (Readings for the People), 1835–1924. It contained "useful reading for the rural populace and the working classes". The project was a forerunner to the 1842 legislation calling for the universal establishment of elementary schools. During its early years, the circulation of the magazine was approximately 10,000 copies per issue.

Publication was subsidized through the Society's membership fees. In *Litteratur-Bladet*, Geijer described the magazine as an expression of the era's faith in education that in a "true Christian spirit combines the edifying with the useful".

At the same time as *Läsning för Folket* was being launched, a new, weekly, low price, adult education newspaper began to be published in Kristianstad. It was intended to “spread generally useful information”. Directly translating the British title, *Penny Magazine*, it was named *Skilling-Magasin* (1834–35). The publisher was a captain of artillery, Johan Bahér, who previously had participated in starting the city’s first newspaper, *Skånska Posten*, in 1830.

Following an 1835 trip to London and Paris to visit newspaper publishers and machine manufacturers, Hierta reached an agreement with his friend Charles Knight for the sole Swedish rights to the wood prints in *The Penny Magazine*. With both pictures and texts to a large extent borrowed from *The Penny Magazine*, in 1836 Hierta started publishing *Lördags-Magasinet* (The Saturday Magazine). He did not, however, exclude fiction. Hierta’s new weekly achieved a circulation equal to that of his daily paper, but was only published for four years. Unlike its precursors and Bahér’s paper, Hierta’s “penny magazine” was not cheap. Quite the contrary, an annual subscription cost three riksdaler.

Popular Revivals and Sobriety

The British-Swedish technician and industrialist Samuel Owen (1774–1854), Sweden’s first steamboat builder, was a Methodist. He summoned English pastors to Stockholm as spiritual guides for his British employees. Most important among these was George Scott (1894–74) who arrived in Stockholm in 1830. His work quickly spread beyond the circle of Methodists living in Stockholm. Owen and Scott also participated in the temperance movement. The King and his government approved of their efforts.

Scott founded monthly magazines to support his campaigns: the revivalist *Missions-Tidning* (1834) and Sweden’s first temperance newspaper *Fosterlandsvännen* (1836–46). The latter had an English precursor (*The Temperance Penny Magazine*) and achieved a circulation of 2,000 copies.

When the Stockholm City Consistory rejected an application by Owen and Scott for permission to build a church, a lively press debate ensued. The far from Liberal decision was criticized by the Conservative *Svenska Minerva*. The paper presented the matter as an important question of religious freedom and expressed the expectation that the Liberal newspapers would “sound the alarm with all their might”. In fact, they did no such thing. The Liberal camp mistrusted a man who tamely moved in the Conservative circles close to the throne.

In 1841, Scott traveled to the United States to raise money for his

work in Sweden. In his speeches, Scott painted a dark picture of Swedish morality. His “shameless way” of describing the Swedish people irritated *Freja* and *Allebanda*, who demanded that Scott be deported. In order to better defend himself, in 1842, with the help of money from the United States, Scott started the monthly paper, *Pietisten*. Within a year, it reached a circulation of over 1,000 copies.

Pressure from the Liberal press resulted in Scott being banned from holding religious services in Swedish. The criticism in the press caused Scott to be accosted on the street and, despite a street riot, he was denied police protection. *Svenska Biet* condemned the “paving stone opinion”, and *Svenska Minerva* took the supposedly responsible Liberal papers to task.

The pressure on Scott became too great. In 1842, he left Sweden. Carl Olof Rosenius (1816–68) assumed the editorship of *Pietisten* and the circulation continued to expand, reaching almost 18,000 copies in 1855. *Pietisten* was a revivalist paper containing much material from foreign magazines. With Rosenius as editor, it evolved into a Swedish theological journal.

Populist Agitation

In the mid 1840’s, Swedish newspapers directed at the working class were launched. These were affable, entertaining and agitational, using pictures to support their radical arguments.

The papers were published weekly, either on Saturday or on Sunday. The most successful added a Wednesday issue. Individual copies were hawked on the street, but they were not particularly cheap. They maintained the same relative price as other newspapers. Their names varied: Sunday papers for their day of publication, boulevard papers based on how they were sold, worker or popular press referring to their intended audience and scandal papers or the rabidly radical press with reference to the goals of their tough minded agitation.

Söndagsbladet (1845–63), published by the novelist Edvard Sjöberg (1822–63), was the trail blazer. Sjöberg developed it from a boulevard paper with a circulation of 600 copies into an instrument of the socialist struggle with a circulation exceeding 2,000 copies. *Söndagsbladet* accused the police of brutality against workers and attacked major business leaders. The paper saw them as members of a gang of bandits led by Hierta. *Söndagsbladet* was further radicalized by the February Revolution of 1848. Following the reversal of fortune in France, the newspaper became a mouthpiece for Bildningscirkeln (The Educational Circle) in Stockholm, a bourgeois-dominated philanthropic organization dedicated to improving relations among social classes.

Rudolf Wall, a colleague of Hierta, saw the new weekend papers as an opportunity to strike out on his own. A few years after the start of *Söndagsbladet*, Wall established *Söndagstidningen*, which in many regards resembled its forerunner. The paper dealt with events within the capital's working class world, and it covered the meetings of Bildningscirkeln, but success eluded it.

Instead *Söndagsbladet*'s closest emulator, and for a time its leading competitor, was *Folkets Röst* (The Voice of the People), which was founded in 1849 by a law clerk in the court of appeals, Franz Sjöberg (1818–91), a cousin of Edvard Sjöberg. Its head piece summarized the paper's socialist reform program: "Enlightenment, Freedom and Bread". *Folkets Röst* was a great success, with a circulation of 4,000 copies within a year. The frequency of publication was increased from once to twice a week. *Folkets Röst* became the object of freedom of the press prosecution. Consequently, Franz Sjöberg hired individuals to play the role of legally responsible publisher and maintained an inventory of licensed titles in reserve.

The rapid expansion of the circulation can be traced to Johan Gustaf Wahlbom (1824–76), the paper's illustrator. Each issue of *Folkets Röst* contained between two and four of his hand-drawn pictures. In addition, Crusenstolpe provided a popular column, "To our readers in the provinces".

Fäderneslandet, founded in 1852 in Lund by the PhD equipped Nils Rudolf Munck af Rosenschöld, had more scandalous tendencies. It was started as an outlet for Scandinavianism, the movement that favored far reaching co-operation between Denmark (including Iceland) and Sweden-Norway. Finland would be included once it was reunited with Sweden. The paper was hit by a number of freedom of the press indictments and moved to Stockholm in 1853, where Rosenschöld sold it in 1856. The circulation expanded substantially under the new ownership and surpassed 5,000 issues in 1858. Once again, after he became the paper's illustrator in 1857, Gustaf Wahlbom played a major role. Among the contributors was the omnipresent Crusenstolpe.

Oscar I displayed the same lack of scruples as his father in trying to control newspapers and magazines. The Royal Court accepted the papers associated with adult education campaigns, as well as those of the revival and temperance movements, but disliked populist agitators.

The founding of the daily paper *Tiden* (1847–51) was a Conservative enterprise. The Uppsala professor V. F. Palmblad was appointed editor. He had a high opinion both of journalism and of himself. He asserted that "journalism is now as great a power as the parliaments; thus it is just as important that highly regarded and well known voices make themselves heard in the press as from the Riksdag's benches". Palmblad

emphasized politics and literary coverage, and had a negative attitude towards news-based journalism. The paper lost money, even after its frequency of publication was reduced. Recurring rescue campaigns failed, and the paper closed.

The government's continual disadvantage in the press caused it to search for new opportunities to create counter weights. The "King's bureau", the private secretariat that handled the monarch's correspondence, distributed suitable news items and articles to appropriate outlets. Best of all, at least from the government's perspective, would be to establish or take over a large daily paper that could match *Aftonbladet*.

In order to counter the radical Sunday papers, the government side purchased the weekly *Synglaset*. With the King's Chamberlain, E. M. Constans af Pontin as editor it changed its name to *Nya Synglaset*. An indictment allowed the King to dispose of the opposition paper *Reform* (1849–50), published by the Liberal Lund University student Fredrik Borg (1824–95). Borg lacked the stamina to restart the paper.

In 1850, the Royal Court succeeded in converting *Söndagsbladet* to its side by giving it access to attractive court documents. *Folkets Röst* was financially induced to switch sides, and starting in 1851, it did the King's bidding. The politically unreliable Crusenstolpe received monetary support for his monthly *Ställningar och förhållanden* and, in the early 1850s, he too changed course. Oscar I did not object to left-wing attacks on the Liberal press, what mattered was that it was attacked.

Bonnier Pursues Literature and Elegance

The belles-lettres journal *Bazaren*, which appeared during 1841 under the editorship of O. P. Sturzen-Becker, was a far different Sunday paper than the political weekend papers. It was concerned with literature and art. The introduction in its first issue is to the point: "A paper with playful and easily digested contents – to amuse oneself for half an hour or so". Sturzen-Becker further developed the specialty he had previously practiced at *Aftonbladet* – amusing but pointed commentary on the week's events, now under the heading "Divan" (The Couch). Lithographs portraying foreign celebrities and scenes from Stockholm were introduced. Some issues were accompanied by literary supplements.

A successor to *Bazaren* appeared in the shape of *Stockholms Figaro* (1844–47), which paid homage to light hearted and cultured humor. The name Figaro was "a guarantee of hilarity and folly", the editor assured his readers. Sturzen-Becker contributed, but so did a long list of others, such as August Blanche and Fredrika Bremer. Sheet music, por-

traits and colored fashion illustrations were included as supplements.

The two book-publishing Bonnier brothers, Adolf and Albert, stood behind *Bazaren* and *Stockholms Figaro*, respectively. Their motivation was to lend support to their book publishing activities and to benefit both new and established authors. However, they also entered other fields of magazine publishing. In 1843, Albert Bonnier established *Stockholms Modejournal*, a “magazine for the world of elegance”. Starting in 1851, it was devoted exclusively to ladies’ fashion. During the years 1853 to 1856, its editor was the woman author Wilhelmina Stålberg (1803–72). She was later to serve as co-editor of the first modern Swedish biographical work concerning women “Anteckningar om svenska kvinnor” (Notes on Swedish Women, 1864).

The Bonnier brothers had migrated to Sweden from Copenhagen. Their father, who was born in Dresden, had himself moved to Denmark because conditions for Jewish families were better there than in Germany. Following a period working as a language teacher, he took over a lending library. In 1804, he was granted legal residence in Copenhagen, married a Danish lady and changed his name from Gutkind Hirschel to Gerard Bonnier simply because it sounded better. He had no French connection whatsoever. Bonnier was granted burgership as a dealer in foreign books. He expanded his business with a book publishing house and, starting in 1816, a daily newspaper. The latter, intended to give support to the book publishing, was named *Dagsposten* and survived for four years. In 1821, economic hard times compelled Bonnier to contract his activities, and it was no longer possible to employ all of his eleven children in the business.

Adolf, the oldest son, moved to Gothenburg in 1827. There he opened a book store and was granted legal residence status. He continued on to Stockholm in 1831, where he was joined by Albert in 1835. A third brother, David Felix, moved from Copenhagen to Gothenburg in 1837 and assumed responsibility for Adolf’s book store.

Sketches from Reality

Following the closing of *Stockholms Figaro*, Rudolf Wall, who had had no success with *Söndagstidningen* and had failed in his attempt to buy *Folkets Röst*, now aimed to replace the defunct paper. As a replacement, he launched a weekend paper, *Friskyttan* (The Free-shooter). After a few years, Wednesday publication was added. With its light touch and pointed satire, the paper was reminiscent of the English *Punch*, the French *Charivari* and the Danish *Corsaren*. In order to combat the new mon-

arch's rightwing policies, Wall made the paper an outlet for the political opposition. It criticized the Liberal paper's drift to the right and their submissiveness towards the Royal Court and the King. To that end, the King's sworn adversary Argus-Johansson was recruited as a contributor. The paper, however, was no great success. The circulation stagnated at approximately 1,000 copies, to a large extent because of the appearance of a competitor. With *The Illustrated London News* as his inspiration, the lithographer John Fredrik Meyer (1806–93), founded *Illustrerad Tidning* (1855–67) which initiated the publication of lithographic news pictures. This new Saturday paper quickly achieved a circulation twice that of *Friskyttan*. It rose further after August Blanche in 1857 became its editor and launched the paper into the political debate. Blanche published a series of stories entitled "Sketches from Reality".

6. New Ideas (1858–80)

Swedish newspaper publishers were well aware that during the 1800s foreign newspaper producers had experienced success with low price papers with frothy contents, less politics and more entertainment. Initially, the Swedish publishers only imitated the easy parts – especially the serials – and not the low price. A new generation of publisher was required for the latter step to be taken.

Foreign Precursors

On July 1, 1836, two papers of this new kind appeared in Paris: *La Presse* and *Le Siècle*. They cost 40 Francs per annum instead of the usual 80 Francs. Two newspaper producers had agreed to cooperate, but when the intended starting date approached, they split and each launched his own paper. Two such newspapers had a greater impact than just one, and the established papers were forced to adapt. At the same time, two newspapers of the same design were started in New York: *The Sun* and *The New York Herald*. *The Sun* used paper boys to sell single copies on the street for one cent each. It also began publishing classified advertisements, starting with help wanted ads. In London, *The Daily Telegraph* was founded in the mid-1850s. It cost one pence for a single copy and quickly surpassed the circulation of *The Times*. In the 1870s, its circulation surpassed 250,000 copies, the most in the world. In Paris, a second round of easily accessible, low price newspapers debuted in the 1860s. The most successful of these was now *Le Petit Journal*. In 1866, it became the first paper in the world to achieve a circulation of over one million copies. In New York, a second wave consisting of *The World* and *The New York Journal*, appeared in the mid 1890s. Parallel technical developments in type setting and printing made the larger press runs feasible.

One explanation for why the Swedish newspaper publishers did not immediately exploit all these innovations can be found in an 1858 essay by Sturzen-Becker dealing with the history of the Paris press. He thought that the most remarkable aspect of *La Presse* was “without question its character of being a new and, for its time, an enormous enterprise”. It was thanks to his entrepreneurship that its founder, Émile de Girardin,

succeeded in becoming one of periods “at least most talked about” men. In terms of any “great political contribution”, however, Sturzen-Becker maintained that many other French publicists of the time should be placed ahead of Girardin.

The Liberal Swedish newspaper publishers, with Hierta leading the way, mainly considered their calling to be political leadership, and their papers to be instruments for change. The foreign innovations were first of all seen as too much business and not enough politics. Hierta would change, but not concerning *Aftonbladet*.

In the French low price press, the serial took absolute precedence. The competing papers fought over Dumas’ suspenseful novels, and he was well paid. By contrast, *Aftonbladet* simply omitted installments of Emilie Flygare-Carlén’s successful novel *Ett köpmanshus i skärgården* (A Merchant House in the Archipelago) when the political material needed more space.

Organic Growth

The Swedish newspaper market grew as the number of papers around the Country increased. This was the result of economic development, improved transportation and industrialization, but also of civic pride. In addition to virtually every city, towns not endowed with formal city charters procured a newspaper.

During the 1860s and 1870s, a provincial newspaper consisted of four pages and appeared once or twice a week in an edition of two or three hundred copies. The editorial effort behind each issue was often limited. Most book printers who published a paper hired an editor. The largest group of provincial editors consisted of secondary school teachers. Other occupations that included part-time editors were telegraph employees, clergymen, elementary school teachers and railway station masters. In the print shop, migrant typographers were often employed, although local women were becoming more prevalent. Often one or two hours of hand power was used to crank out the edition on a simple wooden press.

All the Country’s 26 cities that were the seat of a provincial governor and a bishop had long since had papers. These newspapers had an economic foundation in the publication of official pronouncements, and they could recruit secondary school teachers as editors. In 1860, approximately 25 cities lacked a newspaper, but twenty years later only five did so: Sigtuna, Vaxholm, Torshälla, Kungälv and Skanör-Falsterbo. Older newspaper cities became multi-paper locations.

The freedom of publishing law still ordained that a print shop – and

thus newspaper publishing – could only be located in a legally constituted city or at most three miles distant from a city. In practice, this problem was solved by non-city newspapers being printed in a nearby city. This allowed railroad junctions such as Töreboda, Nässjö, Eslöv and Bollnäs, as well as industrial towns such as Motala, which in addition was located on the important transport route Göta Canal, to have their own newspapers.

The number of news and advertising papers outside Stockholm increased from 84 in 1860 to 148 in 1880. At the same time, the number of locales with more than one paper increased from 30 percent of all newspaper cities in 1870 to almost one half in 1880. Three newspapers competed in each of seven non-major cities.

The press also grew by increasing the frequency of publication. Outside the big cities, Norrköping, and its paper *Norrköpings Tidningar*, in 1871 became the first locale with publication six days per week. Jönköping followed suit after 1872 – *Jönköpingsbladet* became *Jönköpings Dagblad* – and *Öresunds-Posten* in Helsingborg in 1874.

The newspapers continued to be four pages, but they increased the printing space and thus the amount of text per issue, from three to four or five columns. Many of the large provincial paper even expanded their pages to seven columns. For a long time, *Norrköpings Tidningar* maintained its lead outside the big cities by increasing both the frequency of publication and the size of the print area. On a weekly basis, it tripled its total number of columns between 1860 and 1880.

The expansionary trend was reinforced by great events such as wars, but also political gains and periods of economic prosperity. During 1865, the year representation in the Swedish Riksdag was reformed (and converted from four estates to two chambers), 12 newspapers were founded. During 1876, at the apex of the economic boom, 11 new papers were launched.

Felix Bonnier Innovates with Care

The new approach was first introduced in Gothenburg, but it was a modest beginning. The changes principally involved content. The innovator was Felix Bonnier, who maintained close contact with his family in Copenhagen and, through them, with developments in the foreign press.

Felix Bonnier founded *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1859. His action was motivated by two factors. First of all, among Gothenburg's commercial elite there existed a stored up resentment against the interventionist Liberalism of *Handelstidningen*. Moreover, since 1849, *Handelstidningen* had

been the only daily paper in Gothenburg. Secondly, Bonnier had idle capacity in his printing shop that he was eager to utilize. Bonnier received financial guarantees for three years of publication.

The start was delayed by difficulties in finding an editor who could fill the role of opponent to Hedlund. Among those Felix Bonnier discussed as potential candidates with his brothers Adolf and Albert in Stockholm were Sturzen-Becker, who had just sold *Öresunds-Posten* that he had started in 1847 in Helsingborg, and Rudolf Wall of *Friskyttan*. Wall, however, was a good friend of Hedlund. Furthermore, his mentor, Hierta, was *Handelstidningen's* Stockholm correspondent.

Felix Bonnier started with bi-weekly publication. He had to serve as editor himself, even though he principally was a businessman. After a year, the paper converted to publishing six days per week. With a circulation of 1,500 copies during the third year, the paper yielded a profit. Bonnier sold his book store and devoted himself totally to the paper. In Copenhagen, 1860 had seen the birth and great success of the low price paper *Folkets Avis* (The People's Newspaper). It was published each weekday morning and mainly contained news from Copenhagen, especially police reports, and everyday chatty columns.

News Items That Stood Out

Bonnier made *Göteborgs-Posten* easier to read and more entertaining than *Handelstidningen*. He toned down foreign news and emphasized local happenings. News items were made more prominent by printing the headlines in bold type. During the startup year of 1859, Sturzen-Becker contributed clever commentary on foreign policy and later delivered chatty political columns. Every Saturday, Bonnier himself wrote a light-hearted "Weekly Commentary" on life in Gothenburg. A key role was played by the humorous columnist and photographer Aron Jonason (1838–1914), who quickly became the embodiment of Gothenburg humor. In 1863, P. F. Mengel (1813–89) was recruited as a Stockholm correspondent. His articles were among the most cited in the Swedish press during the 1860s and 1870s. Partly this was due to his often serving as a mouthpiece for the Minister of Finance, J. A. Gripenstedt. The entertainment value of the paper was enhanced by featuring exciting and risqué French novels.

Bonnier copied the news-item system from *Nerikes Allehanda*. In 1854, when the telegraph commissioner Arvid Gumælius succeeded his father, secondary school head master O. J. Gumælius, as editor of *Nerikes Allehanda*, he prescribed that all important content, including commen-

Derre Hensichels förfert i Måndags var icke särdeles läskigt besikt, men åberoc-
ne, hola derför att den samma föranleder mis-
sig och egenmäktighet vid bestämmandet af
konstnären, för hvilken hela verlden är till
balken berörd, så att reueria från hans in-
strument till de enda löfagarna på hans ser-
liga lefnadsfliga. — Den trakterade sin klarhet
oklanderligt, till och med väl, spyrerhet på
det gällde, att bear framfälla njuta melle-
toner, hvilka fjödd aldeles som en laggar,
utgången från den af naturen wanloftade
bländes egen själ. — Se direktör Dyrens be-
trädde med åkalliga "critiska" fläden på
piano, hvilka för de iavgäde säkrligen voro
af högt värde, men för mången troligast mist-
dre, emedan de konstnäriska fingertöppningarne
ej af dem kunna försås eller rätt upprättas.
Den till hjertaalande musik är emedler-
tid för mången den förmåda, den väder hos
of återklang från vårt eget inre, lifsom ber-
gens egen betwara hedens wallförmögen.
Wi önska den blinde konstnären lycka på sin
vidare resa genom Sverige!

Benföretronen J. A. Hoffman på
Ramböstan (i Nerike) har jemväl, för af
hornen till Akerrepositionen insände prof
på slängaren från Damsbytte betit och malm-
föster från Nerbytte gruvvefsäl, blifwit fals-

hetet "andra slag", måtte ur tillföran utgå,
så väl derför att den samma föranleder mis-
sig och egenmäktighet vid bestämmandet af
de rubriker hwarander blifworo hola tull-
schandlas — till följd hwaraf redan under
dessa år rådväl fläden som foderrojer och sa-
tiner hola hafwa blifwit förmåddes för 36
st. pr. — som också derför att det icke
finnes någon blifwara, som ej kan hemföras
till de föregående speciella rubrikerna i tull-
föran.

Varning. Kammarstyfwaren D. F.
Fagerström i Stockholm, som i denna och
andra stämningar flere gånger anwonnert sig
som kommissionär för penningsars inläs-
ande m. m., har nu till Stockholms läd-
husrätt ingifwit sin resjionsansökan, ut hvil-
ken tillgångarne uppgifwos till 743: 40 och
skulderna till 9,236: 2: 9 banko.

Nytt fäsp. Såväl från Wermland,
som andra orter omtalad selsande twenne fatt
hwarad brännwinstillfattningens förefäst om
minimim wold förfärlning förmögäs. Det ena
gäller minuthandeln och består deri att man
säljer brännwin efter wigt, förmörande att för-
fattningen i den delen ingestilling stadgar, hwa-
dan man säljer så och så många stäpund,
eller till och med lod, brännwin. Häntinnan

Kofersan här i fläden har, sedan Sund-
hetskämnden uppen att nsta stiftensskillet
inträffade den 30 jül. November och någon
stuf 4 stiftshuset ej funnits sedan den 4 i denna
månad, ansetts hafwa från och med gårdagen
upphört; i följd hwaraf doktor Strandberg
blifwit af Kamrnans Befallningshafwande
entledigad från sin befattning såsom stiftshu-
släse.

Aftrijans och Hflityfads kalas genom
sättning sått på sin del att detta år twadtra
utse en resjer och en suppleant af bergarefän-
det för deltagande i grannling af bankdirek-
torer samt dettill förande handels och nä-
ringsskiftens räkenskaper och förvaltning för ins-
nerwande år.

Aftrijans för Aftrijans Stad och Lands-
ort" är namnet på en tidning, som kemmer att
i Aftrijand med flera utgifwas.

Röföreläggare-annonser! I Aftrij-
sladet annonseras en bok med följande titel:
"Den ämnsfärlige Justlags- Hansfredre-
rens, af en af wera födeligaste weter." Gwile-
ken är denne "födelige weter", som döljer sig
på hlog samt i under en dufft anonwits
flöja? Jullitteraturen har blifwit mycket flau-
drad; måtte den icke bli det ännu mera, då
man ser en sådan behandels spekulation fram-
trada i så öppen dag. Wi ha ej ännu härt

The system of notices was developed by Nerikes Allehanda during the 1850s and then spread rapidly throughout the Swedish press.

tary, was to be presented as news items with headlines. This would allow the publication of more news while at the same time making the paper easier to read.

The captions were to be printed in semi-bold print and consist either of several letters from the beginning of the first sentence or else of a key word. For Gumärens lada, newspaper editing consisted to a large extent of writing news items. *Nerikes Allehanda* launched its news-item system in December of 1854. *Norrköpings Tidningar* followed suit in 1858, *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1859, *Handelstidningen* in 1860 and *Öresunds-Posten* in 1863. *Aftonbladet* introduced the system in 1867.

When *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1860 became a six-days-per-week publication like *Handelstidningen*, Bonnier opted for a lower price than its competitor, but not as low as one-half. An annual subscription cost 12 Riksdaler as compared to 18 for *Handelstidningen* and the single copy price was 6 öre rather than 8. At the same time, *Göteborgs-Posten* became a morning paper so that it could be distributed with the morning train from Gothenburg. As a result, *Göteborgs-Posten* achieved a larger circulation outside the city than its competitor. *Handelstidningen* continued to be an evening paper, published at 7 P.M. For Hedlund, for whom foreign news came first, it was more important to include news from the same day's mail and late telegrams. Once the western railway trunk line between Stockholm and Gothenburg was completed in 1862, *Göteborgs-Posten* was able to include news from the capital's papers that had arrived from Stockholm by train the previous evening.

Starting in 1865, immediately following the Stockholm train's arrival in Gothenburg at 10 P.M., street hawkers began selling single copies of the Stockholm papers. This caused both the Gothenburg papers to organize the selling of their own single copies on the streets. *Handelstidningen* reinforced this venture with a four-page extra issue on Saturdays. In terms of circulation, *Handelstidningen* was able to stay ahead of *Göteborgs-Posten*.

There was little possibility of political opposition to *Handelstidningen*. The most important contributors to the two Gothenburg papers were good friends and in a number of cases cooperated in other areas. One example, is the political-satire magazine *Tomtebissen* which, with *Punch* as its inspiration, was published during 1857 by Viktor Rydberg of *Handelstidningen* and Jonas Philipson, a cousin of the future *Göteborgs-Posten* staff member Aron Jonasson. Among other contributions, the latter sketched the magazine's vignette.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, *Göteborgs-Posten*, which supported France, got the upper hand over the Germanophile *Handelstidningen* which, however, an increasingly ailing Bonnier did not have the strength to exploit. In 1872, he sold his paper to Fredrik Åkerblom (1839–1901), a secondary school teacher. Åkerblom, who also received financial support from the local merchant aristocracy, was Conservative, except with regard to free trade. Like Bonnier, Åkerblom also was unable prevail against *Handelstidningen*.

Locally, Hedlund pursued a Liberal cultural policy with the aim of making Gothenburg a Nordic forerunner. His greatest impact on Gothenburg's cultural development probably resulted from his support of museums, the city library and the university college. With the help of the newspaper, he was especially successful in persuading rich Gothenburgers to donate to local cultural institutions.

Handelstidningen consolidated its positions as Gothenburg's leading newspaper firm, and in 1874, it was converted into a joint stock company. Two years later, it moved into Sweden's first purposely designed newspaper building.

Rudolf Wall Dives Right In

Rudolf Wall was the other Swede to introduce the new journalism. Unlike Felix Bonnier, however, he did not hesitate but dove right in. Wall was well prepared in December of 1864 when he launched *Dagens Nyheter* in Stockholm. He had been training for a number of years, most recently at the weekly *Friskyttan*.

During the summer of 1864, Wall had traveled to Denmark and Germany in search of ideas. In Denmark, *Folkets Avis* had established itself as an impressive example of how to apply everything that was new. Wall's mentor Hierta had during a visit to Paris become acquainted with *Le Petit Journal* and enthusiastically described it to Wall. Wall also sought the advice of Felix Bonnier in Gothenburg. All in all, Wall had a distinct advantage over Bonnier who lacked a mentor.

Wall opted to publish in the morning. Thanks to the western trunk line, as a morning paper *Dagens Nyheter* could be distributed all over the Country, while also incorporating fresh provincial news. Wall arranged to pick up the papers arriving from the south of Sweden at a station before Stockholm rather than receiving them by mail the next day.

Dagens Nyheter maintained low prices, both for its readers and its advertisers. Five öre per single issue and 10 Riksdaler for an annual subscription was half of what most Stockholm papers charged. Wall, also introduced a monthly subscription for one Riksdaler. The subscription fee included home delivery in Stockholm, with the newsboys acting as collectors. The cost of advertisements was 6 öre per line, clearly less than the normal 10 öre.

Wall urged his contributors to write using correct spoken language, brief and concise, hopefully with amusing twists and turns. Editorials should be short and limited to one principal point. Thus the newspaper became famous for its so-called "six-inchers". *Dagens Nyheter* developed a characteristic layout with section headings and, from the very start, news-item headlines in bold type according to the *Nerikes Allehanda* model.

The emphasis was on domestic and local news, as well as entertaining material. News items from Stockholm, detailed trial descriptions and letters from the provinces were included in virtually every issue. Among the foreign reports, anecdotal so-called C-scrapes were favored. As for culture, Wall prioritized the theater. It provided entertainment, celebrities and advertisements. Like Bonnier in Gothenburg, Wall included risqué French novels in the serials section.

Wall calculated that his firm would break even with a circulation of 5,000 copies and with advertisements on 25 per cent of the print area. After three years, a profit might be expected. After only three months, the circulation exceeded 5,000 copies. Profitability was achieved already in the second year. In 1880, the circulation was approximately 15,000 copies and advertisements accounted for 55 per cent of the available space. At that point, Wall increased the advertisement fees, but let the single copy and subscription prices remain at their existing low level. Over time, there evolved the business model that also in Sweden has become standard for

subscribed papers, namely one-third of the revenue from sales and two-thirds from advertising.

A major explanation for Wall's success was his frugality. The number of employees and their salaries were kept at a minimum. For a long time, Wall relied solely on used printing presses, and he put downward pressure on newsprint prices by joining with a number of provincial papers to form a purchasing syndicate. According to Sturzen-Becker, like Girardin Wall had a practical bent and a good business sense. He was a manager and businessman, but not an outstanding journalist.

A New Attempt to Purchase *Aftonbladet*

The university fellows who bought *Aftonbladet* in 1851 had problems agreeing on the foreign policy line the paper should follow, e.g. for or against Swedish participation in the Crimean War. The newspaper spoke with two voices. Finally in 1855, editor Bergstedt, who disliked the thought of Swedish involvement in the War, resigned. He was succeeded first by Svedbom and later, in 1857, by August Sohlman (1824–74), both of whom supported Oscar I's revanchist policy.

Aftonbladet lost both in terms of reputation and in circulation. From a peak of almost 9,000 copies in 1848, it fell to 6,500 in 1858. Ten years later, *Aftonbladet* was surpassed by *Dagens Nyheter* at around the 7,000 mark. Speculation concerning the paper's future flourished. In 1868, A. O. Wallenberg made an attempt to, via Sohlman's share, purchase the paper. Since 1865, Wallenberg had been the paper's economic columnist under the heading "Economics". He searched feverishly after channels to publicize his shipping and banking policy ideas. As in 1848, the attempt failed, and, just as then, in 1869 a new paper was launched on the initiative of Wallenberg. On this occasion, it was a thrice weekly publication entitled *Stockholms-Posten*. The former editor of *Aftonbladet* Bergstedt, was given the same position with the new paper. Wallenberg transferred his column from *Aftonbladet*. This exclusively political newspaper lacked all lighter material. It thus sealed its own fate, and had to close in 1870.

The editorial and financial problems of Sohlman and *Aftonbladet* continued. The newspaper was reorganized into a joint stock company in 1869, and Sohlman found himself subordinated to one of the owners, Abraham Hirsch, who was in charge of the finances. After Sohlman died in 1874, Adolf Hedin (1834–1905) was recruited as editor. Hedin was a brilliant publicist – "Swedish Liberalism's grand old man" – but lacked interest in news reporting and serials, as well as in personnel and financial matters. He barely lasted two years in his position. Thereafter, the news-

paper drifted rightwards with circulation, advertising volume and profit all declining.

The Papers Move to Klara

The venerable and Conservative *Dagligt Allehanda* survived the mid 1850s as an advertising supplement to two different newspapers, and was resurrected as *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* in 1859. The new editor was Karl Adam Lindström, Ph.D. (1816–85). He was able to maintain his independence vis-à-vis both the financiers and the government. He had grasped the importance of advertising, as he revealed when he concluded an agreement with the Association of Steam Boat Captains giving him exclusive rights to the popular advertisements containing the archipelago timetables. Lindström responded to Wall's morning-publishing gambit by introducing a morning edition of *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* starting in 1865.

In 1871, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* moved from Stockholm's Old Town to the Klara district, where the new central railway station was located. Over time, Klara became the center of newspaper publishing in Stockholm. The second paper to move there was *Stockholms Dagblad*.

Stockholms Dagblad was principally an outlet for advertising. It had for decades been the paper of the lower classes. Advertisements accounted for 80 percent of its contents. The paper, however, failed to exploit this advantage and its subscription rate was only about ten percent lower than that of the other newspapers. In response to *Dagens Nyheter*, in 1868 *Stockholms Dagblad* introduced a daily provincial edition charging eight Riksdaler for an annual subscription. This made it the Country's least expensive six-day paper.

The owner, Jonas Walldén became a wealthy large-estate owner. When his son Wilhelm (1836–1906) in 1869 took over, he used the newspaper's strong finances in an unexpected way.

Wilhelm Walldén had taken annual European trips with special emphasis on studying the English press. He, however, was not inspired by the new one-penny newspapers but by *The Times*. Like Hedlund in Gothenburg, he admired its integrity, accurate news and emphasis on foreign correspondents. In the course of only a few years, Wilhelm Walldén succeeded in renewing the family newspaper and substantially increasing its circulation. The amount of text was increased and elegantly presented. Wallden's editorials were well written and the Saturday light-hearted columns on Stockholm were the responsibility of the genre's master, Claës Lundin (1825–1908).

Walldén achieved his goal. He was referred to with respect as the “Newspaper Lord” and his paper was called the “Swedish Times”. Politically, his free trade-supporting paper was middle of the road. Except for a few years as a member of the Riksdag, Walldén devoted himself totally to the paper. His time there was its golden age.

At the end of the 1870s, Walldén moved his paper from the Old Town to Klara and to a building that became Stockholm’s first modern newspaper palace. At the same time, the firm was converted to a joint stock company.

Unfair Practices

During the 1860s, *Dagens Nyheter* experienced difficulties in making its voice heard in the political debate. In the 1870s, however, it was more successful. During that decade, two of the leading politicians in the Agrarian Party, Gösta Posse (1823–88) and Emil Key (1822–92), wrote most of the paper’s editorials. Initially they did so anonymously, even leaving Rudolf Wall in the dark. Ellen Key (1849–1926), the daughter of Emil and a first cousin of Posse, made a fair copy of the articles in order to conceal the identity of the authors. Since Ellen was aware that anything in her handwriting would be published, on one occasion in 1878 she submitted her own “ten incher” which, as she expected, was included. Her father praised Wall and refused to believe that the editorial was composed by his daughter.

Dagens Nyheter’s foremost competitor was *Fäderneslandet*. Both papers focused on the same middle strata of the market, a segment that grew rapidly following the economic reforms of 1846 (the abolition of the guilds) and 1864 (total freedom of occupational choice). *Fäderneslandet* imitated *Folkets Röst* and became especially known, not to say a source of scandal, for a daily column, “Brev till syster Ulla” (Letters to Sister Ulla). It was illustrated with daring caricatures drawn by Johan Gustaf Wahlbom. The paper was the target of a long string of freedom of the press prosecutions, but the owners and editors were protected with the assistance of front figures.

Fäderneslandet relied on unfair practices. Together with the satirical newspaper *Söndags-Nisse* (1862–1924), it engaged in personal attacks on Wall under the heading “Walliana”. These personal attacks were mixed in with criticism of *Dagens Nyheter’s* serials, which were dismissed as “wretched literature”. Wall’s editorial department was called “a kindergarten for ignorant journalists”.

In 1874, *Dagens Nyheter* became a joint stock company, and by the

time it moved into a large office building in 1875, Wall was a wealthy man. At the same time, Wall wanted to enhance his social standing. To this end, he sought to make *Dagens Nyheter* more like the established newspapers. Among other measures, he devoted more of the paper's capacity to serious cultural material.

Handelstidning's Flitting Reporter

Wall's program for *Dagens Nyheter*, like Bonnier's for *Göteborgs-Posten*, included a toning down of foreign reporting. What there was, was usually lifted from other papers. Starting in the mid 1860s, it was also possible to rely on international wire services. The Dane Alfred H. E. Fich (1827–93), who in 1866 had opened Ritzaus Bureau in Copenhagen, started Svenska Telegrambyrå in Stockholm the following year.

At the end of the 19th century, three newspapers in particular were known for their foreign reporting, *Handelstidningen*, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* and *Stockholms Dagblad*. The editors of these papers treated this division like a favorite child. Their correspondents were often featured in the newspapers' marketing. *Aftonbladet* only had professional reporting from Norway and Denmark.

The foreign news was dominated by events in England, France, Germany, Denmark and Norway. The largest number of reports came from Paris, but the center of gravity sometimes shifted in response to wars and world fairs, the first of which was held in London in 1851.

Handelstidningen recruited two correspondents that became major personalities in the Swedish press, Claës Lundin and Mauritz Rubenson (1836–99).

Lundin was a far from successful businessman in Gothenburg in 1858 when he was discovered by Hedlund and given the assignment as *Handelstidningen's* correspondent in Copenhagen. In 1859, he moved on to Paris. He quickly became one of the Country's leading foreign correspondents. At the same time, *Handelstidningen* strengthened the foreign division by appointing Viktor Rydberg its head. Lundin supplemented his finances by also reporting for *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, *Stockholms Dagblad* and *Aftonbladet*. When he returned to Sweden in 1866, it was *Stockholms Dagblad* that made him second in command. He covered a number of world fairs on its behalf.

Mauritz Rubenson was providing correspondence from Gothenburg for *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* in 1865 when he was employed by *Handelstidningen*. Hedlund sent him on long reporting trips. The first concerned the conditions of the home weavers in a traditional Swedish handicraft

textile district, Sjuhäradsbygden. In 1867, Rubenson visited the rapidly expanding Swedish settlements in the American Mid-West. He also traveled in Russia, Belgium and the Netherlands. Two of Rubenson's specialties became world fairs and railway inaugurations. At the opening of Swedish railway lines, the presence of two persons was taken for granted, King Oscar II and Mauritz Rubenson. His frequent travels earned him the epithet "Handelstidningen's flitting (correspondent)".

A Tempting Adventure

In 1868, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* dispatched Gottfrid Renholm (1834–1908), a rising name in Stockholm, on a reporting trip to Spain and France. In 1869, he was made the papers permanent correspondent in Paris. His reports from besieged Paris during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) especially attracted attention. In time, Renholm too contributed to other papers. When he returned to Sweden 1890, he was a big name, but further success was slow to come.

Johan Janzon (1853–1910) was very young when in 1874 he began to write travel reports from Italy for *Stockholms Dagblad* under the signature "Spada". He was attracted to foreign reporting by its adventurous aspects. A few years earlier, in 1866, *The New York Herald* had sent Henry M. Stanley to hunt for Dr. Livingston in East Africa. Stanley's account of that trip, published in book form as *How I Found Livingstone*, was translated to Swedish in 1873. During his first few years with *Stockholms Dagblad*, Spada traveled in Italy, Spain, the Near East and North Africa. In 1876, he was sent to cover the rebellion in the Balkans. Later he worked for several years as the paper's resident correspondent in Constantinople. Following his time in the Orient, Spada was dispatched to Paris by Wall-dén where he was active until his death.

From Correspondent to Editor

Isidor Kjellberg (1841–95), a technician with literary leanings, traveled to the United States on his own initiative and became a correspondent there. He tried his hand at poetry and also contributed to the satirical *Söndags-Nisse*. Politically, he was supportive of the Liberal labor movement.

In 1869, Kjellberg traveled to the United States for three years as a trainee. Following a year at a printing press factory, he devoted himself entirely to journalism. He wrote reports for *Göteborgs-Posten* and, on the

paper's behest, visited Swedish settlements in the Mid-West. In 1870, he became editor of *Svenska Monitören* in St. Paul. Together with a Norwegian man he founded *Justitia* in Chicago. It was intended to combat the unscrupulous "runners" who sold settlement schemes, transport services etc. to credulous immigrants. Kjellberg's attempt to attain a position in the Swedish-American press, however, failed. His paper was destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871, of which he gave an eyewitness account in *Göteborgs-Posten*. Kjellberg became a great America enthusiast and disputed the Swedish press critics of America and of emigration.

When Kjellberg returned to Sweden, where he had become known through his articles in *Göteborgs-Posten*, he wanted to devote the rest of his life to using the press in the interests of working people. With financial support from his half-brother, P. C. Kjellberg (1828–1910), who had become wealthy by publishing the popular education newspaper *Svenska Weckobladet* (1868–95), Isidor in 1872 started a local newspaper *Östgöten*. Originally intended to be published in the industrial and working class city of Norrköping, it instead was located in the diocesan capital of Linköping. As a result, during its first two years, the paper appeared in two editions, one for Linköping and one for Norrköping.

In the US, Kjellberg had learned to do investigative reporting and to use interviews. Almost immediately, Kjellberg ran a series of articles on conditions in the Norrköping factories. Later, he raised the problem of prostitution in the city and, as a reporter, he visited the local jail. Each and every issue of the newspaper annoyed the local power elite. His rival Ridderstad of *Östgöta Correspondenten* claimed that Kjellberg wanted to "drive the social classes apart".

The authorities used every known method to try to silence Kjellberg. The paper was denied all official announcements and Kjellberg's print shop received no public business. In 1880, when Kjellberg was sentenced to two months imprisonment for freedom of printing violations, he instituted a continuing section in the paper: "From a Solitary Confinement Prisoner's Diary". Public opinion supported him, the circulation increased and a nationwide collection drive was organized. When Kjellberg was released from prison, a procession of several thousand supporters escorted him to a celebration in the City Hall.

Kjellberg's newspaper was characterized by short and easy to read articles and reports. His paper was edited from front to back; all borrowed material was re-written and shortened.

Östgöten was a regional-news oriented paper, although it contained a good deal of reporting on America. It quickly became one of the Country's most radical papers. One of the other left-wing papers, *Fäderneslandet*, inspired Kjellberg to include a satirical and entertaining daily commen-

tary in dialogue form. From his brother's weekly, he obtained woodcut illustrations. When Kjellberg wanted to reach the entire Country, he published in *Fäderneslandet*. Especially noteworthy was his reporting in that paper on the 1879 strike in northern Sweden.

The paper's survival was threatened in 1874 when his brother withdrew his financial support, but it was saved by contributions from sympathizers. In the mid 1890s, Kjellberg's publication was the most widely distributed newspaper in the province of Östergötland with a circulation of approximately 10,000 copies, nearly half of which were sometimes sold singly.

During the 1880s, Kjellberg tested an American system with so-called "multi-decker headlines". This consisted of a principal headline followed by several sub-headings, usually using different fonts. No one copied that system, but the use of interviews became increasingly common in Swedish journalism starting in the 1880s.

7. Newspapers as Industry and Party Instrument (1880–97)

Twenty to twenty-five years had passed since the establishment of *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1858 and *Dagens Nyheter* in 1864 when, once again, the Swedish press experienced the renewal effects of a wave of new publications. This was the second such wave in Gothenburg and Stockholm, the first in the Country's third largest city, Malmö. The new papers attempt to use even lower price and even more easily digested contents to attract readers. The founders of *Göteborgs-Posten* and *Dagens Nyheter* were about to withdraw from their creations. As a result of his serious illness, Felix Bonnier sold out as early as 1872, while Wall hung on until 1888. He saw to it that the paper as well as himself climbed the social ladder. The new owner was the aristocratic Fredrik Vult von Steijern (1851–1919).

Lower Prices in Stockholm

The station-master and Riksdag member Karl Pontus Arnoldson (1844–1916), who in 1883 had founded the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association, was the leader of the second wave in Stockholm. In that same year, he launched *Tiden* (The Times) with the sub-title “Sweden's cheapest daily newspaper”. True to his word, the annual subscription price was only 8 kronor, substantially less than the 12 kronor charged by *Dagens Nyheter*. The paper advocated neutrality and disarmament and promoted cooperation within the political left, both inside and outside the Riksdag. Among the paper's contributors were Anna and Hjalmar Branting, Pehr Staaff, August Strindberg, Adolf Hedin and Knut Wiksell. In addition to the daily paper, starting in 1884 Arnoldson published *Veckotidningen Tiden* (The Weekly Times). When financial problems forced the daily to publish only every other day in 1885, Hjalmar Branting (1860–1925) became the editor and the paper's mission became to prepare the ground for the labor union movement and socialism. Arnoldson continued as editor of the weekly paper that at the same time changed its name to *Stockholm*. Both papers closed in 1886.

In October of 1884, Ulrik Fredriksson (1853–96) started the weekly *Stockholms Veckoblad*. Costing only 2 öre for a single copy and one krona annually, it was a success. Fredriksson owned and operated an advertising agency (Allmänna Annonsbyrå) and had previously owned and edited the weekly *Svenska Tidningar* which was now absorbed into the new paper. The Stockholm edition was distributed free of charge on trains and steamboats, as well as in hotels, cafes, restaurants, barbershops and other public venues. Encouraged by his success, in 1887 Fredriksson entered the daily newspaper market. His paper was renamed *Stockholms Nyheter* and cost 3 kronor per annum and 2 öre per single copy, of which the paper boys received half. The subscribers to *Stockholms Veckoblad* had received sections of the handbook *Den gyllene skattkammaren* (The Golden Treasure Chest) as bonuses. In 1890 and 1892, the subscribers to *Stockholms Nyheter* received the paper's over 200 pages long reference book as a bonus. Unlike the Liberal weekly paper, the daily was strictly non-partisan. After a year, the circulation was reported to be 27,000 copies, right on the heels of *Dagens Nyheter*. Instead of *Dagens Nyheter*, which had come up in the world and now spoke for the bourgeois middle class, the "ordinary people" in the capital of Stockholm now read *Stockholms Nyheter*. It was affordable for everyone, and the many advertisements were enticing. In the fall of 1893, Gottfrid Renholm, who had returned home from his correspondent's post in Paris, was appointed editor of the paper.

High Stakes at *Aftonbladet*

During the spring of 1884, it became known in newspaper circles that the bankers and financiers who owned *Aftonbladet* wanted to sell. In most regards, the paper was totally different from what it had been in Hierta's time. Its 50th anniversary celebration in 1880 virtually proclaimed that the paper had outlived its role. In any case, the Swedish National Press Club, which had been organized in Stockholm in 1874, issued a memorial medal honoring Hierta who had died in 1872.

Hierta's daughter Anna (1841–1924) and his son-in-law Professor Gustav Retzius (1842–1919) now saw an opportunity to restore "Father's dear old paper". They entered into negotiations which in the first instance resulted in History Professor E. V. Montan (1838–1909) obtaining a majority share holding. He was the leader of a consortium that had just purchased a majority position in *Stockholms Dagblad*. In a second round, Montan sold the majority position in *Aftonbladet*, at a good profit, to Anna and Gustav Retzius. There had been many bidders, one

worse than the next according to the Retzius couple, and the final price was very high.

Politically, the paper supported the reform program of the incumbent, Moderate-Liberal Prime Minister, Robert Themptander. Retzius recruited Otto Serrander (1848–97) of *Norrlands-Posten* to serve as the legally liable publisher and assistant editor, but he retained the editor-in-chief post for himself. At the suggestion of the librarian Harald Wieselgren (1835–1906), Hierta's biographer, Retzius took the title of editorial director. The head of the international division, Ernst Wallis, was retained. As his colleague, the linguistically talented teacher Maria Cederschiöld (1856–1935) was employed. She was one of the country's first females to qualify for university admission, a pioneer as a fulltime woman journalist and, together with Anna Retzius, active in the women's movement. Cederschiöld remained in the employ of the paper until she retired in 1921.

In order to compete with low price papers, in December of 1894 *Aftonbladet* lowered its annual subscription price from 20 (outside Stockholm 23) to 12 kronor and the price of single copies from 10 to 5 öre. Starting in 1887, the paper published a provincial edition that at first cost 9 kronor, later reduced to 6 kronor.

After three years, Retzius returned to his research, but he remained on the board of directors. In order to forestall hostile takeover bids, one of the principal minority stockholders, Consul General J. W. Smitt was elected chairman of the board. Ernst Beckman (1850–1924), a member of the Riksdag and number two at *Stockholms Dagblad*, was appointed editor to succeed Retzius, and in 1888 the newspaper moved to Klara. Beckman had studied charitable organizations in England, the American school system and German worker protection legislation. Following the timber industry strike in Sundsvall during the summer of 1879, he published an attention-getting series of articles on factory conditions in the northern sawmills. In 1890, Beckman resigned as editor because the board of directors would not allow him to simultaneously sit in the Riksdag. Beckman was succeeded by the paper's long standing staff member, Harald Sohlman (1858–1927), the son of August Sohlman. His brother Arvid (1866–1949) was made managing director.

Conservative Initiatives in Stockholm

At the end of the 19th century, Swedish society reverted to conservatism. The principle of free trade was questioned in the early 1880s when cheap grain from Russia and America appeared on the Swedish market. Swed-

ish farmers demanded protected markets and other occupational groups joined in. The fall elections of 1887 resulted in a protectionist majority in the Second (directly elected) Chamber of the Riksdag. Conservative groups joined forces to start new papers to counterbalance the Liberal press.

In December 1884, *Svenska Dagbladet*, a new “patriotic” newspaper, was started in Stockholm on the initiative of Oscar Norén (1844–1923). Following university studies, he had started his newspaper career in 1875 in Stockholm. After two years, he moved on to Gävle, where he became editor of *Norrlands-Posten*. Back again in Stockholm, Norén was employed as political editor of the weekly paper *Vikingen* (1882–89), the mouthpiece of a protectionistic and pro-defense grouping within the Agrarian Party. It was during his time at *Vikingen* that Norén developed his plan for a newspaper supporting the rapidly growing criticism of free trade, as well as of Sweden’s weakened position within the union with Norway. According to Norén, this criticism lacked a home base in the daily press. He also thought it was about time for a new large daily paper in Stockholm twenty years after Rudolf Wall had started *Dagens Nyheter*.

Norén became the new paper’s political editor. Axel Jäderin (1850–1925) was made the legally liable publisher and general editor. His future as editor of *Stockholms Dagblad* had become uncertain in 1884 when Walldén sold the paper to Montan. Like Norén, Jäderin had experience with both the capital and the provincial press.

Svenska Dagbladet cost 12 kronor per year and 5 öre for single copies. It thus was lower priced than the other Conservative Stockholm newspapers, *Stockholms Dagblad* and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, who retained their 18 and 20 kronor subscription rate, respectively. As for content, *Svenska Dagbladet* was characterized by harsh polemics especially directed at *Tiden*’s support of neutrality. The paper published attention-getting reports from Stockholm and the provinces, where it had more correspondents than any other paper. Its specialties were economics and news from abroad.

The necessary collaboration between Norén and Jäderin failed after a year, and Norén left the paper. In 1888, Jäderin was dismissed by the paper following a conflict with the chairman of the board. The newspaper firm was forced to liquidate and start over. This time, raising capital was harder than before. In the mid-1880s, the business cycle turned down and 1887 became one of the worst years of the decade. This economic slump limited the possibilities for raising new capital. Moreover, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* also needed additional funds, as did another Conservative newcomer in Stockholm, *Vårt Land* (Our Country).

Vårt Land was started in 1885 in response to the absence of a Christianity-based, political, daily paper. It was intended to counteract the

“lack of faith, ridicule and mocking” that permeated the daily press. In particular, the new paper reacted to Fredriksson’s *Stockholms Veckoblad* and the socialist and religious non-conformist hostility towards the established state church. *Vårt Land*’s program included a strong defence, limitations on free trade, tariffs and criticism of the Norwegian demands for a greater role in the Union’s foreign policy. All this was reminiscent of *Svenska Dagbladet*. *Vårt Land* also undercut *Svenska Dagbladet*’s prices, 10 instead of 12 kronor for an annual subscription. Like *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Vårt Land* achieved a substantial provincial circulation.

Vårt Land published a weekly supplement that had a considerably larger circulation than the daily paper. Both versions contained a weekly sermon. It was a counter move to *Vikingen* which every week critically reported on and reviewed a sermon. *Vårt Land*’s sermon supplement, which was referred to as “Sunday reading”, was imitated by other daily papers such as *Stockholms Dagblad*.

The founding of *Vårt Land* included Carl David af Wirsén (1842–1912), who was a member of the Swedish Academy. He became the newspaper’s literary critic, while retaining the same position, which he held since 1880, with *Posttidningen*. Oscar II was involved in the founding *Vårt Land* which he considered to be a bulwark against dangerous forces. The King kept contributing anonymously and tried to control the editor-in-chief, the theologian Gustaf Torelius (1847–1924) who previously had taught at an evangelical seminary in Basel, Switzerland.

Provincial Conservatives Join Forces

Conservatives outside Stockholm also joined forces in order to start newspapers intended to counteract the Liberal press. But public opinion once again shifted and conservatism lost ground. During the 1890s, extending the suffrage replaced tariffs as the dominant issue in Swedish politics. A new wave, a second generation, of Liberal newspapers flooded the Country.

Outside the four largest cities, it is easy to see how different forces alternated. Counter weights to the Liberal papers were founded which, in turn, resulted in their own counter weights, and so on over and over. At the end of the 19th century, only a few localities got their first newspaper: Arvika, Lysekil and Sigtuna. The number of papers per location, however, increased. By the turn of the century, 80 percent of all cities and towns that had more than one paper. Increasingly, cities got their third and fourth papers.

Start ups, re-starts and counter starts became commonplace. The

newspapers were local or, at most, regional. The only newspaper outside the four largest cities that had a national circulation was *Smålandsposten*. This anomaly depended on the paper's editor-in-chief, the author Alfred Hedenstierna (1852–1906) writing under the pen-name Sigurd. The opinions he propagated were Conservative and critical of socialism and cultural radicalism. His uninhibited articles, especially his so-called “Kaleidoscope”, were widely quoted. In addition, he was one of Sweden's most widely read authors. *Smålandsposten* had been founded to counter the Liberal *Nya Wexjö-Bladet*.

In Helsingborg, the moderate *Helsingborgs Dagblad* was started in 1884 to counter Fredrik Borg's radical *Öresunds-Posten*. Within a week or so of its launching, sports coverage made its debut in *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, and in 1885 what was probably the first sports vignette in the Swedish daily press was introduced.

In the northern city of Skellefteå, the Liberal *Skellefteå Nya Tidning*, founded in 1860, faced competition from the Conservative *Skelleftebladet* starting in 1887. The new paper was edited by the Conservative member of the Riksdag Per Zimdahl (1836–1925). In another northern city, Sundsvall, the Conservative *Sundsvalls-Posten* was launched in 1859 as a counter weight to the Liberal *Alfvar och Skämt/Sundsvalls Tidning*.

In the central part of the country, in Kristinehamn, the Liberal *Kristinehamns-Tidningen* was launched in 1880. Four years later, in 1884, the paper was challenged by a moderate competitor, *Kristinehamns-Posten*. Among its founders was the secondary school teacher K. A. Grundel (1840–1900).

The Liberal wave of new papers in central Sweden also included *Eskilstuna-Kuriren* (1890), *Södermanlands Nyheter* (1893) and *Falu-Kuriren* started in 1894 by Waldemar Skarstedt (1861–1931). Skarstedt supported a broadened franchise, religious freedom, peace and vegetarianism. His local opponent was the Conservative *Tidning för Fablu stad och län* which had been founded back in 1839 by a physician, Johan Magnus Bergman.

Lower Prices in Gothenburg

During the 1880s, *Handelstidningen* encountered new low-price competition. It began in October of 1884 with the appearance of *Göteborgs-tidningen Dagbladet*. The new paper's publisher and editor was Anders Jeurling (1851–1906). It was published six days a week and only cost 10 kronor per annum, compared with 20 for *Handelstidningen* and 18 for *Göteborgs-Posten*. Jeurling took note of the fact that the Gothenburg papers principally were distributed in Gothenburg and its vicinity. With his

paper, he intended to unite urban and rural areas. Politically, however, his paper did not deviate from the other Gothenburg papers.

In November of 1884, Valfrid Södergren (1848–1926) started *Göteborgs Nyheter* which was published twice every weekday except Monday. The paper had a Sunday edition which was printed on glossy paper and contained entertaining material as well as news.

The established Gothenburg newspapers did not enter into price competition with the newcomers. *Göteborgs-Posten* started seven-day-per-week publication in 1885 and introduced a provincial edition. *Handelstidningen* responded by publishing twice a day, except on Sundays, until the competitors were eliminated. After only three months, Jeurling's newspaper was absorbed by *Göteborgs Nyheter*, which in turn vanished step by step: first the Sunday issue was dropped and then the morning edition before the paper ceased publishing entirely in 1885.

Gothenburg's third low price newspaper, *Göteborgs Aftonblad*, made its appearance in 1888. Its founder was the elementary school teacher Hans Österling (1847–1925) who had journalism experience from the southernmost province of Scania. Its circulation grew so quickly that after only a year it installed a rotary press, the first in Gothenburg. *Göteborgs Aftonblad* cost only half as much as the established papers. The paper was Liberal and worker friendly, but anti-socialist. Like the other low price paper, it declared itself non-partisan. The news came first. In early 1889, a new company took charge and the newspaper mover and shaker Oscar Norén became editor. Norén developed a Conservative program that was largely identical with the one he had composed for *Svenska Dagbladet* five years previously. Because of his Conservative leanings, the newspaper frequently came into conflict with the Liberally inclined city elite which included a Jewish element. Under Norén's direction, Gothenburg had a vigorous low price paper that was substantially cheaper than *Göteborgs-Posten* and with a more effective distribution system. The older papers apparently underestimated *Göteborgs Aftonblad's* resilience – after all, they had witnessed the failure of the others.

Lower Prices in Malmö

Through a three step process, first the founding of *Snällposten* in 1848, then that of *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* in 1870 and finally their merger in 1871, Malmö was endowed with a quality newspaper that matched those in Gothenburg and Stockholm. During the same period, Malmö expanded from a city of 12,000 inhabitants in 1848 to one of 30,000 in 1880, thus becoming the Country's third largest city.

When *Snällposten* was founded by Bernhard Cronholm (1813–71), a university fellow in chemistry at Lund University who relocated to Malmö as a book dealer and printer, there existed a local, vigorous every-other-day paper, *Malmö Nya Allehanda*, to which Cronholm had contributed during his student days. The newspapers were not competitors since they served different parts of the market. Cronholm and *Snällposten*, whose name referred to the post office's express service, quickly earned a good reputation for its foreign reporting. Cronholm was a skillful writer and competent businessman, but an indifferent journalist. Politically he was timid, moderately Liberal and a Royalist, but he frequently remained passive. In the cultural section, contributions by Hans Christian Andersen and Professor Gustaf Ljunggren appeared. For a few years, Gottfrid Renholm served as assistant editor-in-chief.

Some circles in Lund tried in 1866 to make *Snällposten* a daily paper, but Cronholm resisted for financial reasons. The response from Lund was to instead publish a new paper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, with the secondary school teacher Carl Herslow (1836–1933) as editor.

In a number of regards, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* was a modern newspaper. It was owned by a joint stock company, it was published six mornings per week and it was printed in Roman type. It was intended for all of southern Sweden. Thanks to the initiatives from Lund, Cronholm was prepared for what might happen. A few weeks before the new paper was launched, Cronholm, without raising prices, began publishing six days a week. He did, however, retain his German typeface. Cronholm emphasized his specialization on foreign news, but his efforts mainly consisted of ill-tempered criticism of the newcomer. Following his death, Cronholm's paper was bought up by his rival.

The merged paper, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten*, began publication in 1872. Two years later, Herslow resigned his lectureship and became full time editor-in-chief. In 1881 the new publication moved into a specially designed newspaper building. For many years, the circulation stayed at 3,000 to 4,000 copies. Over time, Herslow became one of the most influential persons in the province and was called "The King of Scania". In many ways, Herslow became the Malmö equivalent of Hedlund in Gothenburg. Both used their paper as the hub of their many-sided efforts to benefit society.

In the late 1880s, one of *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten*'s staff members left the paper to start *Skånska Aftonbladet* as a Conservative counterpart. The new paper charged two kronor less than *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten*'s 10 kronor annual subscription fee. A step to further reduce prices was taken by the radical *Skånes Nyheter* when it was started in 1883

and made daily the following year. It cost only 5 kronor. It was a daring attempt, and the paper closed in 1886. One year later, *Morgonbladet* was founded as a protectionist counter to *SDS*'s free trade stance. The editor of the new paper was Professor Edvard Lidforss (1883–1910).

Among low price papers in Scania during the 1880s, it was *Skånska Dagbladet* which hit the bull's eye. Like the other Malmö papers, it consisted of four pages with six columns each, but its price was at most half of what the others charged, only 4 kronor annually or 3 öre per single copy. The founder, Rudolf Asp (1851–1907), had amassed valuable experience in the printing business. For several years, he had been experimenting with the publication of newspapers and weekly papers, even one that was free of charge. *Skånska Dagbladet* declared itself to be Liberal and politically independent and directed at all social classes.

After a year, the paper was the largest, both in Malmö and in Scania. Its circulation grew so rapidly that the paper dared to proclaim itself "the country's largest, most content-rich, best liked and cheapest newspaper". The editor was Leonard Ljunglund (1867–1946), a student at Lund University. The paper contained local news – its aim was to have a reporter in every community in Scania – chatty columns, serials and humorous articles concerning current goings on. Starting in 1885, every Saturday a free, eight-page Sunday magazine in quarto format called *Hemmet* (The Home) was included as a response to the competition from Danish weekly magazines. The supplementary magazine contained short stories intended for a "lady audience". *Skånska Dagbladet* became the first long surviving second wave, low price paper.

Newspapers as Church and Chapel

Starting in 1885 with the launching of *Vårt Land*, the Swedish state Lutheran Church had a daily outlet. The paper opposed the low-church revival within both the state church and the nonconformist religious movement. The latter had attracted worshipers all over the Country, and in those areas where the movement was strong enough dedicated adherents started newspapers to advance the cause. One such enthusiast was the book printer and seller Herman Hall (1837–1883) who was an early adherent of the emerging revival movement in Jönköping. Starting with his home city, he created a network of religious newspapers.

During the early 1860s, the twice weekly paper *Jönköpings Tidning* and the thrice weekly *Jönköpingsbladet* were published in that city. In 1865, Hall commenced publishing *Jönköpings-Posten*, initially weekly, but after two years twice a week. The newspaper was directed at Christians and

workers. In order to support fellow believers elsewhere, Hall participated in starting up *Wermlands Allehanda* in Kristinehamn in 1872, *Hvetlanda Tidning* and the weeklies *Svenska Posten* in 1873 and *Göteborgs Veckoblad* in 1874.

Svenska Posten included a Saturday supplement as weekend reading. In 1874, Hall moved that publication to Stockholm, but after a year returned it to Jönköping. He converted the Saturday supplement into a new weekly paper in Stockholm called *Nya Posten* in 1875. Three years later, it was acquired by Per Ollén (1846–1904) and his brother-in-law A. P. Larsson. The paper became a news outlet for the Swedish Mission Covenant Church, established in 1878. A year later the paper changed its name to *Hemlandsvännen*, which Ollén and Larsson succeeded in transforming into a daily.

In the summer of 1888, C. O. Berg (1839–1903), member of the Riksdag, Liberal friend of the workers, wholesale merchant, consul general and well-known anti-socialist and pro-temperance preacher, together with some rich “friends of the homeland”, entered the intensive low-price competition in Stockholm by launching the daily newspaper *Morgonbladet*. The paper cost 5 kronor per annum and 3 öre per single copy. The editor and publisher was the author Carl Eneroth (1843–1907). Politically, the paper leaned to the right. It supported the public elementary school system and adult education. After a year, the paper changed its editor and political orientation.

The new editor was Karl Petter Rosén (1855–1900), who had a past with *Aftonbladet*. The paper became Liberal, and in one regard, radical. It supported total prohibition. In 1890, the paper was sold to Ollén. He changed the paper’s name to *Svenska Morgonbladet* and in 1894 it absorbed *Hemlandsvännen*. The combined paper thus became the non-conformist church’s response to *Vårt Land*.

Master-Tailor Palm in Malmö

The hard economic times of the late 19th century encouraged the growth of papers agitating for socialism, even though these same conditions made the collection of the necessary capital difficult. The leaders of the labor movement resented the intrusion of the Liberal, pro-labor, newspapers into their bailiwick and wanted to stop it by starting their own papers.

The socialist papers were often deliberately provocative. Their editors argued forcefully in order to both stir up the masses and upset the authorities. They were especially aggressive towards the Royal Family and the state church and opposed both the temperance movement and the

non-conformist churches. The editors took personal legal risks under the freedom of the press ordinance since they did not utilize front men.

In 1882, the first issue of a Swedish Social Democratic paper was published in Malmö. It was titled *Folkviljan* (The Will of the People). The promoter and editor was August Palm (1849-1922), a tailor and agitator. Palm was palpably inspired by the success of a similar paper in Denmark, where he had been active during most of the 1870s. The content of the paper was dominated by socialist agitation. It presented accounts of meetings and other news from the labor movement in Scania, but also included news concerning likeminded people abroad and social reporting. Starting with the second issue, there was a detailed “serial” dealing with the strike movement among Stockholm’s timber workers. In addition to militarism, the Church, the bourgeoisie and capitalism, the paper’s hate objects included the Good Templar movement, since it often forbade its members from supporting socialism. In Malmö, Palm disputed with the radical-Liberal worker’s paper *Framåt!* (Forward!). It had been founded in 1871 by the elementary school teacher Johan Berndt Westenius (1827–1907), who also had promoted the formation of Malmö’s Workers Association. Over time, financial problems worsened for *Folkviljan* which had started with zero capital. In early 1885 the last issue of *Folkviljan* appeared, and Palm moved to Stockholm.

Once in Stockholm, Palm in that same year started the weekly *Social-Demokraten*. The Social Democratic establishment in Stockholm was dubious about Palm and urged its supporters to read the weekly *Tiden*, by then edited by Hjalmar Branting. When Branting refused to declare his paper Social Democratic – *Tiden* was the outlet for the Liberal labor unions – a Social Democratic newspaper association was formed and Palm was able to operate his paper with its support. When *Tiden* closed in 1886, Branting moved over to *Social-Demokraten*. His wife Anna (pen-name René) became the paper’s drama critic. *Social-Demokraten* was also financially weak because of its low volume of advertising. In addition, there were disagreement between the editorial staff and the leaders of the labor movement. A dividing line ran between the movement’s workers and its university graduates. In 1886, *Social-Demokraten* was adopted as “the central voice for Swedish workers”.

Gradually, Branting took over the tiller. At the end of 1866, he became editor while his competitor for the post, Axel Danielsson (1863–99), moved to Malmö and there started the weekly *Arbetet* (Work), a “voice for a class conscious labor movement”. The paper immediately entered into a dispute with *Skånska Aftonbladet*, which had taken the employer’s side in a strike. The very first test issue of *Arbetet* also con-

tained an attack on Fredrik Borg of *Öresunds-Posten* for his supposedly pro-labor Liberalism.

The Ruffian Ericsson in Gothenburg

During the 1880s, the labor movement also established newspapers in Gothenburg, although not so early. Since the 1860s, the city had been home to a Liberal-oriented labor movement which was strongly supported by *Handelstidningen*. Palm visited Gothenburg in 1882 and socialist-based worker organizations were started.

Initially, *Handelstidningen* had adopted a positive wait and see attitude. Soon, however, confrontations occurred between, on the one side, the Liberal labor and temperance movements and, on the other side, the socialist labor movement. The temperance weekly paper, *Reform*, which was started in 1881 by the literary man Carl Hurtig, pursued an all out campaign against the socialists. In 1883, Hurtig's weekly became the official paper of Sweden's Grand Lodge and four years later changed its name to the *I. O. G. T. Reformatorn*. The Order of Good Templars was founded in Gothenburg in 1879.

The typographer Pehr Erikson (1861–1922) lay behind the first socialist workers newspaper in Gothenburg. He had come into early contact with the temperance movement and had worked in a large printing plant in Stockholm before he moved to Gothenburg in 1884 and joined the editorial staff of *Göteborgs Nyheter*. As substitute editor during the summer of 1885, he took the side of striking longshoremen and was consequently dismissed from the paper. At the start of 1886, he and a colleague started the weekly paper *Göteborg*. Politically the paper vacillated, but it was considered to be socialist. The local labor unions supported the paper, but after they stopped advertising it went bankrupt.

Pehr Erikson now joined the Social Democratic association and in the fall of 1887, together with the basket weaver Johan Kjellman (1862–1925), began to publish the weekly *Folkets Röst* (The People's Voice), with the subtitle "radical popular paper for western Sweden". The paper was intended to be an instrument of the labor unions and was therefore viewed with suspicion by the Social Democratic association.

On October 1, 1888, an issue of the paper was sequestered because of libelous articles directed at the Riksdag, the police chief of Gothenburg and the King. Erikson was sentenced to a total of one year in prison. It was expected that Hedlund would come to his defence, but he did not do so, and neither did Branting or Danielsson. Danielsson disliked Erikson's enterprise and wrote in a letter to Branting that *Folkets Röst* was

a “ruffian” paper and “utter trash”. During his imprisonment, Erikson tried to keep the paper going but failed, to a large extent because he was undermined by his partner. The paper closed despite efforts to save it by Fredrik Sterky (1860–1900). The son of an estate owner, he had relinquished a business career in order to become a journalist for the socialist press. After having served his sentence and given a final May Day speech under the red banners, Eriksson left the labor movement and returned to temperance work.

A True Workingman’s Paper in Norrköping

Starting in 1888, Isidor Kjellberg faced competition from a socialist, workingman’s paper that originated in Norrköping, at the time the Country’s fourth largest city. Behind the weekly called *Proletären* stood Norrköping’s workers union. Its editor and legally liable publisher was Gustav Adolf Rydgren (1855–1933), an unskilled laborer. The newspaper was entirely edited by the workers themselves, advocated revolution and was a self-proclaimed “true workingman’s paper”. A number of socialist agitators submitted reports to the paper.

The struggle for the worker audience was tough. In Norrköping there were two quite Conservative workers associations. It was the home of Kjellberg’s well-established, Liberal workers paper *Östgöten*. There was also a four page advertising paper called *Norrköping*, started by Kjellberg in 1885, that accompanied *Östgöten*’s Norrköping edition free of charge. When, after slightly more than six months, *Proletären*’s growing circulation required a larger press, neither *Norrköpings Tidningar* nor *Östgöten* made its printing facility available. Employers tried to limit the expansion of *Proletären* by giving their workers a free subscription to some other paper.

In late 1888, an issue of *Proletären* was confiscated because it contained a previously published article by Axel Danielsson in which he proclaimed that “the new Minister of Justice Örbom has blown new life into the fires intended to burn heretics at the stake”. *Social-Demokraten* had previously received the same treatment when it originally published the article. Editor Rydgren was prosecuted and sentenced to four months imprisonment.

In the fall of 1889, Rydgren was dismissed as editor. He was succeeded by a string of seven editors who lasted for varying amounts of time. Included among them was the agitator Anders Hansson Janhekt (1861–1942) and finally the revolutionary Hinke Bergegren (1861–1936). Bergegren was sentenced to six months imprisonment in connection with the min-

ing strike at Norberg. He was convicted of having slandered the mine director on the scene and of having incited violence against strikebreakers. He, in turn, was succeeded at *Proletären* by a committee composed “exclusively of laborers”. The paper shut down in the fall of 1892.

A Second Attempt in Gothenburg

When he tried to save *Folkets Röst* from closing, Fredrik Sterky had made a good impression on the labor movement in Gothenburg. Thus, when it had raised 1,000 kronor with which to start a newspaper, Sterky was offered the editorship. *Ny Tid* (New Time), as the weekly paper came to be called, made its debut in 1892 under the slogan “a voice of a class conscious labor movement (Western Sweden)”, a clear allusion to *Arbetet's* slogan.

Despite the low prices on the newspaper market, Sterky opted for a high price policy: the weekly paper cost 4 kronor per annum and 10 öre for a single copy. In the second test issue, he wrote that he disliked “the harmful practice” in Gothenburg of principally selling single copies on street corners. When the circulation failed to grow as planned, he expressed disappointment in the workers who preferred to spend 5 öre on papers that opposed their demands for humane conditions than 10 öre on the outlet that truly spoke for them. In the end, Sterky lost and had to lower his price to 5 öre.

The original fund was soon exhausted, but the paper's finances were salvaged thanks to recurrent fund raisers such as parties and bazaars. Without Sterky the paper would not have survived. He edited the paper, handled the finances, sold subscriptions, single copies and advertising and his wife, Anna Jensen (1856–1939), worked without salary. In addition, he lent a large part of his private fortune to the paper. These loans were eventually repaid but not until long after his death.

A Bold Alliance of Popular Movements in Sundsvall

In Sundsvall, a bold effort was made to unite all the radical forces around a single newspaper. The initiative came from Alexis Björkman (1853–1930), Sundsvall's leading Good Templar. Temperance lodges, Liberal and socialist labor unions, the city's socialist workers club and various non-conforming religious groups banded together in 1887 to found *Norr-länningen* (The Northener). With Johan Lindström (1859–1935), pen name Saxon, as editor, the paper appeared twice weekly. It was intended to counter the Liberal *Sundsvalls Tidning* and the Conservative *Sundsvalls-Posten*.

Lindström had previously edited *Jämtlandsposten* in Östersund. That paper had been founded in 1885 by Olle Westin, a head teacher and Good Templar and Jonas Sahlin, a wholesale merchant. Lindström had been recommended by Oscar Eklund (1861–1940), the editor of the weekly *Svenska Good Templar* where Lindström had been in charge of the general content. Saxon was a left leaning Liberal, a fervent temperance supporter and a friend of labor. When, as the paper's editor, he moved leftward – supporting striking sawmill workers, publishing the names of strikebreakers and being expelled from his own temperance lodge following a dispute – things could only end one way: Lindström left Sundsvall.

Lindström was succeeded by Gottfrid Frösell (1864–1907). He too was a temperance supporter, but he made the paper Liberal. Cracks in the alliance were becoming apparent, and it was dissolved in 1891, although *Norrlänningen* continued to appear until 1894. A new, low-price, paper was established in 1891, *Sundsvalls Nyheter*. It followed Frösell's political line. It only lasted a year.

Working through Alexis Björkman, the popular movements took another stab at journalism in 1892. The new publication called *Nordsvenska Dagbladet*, was northern Sweden's first daily newspaper. K. P. Arnoldson was appointed editor. He had two failed newspaper ventures behind him and would now experience a third. His Norwegian sympathies and radical beliefs were unacceptable to Sundsvall's merchants and forestry-based industrialists who demonstrated their displeasure by refusing to put advertisements in the new paper. Although the paper went bankrupt after a year, it was continued by Arnoldson's son, named after his father's household gods, Platon Torild Washington Arnoldson. In 1894, however, the futile attempt by the popular movement alliance to sponsor a paper came to a definitive end. The subscribers were offered *Svenska Morgonbladet* as compensation.

A Wider Market

The multitude of magazines continued to increase during the final decades of the 19th century. The development of society was reflected in a rich selection of specialty magazines. At the same time, a new type of magazine evolved. In terms of pricing and content, it paralleled the new developments in the daily press. The pattern from the daily press, with successive rounds of new low price papers, was repeated in magazine publishing.

The first labor union magazine appeared at about the same time as the

first workers newspapers. *Nordisk Typograf-Tidning* (1883–1887), later continued as *Svensk Typograf-Tidning* (1888–1959), is considered to be the oldest labor union magazine.

The organized Swedish women's movement emerged at about the same time in Stockholm and Gothenburg, and promptly began to publish magazines. In 1884, the Fredrika Bremer-förbundet (The Fredrika Bremer Association) was founded in Stockholm and Göteborgs Kvinno-förening (Gothenburg's Women's Association) in Gothenburg. In 1886, the magazine *Dagny* (from 1914 called *Hertha*) was established in Stockholm and its sister publication *Framåt* (Forwards, 1886–89) in Gothenburg. The latter magazine received valuable support from Hedlund and *Handelstidningen*. While *Dagny* was mainly concerned with women's issues, *Framåt* became an important forum for the so-called "80's generation" and their radical ideas. A magazine that during most of the 1880s was available to these "80's generation writers" was *Ur dagens krönika* (1881–91), headed by Arvid Ahnfelt, Ph.D. (1845–90).

During the 1890s, the illustrated monthly magazine *Ord och Bild* (Word and Picture) was founded in 1892. It became the country's leading cultural publication and has remained so to this day. It was where the "90's generation" emerged, but it was not closed to their predecessors, the "80's generation". The initiative for *Ord och Bild* came from Karl Wählin (1861–1937) who remained its editor until his death.

For the Whole Family

During the early 1860s, a number of German family magazines, translated into Swedish, appeared in the Country. They were sold with the help of bonuses and book peddlers. C. E. Gernandt (1831–1906) picked up on this trend and introduced magazines of Swedish origin. In 1857, he had purchased a print shop in Halmstad and the right to publish the daily *Hallands-Posten*. With this enterprise as a foundation, in 1862 he started *Familj-Journalen* whose name, beginning in 1864, was changed to *Svenska Familj-Journalen* (The Swedish Family Journal). For the most part, Gernandt published Swedish material. In order to encourage sales, free bonus lotteries, with cash prizes, were arranged. Gernandt organized a country-wide network of book peddlers and sales representatives. The magazine was expensive. Each monthly issue cost 75 öre and an annual subscription 9 riksdaler. Nonetheless, the magazine was a great success. In 1870–71, between 30,000 and 40,000 copies of each monthly issue were sold. Since Halmstad lacked a railway connection, the distribution of such a large volume of magazines forced Gernandt to move his business

to Stockholm. During the rest of the 1870s, between 40,000 and 70,000 copies were produced monthly. When the Riksdag in 1881 changed the lottery law, outlawing Gernandt's sales practices, he sold the journal.

A new illustrated family journal, published weekly and sold at a low price for the benefit and amusement of ordinary people, emigrated from Denmark to Sweden in the late 1880s. The key persons involved in this process were two Danish lithographers, Carl Aller (1845–1916) and Egmont Petersen (1860–1914).

During the late 19th century, these family journals benefited from the spread of nuclear family living. Migration to the cities changed lifestyles and modes of social contact. The family journals hitched on to these trends and provided instruction in bourgeois style and manners. In Denmark, the magazines appeared on Sunday, when families gathered together.

Carl Aller collaborated with his wife Laura (1849–1917). Carl knew everything about lithography and his wife understood the market. They began in 1874 by publishing the sewing and fashion paper *Nordisk Mønster Tidning* (Nordic Pattern Magazine). Three years later, in 1877, they launched a weekly for the entire family, *Illustreret Familie-Journal*. Even during the first year, the circulation was reported to be 4,000 copies. Two years later, it was more than 34,000 copies.

Egmont Petersen was only seventeen in 1878 when he, following training as a typographer and, with the help of his mother, started a print shop in the family's kitchen. In 1901, Egmont bought a weekly paper called *Damernas Blad* (The Ladies' Paper) and re-launched it in 1904 as *Hjemmet* (The Home). By the next year, he had doubled the circulation.

Aller's Danish *Familie-Journal* attracted readers in the Swedish southernmost province of Scania. Responding to this demand, in 1879 the Aller family published a Swedish language edition, a parallel version of the Danish magazine, a straight forward translation: *Illustrerad Familj-Journal*. Starting in 1892, when a Swedish editorial staff was installed, the Swedish version was re-named *Allers Familj-Journal*. The magazine cost 10 öre per single copy and 5 kronor per annum. This low price was maintained until 1915. In 1893, the printing of the Swedish edition was moved from Copenhagen to Helsingborg, the city closest to Denmark across the Sound. At the turn of the century, the circulation of the Swedish version approached 60,000 copies.

No spontaneous demand for Petersen's *Hjemmet* arose on the Swedish side of the Sound. Thus the first parallel edition of *Hjemmet* was launched in Norway. The Swedish version arrived in 1921 with the title *Hemmets Journal* (The Home Journal). When Petersen sought out a Swedish partner, he settled on Elander's book printing firm in Gothenburg.

Pictures played a major role in attracting readers. They constituted approximately half of the contents. Even during the 19th century, there were colored covers. Various supplements, often free, were also used as an attraction: “Rådgivare för hus och hem” (Advisor for House and Home), “Bibliotek” (Library) containing novels, “Barnens Bok” (The Children’s Book) and “Nytt från alla land” (News from All Countries).

Just for the Ladies

During the mid-1890s, the author Johan Grönstedt (1845–1929), tried to start a daily paper for ladies with the financial support of his father, the cognac producer. He called it *Nu* (Now), with the sub-title “The Ladies’ Daily Newspaper”. After being published for one month during 1894, the paper closed.

Success in developing a magazine for women readers, however, was achieved by Frithiof Hellberg (1855–1906). He had work experience from the press, both inside and outside the capital. In 1886, Hellberg started a general, illustrated weekly magazine named *Svea*. The following year, it merged with *Svenska Familj-Journalen* which Gernandt had sold in 1881.

In 1887, Hellberg and Gernandt together launched the weekly magazine *Idun* with the sub-title “A Practical Weekly Magazine for Women and the Home”. The idea had come to Hallberg during a trip abroad. Gernandt, who had become very wealthy from his family magazine, provided the financing.

Idun cost only 4 kronor per annum. A free supplement was included, but the colored Christmas issue cost an additional krona. During some years, the readers received “*Idun’s Library of Novels*”, consisting of 11 booklets of 16 pages each, free of charge. For an additional fee of 2 ½ kronor, “*Idun’s Fashion and Pattern Magazine*” was available. Clearly, these supplements were inspired by Allers.

During the first twelve years, the emphasis was on the practical and domestic. The magazine honored the bourgeois female ideals. Starting in 1899, however, *Idun* changed character. Cultural and timely subjects became dominant. The focus shifted from women in the home to women in culture and society. The magazine introduced an “illustrated daily chronicle.”

Idun was initially very successful, but its narrow emphasis on the upper social classes resulted in a shrinkage of its readership. It was passed by numerous colored and popularly directed weekly magazines that followed in its tracks. An early challenger was *Svensk Damtidning* (Swedish



The ladies' magazine Idun began with broad appeal, but, starting in 1899, it concentrated on the upper social classes. The new approach is illustrated by the cover of the Christmas issue for that year drawn by Jenny Nyström (1854–1946).

Ladies' Magazine), which was founded in 1890 and whose price was half that of *Idun*.

Jeurling's *Stockholms-Tidningen* as the Culmination

After the failed 1884 attempt to establish *Göteborgstidningen Dagbladet* as a low price paper in Gothenburg, Anders Jeurling had been hired as the assistant editor-in-chief of *Aftonbladet* in 1885. Over time, the owner Retzius and the editor Beckman increasingly came to doubt the incor-

ruptibility of the heavily indebted Jeurling, and consequently he was dismissed in 1889. Without employment and burdened by large debts, Jeurling decided to try starting his own paper. It was to be easier to read and cheaper than all the others.

Jeurling borrowed money from the “Aquavit King”, L. O. Smith, and formed a partnership with Gernandt. The latter supplied capital, premises and extensive knowledge. Gernandt played the same role for Jeurling that Hierta had for Wall. As a result, *Stockholms-Tidningen* was started in 1889 and became the most successful of the new type of paper in Sweden. It became the first paper whose circulation exceeded 100,000 copies.

Initially, *Stockholms-Tidningen* consisted of three components: a morning edition in Stockholm called *Morgon-Tidningen* and which was intended to challenge *Dagens Nyheter*, an evening edition, also in Stockholm called *Afton-Tidningen* hitting against *Aftonbladet* and a provincial edition called *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The last of these was to be dispatched by the evening trains and was aimed at *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Vårt Land*. The cheap provincial paper, i.e. *Stockholms-Tidningen*, was the most successful.

The cost of publishing the paper was to be kept down by measures such as paying low wages. In addition, its startup was favored by falling prices for newsprint and declining postage rates. The paper was intended to be cheap. It cost two öre per single copy, *Afton-Tidningen* three öre and the provincial edition only three kronor per annum (i.e. one öre per issue).

The paper was to emphasize news and amusement, have a large letter-to-the-editor section and have a better layout than its competitors. A newspaper with a “short and easily read” format was promised. The paper was characterized by petty bourgeois contentment, friendliness and good humor. It was heavily committed to serials.

According to the written agreement reached between Gernandt and Jeurling, the paper’s editorial stance was to be Liberal. It was not to propagate socialist ideas or support strikes. Starting in 1891, the political leader of the paper was Adolf Hallgren (1855–1930) who had long experience of the provincial press. Hallgren supported a strong defense and was reform minded. He worked for universal suffrage without income requirements.

In its marketing, the paper was to emphasize contests, Gernandt’s specialty since his magazine days. Test issues were widely distributed. When *Social-Demokraten* became a daily in 1890, Jeurling distributed 1,000 bonds in order to take the edge off his competitor’s gambit. In the provinces, the paper was to have a distribution network consisting of

shopkeepers. The pattern from Gernandt's magazine publishing days is recognizable.

As had once been the case with *Dagens Nyheter*, *Stockholms-Tidningen* initially benefited from improved mail, telegraph and railroad communications. The paper also was helped along by the upturn in the business cycle that started in the second half of the 1890s.

Publishing three editions became complicated and in 1890 they were reduced to two: *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Landsortsupplagan* (The Provincial Edition). The former cost 6 kronor per annum, home delivery included, while the latter was allowed to keep its low subscription rate of 3 kronor.

The newspaper's print space was much less than that of its competitors. Jeurling's response was to reduce the cultural content, especially reviews of books that were considered of little interest to the paper's broad audience. The one cultural area that Jeurling chose to emphasize was theater reviews. To this end, he hired Anna Branting, who left *Social-Demokraten*. Writing under her pen name René, she attracted readers with her reviews of the plays, the performances, the acting and also sometimes the audience.

The low price paper *Dagens Nyheter* had not been well received by the industry in 1864. Now it was *Dagens Nyheter* that spoke ill of a newcomer. *Stockholms-Tidningen* was called a cheap rag.

After a few years, Jeurling initiated negotiations to buy the newspaper. Gernandt's major role in the paper's success is apparent in that the 1893 transaction, which included the publishing house and book printing shop, became very expensive for Jeurling. On this occasion, Jeurling benefited from capital supplied by the editor and owner of *Dagens Nyheter*, Vult von Steijern. The circulation of *Stockholms-Tidningen* grew rapidly during the 1890s. The paper started to take hold of the advertising market, threatening *Stockholms Dagblad's* position.

A Newspaper Trust

Right from their earliest beginnings, the media firms had an international outlook. It was only natural to keep an eye on doings in the most advanced countries. In addition to the news material and the approach to handling new trends, over time it seemed more and more obvious to keep track of developments in the areas of marketing, finance and corporate culture. It was reasonable to assume that what was evolving abroad would soon enough be transferred to the home arena. Throughout the history of the Swedish press, there are many good examples both of what was successfully transplanted and of what failed.

In Stockholm, Skandinaviska Tryckeriaktiebolaget (The Scandinavian Printing Company) briefly experimented with concentrating the ownership of a number of Swedish newspapers. Precursors could be found in the efforts of Leopold Ullstein in Germany, E. W. Scripps and William Randolph Hearst in the United States and the brothers Alfred and Harold Harmsworth (later raised to the peerage as Lords Northcliffe and Rothermore, respectively) in England. Closer to home, there was Jens Christian Ferslew who had coordinated no less than four newspapers in Copenhagen.

The Swedish trust emerged as an extension of Jeurling's dealings. When he bought himself free of Gernandt, he instead became dependent on the principal owner of *Dagens Nyheter*. Vult von Steijern thus became the dominant figure in both of the two papers competing for circulation leadership. Jeurling himself received both shares and a managing director's post, but he was also saddled with an overseer in the person of Fredrik Zethräus, the financial director of *Dagens Nyheter*. As a member of the board of directors of the wire service Svenska Telegrambyrån, Jeurling exerted pressure to have *Dagens Nyheter* admitted to the ownership group. Now he also came up with the idea for, and became the leader of, Skandinaviska Tryckeriaktiebolaget which was founded in March of 1895.

The idea to bind together the leading, competing Stockholm newspapers was thus accomplished at the ownership level. The intention also was to include the now less successful *Stockholms Dagblad*, but that effort failed.

With the overarching goal of recapturing part of what *Dagens Nyheter* had lost, the trust also expanded outside Stockholm. During 1895, a new southern Sweden edition of *Dagens Nyheter* was started. The newfangled technology of transferring text over telegraph wires was considered remarkable and was exploited. Nonetheless, the inhabitants of Scania were not to any large degree tempted by the paper. Within six months it became clear that the paper had to be adapted to the local environment. For a while, the paper was renamed *Malmö-Tidningen Dagens Nyheter*, and then just *Malmö-Tidningen*. It lived on until the end of March 1907 when it was absorbed into *Skånska Aftonbladet*.

The trust also purchased a substantial bloc of shares in *Sundsvalls Tidning*, and here as well made a big noise about providing news via its "own wire".

The takeover of *Göteborgs-Posten* had greater consequences. Once again the idea was to create a regional version of *Dagens Nyheter*. What left a lasting impression, however, was that the Conservative paper changed political colors and became Liberal. That, in turn, induced the editor,

Fredrik Åkerblom, to start a new Conservative newspaper, *Morgon-posten*, later renamed *Göteborgs Morgonpost*. A few years later, in 1904, *Göteborgs-Posten* was taken over by one of the leading critics at *Dagens Nyheter*, namely Edvard Alkman (1867–1937). He, however, was better at judging drama than at running a newspaper.

The trust did not survive for long. The turning point was 1898. These transactions were one of the underlying causes of the ensuing heated polemics between *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. The transfer of the editor from the former to the latter also did not help alleviate the conflict. It was much of the root cause of the continuing rivalry between the two surviving newspaper.

The trust least of all provided a path forward for *Dagens Nyheter*. Rather it appeared to be a costly adventure. Zethræus was forced out at *Dagens Nyheter* and in the future would concentrate on his work for Svenska Telegrambyrån.

Still, the most noticeable effect of the trust's activities was that Skandinaviska Tryckeriaktiebolaget was used as an instrument when the leader of *Stockholms-Tidningen*, Anders Jeurling, obtained a large ownership stake in *Dagens Nyheter* during the new century's first year. His circulation successes during the 1890s had allowed Jeurling to gradually improve his financial situation. This time, however, he seems to have overestimated his resources, and he was soon prepared to sell his shares. To the great relief of *Dagens Nyheter's* staff, not least the editor Otto von Zweigbergk, a "reliably Liberal" consortium was able to assure the paper's independence in 1901. Among the new owners was Karl Otto Bonnier (1856–1941). He joined the board of directors in 1903 and became chairman in 1910.

8. The Paper Dragon's Opportunities (1897–1912)

Both the world as a whole and that of the press continued to evolve. The transformative 19th century further altered the environment of the Swedish press. Sweden experienced rapid modernization, progressing from a backward land of peasants to a nation of industries based on inventions such as the cream separator and ball bearings. On the road to the future there were many who wished to preserve the past. For thirty five years, the Country was ruled by King Oscar II (1872–1907). During his reign, an emerging parliamentarism forced the King to relinquish some of his power to his ministers. Nonetheless, he remained a bastion of traditional values. He created the Swedish equivalent of Victorian culture, the Oscarian.

The new era had many actors. The various popular movements remained an important factor in the transformation of the country. The Riksdag parties evolved into national political parties. The struggle for a broadened franchise made progress, even if it was slow.

The press played a decisive role in the modernization process, which also increasingly opened the Country to the world. As a result, the outward appearance of the papers changed. Sweden moved closer to the leading countries such as the United States, England, France, Germany and – Denmark. The highly competitive American press launched innovations that gradually spread. Traditionally, the Swedish papers were well informed concerning the foreign press. As for the American press, its influence was reinforced by Swedes who had visited and worked there. They witnessed new techniques introduced by far from inoffensive men. In 1883, Joseph Pulitzer took control of the *The New York World*, whose success was based on sensationalistic journalism. The active reporter became a key figure. Sunday supplements and sports reporting were part of the mix. Only two years later, Pulitzer was challenged by William Randolph Hearst. In their fierce struggle, the competing papers were prepared to go almost any length. Campaign journalism received its breakthrough. The graphic techniques became clearer and cruder. Banner headlines were introduced. Cartoon series were adopted. The ability to utilize photographs improved rapidly. Color printing was utilized, allow-

ing, among many other things, the publication of a comic strip including a yellow boy. He was to become the origin of the disparaging term “yellow journalism”. Their struggle helped create the public agitation that resulted in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

In the English press, the brothers Alfred and Harold Harmsworth were at the center of innovation. Alfred Harmsworth, later elevated to Lord Northcliffe, created the million-issue *Daily Mail* starting in 1896. It uncovered new groups of readers, including women, and emphasized briefer news reports, as well as serials and sports. The growth of the circulation was so favorable that it became an important concern to provide controlled sales figures. For almost three decades, *The Daily Mail* retained its lead. In 1903, Harmsworth created the first modern tabloid, *The Daily Mirror*. With some justification, he maintained that the tabloid would be the newspaper of the 20th century. He also, however, rescued upper class papers such as *The Times* and *The Observer*. Of the two brothers, Harold Harmsworth, later created Lord Rothermere, was the financier and builder of trusts.

In direct comparison, the Swedish newspapers might seem old fashioned. Still, over time, they choose to help themselves from the repertoire of new approaches and contents. The process of adapting them to Swedish conditions, however, took decades and some were never adopted at all. It is possible to talk of an Americanization of the Swedish press, but just as well of a “Swedification” of American innovations. In Sweden, the division between popular and quality newspapers was never as strict as elsewhere. Moreover, the strictly cultural newspaper was created at the right time to produce an epoch.

Svenska Dagbladet Stakes Out the Path

May 2, 1897 is an important date in the development of the Swedish press. It witnessed an ownership and policy change at *Svenska Dagbladet* that was to have importance far beyond the individual newspaper and the particular occasion. The modern broad and structured morning newspaper was introduced into Sweden. The inter-play among various forces allowed high quality articles to be presented in a new context. They were grafted on to a new and more vigorous trunk. Almost all the separate elements had been available earlier, either from foreign forerunners or from various parts of the Swedish tradition. But it was particularly appropriate to merge them together at a time when the lagging country had caught up with developments and as a new industrial nation was eager to display its capacity. The newspapers, with their substantial capital requirements,

SVENSKA DAGBLADET

STOCKHOLM SÖNDAGEN DEN 2 MAJ 1897

NR 100 A DEN SVENSKA HITTENHÖR... FÖRSTÅ NÅL... INSET. ALLMÄN PÅVÄRST MED BÄRVA...

Den Svenska Hittenshören... I den mån som den... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en...

Utländt. Kriget. Kriget i Sverige. Det stora kriget i Europa... Kriget i Sverige...

Rejser Frans Jöns i St Petersburg. Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg... Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg...

Den Svenska Hittenshören... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en...

Utländt. Kriget. Kriget i Sverige. Det stora kriget i Europa... Kriget i Sverige...

Rejser Frans Jöns i St Petersburg. Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg... Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg...

Den Svenska Hittenshören... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en...

Utländt. Kriget. Kriget i Sverige. Det stora kriget i Europa... Kriget i Sverige...

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Den Svenska Hittenshören... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en... Hittenshören är en...

Utländt. Kriget. Kriget i Sverige. Det stora kriget i Europa... Kriget i Sverige...

Rejser Frans Jöns i St Petersburg. Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg... Frans Jöns har varit i St Petersburg...

"Under the line" articles appeared in Svenska Dagbladet as early as 1897. It was not until 1918, however, that this best-known feature of the paper became a daily phenomenon.

benefited from the new industrialists. The homogeneous esthetic culture was still dominant, however, so it was only natural that the large newspaper would act as the guardian of cultural reporting and debate. What was previously considered Conservative could now also be defined in terms of cultural Liberalism. Thus the culture division was established, even if an

actual separate cultural section of the paper had to wait until after World War I. In time, it became an unquestioned part of the large newspapers. This inheritance has persisted throughout the 20th century and beyond.

The initiative belonged to Verner von Heidenstam (1859–1940). For several years he had been advocating the creation of “a new, large and intelligent newspaper intended especially for the educated classes and as an outlet for science and the arts”. He was critical of the existing papers. He spoke of the “crude ignorance, the indifference to our culture, the business swindle that characterize the press of our time”. There was a clear need for an instrument that “spoke for the public against the hack journalists”. Although he had no personal experience of the press, that did not prevent him from condemning it when he presented his program of a new nationalism in “Om svenskarnas lynne” (Concerning the Swedish Temperament) published in 1896: “The newspapers are more and more becoming business firms that speculate on political cycles.” Nevertheless, the press had a role to play in his plan to make Stockholm the Nordic capital and to rescue the country from “the terror of the mediocrities”.

Heidenstam had a program that he wished to turn into reality. Not for nothing was the planned newspaper firm to be baptized “Sweden”. His lack of insight was both good and bad. Being an outsider, he could stake out the path without being bound by the traditions of the press. It also resulted, however, in unrealistic expectations concerning what could be accomplished. He irritated his surroundings, became disillusioned and returned to his poetry.

Heidenstam was the visionary. The implementation of the program, as well as its financing, he left to others. Following various paths, he had become a successful author. He had a fortune of his own. He sold well. He worked to achieve better conditions both for himself and for others. He was supported by a new generation of donors that had been created by Sweden’s rapid industrialization. The prominent banker Ernest Thiel, who had become wealthy by brokering foreign loans to the Swedish state, had financed the extensive traveling Heidenstam had undertaken in preparation for writing his influential work concerning the fates of Karl XII’s troops (*Karolinerna*). Unknowingly, Thiel was of decisive importance for the creation of the poet’s own newspaper.

Choice of Newspaper by Chance

Initially the intent was to create a new paper to be added to the dozen that were already being published in Stockholm. Gradually, however, the plan was altered to taking over an existing paper. One of the pos-

sibilities was to purchase *Aftonbladet*. Transferring a newspaper from one camp to the other was not unprecedented. The short-lived trust had only a few years earlier taken over *Göteborgs-Posten* and changed its political allegiance. Even after the notion of taking control of *Aftonbladet* had been abandoned, the intention of starting an evening paper remained, apparently motivated by a desire to get back at the hated rival. In fact, the increasingly Conservative competitor did become a principal opponent during the succeeding years.

The choice of which newspaper to buy was dictated by chance. As a result of his work unraveling the affairs of the principal owner of *Svenska Dagbladet*, the inventor and industrialist Gustaf de Laval, Thiel at the turn of 1896/1897 had become the owner of “a fully operational daily newspaper, which only required me to order a new and up-to-date suit from my tailor”. The 100,000 kronor required was to be supplied in equal parts by Wallenberg, Thiel and Heidenstam. The first of these, however, withdrew on the grounds that his commitment was limited to an evening paper. Heidenstam, the originator of the plan, first tried to reduce his contribution, and then failed to contribute any funds whatsoever.

Heidenstam wanted to have peace and quiet to work on his *Karolinerna*. His good friend Oscar Levertin (1862–1906) felt a greater need to actively participate in the press. Initially, he was less daring and argued for a magazine or a “modest newspaper with a purely literary program”. But Heidenstam’s more ambitious plan for a “great cultural paper” won out. On a few occasions, Levertin had been on the verge of going beyond contributing to newspapers and becoming a real newspaperman. *Dagens Nyheter* and *Stockholms Dagblad* had figured in his thoughts during the early 1890s but had been rejected as, all things considered, inferior to an academic career. Now he decided to double up. Starting in 1899, he was to receive an endowed professorship in Stockholm. Already in 1897, he was hired by the newspaper at an annual salary of 3,000 kronor.

At the newspaper’s offices in Klara, however, it was mainly his colleague Tor Hedberg (1862–1931) who held down the fort, while Levertin worked at home or at the Royal Library. Although the title had not yet been coined, Hedberg in practice was the cultural editor. He took on “the work at the office”, Levertin reported. In return, Levertin “only had to do the overall supervision and write about the most important books and paintings”. On some spectacular occasion he might also help out with editing assignments. Together with the rest of the staff, he participated in translating Émile Zola’s famous article concerning the Dreyfus affair, “J’accuse...!”, that had been published in *l’Aurore*, on January 13, 1898. “Around 2 A.M., the whole colossal article had been translated, type set and proof read, so that it could accompany the provincial edition

as a supplement and be distributed in Stockholm as an extra issue.” That is how Hjalmar Söderberg (1869–1941), the paper’s master columnist, recounted the event in his romantic 1912 novel in a newspaper setting, *Den allvarsamma leken* (The Serious Game).

The Irritating Pack of Vagabonds

There were additional interested parties and colleagues. Helmer Key (1864–1939), an expert on Italian literature, had newspaper plans of his own, but now instead joined the group project. He became the principal actor. He regretted that the original time table, calling for the paper to appear by New Years 1897, could not be met. To most everyone’s surprise, he later developed into a persevering editor, frequently more concerned with numbers than with letters.

Heidenstam was also impatient. Even the program for the paper became the object of his irritation. “Especially consider that which I have emphasized in blood (actually red crayon). In my opinion, the business about anonymity is the most important part of the entire rubbish, because it is really a new reform and it will be well received.” The newspaper’s program must not resemble “other fishing expeditions for subscribers”.

The mood of he who mostly isolated himself to depict the fates of Karl XII’s soldiers in peace and quiet varied. He was often critical, but could also make suggestion concerning things that needed to be done. Sometimes he combined the two: “Feel free to describe Princess Ingeborg’s stockings, as long as we in the other column present an accurate depiction of Ellen Keys’ nightgown. He could amuse himself by entertaining the paper’s readers using the pseudonym P. A. Gurkblad (Cucumberblade).

It was a distinctly high quality newspaper that Heidenstam anticipated. Among Swedish papers, he particularly pointed to *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* as a precursor. Already at an early stage, *Svenska Dagbladet* experimented with feature articles, the category for which the paper later would become famous. Initially, however, Heidenstam was dubious. “Something else that I have always opposed (...) is the use of the German English feature (‘below the line’) sections. It separates out the literary and makes into something subordinate that the reader will skip. It thus appears to diminish the entire content of the paper. Why not do as in Norway and Denmark and all our Swedish news-sheets and include the essays among the rest of the reading material. If anywhere, it is in this newspaper, where the literary articles are intended to carry the entire paper, that they should appear there!” He could quickly rethink his position, however: “This time ‘the line’ is good, so maybe it can be used”.

Heidenstam soon resumed his critical attitude. The result was a provocative article, "Our Newspapers" that appeared in the fall of 1897 (7.11.1897). In it, he used strong language to condemn the press. "It is a great big festive chariot with outriders and lackeys and with the authors sitting on cushions in full Episcopal regalia with anathema in one hand and our Lord Jesus Christ's reconciliatory body and blood in the other. The miscreants line the way, fastened upon the wheel, but in accord with our human duty, at the moment of their death they receive a blessing, but it is not claimed that the prelate's blessing necessarily is of God."

The newspaper was uncertain about how to handle the article. Heidenstam himself maintained that it was "much too measured and – fair". He did not wish to participate in the usual polemics. "For hack journalists, abuse is just like refreshing water." He wanted to initiate a more general discussion. He was a poet and never became a newspaper man, not even to Levertin's limited extent. "It is the press that has failed the Swedish traditions and lured the educated classes into becoming poorly read and ignorant."

Heidenstam felt like a restrained king, but he did not rest on his laurels. Between rounds, he was still full of plans. They could be major or minor. The great newspaper transaction that he had initiated had given him a taste for action as a change from just expounding. After a few weeks of the new regime, he declared that "the domestic (news) section is a true scandal". Having inspired the cultural paper, he naturally placed demands on those who were responsible for changing things. What was needed was "a polemic and a bile filled pen, above all a lively and stylistic one. For the moment, our shabby domestic politics hardly require more".

The irritations were many, the feelings mixed. Among them was the poet's jealousy that journalists became the recipients of royal favor. Oscar II received representatives of an international journalism conference. That was the occasion on which Heidenstam coined his provocative terminology: "A thinker, a scientist, perhaps sometimes even a politician, weighs his words with concern for future judgments. Such bashfulness before posterity – what does that mean to the pack of vagabonds of the spirit from the four corners of Europe which just now crowded around the dining tables in the halls of the palace of Drottningholm!"

The Newspaper Maker and Shaker Decides

The reforms at the newspaper firm had no immediate positive effect on the circulation. Heidenstam toyed with plans intended to solve both the financial and the content problems. The principal competitor, *Dagens*

Nyheter, was doing better. That was the background for his fanciful plan to have *Svenska Dagbladet* buy *Dagens Nyheter*.

Thus, at a time when newspaper trusts were being constructed, even a man who lived far away from the world of newspapers had such thoughts. It is impossible to know how deeply Heidenstam delved into the sometimes complex ownership situation, and thus if the contemplated purchase was to have included the papers closely allied with *Dagens Nyheter*. If such was the case, then the most innovative big city papers would all have been gathered under one umbrella. That there was substantial resistance from the various editorial staffs is hardly surprising, and Heidenstam complained that not even Helmer Key supported his proposal: he has “gotten it into his head that Sv. D. will do so well that a purchase is unnecessary”.

Svenska Dagbladet is one of the few newspapers from the late 19th century that has survived. At a number of succeeding jubilee celebrations, praise has been heaped on those who managed to convert a less than successful Conservative paper, that in its early years was plagued by frequent ownership and editorial changes, into a paper with a consistent line, perhaps even a soul.

Parts of the plan could be implemented quickly. The “90’s generation” surrounding Heidenstam obtained their own outlet, thus shifting the bounds of the cultural debate. The great Stockholm exhibition also soon provided a fortunate opportunity to capture on-going events – the reporting of the exhibition had of course been prepared by the previous regime. King Oskar II celebrated twenty-five years on the throne and was also honored in an article by Heidenstam. S. A. Andrée, Nils Strindberg and Knut Frænkel took off towards the North Pole in their gas balloon, creating a story of world-wide interest. They vanished into the silence. But their accompanying carrier pigeons were sighted both here and there. *Svenska Dagbladet* was taken in by such stories and, together with the general attitude towards the paper, those reports gave rise to the less than flattering nickname “The Culture Pigeon”.

Taking control of a major newspaper is never problem-free. To make it one’s own was even more difficult, especially if the preparation time had been short. The strains took various forms, and if anything it is surprising that the paper survived. The capital invested proved to be insufficient. Following the sunny exhibition summer of 1897, the money was gone. As Thiel recalled in his critical retrospective: “The money lasted four months, or more precisely, until August 19 of the same year, the day I was informed that they had been used up and that a further 60,000 was required to keep the firm afloat. I hesitated at first but Mr. von Heidenstam elaborated on the moral question – which had almost escaped my

attention – concluding that as an honest man I either had to pay up or declare bankruptcy.”

Heidenstam also searched for other financiers. Still for a while it was Thiel who kept the paper going. In early 1898, the money was once again used up. Thiel was no longer willing to keep pumping in more. He withdrew and received no compensation for his claims. After a few months of “*sturm und drang*”, it was instead the mining industrialist Gustaf Emil Broms (1869–1903) who assumed the burden.

It was at this stage that the paper's leadership was reinforced with Carl Gustaf Tengwall (1864–1913), at the time assistant editor-in-chief of *Dagens Nyheter*. As he had earlier demonstrated as editor of *Smålands Allehanda* in Jönköping, Tengwall had the ability to get things done. He would continue to do so at the three Stockholm newspapers where he was to intercede, even if his stay at *Dagens Nyheter* was too brief to leave a permanent impression. His departure from there, however, did contribute to the rivalry between the two papers.

Tengwall made his important contributions during his years at *Svenska Dagbladet*. It was there that he created the great dragon, as major Swedish papers are half-affectionately known. He represented a new type of newspaper man, the newspaper maker and shaker. Once a paper's editorial staff had reached a given size, someone was needed to hold things together, someone who motivated, had ideas for reporting, interviews and series of articles, someone who was responsible for renewal. It was not the type of person who contributed with his writing. It was the type whose dynamism aroused enthusiasm among his colleagues.

Competition in Stockholm was more intense than elsewhere, resulting in more rapid progress. Of the twelve daily papers, *Stockholms-Tidningen* was the largest with a circulation of approximately 100,000 at the turn of the century; *Hvad Nytt i Dag?* (What's New Today?) was published in the same newspaper building. *Stockholms Dagblad* had lost some of the momentum that constructing its own newspaper building and converting to a rotary press had given it. Still, like *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, the paper had converted to daily publication. *Social-Demokraten*, *Vårt Land* and *Svenska Dagbladet* were unabashedly opinionated. The papers with the richest traditions were *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* and *Aftonbladet*. The last of these also published the large-circulation paper *Dagen* (The Day).

Despite his many competitors, Tengwall led the way in several areas. *Svenska Dagbladet* became more than just a prominent cultural newspaper – although Tengwall also took initiatives in that genre. The format was more generous than that of *Dagens Nyheter*. Reporting was encouraged and correspondents were dispatched into the field. In virtually every

category, except police coverage, *Svenska Dagbladet* had the upper hand. Interviews, which had been included since the 1880s, flourished. There were many contributors, and the generous use of pen names made the group seem even larger. Lotten Ekman (1880–1910) utilized more than forty different noms de guerre, “Curieuse” when she wrote fashion columns.

Tengwall became the most outspoken advocate of the all inclusive newspaper which had something for everyone. Success came after a few years. In 1904, the paper made a profit and exceeded *Dagens Nyheter's* circulation for a time. By that time, Verner von Heidenstam was barely willing to acknowledge his paper any more. He failed to grasp that it was a stroke of luck also for literature, drama and art to have been given such a strong position in a newspaper for everything and everyone.

The Era of Organizations

Both Heidenstam and Tengwall can be associated with the organizations that arose in the newspaper world around the turn of the previous century. With his contemptuous talk of a “pack of vagabonds of the spirit”, the poet gave expression to the quite widespread distain felt for journalists. Tengwall's treatment of his personnel was a decisive factor in the creation of an association of journalists.

There were precursors. Publicistklubben (PK, The Swedish National Press Club) dated all the way back to 1874. Like the large meetings of publicists, PK had worked to improve the status of journalism. Consequently, not everyone was welcome. Membership required election, a process explicitly intended to exclude those writers who might sully the reputation of the entire group. Similarly, the early interest in journalistic ethics can be traced back to this concern for the whole profession. PK allowed supporters of various points of view to meet and discuss matters, usually in a pleasant atmosphere.

In 1893, Swedish authors had joined together to form a professional association. The initiative had come from Heidenstam. What was striking was the openly declared intent to work to advance the financial interests of the membership group. The association was thus a form of trade union. With that in mind, it is even more remarkable that the King himself became the first, and for a long time the only, honorary member. Moreover, Conservative writers, led by Carl David af Wirsén, joined.

The typographers were the earliest newspaper occupation to organize. The Swedish Typographers' Association founded in 1886, was the first labor union in the press and from early on it created a favored position for its members. It was to last until the drastic revamping of newspaper

production technology during the 1960s. Even before the end of the 1880s, the union had succeeded in obtaining an agreement that guaranteed its members at least a minimum wage and regular hours.

The striving for professional status together with a clearer demarcation between the parties finally resulted, around the turn of the century, in the newspapers themselves successfully organizing. In 1898, Tidningsutgivareföreningen (TU, The Newspaper Publishers' Association) was formed with Anders Jeurling as chairman. It was now possible for the owners to negotiate on more even terms with the typographers. On a different plane, one of the early questions to be broached was the joint purchase of newsprint.

In the summer of 1901, Tengwall summarily dismissed five staff members. There was an indignant reaction resulting in a meeting where the matter was heatedly debated. Following a discussion within the PK in September, the newspaper was censored. Towards the end of the year, Svenska Journalistförbundet (Swedish Journalists' Union) was formed. Demands were presented calling for a minimum salary, uninterrupted weekly time off, vacations, notice and the right to refuse humiliating assignments. It was not until 1916, however, that an agreement concerning standard contracts was reached with TU.

Smaller but More Pages

At the end of the 19th century, Sweden had a population of approximately five million. Emigration was still substantial, but declining. The birth rate was sinking after having reached a peak a decade or so earlier. But people lived longer. These five million had about one million daily newspapers to share. One paper for five people might seem little, but from the opposite perspective, it represented a substantially increased newspaper density. The growth had been especially striking since 1865.

During the first two decades of the new era (1865–1884), the total circulation of the daily press increased five times, admittedly from a rather modest level. The resulting half million then doubled again by the turn of the century, or maybe even a bit more than doubled – the numbers are uncertain and based on the newspapers' own reports. A number of factors played a role. The number of cities and towns with papers increased, as did the total number of papers. By the end of the century, 85 locales had newspapers, and increasingly they had more than one each. The average circulation was approximately one thousand copies in 1865. By 1899, it had quadrupled. The very small papers had become fewer, and the minimum circulation had increased. Nonetheless, thanks to the radicaliza-

tion of the low price papers, the range of circulation levels had increased. At the turn of the century, *Skånska Dagbladet* had one-twentieth of the entire Swedish daily newspaper circulation and *Stockholms-Tidningen* one-tenth. The popular movements played a role in the development of newspapers and magazines and probably an even bigger role in the development of their readership.

Today's reader would find himself in a different world if he tried to read late 19th century newspapers. Penetrating the codes, however, is not so difficult that he should deny himself a visit there. The newspapers were at their biggest at the end of the 19th century – at least using the rather crude measure of page size. They were spoken of as bed sheets and they could literally be a meter long. That is an area equal to that of four tabloids. Since then two changes in format size have taken place. The first of these occurred a decade or so into the 20th century when the change to rotary presses resulted in a larger number of smaller pages.

The use of pictures entered its third phase at the turn of the century. Photography had existed as a possibility since the middle of the 19th century. An important step was taken during the 1880s when amateur photography became feasible. It left its tracks in a number of recurrent publications, for example the Swedish Tourist Association's Yearbook. Even after the decisive invention of halftone printing had become practical during the 1890s, however, the pictures remained few, poor and constantly reprinted. An ongoing, immediate visual presentation still had to wait. Yet, starting in 1899, *Hvar 8 Dag* demonstrated how world events and people could be presented photographically. *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (New Illustrated Newspaper) was almost simultaneously forced to quit the field. It seemed to prove that people's picture of the world depended on photographic technology.

New readers were recruited through low prices, very seldom by attractive layouts. Newspaper pages were filled with compact text whose reading was not yet facilitated and steered by carefully prepared headings.

New technology also became available to the editorial staff. The telephone spread quickly in Sweden starting in the 1880s and was important for gathering news. For a long time, however, telephone interviews were considered too intrusive. Telegrams, both private and through the telegram bureaus, become more common place. But scissors and glue pots remained important editorial tools. The earliest typewriters had made their appearance, but for several additional decades, those who eschewed using them considered themselves superior.

The newspapers took over much of daily life. Since most people had their own paper, or at least read one, there was greater reason to let them also control the topics of daily conversation. It was a position the news-

papers would retain until the breakthrough of radio broadcasting during the 1930s.

The newspaper also played a role in the shaping of various cities' identity. Every self-respecting city needed its own paper, and it also was important that it was printed on site. As yet, that did not mean that local material dominated the contents.

A Farewell to Handicrafts

Right from the start, the press represented an interesting example of the conversion from handicraft to industry. The reproduction of word and picture was one of the earliest forms of mass production. The dividing line was between type setting and printing. This chasm between the handicraft and industrial sides tended to widen as the presses became ever faster in the course of the late 19th century.

Type setting by hand retained the spirit of Gutenberg. Anyone who has the opportunity to see a nimble type setter at work will be impressed with his skill. It can also be measured. Just at the time that this handicraft had reached its apex, and was soon to be replaced, at *Aftonbladet* it was expected that a trained setter could produce 60 rows of 40 type units each, that is to say a total of 2,400 signs, per hour. A standard issue of the paper in the late 1880s contained 230,400 signs, and thus would require roughly 96 hours of work by a single setter – proof reading not included.

But machines were on the way. During the 1880s, there was talk of a Swedish invention, Lagerman's setting machine. But in practice, it was not until 1897 that the newspapers began to adopt type setting machines. A Linotype machine was installed at *Svenska Dagbladet* in 1898, and it became the dominant system. The newspaper thus underlined its leadership role also in the area of technology. In 1899, the paper installed two more linotype machines, giving it the capacity to machine-set almost the entire paper. Once under way, things moved quickly. By 1905, there were 193 type-setting machines in the Country, albeit some were engaged in book printing. By 1917, the number had risen to 575. Since these machines represented a considerable commitment of capital, their introduction also led to an increase in shift work.

The change in presses had even greater effects. The number of rotary presses also increased although it took a longer time. In 1913, there were 79, rising to 94 in 1917 and 119 in 1920. Each press required a large investment, but the depreciation period was long. The modernization was assisted by the emergence of a second hand market.

The new generation of presses created numerous, previously unavailable, opportunities. Not least of these was the ability to print more but smaller pages. This, in turn, made it possible to increase and rearrange the contents. A new press was a big deal, something a newspaper crowed about. Once the adaptation problems had been resolved, it was possible to pull away from the competition. This is what happened in 1898 when *Svenska Dagbladet* installed a new press.

Strikes and Sheets of Lies

The general strike broke out on August 4, 1909. It was the result of several years of growing tension between Landsorganisationen (LO, The National Organization of Labor Unions) and Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen (SAF, The Swedish Federation of Employers). The strike was a response to a widespread lockout warning issued a few days earlier. At its peak, 300,000 workers were out on strike. The atmosphere was heated. The military was mobilized to guard, among other facilities, the Central Railway Station and the Riksdag building in Stockholm.

It was a unique situation which, among other institutions, put the press to the test. On August 6, *Dagens Nyheter* reported that a noisemaker had caused panic in Gothenburg and that farmers were afraid to bring their produce into Stockholm. People walked around with loaded pistols. On a single day, two persons were accidentally injured. Yet the newspaper summarized that things had never been so calm as during the strike and the accompanying ban on alcohol consumption.

Stockholms Dagblad had in 1905 abandoned its specially constructed newspaper building and moved to new quarters. The police paper that had become the leading advertising outlet and Sweden's Times, was searching for a new identity. Its new location at Vasagatan 9 was right across the street from the imposing new Central Post Office whose location further emphasized the Klara district's central position in the Swedish newspaper world. A number of highly regarded journalists toiled there. Without going overboard or even always dealing with the most important books, Klara Johanson (1875–1948) became one of the foremost literary critics. As such, she often signed her work "K. J.", while her pseudonym when writing amusing columns, a genre she helped develop, was "Huck Leber".

Also present in the building was Gösta Sjöberg (1880–1967), even if his greatest contributions to the paper were made following a hiatus spent at *Göteborgs Aftonblad* (1912–1929). He, in turn, recruited his younger brother Birger Sjöberg (1885–1929). Birger joined the paper as an intern

in November of 1906 and wrote chatty columns under the pen name "Päta". Early versions of his "Frida" poems, which he did not publish in book form until 1922, appeared in the paper. After only a year, however, he moved to *Helsingborgs-Posten* where he was appointed assistant editor-in-chief in 1909. Most of the newspaper scenes that can be found, among other places, in his Dickens-like novel, *Kvartetten som sprängdes*, exude a small-town atmosphere. In her positive review of the book, "K. J." took the opportunity to reminisce about their common workplace on Vasagatan in Stockholm: "With eyes half closed, the great morning paper's building was taking its afternoon siesta. It did not lie entirely unlit nor was it entirely empty, in a corner here and there in proud and lifeless lamplight some dreamlike being moved, shadow like and unjustified, like a lie that refutes itself."

Lies were more commonly spoken of in connection with *Stockholms Dagblad*. It was now Carl Gustaf Tengwall who gave the orders there and who experimented with ideas that were new to the paper. Whether it was his idea or someone else's is not known, but in any case *Stockholms Dagblad* became associated with the three-stories-high rolls of linen cloth that informed passers by how many workers had contributed to shrinking the general strike by returning to work. The popular name given to this façade decoration was obvious: sheets of lies.

The antagonism was strong, and it found further expression. Both the newspaper employers and their employees were independent of the organizations that had ordered the general strike. They had a valid labor agreement in place. The board of the Typographer's Association tried to prevent work stoppages, but many of the graphic workers at the newspapers found the strike reporting to be provocative. Following a general meeting in Stockholm, the typographers joined the strike on August 10.

Labor conflicts at media firms tend to attract special attention. Also this time painful lessons were imparted. One conflict led to another. It was an eye sore that so much of reporting was taken over by *Svaret* (The Answer), edited by *Social-Demokratens* assistant editor-in-chief Gerhard Magnusson (1872–1940). This paper reached a maximum circulation of 150,000 copies, in some ways an expression of the gap in reporting that had been created. The other papers, however, also tried to stay in contact with their audience. The general strike lasted through the rest of August and the first week of September. Some papers did not reemploy their typographers after the strike was over. Anna Branting, the clever and widely read theater critic in *Stockholms-Tidningen* was fired – apparently because she was married to Hjalmar Branting.

Dagens Nyheter Takes Over

The strike came at a particularly bad time for *Dagens Nyheter*. During the summer of 1909, it was on the brink of definitively retaking the lead among the country's daily newspapers. It was a process that had been underway ever since the moment in 1901 when it had been bought out from the trust. The revitalization was the result of fortunate recruiting: Otto von Zweigbergk, Oscar Hemberg, Anton Karlgren.

The paper, however, still had trouble deciding what direction to take. Should it strive for the largest circulation or should it take up the fight to mold public opinion and try to attract a somewhat more prosperous readership? At the paper, opinions differed. Those who argued for a large circulation often referred to Rudolf Wall. The most important proponent of this approach was the long-serving Albert Seberg.

Otto von Zweigbergk (1863–1935) wanted above all to develop the paper as an opinion maker. In fact, during his long career at the paper (1898–1921), he was able to realize his plan and to create a spirit of cultural radicalism that was to last far into the future.

It is striking, however, that *Dagens Nyheter*, just like *Svenska Dagbladet*, in practice put emphasis both on influencing opinion and on popular journalism. Thus they had established an important pattern for the entire Swedish press. It was possible to include important and audience-pleasing features that had evolved in the precursor countries' press, and still play an opinion molding role. The dragon could be tamed.

During Zweigbergk's initial years at the paper, the combination was not fully functional. Both *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen* were several steps ahead in the race. But new men brought new opportunities. Oscar Hemberg's (1881–1944) experience was limited to a few years at *Malmö-Tidningen* – thus *Dagens Nyheter*'s costly adventure gave at least some return. In 1905, he was hired as assistant editor-in-chief, and during the next few years the paper was transformed.

The first steps in that process were taken in the spirit of what Henrik Cavling had done at *Politiken*. The general idea, contrary to what had previously been the case at the brothers Georg and Edvard Brandes' paper, was to put news ahead of opinion. The editorials became shorter, as they had originally been in Rudolf Wall's day, and the headlines more numerous. Advertisements were removed from the front page. The response in the form increased circulation making it possible for Hemberg to go further. *Dagens Nyheter* probably also benefited from the loss of leading personalities at its two most important competitors. The founder of *Stockholms-Tidningen*, Anders Jeurling, died in 1906. *Svenska Dagbladet* was weakened by Levertin's death that same year and by Tengwall's move to *Stockholms Dagblad* in 1907.

The typographical measures are the easiest to detect. Fat headlines were also available at Swedish print shops, but, they had only been used in advertisements. As the volume of text increased, however, they also started to appear in the edited material.

Some of the innovations were floating in the air and *Dagens Nyheter* was not necessarily first with them all. When, after 250 years, the newspapers finally realized that they needed headlines more than one column wide, the step was first taken by *Social-Demokraten*. On May 18, 1900, the paper decided that a brutal murder was worthy of two columns. It was not emulated. Such, however, at least to some extent, became the case following *Göteborgs-Posten's* use of dual columns in January of 1905.

Still, it was at *Dagens Nyheter* where these new typographical methods of expression were put to systematic use during the following years. The recruitment of Anton Karlgren (1882–1973) in 1908, would consolidate their use. He had a background in linguistics. Initially he thought he could limit some of the innovations introduced by Hemberg, but in fact they worked as a well-coordinated team until filthy lucre lured Hemberg over to the film industry in 1916. In 1923, Karlgren resumed his research career as Professor of Slavic Philology at the University of Copenhagen.

The new typographical measures had first been tried in the United States. Cavling had been there, and his account *Fra Amerika* (From America), written in Danish, had been translated to Swedish in 1898. Even if the American newspapers were probably quite well known in Sweden, it is certainly noteworthy that during 1909 Hemberg himself visited that innovative country and inspected Pulitzer's *World* and Hearst's *Journal* first hand.

During the spring of 1909, the installation of a new press provided *Dagens Nyheter* with the technical requirements for completing its modernization. It was put into use on July 4, and it so happened that it too went on strike that summer. The news pushed aside the advertisements from the front page. Thus the reader learned what was most important among the events that occurred since the paper was last published. It is yet another red letter day in the history of the Swedish press.

The Little Newspaper Becomes Large

The format of the newspapers has varied in a revealing manner. The page size continuously increased right from the earliest book-like format until new modern presses were introduced. In Sweden this occurred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The extremely large pages became smaller. This was especially the case with *Dagens Nyheter* because the

change was part of a carefully thought-through modernization plan for the entire content structure. The pages were substantially reduced in size (to approximately 55 x 40 cm.), and instead there were more of them. But smaller was actually bigger. The total volume of text was rapidly growing. Now there was an opportunity to handle it.

The smaller pages made it possible to further divide the paper into separate sections and thus also to develop special sub-genres, writing styles and specialized editing. Editorial pages, culture and arts pages and sports pages emerged over time. The only one that was created immediately was “the light side”. At *Dagens Nyheter* it was called “Namn och Nytt” (Names and More), and under that name it has lived on to the present day. The section debuted at the same time as the new printing press, but did not immediately find itself. Soon enough, however, the person-centered notices that were foreshadowed in its name were supplemented with daily verses, cartoons and amusing columns. The special C-notices, for which the paper’s founder felt such affection for, found their natural place there.

These developments played an important role in the history of not just the individual paper but of the entire Swedish newspaper world. The type of paper that in 1897 was launched against its competitors was followed up. The dragon swallowed just about everything.

The world of periodicals was also limited by pre-existing constraints. It is possible to discern a stairway leading from the most concrete, and therefore the most ephemeral, to the most abstract, and therefore the least changeable. In order not to make things unnecessarily complicated, a clarifying example can be inserted. The constantly changing material still contained stability in the form that these instantaneous impressions were presented. The genres experienced rise and fall. They were created, grew, had their golden age and then faded away – and then returned, sometimes in a somewhat altered guise. At the next level, it is possible to follow how the various types of newspapers – sometimes working with and sometimes competing with other media – made use of their various media and forms. The different types of newspaper followed different trends. Ultimately there is a struggle between the general and the particular.

In the periodic press, examples of both extremes were represented. Specialized publications constitute one wing. This becomes especially apparent when the circle of specialists is small. The young writers’ magazines represent one extreme of small circulations, short lives and pretended indifference towards the public’s actual indifference.

The general interest magazines could never be so pure and single-minded. Their ideal form is the encyclopedia which is intended to por-

tion out everything worth knowing. Even if it has many volumes, however, it is clear that ultimate universality is an illusion. That is even more the case with periodic publications along those lines. Among these were the family magazines, the large, big city, morning newspapers and the broadcast media with a public-service mission. They pretended to provide everything for everybody. Their hope was to offer enough to continually attract new readers of both genders and various ages. This was also the beginning of a new approach to newspaper reading: to be selective. It was an indication of the richness of newspaper content that some of it had to be put aside.

When *Dagens Nyheter* surged into the lead during the strike summer of 1909, the Swedish daily press was in a phase of rapid expansion. It found expression in virtually every aspect: the number of newspapers, circulation and conditions of employment. It was also displayed – which is of the greatest interest in the present context – an appetite for new categories. This was precisely the period when the large morning papers became large. Even if they did not live up to what they promised their expanding readership, to provide everything for everyone, at least they provided much for many. With regard to the composition of their content, this meant that the pendulum swung towards the general. Taking heed of their readers' tastes, they were careful to provide more than just news reporting. Occasionally this meant taking over categories from more specialized sectors of the press.

The humorous press, which had been so successful at the turn of the previous century, served as a reservoir of usable material. A few examples are especially eye-catching. The initials "O.A.," Oskar Andersson (1877–1906), the clever sketch artist at *Söndags-Nisse* (Sunday Nisse), drew twenty or so installments of "The Man Who Does Whatever He Feels Like", generally considered Sweden's first cartoon series. It appeared almost simultaneously with Richard Outcault's "The Yellow Kid" that left such a deep impression on the American press.

Knut Stangenberg (1871–1955) taught himself to be one of the best in his craft at the humor magazines *Kasper*, *Strix* and *Söndags-Nisse*, before he in 1912 struck it rich as a cartoonist at *Allt för Alla*, by introducing Fridolf Celinder. The irascible father with his bunch of brats was one of those characters that has remained in people's consciousness and far into the future was published in book form.

The humor press had to relinquish important features to the daily papers. Amusing columnists and cartoonists switched outlets. The humor magazines largely disappeared, the only one of the old kind still remaining today is *Grönköpings Veckoblad* (the weekly paper of the absurd, fictitious city of Grönköping).

August Strindberg's Private Feud

August Strindberg (1849–1912) had his last residence in the building known as the Blue Tower on Drottninggatan in Stockholm. There he became the neighbor of a newspaper, the Liberal *Aftontidningen*, which had been founded in December of 1909 and had adopted the policy of an ad-free front page. Despite financial problems and frequent ownership changes, the paper played an important role until it was closed in 1920. It received a flying start when its neighbor offered to provide articles free of charge. It began with “Pharaoh Worship” on April 29, 1910. “I am writing without an honorarium: but I do request proof reading and exemption from annulling editorial comments.” So had Strindberg written to the editor, Valfrid Spångberg (1871–1946). Even though Strindberg also contributed to other papers, he helped to pump up *Aftontidningen's* circulation from 14,000 to 20,000 copies.

Strindberg had spent his earliest years in Klara. But that was before the newspapers had moved in. He had briefly experimented with being a newspaper man, including at his own outlet *Svensk Försäkringstidning* (Swedish Insurance Journal, 1873). For a time 1872–74), he had worked at *Dagens Nyheter* where Rudolf Wall tried to teach him to write in the popular newspaper style. Later, he had reconnected with journalism at *Malmö-Tidningen*. Even in his “Occult Diary”, where he drew the signs that had allowed him to navigate through the “Inferno” crisis to a new world view, he collected notices from the papers. The concept of “the powers” that represented the forces that had changed his life and poetry had been taken from the newspapers’ foreign reporting. But when he now utilized the newspapers for a last great personal combat, he did so to obtain justice. He seemed to strike out in all directions. He attacked Karl XII and the explorer Sven Hedin. He took a political position. But above all, he fought for his standing relative to the successful “90s generation”. Oscar Levertin had been dead for several years, but still he became the object of decisive disparagement. The previous year, Selma Lagerlöf had been the first Swede to receive the Nobel Prize instituted in 1901, one of the events that made the little Country’s presence in the world known as being of both cultural and news worthy interest. Most of all, however, Strindberg’s fire was directed at Verner von Heidenstam who on his 50th birthday during the summer of 1909 had been honored as Sweden’s national poet.

Strindberg’s personal feud blossomed astonishingly. Virtually every newspaper and magazine wanted to make its feelings known. They had several motives. Conflicts had been building up, both in politics and in cultural policy. Newspapers and magazines had an unquestioned need

to make their presence felt. At the same time, since in a sense it was old grievances that were being rehashed, old debate tactics of a scandalizing nature that might be off putting to a modern reader, were employed. But there was also a group of new participants that needed to make their voices heard. Heidenstam waited as long as possible to join the debate. This left room for Frederik Böök (1882–1961) to head up the Conservative side. In 1907, he had succeeded Oscar Levertin as the leading literary critic at *Svenska Dagbladet*. Now he was able to emphatically strengthen his position and become a leading arbiter of good taste, a role he continued to play into the 1930s. He was also instrumental in driving up the honoraria paid to article writers by the newspapers, as well as becoming a leader in the category of so-called “clip-books”. For several decades, these allowed the leading article writers to publish a selection of their output in book form.

Bengt Lidforss (1868–1913), epoch making botanist but also a friend of poetry, had since 1900 acted as literary critic and polemicist at *Arbetet*. He now received a welcome opportunity to downgrade the importance of the “90s generation”. His caustic pen was effective and, despite his early demise, he became a model for future polemicists to emulate, and not just those on the left.

“Strindberg is right” was the caption for John Landquist’s (1881–1974) first contribution to the feud. For decades into the future, he would be Böök’s antithesis on cultural matters. At the same time, the two were virtually competitors in singing the praises of the “10’s generation”, the literary fashion that took over once the feud ended.

Americanization and Swedification

The telegraph inter-connected the world, both shrank it and made it larger at one and the same time. Since its introduction in the mid 19th century, it had altered the transmission of news and the forms it took. During the 1890s, the wireless telegraph also had achieved its breakthrough. The equipment was heavy but eminently suitable for maintaining contact with ships at sea. The sinking of the Titanic in April of 1912 could not be prevented, but some of the passengers were rescued, and news of the disaster spread quickly world-wide.

Dagens Nyheter was not the first to report the catastrophe; *Stockholms-Tidningen* beat them to the punch. But the leading paper utilized all the new presentation methods on April 16, 1912. These included a double row, stepped banner covering the entire front page, centrally placed pictures bordered by two single columns of text with multiple captions of

press. By the same token, it would take a long time for its last traces to be erased.

Before Anton Karlgren departed the paper to resume his scientific career, he summarized part of what had been accomplished in his publication *Journalistik i Dagens Nyheter* (Journalism at Dagens Nyheter, 1923). Of the textbooks for Swedish journalists that have appeared, none has had such an impact as Karlgren's. This might seem surprising since its original, more modest, purpose was just to comment on the situation at one particular newspaper.

Karlgren summarized the Americanization that he, more than anyone else, had initiated. But part of the story is that, following his inspection trip to the United States in 1918, he warned that the lessons learned there had to be used with a degree of moderation and be adapted to Swedish circumstances.

Naturally enough, some of what he had to say was a product of the times. His very pronounced support of the stepped head and its ideal form gives the impression that God Almighty had participated in the design process: "The lines that arise when the various letters' capitals are connected (lines that should be parallel) should in an ideal heading form a 45 degree angle with the horizontal rows (and with the lines in the column)." This remained the rule for a remarkably long time at many Swedish newspapers.

Other parts have a timeless quality. Much should be presented succinctly. In order to convey a message, the important part should come first. But, on the contrary, if and when the readers' interest has been aroused, there is almost no limit to the detail that can be provided.

Karlgren left behind what served as a testament directed at *Dagens Nyheter's* writers. His argument in favor of journalism utilizing an inverted pyramid structure and the new heading styles, won over a large portion of the Swedish press. It made the point that nowadays the behavior of even ordinary folks was acceptable in most circles. For decades to come, *Dagens Nyheter* became the paper others imitated or defended themselves against.

9. The Newspapers' War (1912–19)

On June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were murdered on the streets of Sarajevo. One month later, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, following which Germany declared war on Russia and Great Britain on Germany. The World War had begun. A fortunate era came to an abrupt end. The borders that travellers had been able to cross without a passport were sealed. Countries that had previously competed in their proclaimed desire for peace now threw themselves into a devastating slaughter of people on land and sea. Sweden, which had already avoided war for a century, once again managed to remain on the outside. But the sense of world catastrophe loomed ominously even there. Even though the Second World War claimed more victims and encompassed a larger share of the world, those who experienced the first conflagration would maintain that it had a greater effect. Ultimately, they meant that the second was a continuation of the first.

It has justifiably been said that truth is the first casualty of war. That was certainly the case during World War I. Propaganda was not something new, but now, for the first time, it was used systematically. War is considered to benefit, or at least to transform, the mass media. World War I has been called the last great newspaper war – in return it transformed the papers more than any previous war. World War II would belong to the radio.

The World Through Swedish Eyes

The buildup for the anticipated war had been ongoing for several years. It seems reasonable to draw a boundary line a pair of years earlier.

Nor was the Swedish newspaper reader unprepared. Their foreign reporting was the aspect of the papers that had the proudest tradition, although the product varied both in quantity and quality. For a long time, the foreign newspapers provided an embarrassment of riches. To the extent the individual Swedish paper relied on these sources, it required both an international perspective and competence in foreign languages.

The female staff members often had superior knowledge of languages. Women translators became an important group at the large newspapers.

In their half century of existence, the news bureaus had altered the perspective on the world at large. The situation had become easier to survey and less variant. Both the international and the national bureaus were put to the test during the build up to the war. The reporting risked becoming one-sided or biased, or in the worst case, part of a propaganda campaign.

The large newspapers tended to place their outstanding journalists in the foreign news department. It was not just a joke when they were referred to as foreign ministers. Their prototype was Verner Söderberg (1872–1932), who worked at *Stockholms Dagblad* during the first two decades of the century, before becoming editor-in-chief of *Aftonbladet* for a couple of years. He urged the Swedish newspapers to participate in the foreign debate, even though the country remained outside. In retrospect, he concluded that World War I was a watershed even in this regard. Indeed, editorial articles concerning foreign questions were then becoming more prevalent even in the provincial press.

Despite these efforts, many observers felt that the newspapers did not accept their responsibility for helping Sweden take its place in the world. Anton Karlgren had early on made himself known at *Dagens Nyheter* for his penetrating reports from Russia. He continued to write home to the paper during his travels. When, as was usually the case, he was at the paper and the new order was searching for material to build sensational pages, he discovered that the foreign material was not deserving of front page headlines. The Great War would change all that.

Dispatched into the Real World

Gradually *Dagens Nyheter* also developed the capacity to compete in foreign reporting. Beyron Carlsson (1869–1928) was among the most active participants in the journalistic renewal where *Dagens Nyheter* regained the lead. Like many other Swedish newspaper men, he had studied the American press situation and played a role in the Americanization of the Swedish press. He could also urge others to change paths and participate in the renewal. It was he who pushed Gustaf Hellström (1882–1953) to take up journalism. “You young Stockholm novelists, you hang around the bars and write about government clerks, their bill-jobbing and little erotic escapades. Why don’t you get out and about?”

To be on the scene, to offer a Swedish slant on the material, to see with one’s own eyes, these were special temptations. There were 19th

century precursors in the Swedish press. Hellström became one of the most skilled and persevering of these. He lasted long enough to write from London 1907–1910, Paris 1911–1918 and New York 1918–1920. Then, after a period at home, he returned to London 1918–1935. During those years he made additional contributions by reporting from other places, especially from Berlin during the crucial year of 1933. But, he needed someone to send him on assignment.

Hellström quickly began his new line of work when he arrived in London in 1907. He was not uncontroversial among the editorial staff which sometimes perceived him as too literary. Reminiscing, he has emphasized that the correspondent's role was somewhat ambiguous: "There were several circumstances that came to my assistance. First of all: at that time, the task of the Swedish foreign correspondent was totally different from what it would become after 1914. He was not required to send his paper daily telegraphic reports. Current political news was handled by the major international news bureaus. It was only in very special cases that one was assigned to wire in news, cases that lay outside the interest sphere of the bureaus: meetings of Swedish associations, occasions when Swedes had run afoul of the English police and court system."

Pioneers, Penholders and Maids

"As I rode on the streetcar, I saw a girl come flying out of a doorway on Badstugatan and, of course, run down towards Tegnérgatan. I jumped off, of course – and at 'of course' half those present giggled – and caught sight of her man with a broken beer bottle in his hand, (---) One would have thought the girl would be utterly hysterical, cut as she was, but she at least had the presence of mind to give false information to the police, and she hissed and spat when I gave them the facts. Some evening, after she has recovered and I am on my way home from the newspaper, she will kill me, but how could I have known how much she loved him."

So did the "Penholder" herself recollect her day as a reporter.

It was Elin Wägner (1882–1948) who coined the term "penholder" referring to an important group of women journalists who found their way onto editorial staffs and tried to make them function on their terms. Her little novel with that title dates to 1910 and deals with the struggle for a woman's right to vote, love and write. Wägner had schooled herself at *Helsingborgs-Posten*, *Vårt Land* och *Dagens Nyheter*, before taking over as assistant editor-in-chief (1907–1917) of the weekly magazine *Idun*.

Women pioneers have played an important role in the Swedish press at least since the 18th century. During the early 1900s they made major

contributions to the discovery of new aspects of reality. The share of women on editorial staffs increased slowly but surely until parity was reached during the 1960s. The great step in this development was taken when their role was expanded beyond performing the specifically female tasks. Generally speaking, however, this process proceeded more rapidly in the press than in other sectors of society.

Women made their presence known both as a group and as individuals. A network of women journalists that was formed in Stockholm the same year as the novel "The Penholder" was published was called "The Gang". Even in this regard, the capital was slightly ahead. "The Gang" occasionally discovered areas that had previously been totally ignored by the papers.

Gurli Linder (1865–1947) developed the critical reviewing of children's literature during her long career at *Dagens Nyheter* (1900–33).

Ester Blenda Nordström (1891–1948) performed an exploit that was far ahead of its time. During the summer of 1914, under the by-line "Bansai", she published a series of articles entitled "A Month as a Servant Girl on a Farm in the province of Södermanland" in *Svenska Dagbladet*. It is better known under the name that was chosen when it was published as a book later that same year: *A Maid Among Maids*. It was a great success, but what has since been called participatory observation started a debate with overtones of press ethics. Was it proper, without disclosing ones' intent, to make observations and then make them public? "Bansai" trod in the footsteps of Jack London and tested some his methods well before Günther Wallraff. The assignment was made by the motor behind active journalism, the newspaper maker and shaker Ewald Stomberg. In the future, however, "Bansai" would take numerous personal initiatives for her explorations both within and outside the country.

The editorial staffs were still small, but growing. At this time, the largest staffs were at papers such as *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Stockholms Dagblad*, each of which had between 24 and 27 members. *Aftonbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen* were somewhat smaller with 20, while *Afton-Tidningen*, *Dagen*, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, *Social-Demokraten* and *Svenska Morgonbladet* had to make do with 10 to 14. As for women, the Stockholm press led the way, but that still meant only one in ten. The newspapers with no women at all on their editorial staff included not only *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*, but also *Stockholms-Tidningen*, *Afton-Tidningen* and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. Their largest representation was at *Stockholms Dagblad*, *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*. At the Swedish Telegraph Bureau almost every third employee was a woman.

From the Training Grounds to the Palace Courtyard

During the years leading up to the World War, tensions increased even in Sweden. Since the newspapers by this time served as a forum for the ongoing debate, much of the conflict occurred on their pages. The “defense question” was the central issue for several years before the war. With Russia’s grip on Finland being tightened right next door, demands for a stronger Swedish defense intensified. The Liberal government, led by Karl Staaff, that had taken office following its electoral victory in 1911, delayed the implementation of an earlier decision to build a large armored warship. It took on symbolic importance. A voluntary collection campaign was initiated, and in 1915 the ship *Sverige* was launched. The defense question increasingly came to dominate domestic politics. The focus of the disputes shifted. The farmers, who had not always been eager to pay higher taxes for the sake of defense, now became involved in a nation-wide march to the Royal Palace in Stockholm in support of King Gustav V. The dispute had been moved from the training grounds to the palace courtyard.

A driving force in the agitation for a strong defense was Sven Hedin. His brochure *A Word of Warning* reached the million copy mark. The Conservative Party lined up behind this manifesto, the Social-Democrats were equally united in opposition. Among the Liberals, the question split the party. *Aftonbladet* advocated agreement across party lines. Several of the newly established papers throughout the country, such as *Västerbottens-Kuriren* (The West Bothnian Courier) agreed. C. G. Ekman (1872–1945), the editor first of *Eskilstuna-Kuriren* and later of *Afton-Tidningen*, and who during the late 1920s and early 1930s was to become prime minister, in his role as spokesman for the broad-minded wing of the United Liberal Party, also supported this position. *Dagens Nyheter* supported Staaff but, like the government, had to admit that the voluntary collection of 17 million kronor was a powerful indication of popular support for a strong defense.

Hedin continued his campaign. Staaff modified his position, but still had to concede that even *Dagens Nyheter* had become more defense friendly. On February 6, 1914, the day had finally come when the close to 40,000 marchers representing the rural population presented their anti-government and pro-defense petitions. The King received them in the palace courtyard and held an intensely personal speech, the formulation of which had been assisted by Sven Hedin.

A few days later, despite being waited on by a mass of supportive workers, Staaff submitted his resignation. New elections were called. A rancorous campaign followed, during which slanderous accusations that Staaff

had displayed weakness towards Russia surfaced. The Conservatives became the largest party in the second (popularly elected) chamber. *Dagens Nyheter* was subjected to criticism for having failed to loyally support the government. During the newspaper's fiftieth anniversary celebration a few months after the outbreak of war in 1914, Zweigbergk took the opportunity to justify his position that a newspaper never should be an errand boy for a party or a government. In so doing, he anticipated what later was to become the journalistic norm.

World War on the Front Page

For centuries wars and revolutions had raged without newspapers feeling a need to change their graphic form. Now the newspapers found themselves in a phase of rapid change. During the initial years, the headline writers at the pioneering newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, had had trouble convincing even themselves that the graphic modes of expression they wished to try were suitable. The World War had decisive consequences for the Swedish press. The clearest expression of the War's effect was that when it broke out many newspapers followed *Dagens Nyheter's* example from 1909 and eliminated advertisements from their front page. These included both *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen*. This was an extraordinary measure intended to convey the seriousness of these events. There were, however, differences of opinion at the newspapers. Several of them later reverted to their earlier practice.

In some quarters, war reporting on the front page was seen as an expression of sensationalism. Nonetheless, the war years witnessed a substantial modernization of the newspapers' typographical methods. A few years after the pioneering newspapers, many provincial papers also acquired new presses, allowing them to print more but smaller pages. The war contributed to the prioritization of events by their importance. Several papers accomplished this by including a special summary page – although it was not always what first met the reader's glance. Still, it was another step towards influencing what the readers actually read. The largest headline on the summary page revealed the most important event that had occurred in the world since the previous issue was published. This usage often contributed to painting a dark picture of the times.

Neutrality Instructions

The position of the Swedish press during First World War was in several regards different from what would be the case during the Second

– in retrospect it is difficult to avoid drawing a comparison. The government led by Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, that held office during most the war (1914–17), did not have the same broad parliamentary support as the coalition government of World War II. Nonetheless, it was able to garner support for its expressed desire to defend the Country's neutrality and avoid irritating the warring parties. During the initial phase of the war, Torvald Höjer, head of the Foreign Office's press department and close friend of leading members of the papers' editorial staffs, conveyed demands that the newspapers practice a "neutrality duty" and "foreign political discretion". He maintained that this was not an infringement on the freedom of expression.

Despite strong opposition, the government succeeded in having its way and was thus able to influence both the domestic debate and the foreign perception of Sweden. Unlike the situation during World War II, it was accomplished without the creation of a special regulatory agency. Violations were noted and warnings to be careful issued privately. During the early stages of the war, Staaff was subjected to criticism in the Riksdag for having unnecessarily contributed to greater attention being directed at an anti-entente article. The leaders of both the Conservatives and the Social-Democrats simultaneously issued assurances of their support for the government's neutrality policy. It has been observed that the "Hammarskjöld ministry could be pleased with a remarkably tolerant press".

Still a non-trivial number of freedom-of-the-press prosecutions were pursued, and some resulted in convictions. All together there were some 90 cases, directed not just at leftist papers such as *Brand* (Fire) and *Stormklockan* (Storm Bell), but also at *Aftonbladet*, *Göteborgs-Posten* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. In contrast with what was the case during World War II, the newspapers were not subjected to any further repressive measures. They do not even seem to have been contemplated. It has been noted that the Swedish newspapers enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than, for instance, the Danish. There were several explanations. Despite differences of opinion, it was pretty generally understood that neutrality was the only possible policy. Moreover, the situation was not as perilous as during World War II.

An Increased Readership

On the fourth of August 1914, *Dagens Nyheter* sold 153,189 copies, the highest number yet. Of course the level attained during the first days of the war could not be sustained. Still it was growing rapidly. The average circulation in August was close to 90,000 and by the end of the first year of war it had stabilized at approximately 70,000.

Stockholms-Tidningen, however, still maintained a clear lead with circa 125,000 copies. *Aftonbladet* was just under 30,000, but could add the enormous circulation of its half weekly edition amounting to several hundred thousand copies. *Social-Demokraten* had a distribution similar to that of *Aftonbladet*'s principal edition, thus outdistancing tradition-rich papers such as *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* and *Stockholms Dagblad* that did not even reach 20,000.

There were more readers. Despite their appetite, however, they got less to read. One constraint was the supply of newsprint, and for a time the papers decided to reduce their print space. For newspapers in an expansive phase, problems soon arose on this point. At the outbreak of the war, the number of advertisers declined, but after a year or so, the upward trend resumed.

The Telegraph Bureaus at War

Right from its inception in the 1860s, Svenska Telegrambyrån, like the telegraph bureaus in other small countries, had been integrated into a network created by the great powers. In the Swedish case, this especially meant being tied to the German Wolff bureau. More obviously than in any other area, there was a risk that the telegraph bureaus associated with a great power would be incorporated into the warring countries' propaganda apparatus. Even though Sweden had declared itself neutral, most Swedes had chosen sides. This often resulted in profound antagonism. The head of Svenska Telegrambyrån, F. G. T. Eklund (1868–1943), was pro-German. Nonetheless, he attempted to balance news received from Wolff with reports from the English Reuters and the French Havas – if for no other reason than to prevent the Foreign Office from cancelling its agreement with his bureau.

Discontent, however, led to the establishment of an alternative news intermediary. During 1915, Stockholms Telegrambyrå was founded with support of the entente countries. That same year, the Social-Democratic Presscentralen (The Press Center) was also added. Its staff included, among others, Per Albin Hansson (1845–1946), who eventually would lead the Country, and Ivar Ljungquist, who eventually would lead *Dagens Nyheter*.

Svenska Telegrambyrån tried to maintain its position by providing the newspapers with better service. Through a special government-office division, official news and specialized news of local interest were provided. Towards the end of the war, the rivalry became more intense after the other two competitors merged on July 1, 1918, creating Nordiska

Presscentralen (The Nordic Press Central), still with English support. Simultaneously with the launching of the final offensive on the Western Front, the propaganda war was further intensified. In Sweden, this meant that the reporting by both bureaus became increasingly one-sided.

After the fighting had ceased towards the end of 1918, the situation changed for the two Swedish bureaus that had forwarded the version of the news supplied by one or the other of the warring sides. Suddenly, they had neither war news nor financial subsidies to support their activities. They decided to make their own peace. De förenade byråerna (DFB, The united bureaus), however, could not count on widespread support from the newspapers. Especially the provincial papers were critical of DFB, and, in the fall of 1919, no less than 130 newspapers joined together to form Presstelegrambolaget (Ptb, The Press Telegram Company).

The need for a national bureau, possibly with government support, had already been argued during the agitated bureau conflicts. The Newspaper Publishers Association wanted to participate in a reconstruction. And the conflicts that had their origin in the taking of sides during the war would finally be resolved through a peaceful and stable solution. Two further steps were required. In the first of these, DFB was taken over by a group of Stockholm newspapers in early 1921 and renamed Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (The Newspapers' Telegraph Bureau), in retrospect referred to as "little TT". After an additional year of negotiations, the result was a nationwide, newspaper-owned bureau (TT). Gustaf Reuterswärd (1882–1953), previously the editor-in-chief of *Stockholms Dagblad*, was put in charge.

The Political Party Press Era

A substantial share of twentieth century newspapers were party-affiliated. The system had evolved gradually. The oldest papers, such as *Norrköpings Tidningar* and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, represented Conservative principles. The numerous successful papers launched during the nineteenth century mainly served the Liberal cause. As an increasing number of cities became endowed with two newspapers, it was entirely natural that they would support different political views, one Conservative and one Liberal.

A new phase of development began when the modern political parties emerged starting in the 1880s. This breakthrough was mirrored in the newspaper's contents by the introduction of regular editorials. Once the modern parties around the turn of the century had aligned themselves from right to left, the newspapers were also drawn into politics. In the

strictly party-oriented papers, most of the content was politicized. This development aroused controversy within the papers right from the beginning. Was circulation directed at the like-minded sufficient, or should the paper try to reach a wider audience?

The importance of the press is demonstrated by the first generation of Social Democratic papers. Stockholm and Malmö had party newspapers before the party was even founded in 1889. In Gothenburg, a long-lasting party paper, *Ny Tid* (New Times) was founded in 1893. Their central position is underlined by the fact that many of the party's leading spokesmen, including the two first party leaders Hjalmar Branting and Per Albin Hansson (both future prime ministers), were simultaneously newspaper men.

Throughout the first half of the 1900s, press people were strongly represented in the party's decision making bodies. For a long time, it was considered perfectly natural, and it was not challenged until the 1960s.

Around the turn of the century, the expansion of the Social Democratic press outside the major cities accelerated. Locally based papers could be short lived, such as *Landskrona-Kuriren* (1899–1910), or might live on a long-time, such as the Ystad paper *Aurora* (1899–1957). Having been founded in 1900, *Nya Samhället* (The New Society), since 1950 titled *Dagbladet Nya Samhället*, is currently the country's oldest Social Democratic paper. Over the years, it has had influential editors, among them Ture Nerman (1886–1969) during the years 1910–15. Fredrik Ström (1880–1948), who also was an author in addition to his political career, made an early contribution to the Eskilstuna paper *Folket* (The People), which had been founded under a different name in 1905. A colorful legend such as Fabian Månsson (1872–1938) was schooled at a pair of Malmö newspapers before he appeared at *Arbetarbladet* (The Worker's Paper) in 1904. He was an eager narrator, both as a novelist and journalist. He did not, however, appreciate the modern headline system.

Starting in 1905, the Social Democratic Workers Party took on a more active role in developing newspapers. One basic motive was to keep the party's various papers from competing with each other. Thus the various party districts also became the basic structure for the newspapers' coverage. *Smålands Folkblad* in Jönköping (1901–91) received official sanction and subsidies.

The expansion continued during the 1910s. Of the fourteen papers that were established, nine survived while the other five were of short duration. Circumstances, as well as the competitive situation, varied. The splitting up of the Social-Democratic Party into revolutionary and non-revolutionary wings in 1917, also played a decisive role.

The Swedish Revolution Goes Missing

During World War I, the tone of public discourse was at a feverish pitch. Old friends frequently ended up in opposing camps. Even within the political parties, conflicts arose. Of interest for press history is that this situation led to an increase in the outlets for the various views.

The press is an urban phenomenon. Printing facilities are located in cities. For a long time, however, most readers remained rural. In an era of rapid change, it continually seemed a bit late to found special outlets for those who lived in the countryside. The resulting lack of such publications was one of Carl Berglund's (1859–1921) motives when, in 1910, he launched the paper *Landsbygden* (The Countryside), published in Falköping. In addition, he took the initiative for a new rural political party to fill the vacuum left behind by the long-dominant Lantmanapartiet (The Agrarian Party) when it merged with the Conservatives in 1912. "Brothers, let us unite!" he declared, but his creation, Bondeförbundet (The Farmers' Party), faced competition from Jordbrukarnas Riksförbund (The Farmers' National Association) right from its inception in 1913. The two organizations finally merged in 1921.

The conflicts were even greater within the Social-Democratic Party. The reform oriented approach that had become dominant as soon as the party achieved Riksdag representation during the 1910s, was challenged by an increasingly vociferous opposition. These left-wing Socialists were particularly well represented within the party's youth organization. The war brought the defense question to the fore. The youth organization's peace congress of 1916 became a breaking point. When the mother party refused to accept this position, the radicals split off to form the Social-Democratic Left Party. They wanted to return to the original socialist ideas and urged far-reaching non-parliamentary actions, disarmament and an end to military appropriations. In addition, they were sharply critical of the leaders of the mother party.

The struggle between the two parties was reflected in the press. *Folkets Dagblad Politiken* (The People's Daily Paper-Politics) became the principle outlet for the left socialist party. In addition, new papers were established where the radical program received the most support: *Dalarnes Folkblad*, *Övre Dalarnas Tidning*, *Norra Småland*, *Östgöta-Folket*. The mother party lost newspapers such as *Norrskensflamman* (The Flame of the Northern Lights), *Nya Norrland* (The New Northland) and *Västerbottens Folkblad*.

After having lost *Norrskensflamman*, the Social Democrats needed a paper of their own. As a result, the eventually very successful *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* was established at the end of 1918. *Värmlands Folkblad*

became a permanent Social Democratic outlet starting in the summer of 1918, following gains made by the leftist opposition in the elections of 1917. *Dala-Demokraten* began to appear in the city of Falun in 1918, although it was initially printed in Gävle. The long-discussed plans for its establishment were implemented in response to the founding of other newspapers in the county by the left socialists.

Tensions were at their peak in 1917, the year of the Russian Revolution. The situation was acerbated by the disturbing variation in developments among various sectors of the economy. Wages lagged. Strikes became frequent. During 1916, food prices had risen sharply. 1917 became a year of famine with widespread hunger. Rationing was insufficient to create fairness, and the black market flourished. Prime Minister Hammar skjöld was derided as Hungerskjöld.

Erik Hedén (1872–1925), was a classically educated critic whose career, including a stint as foreign news editor, was mainly at *Social-Demokraten*. At this time, however, he was at *Stormklockan*, where he advocated a general strike in the hope of ending the war and violent activism. Together with Zäta Höglund (1884–1956), one of the leaders of the left-wing breakout, and Ivan Oljelund (1891–1978), the editor of *Brand*, he was convicted of high treason following a closely followed trial.

Demonstrations and riots were frequent occurrences during 1917. The shortage of food was coupled with demands for political reforms. There were also references to events in Russia. There was even talk of a Swedish Revolution. It did not occur, nor was there a civil war between whites and reds as was the case in neighboring Finland.

Given what was happening abroad, it was easy to cast suspicion on moderation. Still, it eventually won out. Regardless of how excited feelings were, both between and within the various parties, the conflicts were toned down. There were several reasons. Events out in the world could in themselves encourage a degree of calm in Sweden, a country spared from the war. Under pressure from both internal and external sources, the work of completing the democratic breakthrough started. It also resulted in an extension of the franchise to women.

The newspapers played a role in calming things down. The imposed neutrality duty could not be maintained 100 percent. Nevertheless, restraint was apparent. Otto von Zweigbergk was among those advocating reflection. He became especially well-known for his support of the Liberal government's careful policy in regard to assistance for Finland. It resulted in a familiar phrase: "Don't rock the boat!"

The Biggest Choose Their Path

The war had its winners and its losers. Such was also the case with the newspapers. No permanent peace was established among them either. The struggle continued in large and small ways. It concerned both large circulations and small advertisements. And it was fought both in the nation's capital and in the smallest towns that would ever have their own papers. As has been demonstrated, Stockholm has had a dominant position in the Swedish press during much of its existence. Although to some extent dependent on the measures used, it is possible to determine periods of time when this dominance was at its greatest. In terms of the total number of papers published and the number of locales that had their own paper, it is obvious that the apex represented a far-reaching decentralization. The most important consequence was that the number of opinion formers increased substantially as the editorial pages expressed varying independent views.

Even if there was variation, however, it is difficult to find any area, other than the first two branches of government, where Stockholm has been equally dominant. And what was not expressed in terms of the number of newspapers and magazines, was compensated for by the automatic assumption that both opinion and news were measured by the capital's standards.

This domination was not always a good thing – not even for those who were part of it. It has always been trickier in Stockholm to decide on what a newspaper should concentrate. The price of being ahead of the pack in one regard or another has been high and has sometimes resulted in an expensive lesson. It was not a matter of chance that the new form of newspaper death that took on the character of a continuous thinning out of the ranks, first began in Stockholm. It had direct consequences for the types of material that the big city papers concentrated on.

Dagens Nyheter had the most positive development. Around 1905, when the paper retook the journalistic initiative, there were still three newspapers in Stockholm with a larger circulation: *Stockholms-Tidningen*, *Stockholms Dagblad* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. *Svenska Dagbladet's* circulation had increased during the world war and in 1919 amounted to 19,000 copies. *Stockholms Dagblad* expanded during the early stages of the war, but then could not keep up with the competition, despite measures such as a buying over Fredrik Böök from *Svenska Dagbladet* in 1916.

The contest for circulation stood principally between *Stockholms-Tidningen*, the leader since the mid-1890s, and *Dagens Nyheter*, which had been the leader during much of its founder's time. These two papers, both founded as low price alternatives, had undergone substantial change and

now also played a central role in molding public opinion. Once again, the older of the two was catching up in terms of circulation. 100,000 issues was the magic number that Andes Jeurling had surpassed back at the turn of the century. *Dagens Nyheter* reached it during the last year of the war, 1917–18. Immediately thereafter, however, it fell back below that mark. While *Stockholms-Tidningen* also declined, its circulation of 120,000 copies (1920) still kept it in the lead.

Total circulation, however, did not constitute the entire competitive situation. In accord with its founder's policy, a large part of *Stockholms-Tidningen's* edition was distributed outside the capital. This nation-wide circulation was of less interest, at least to those advertisers located in the city and aiming at local readers. This situation contributed to *Dagens Nyheter's* advertising, during the war, surpassing that of the previously leading *Stockholms-Tidningen*.

At *Stockholms-Tidningen* the opinion was that their advertising lead had been lost because the winner, *Dagens Nyheter*, was less scrupulous. During the war-profiteering period, the honorable Erik B. Rinman (1870–1932) worked to prevent the paper from publishing exchange offers, such as that of cognac for flour: "Brown traded for white." Disguised procuring was immediately censored out on direct orders from the legally responsible publisher. Advertisements for contraceptives, which had been outlawed by the so-called Lex Hinke, were left to others. *Dagens Nyheter*, however, was not prepared to admit to a lower moral standard. Whatever might have been the case with ethics, it has been claimed that even then it was determined which of the two newspapers would become the larger in the long-run and indeed survive.

Also on a Sunday

Publishing newspapers on Sunday also was not something entirely new. With somewhat mixed success, it had been practiced since the 1880s. Initially it was far from obvious that the public's increased availability of leisure time would result in more newspaper reading or purchasing. *Dagens Nyheter's* Sunday edition began with a circulation smaller than that of the weekday version, but it grew rapidly. The additional week-end readers became an important category to convert to everyday subscribers.

An early commitment to a Sunday edition seems to have played a decisive competitive role and, in the long run, helped determine which newspapers would survive. In addition to *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet* was an early bird, while *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* waited until 1909, *Aftonbladet* until 1910 and *Stockholms-Tidningen* all the way until 1913.

Social-Demokraten did not start seven-days-per-week publication until 1924. With an editorial staff only one-third or one-fourth as large as those of its largest competitors, but still having to deal with a quantity of text only insignificantly less, it naturally was difficult to keep up. Nonetheless, the paper experimented with a twelve page supplement. Right from the beginning, the circulation of this Sunday edition eclipsed that of the weekday version. The gap between the two continued to increase, not least because many readers nation-wide subscribed to Social Democratic papers that lacked a Sunday edition. At the start of the 1950s, the Sunday edition had considerable more than twice the weekday circulation.

GT, Göteborgs-Tidningen, had been started by *Handelstidningen* in 1902. Despite limited resources of its own, it was ahead of its time. During its first half century, "the little red one" was printed on rose-colored paper. It was a forerunner of the century's most important innovation, the evening tabloid. Over time, it became part of this exclusively big city grouping. The tabloid format, however, had to wait until 1942. The circulation of *GT's* Sunday edition increased during the 1920s to 72,900 copies, while that of the weekday edition was 31,000. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* instead bet on a Saturday paper. By the 1920s it had nearly three times the circulation the weekday edition.

Compared to later conditions, it is striking how large a share of the total edition was sold as single copies. Converting occasional readers into subscribers was thus an especially attractive proposition. It motivated special efforts from the widely distributed Sunday papers.

Breakthrough for Sports Reporting

In July of 1912, the Olympic Games were held in Sweden. Excluding the modest participation that occurred when the 1956 equestrian events were held in Stockholm, it was not only the first but, at least so far, also the last time that the Country hosted the Games. The newly constructed Olympic Stadium, where most of the events were contested, attracted large crowds that could delight in numerous Swedish triumphs. There was also great interest on the part of both the domestic and the foreign press. All together, 138 Swedish newspapers and magazines were represented.

Dagens Nyheter demonstrated its eagerness to take the lead also in sport reporting. Previously, from the precursor country of England, Gustaf Hellström had reported knowledgeably on the 1908 London Olympics. The work-a-day editorial situation, however, was quite different. The sports writer who had been lured over to the paper was treated much like an errand boy, and his reports were often used as fillers.

The greatest sporting event yet in Sweden resulted in a new order. *Dagens Nyheter* especially made a great effort to cover it and even provided an English edition. A breakthrough for sports reporting seemed imminent and would have been a further sign that the Swedish papers were keeping up with developments. Despite some efforts, however, it was delayed.

When the contents of the newspapers had been separated into departments around the turn of the century, the sports reporting was of so little consequence that it was not provided with a section of its own. But sports were on the way to becoming one of the great popular movements, and, with some delay, the magazines and newspapers successfully hitched on for the ride. To some extent, mass movements and the mass media developed in tandem as part of the general modernization process. During the second half of the 19th century, the regular compilation of notices included news concerning swimming, marksmanship, gymnastics and ice skating competitions. Towards the end of the century, some of these notices were expanded into virtual play-by-play description. On average, however, the sports content of the newspapers does not seem to have exceeded one percent until after the turn of the century. After that, however, no other genre increased nearly as fast as sports – during the 20th century, it increased several hundred-fold. The great breakthrough for regular sports reporting occurred during the inter-war period.

The sports material in the newspapers can be seen as a thing apart, the clearest case of a newspaper within a newspaper. It is more interesting, however, to see it as one of the many areas where the modern mass media took the lead and created a need among its readers. The conditions that are particularly apparent in the case of sports are, in principle, no different from those that apply in many other areas.

Stars of Sports Journalism

The breakthrough of sports journalism, a world beset by numbers, also can be traced precisely with numbers. But a limited number of star writers still play a role by developing elite styles of writing that over time spread widely. In the case of Swedish sports journalism, it is possible to identify a number of forerunners. In terms of persistence and enthusiasm for the cause, however, no one measures up to Torsten Tegnér (1888–1977). He considered that his life had been saved by athletics. He stuttered and had at times been on the brink of suicide. Still, he became skilled at several sporting events. He felt himself to be part of the sports movement. In due course, he came to hold leading positions in the special-

ized associations for competitive walking and bandy (a game resembling field hockey, but played on ice skates), as well as serving on the National Sports Association's board (1926–1941). As might be expected during this pioneer period, he became too close to his sources to practice much critical analysis.

For a period of time, Tegnér tried to earn a living by writing for *Stockholms Dagblad*. The paper paid 4 öre per line. Starting in 1915, he became co-editor of *Nordiskt Idrottslif* (Nordic Sporting Life). That same year, he purchased *Idrottsbladet* (The Sports Paper). It had been started in 1910, but, after the founders had gone elsewhere, it was in such bad shape that it could be purchased for 10 kronor. Over the course of five years, the paper's circulation increased 250 times, reaching 20,000 in 1920. Among the various explanations for this rapid success, Torsten Tegnér himself emphasized the long delay before the daily papers made a serious commitment to sports. Of course he also was aware of his own infective enthusiasm. Journalistic records were sought-after goals. On February 13, 1917, it was possible to obtain a description of how the team Uppsalakamraterna had defeated the team AIK in a bandy match that had ended only a minute earlier. The volume of the contents grew very quickly and reached its apex during the 1936 Berlin Olympics, to which the paper dispatched 22 staff members.

It was especially as editor-in-chief of *Idrottsbladet* during more than half a century (until 1967) that Tegnér accomplished his life's work. He gave sports both status and a vocabulary. Both directly and indirectly, he helped train several generations of sports journalists. His personal style, however, defied imitation. The editorial office of *Idrottsbladet* was located on Tunnelgatan, since renamed Olof Palme's Street, on the outskirts of Klara. Here gathered a group of writers, some of which, like Tegnér himself, became long-serving colleagues. Among them was Sven Lindhagen (1896–1988). Following a stint (1920–1927) as chief of sports at *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* during the pioneer years, he spent more than half a century working with Tegnér. Others moved on and in turn founded or put their stamp on other important publication. These included Jan-Erik Garland (by-line "Rit-Ola", 1905–1988), Rudolf Eklöv ("R:et", 1904–1986) and Carl-Adam Nycop (1909–2006), the Finland editor of the paper during the years 1929–1934. Among those who learned about journalism within the group was Albert Bonnier Jr. (1907–1989).

Given its emphasis on broad appeal, *Stockholms-Tidningen* should have had every reason to commit to sports. Attempts were made. Torsten Tegnér was a diligent by-the-line contributor to the paper during the 1912 Olympics. Oscar Söderlund (1892–1965), better known under his by-line "Glokar Well", was a true pioneer as one of the six members of

the original *Idrottsbladet's* editorial staff. For a few years, starting in 1916, he was employed as sports editor, but he performed other tasks as well, not least as a war correspondent. After an interlude at *Stockholms Dagblad*, he returned to *Stockholms-Tidningen* during the early 1930s and as boxing writer took part in the contest with *Dagens Nyheter*.

The Newspapers' Peace

Peace had been eagerly anticipated. There were things to catch up on and innovations to adopt. Some of these, such as regular sports reporting, were immediately implemented. Sports coverage quickly expanded to fill numerous pages. Culture also received its due. The conflicts during the war, as we have seen, also brought forth a newspaper owned telegraph bureau.

All was not peaceful, however. The 1910s came to be framed by newspaper labor disputes. As was the case in several other countries, the Swedish press experienced a conflict with its typographers. As in 1909, the strike broke out in the middle of the summer. A total of 6,703 typographers ceased their work.

The Swedish Typographers' Association wanted higher wages. The strike became long-lasting, eight weeks, but its effects varied from paper to paper. Some newspapers had agreed to the demands and were published as usual. In Helsingborg, for example, these included *Skånska Social-Demokraten*, *Allers* and *Öresunds-Posten*. At *Helsingborgs-Posten* some of the typographers remained at their station, while *Helsingborgs Dagblad* was totally closed down for several days before managing to produce a growing emergency edition. At other papers, board members and the editorial staff pitched in.

Despite these conflicts, the general picture of the Swedish press as evolving under tranquil conditions was not shaken. Both the Swedish Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Swedish Journalists' Union gained strong positions, while the Swedish Typographers' Association had long held an even stronger hand. In view of the newspaper industry's special characteristics, both sides had cause to avoid conflicts as far as possible. Among other measures, this situation induced them to protect workplace peace by reaching long-term agreements.

10. The Golden Age (1919–36)

The inter-war period was a golden age for the Swedish press, in some regards even the golden age. In the press history of the advanced countries, the tendency has been to place their golden age earlier, to a time before mass distribution papers, or at least before World War I. Developments lagged in a Sweden spared the horrors of war. That also meant that the “Demon of Sensationalism” made a later appearance.

The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 1, 1919. It created a partly new map of Europe, including a number of additional countries, among them Finland. Sweden was also affected. The question of the Åland Archipelago, located in the Baltic Sea between Sweden and Finland, threatened to be the subject of an international conflict. It was, however, resolved by the League of Nations in 1921. Fortunately no blood flowed, only an ocean of ink.

Influenced by world events, Sweden completed its democratization process by making the franchise universal and equal. The number of eligible voters jumped from 1.2 to 3.2 million. These new voting rights were first exercised in the election of 1921. Sweden became the last Nordic country to grant women the right to vote and hold office. The voting rights campaign had been important during the period when the press was modernized. This reform was essential for the press’ golden age. Now that all adult men and women could influence elections, the ability to persuade the general public became crucial.

Democracy had to be defended, especially since it would soon be challenged by ideologies that claimed to exercise power in the name of the people, without however consulting them. The press, not without reason considered to be its own branch of government, had a special role to play in this context.

Sweden was being transformed into an industrial nation. Starting around 1930, a majority of the population were urban dwellers. Stockholm, with 600,000 residents, became a metropolis. The country was increasingly integrated into the world economy. Movements in the international business cycle were directly transmitted to Sweden. Both the 1920s and the 1930s witnessed sharp economic downturns which particularly impacted the labor market. During the 1910s, the unemployment rate had been approximately 5%; in 1921 it was five times larger at 26.8%.

It then fell rapidly and remained around 10% for a decade. Starting in 1931, it once again increased dramatically, reaching a peak of 23.3% in 1933. It then slowly declined by a few percentage points annually, eventually stabilizing around 10% in the late 1930s. In other countries, unemployment became fertile ground for the growth of fascism and demands for national revenge. In Sweden, however, it was handled differently. During 1933, the same year that Hitler seized power in Germany, a crisis agreement was reached between the Social-Democratic and Agrarian Parties, which put developments on a different track

Thanks to the great Stockholm exhibition, the 1930s had a bright introduction. Both modern architecture and modern man were presented there. In light of later events during the immediately following years – the shooting of striking workers at Ådalen in 1931 and the suicide of Ivar Kreuger in Paris in 1932 – both functionalism and relaxed behavior became secondary concerns. During the darkening 1930s, the previously spared land was drawn in more directly. The Italian attack was also directed at a Swedish Red Cross unit. The Spanish Civil War attracted volunteers from many countries, including Sweden. Foreign powers reacted to the content of Swedish newspapers. The Germans expressed their irritation when Torgny Segerstedt insulted Hitler in the pages of *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*. The world was getting close, perhaps too close.

Freedom with Few Limitations

The Swedish freedom of the press ordinance received constitutional status at an early date. That of 1812 was truly long-lived. Although frequently amended, it remained in force until 1950. The rules concerning what could and should be published, however, were debated during the 1930s.

Within the newspaper world there was overwhelming support for self-regulation. In 1923, new rules were enacted, and ten years later the ethical issues were dealt with. Suicide was one of the areas where the press was urged to show restraint. Whether or not to publish names was still the main question. In an international comparison, the Swedish model seems remarkable.

During the 1920s, a number of legal and ethical questions were raised by the campaign against *Fäderneslandet*. The newspaper had existed since the middle of the 19th century. It had participated in the critical coverage of the powers that be, but had also occasionally engaged in scandal mongering. Individuals were offered silence in return for payment.

A number of commentators accepted the challenge. The newly established *Arbetaren* (The Worker), like *Svenska Dagbladet*, played a major role. The criticism was also deeply rooted among the unions and left-wing youth organizations. Finally, the Swedish Newspaper Publishers' Association presented newspaper retailers with an ultimatum: if they continued to sell *Fäderneslandet* they would not be allowed to sell any other papers. Most people thought it was a blessing that a scandal sheet of the old type disappeared. In principal, however, it was odd that a group of newspaper men would form a posse to get rid of a newspaper.

A Maximum

The number of Swedish newspapers reached its apex in 1919. 235 papers appeared at least twice a week during that year. In addition, there were 23 news sheets that published weekly. Of course there are various measures that might be used. If the Swedish press' trend towards more frequent publication is considered, then the high point is pushed forward. The group that published almost daily had the longest growth path, continuing to increase almost until the 1950s. Similarly, if the criterion is the weekly total of issues, once again the apex is advanced. In 1919, 881 issues appeared weekly, in 1927, 946 and in 1936, 972. The maximum was reached in 1939 with 979 issues per week. The number of papers that only appeared weekly, and should be added to the numbers above, remained quite constant during the inter-war period.

There was considerable evidence of growth. Not only were the newspaper issues more frequent, they had a richer content. The consumption of newsprint, a joint measure of the number of papers, their size and their frequency, doubled approximately every ten years starting in 1924. The newspapers with the largest circulations, *Stockholms-Tidningen*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* had the most text. Competition forced them to be of equal size. In 1935, that amounted to approximately 15 advertisement-free pages.

The growing circulation followed a sharply rising curve. By 1920, the total circulation of the Swedish daily press had reached approximately 2 million. During the golden age, it increased by more than an additional half million copies. The 3 million mark was reached towards the end of World War II. The output of few other products grew at such a rapid rate.

Arts and Letters Triumphant

In 1920, *Svenska Dagbladet* was surpassed by *Dagens Nyheter*, thus relegating it to last place among the three large Stockholm newspapers. Despite this, it retained its hold on parts of the advertising market. The decade appeared to be a fortunate period in the history of the paper, at least until the change of ownership at the end of the 1920s.

Svenska Dagbladet strengthened its position in covering the arts and letters scene. At *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, Torgny Segerstedt was able to reserve the third page for such material starting on September 30, 1918. Only a few weeks later, on October 17, 1918, *Svenska Dagbladet* introduced its “below the line” section. Its origins go back to the classic French “feuilleton” (material separated from the newspaper’s political contents by a line – hence, below the line).

Anders Österling (1884–1981), who had learned the ropes at *Handelstidningen*, was hired in 1919 by *Svenska Dagbladet*, basically to fill the void after Fredrik Böök. The latter, however, returned from *Stockholms Dagblad* only two years later. Böök’s position was never stronger than during the 1920s. *Svenska Dagbladet* contemplated making him editor-in-chief. A test period, however, did not yield the hopes for results, neither for him nor for the paper. He resumed writing.

The response of the other papers confirmed that the day of the arts and letters page had arrived. *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten* quickly enlisted. The paper argued that more detailed investigations of social, political and cultural questions were called for. Even the papers that had been started with other objectives joined up, thus expanding and solidifying the position of arts and letters sections. Torsten Fogelqvist (1880–1941) played a key role in this process. He had moved from *Afton-Tidningen* to *Dagens Nyheter* in 1919. A few years later he suggested that the paper should challenge two specialized such outlets. He skillfully argued that *Dagens Nyheter* could and should still retain its folksy approach. His argument won acceptance; and no one could match his in diligence and breadth.

The arts and letters section’s definitive breakthrough in the Swedish press, was confirmed when even *Stockholms-Tidningen* joined the pack. A development that had begun in the 1920s was continued with the recruitment of Anders Österling in 1936. At the same time, he became editor-in-chief of the Swedish Academy’s paper, *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar*.

All was not hugs and kisses. From his centrally located position, Fogelqvist in 1926 found reason to warn of the developments that were occurring before his very eyes. “The industrialization of the press” frightened him, and he did not mince words when it came to those who used “the power of technology and finance” to profit from the freedom of speech.

The Struggle to be the Largest

Stockholms-Tidningen was the youngest of the big three, but it had succeeded with its folksy approach and had achieved the largest circulation. It was done at the cost of a rather expensive national distribution system. It was also a drag in the Stockholm advertising market. Nonetheless, the paper succeeded in attracting a respectable portion of the important small advertisements. World War I had resulted in a circulation record of 160,000 copies.

Things were almost going too well for signs of trouble to be noticed. Despite a decline in both readership and advertising, profits remained at a reassuring level. Not until 1927 did the faltering trend have a serious impact on profits. The circulation then fell even further during the last two years of the decade. By then, it had declined below the magic level of 100,000 copies that the paper had been the first in Sweden to exceed at the turn of the century.

The majority owner, F. Emil Leijon (1860–1946), followed a policy of cost cutting. The editorial staff at *Stockholms-Tidningen* consisted of twenty to thirty journalists at the beginning of the 1920s. It was fewer than its principal competitors felt they could get by with. The owner was even eager to save on newsprint.

Dagens Nyheter had two competitors. In retrospect, it is easy to explain why the paper emerged victorious from the struggle. But it would take time and occur step-wise. In 1909, *Dagens Nyheter* had retaken the journalistic initiative. During World War I, the paper had taken control of an important part of the market for advertisements, indicating that it had better coverage in Stockholm than did *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The gap in circulation levels was also being closed, even if final victory was only achieved in 1942.

The early achievers left the paper. Sten Dehlgren (1881–1947) was selected the new editor-in-chief. A naval officer with Liberal views, he had joined *Dagens Nyheter* in 1911 in order to take over administration and finance. He handled these tasks so well that in 1922, he was put in charge of the entire newspaper's policy, despite the fact that he was not considered much of a writer. Within only a few years, he had to relinquish the political editorial post. He remained editor-in-chief until 1946, however, easily long enough to let him experience the paper assuming first place, both in terms of circulation and advertising.

Among other Mass Media

The rapidly evolving technology was helpful not just to the newspapers, but also to their challengers. During the inter-war period, mass media became plural. The press, however, held its own against film and radio and to some degree even benefited from them.

It would be a long time before the radio enjoyed sufficient freedom to be able to develop its special characteristics. There were early advocates of free entry, but the radio's potential for spreading information and opinion caused most observers to prefer stricter regulation. The war-time propaganda was still fresh in their minds. The system adopted in England appeared to make more sense than that chosen in the United States.

The broadcasting concession ended up with Radiotjänst (The Radio Service) that began sending on January 1, 1925. Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå, which had started to function at the beginning of 1922, played a vital role in the selected system. The formation of TT had been stormy, but once in operation it was felt that bureau's ownership structure guaranteed impartiality and objectivity. Because the state, the telegraph administration, the radio manufacturers, the newspapers and TT all had congruent interests, a firm was established that only conveyed news from TT and did so at times least likely to be competitive with the papers. The head of TT also became head of Radiotjänst during its first twelve years of operation.

Having its communiqués broadcast on the only radio station, in the eyes of many listeners, TT became a rarely questioned source of news. This faith also spread to the material provided to the newspapers. For many years, TT maintained a strong position vis-à-vis the Swedish press. The number of affiliated news outlets increased in just a few years from 144 to 175 (1925). A degree of competition only emerged gradually. Thus, for example, 1933 witnessed the creation of Förenade Landsortstidningar (FLT, United Provincial Newspapers) which also had a news service.

Starting in the early 1930s, the teleprinter came to play an important role in the distribution of news. It was first utilized by the Gothenburg papers, followed by those in the province of Östergötland, the rest of central Sweden and Scania.

As a national bureau in a small country, TT became linked to the large transnational bureaus, Havas, Reuter and Wolff. TT did its utmost to be the only Swedish channel to these international bureaus. It cooperated closely with the similarly situated bureaus in the other Nordic countries.

A Full-Scale Political Debate

Neither before nor since has the political debate been so press dominated. The papers were many, advocates of various viewpoints were well represented and the opinion genre well-established.

Even during the press' golden age, there were newspapers that closed. The response could vary. *Karlskrona-Tidningen* was a seamless continuation of *Carlscronas Weckoblad*, after only *Norrköpings Tidningar*, the country's oldest paper. When it was forced to close in January of 1935, the handy explanation was that it was the victim of changing times, instead of looking at internal problems. When the radical and innovative *Folkets Tidning* bade farewell to its readership in 1920, however, the editor, Waldemar Bülow (1864–1934), drew a sigh of relief at finally having a vacation after 35 years of uninterrupted toil.

But new papers were added. Continued urbanization contributed, as did the need to provide every shade of opinion with its own outlet. During the inter-war period, the non-socialist papers constituted between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total. The share of the Liberal papers declined, not least during the years around 1920. The Conservative newspapers became the most but not the biggest, a position that was maintained until the 1950s.

In absolute numbers, the right-wing press lost a net of six papers during the 1920s and fifteen during the 1930s. The corresponding figures for the Liberals were eight and fifteen. The Social-Democratic and Agrarian Party presses, however, gained outlets during the period. For a long time, the A-press (the workers' press) remained at a constant level. In the mid-1920s, it reached its high point with 30 papers, a level that was maintained for two decades. The number of outlets for the agrarians peaked a few years later: in 1940 it amounted to 19 newspapers.

Starting in 1921, the Social-Democrats were the largest party in the Riksdag, but the party's papers were seldom competitive with the very largest newspapers. Starting late, they frequently were the second, third or fourth paper in a given locale. Their distribution was internal in the sense that they usually turned to fellow socialists.

The recruitment of colleagues had its own set of rules. For the party papers, it was only natural that their editors also held positions within the party and represented the party on various official elective bodies. They sat on city and county councils, or in the Riksdag. In time when Social-Democratic governments were installed, there were a whole slew of positions to fill. Starting in 1920, Hjalmar Branting led three short-lived governments. Per Albin Hansson became a government minister before succeeding Branting as party leader in 1925. *Social-Demokraten* was said have to set a "world record in chieftains".

The Newspapers' Geographic Distribution and Market Situation

The Social-Democratic press was largely organized along party district lines. It had been created in three waves. During the inter-war period, the Social-Democratic newspaper map was filled in – it is near at hand to place each in its competitive situation.

Sydöstra Sveriges Dagblad (Southeastern Sweden's Daily Paper) was started in 1921 in Karlskrona. During its initial years, the paper was socialist, starting in 1925, Social-Democratic. *Blekinge Läns Tidning* (Blekinge County's Newspaper) was first in offering six issues per week, thereby strengthen its position.

Länstidningen (The County Newspaper) i Östersund encountered tough going right out of the starting gate. By the time it was able to publish six times a week in 1927, *Östersunds-Posten* had a twenty-year head start.

Västgöta-Demokraten was founded in 1926, waiting until 1930 before adopting six day publishing. The Conservative *Borås Tidning* had started doing so way back in 1902 – and later on (1949) would be one of the few to add a seventh day.

Östra Småland (Eastern Småland) was also a late starter in 1928, In Kalmar, even the Agrarian Party had been quicker. In 1925, a local consortium took over the, in 1918 merged, newspaper *Kalmar-Kalmar Läns Tidning*. The leading paper in the city, however, was still *Barometern* (The Barometer) which had started six-days-a-week publishing in 1912.

Gotlands Folkblad made its debut in 1928, but ten years were to pass before it published six issues per week. Being an island, the Gotland market was naturally circumscribed. The competition was the old and Conservative *Gotlands Allehanda* and *Gotlänningen*. The latter went over to the Agrarian Party in 1936.

Kronobergaren (The Kronoberger) was established in 1934. *Smålands-posten* had dominated the local market for decades, even though *Nya Växjöbladet* had tradition on its side. It had managed to be first Conservative and then Liberal before, in 1932, being incorporated into the press apparatus being constructed by the Agrarian Party.

In a few cases, the Social Democratic organizations took over existing papers. *Piteå-Tidningen*, a Liberal paper dating back to the 1910s, was offered up to the Social-Democrats in 1929. Similarly, the radical-Liberal *Östgöten* in Linköping was incorporated into the A-press in 1935.

The founding of newspapers played an important role for the Agrarian Party. They started late and continued for a long time. Their efforts also followed party district lines, in their case with a natural emphasis on heavily agricultural areas.

The takeover of *Skånska Dagbladet* assured the agrarian movement of a leading newspaper in the province of Scania with a circulation of almost 50,000.

In 1919, *Hallands Nyheter* (The Halland News) replaced *Falkenbergs-Posten*, describing itself as “the Halland farmers’ own paper”. In the masthead, it proclaimed itself to be an “Outlet for the Agrarian Party” during the years 1921–26. Later, without cutting its ties with the party, it assumed a more independent stance. It became a daily in 1939.

Nord-Sverige (Northern Sweden) was founded during the same year of 1919 in Sollefteå, initially publishing three times a week, increased to six times in 1927.

Sjuhäradsbygdens Tidning (The Paper of the Seven Hundreds) began in 1930 in Borås as a weekly, while *Östgötabygdens Tidning* came out twice as often in Skänninge starting that same year. In a few cases, as in 1931 with *Laholms Tidning*, an active paper in an area of strong support for the party was taken over and turned into a small, but vigorous, paper. With the remarkable exception of Malmö, however, the Agrarian Party’s papers were usually last on the scene, with the agrarians trailing the other parties in building up their loyal press. Consequently success also lagged, but it would come.

Eyes Left in Stockholm

The outlets for the smaller political groupings were generally published in Stockholm. Initially, they were usually weeklies, for example, the young socialists’ *Brand*. For three decades starting in 1918, it was edited by C. J. Björklund (1884–1971) and it played a major role for radical writers. The eventually well-known such writers were legion. The new generation of writers felt welcome, but they would often go on to more lucrative outlets.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken (The People’s Daily–Politics) managed to change its name and allegiance several times. In 1921, the paper became an outlet for the Moscow loyalists in Sveriges kommunistiska parti. Following the fifth world congress of the Comintern in 1924, Zäta Höglund (1884–1956) was removed as editor, instead taking over at the short-lived *Den nya Politiken* (The New Politics). When next the party split occurred in 1929, the newspaper went with the wing led by Karl Kilbom and independent of Moscow. For a few years in the late 1920s, the paper published a well-regarded literary supplement, *Lördagskvällen* (Saturday Evening). It ended after Ture Nerman’s criticism of modernism separated political and esthetic radicalism. During the early 1930s, *Folkets Dagblad*

Politiken received financial support from Torsten Kreuger (brother of the notorious “match king”, Ivar Kreuger).

The wing of the party that remained loyal to Moscow started a new paper of its own in 1930, *Ny Dag*. Gustav Johansson (1895–1971) was there from the start, served as editor-in-chief during the years 1934–59 and wrote editorials, poetry and criticism. By the mid-1930s, the circulation had risen to 26,400 issues. The paper also had some weekly offshoots, the most famous of which was *Arbetartidningen* (The Workers’ Newspaper) in Gothenburg.

Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (SAC, Swedish Workers’ Central Organization) was created over midsummer 1910, but it waited until 1922 before offering a daily newspaper, *Arbetaren* (The Worker). In 1926, the paper moved into Folkets Hus (The Peoples’ House) in Klara, located close to the church. The building became a central meeting point, serving as a last resort and refuge from the cold for many text purveyors. During a few years in the early 1930s, this Folkets Hus also became the scene of attention generating debates.

Light Pages with Heft

Reporting, arts and letters, diversionary reading, interviews: in word and picture the newspapers of the Golden Era provided a richness of content not previously seen. The dragons experience a breakthrough on a wide front. The resources of the large papers were large. The availability of correspondents and colleagues on assignment separated the large papers from the small. A scoop that even attracted international attention was the discovery by correspondents dispatched in 1930 by *Dagens Nyheter* and *Vecko-Journalen* of the remains of the balloon-borne explorers Andrée, Strindberg and Fränkel who had vanished on their way to the North Pole 33 year earlier.

For the light pages, it was their grand age, their daily poem reaching its apex with the arrival of Alf Henrikson (1905–95) to begin his long career at *Dagens Nyheter*. He took the genre to levels that frequently made journalism into poetry once again. That is not to deny that over time he encountered worthy competitors such as Stig Dagerman (1923–54) and Tage Danielsson (1928–85) at *Arbetaren* and Caj Lundgren (“Kajenn”, 1931–) at *Svenska Dagbladet*.

Light-hearted columns flourished at the same time as personal expression in news coverage was being eliminated. An older generation of columnists established themselves and the genre. During his long career, Hans Zetterström (1877–1946) played an important role as a style set-

ter. Starting on February 2, 1922, his son, Erik Zetterström (1904–97), wrote 52 000 chatty columns in *Svenska Dagbladet*. It is believed to be a world's record.

These columns also created an important link to the readers. They felt like they were friends of the characters in “Eld’s” (Erik Lundegård, 1900–82) world. For some of the staff, the columns became their principal activity, for others it was one of several. “Åbergsson” (Oscar Rydqvist, 1893–1965) was also a reporter and published another paper, the satirical *Grönköpings Veckoblad*. “Gustafsson med Muntascherna” was actually Hadar Hessel (1891–1984). Under his real name, he was also the long-serving head of the notices department. Leading reporters such as Barbro Alving and Jan Olof Olsson also occasionally wrote columns.

The Golden Pages

Most readers had extra spare time on Sundays, which the papers turned to their advantage. The availability of time encouraged more timeless stories. There was an opportunity to plan and for more aesthetic editing. A market for more, and more original, picture images developed. Illustrators and photographers got their chance. The supplements that accompanied the Sunday papers became a display window for what the papers could achieve. Money could be extracted even from a tight-fisted management. The Sunday supplements became an area of competition, including that from the weekly magazines which had been blessed with the added attraction of photogravure printing.

Stockholms Dagblad's Sunday supplements became a journalistic laboratory with a bold use of pictures, not infrequently as distinctive collages. *Svenska Dagbladet* assumed a leading position. Many outside writers benefited from its generous honoraria. *Dagens Nyheter* improved its reputation among readers with literary interests. The resources devoted to the Sunday supplements were remarkably large, as much one seventh of the entire editorial budget.

At *Stockholms-Tidningen*, Bengt Idestam-Almquist (1895–1983) played a major role. He joined the paper in 1923, and under the pen name “Robin Hood”, he became a member of the first generation of film critics who viewed the cinema as a new art form. Films were an important subject in the supplement, but considerable resources were also devoted to serious literature, including that of the young working class authors. It was here that eventual Nobel Prize Winner Harry Martinson published “Världsnomaden” (Nomad) in the April 19, 1931 issue. It has been said that this event alone justified the newspaper existence for “its entire life time”.

Social-Demokraten's supplement was run during some important years by the paper's only female staff member, Kaj Andersson (1889–1991). Martin Koch, as well as other members of the first wave of working class poets, found a home there. The ensuing generation, however, felt out of place. After Arthur Engberg had refused to participate in a shake up of the supplement and had openly criticized the new working class poets. Relations were ice cold during the crucial years during the early 1930s.

Offsetting this difficulty, a number of non-socialist papers opened their pages to these writers. They also paid better; as much as 150 kronor for a short story and 75 kronor for a poem. Even the Conservative *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* became an important channel. Under Carl Björkman's leadership during the years 1928–34, the supplement achieved its high standing.

From World Championships to Every Day Happenings

Page 10 of the January 15, 1920 issue of *Dagens Nyheter* was the first true sports section in the Swedish press. The initiative came from David Jonason ("Mr Jones", 1894–1975). It had been only a matter of time. Jonason was promised a full-time assignment handling the five daily columns to be devoted to sports, as well as his own editorial staff. There had been earlier attempts, but the war had intervened. The great innovation was that a form of journalism that had emerged in connection with the major championships was extended to reporting what happened from day to day. The ensuing rapid development was further testimony to the level of demand. During a ten-year period, the space devoted to sports in the Swedish press increased three and a half times.

Sports also played a role in the circulation contest. *Stockholms-Tidningen* lagged at the start, until it added well-known reporters such as Bengt Ahlbom (1904–93). The early starters saw to it that sports was given considerable space even before the mid-1920s. Next in line were papers in the larger provincial cities whose editorial staffs were interested in sports. They experienced the same evolution during the next decade. In time, the provincial papers devoted almost as much space to sports, albeit with large regional variations.

The rapid intrusion of sports material was not uncontroversial. It was frequently cited as yet another example of superficiality. Reader interest varied widely. The text was either intensely studied or totally ignored. But it clearly increased circulation. Locally, the contest between the various newspapers was as apparent as that between the area's sports clubs.

Other media also hitched on to sport reporting. Radio became an im-

portant source of fresh sports results, and its on-the-scene reporting created a sense of being present. In this area, as in others, however, this new mass medium did not threaten the position of the papers. He who had heard Sven Jerring (1895–1979) describe the classic Vasa ski race would also be eager to read about it afterwards.

For a long time, the recruitment of sports writers was different from that of journalists in general. The male dominance was virtually total. Sports achievements and contacts with the sports movement have long been more important than the ability to turn a phrase or to critically examine. Anyhow, they became an important bridge to a partially new circle of readers.

Malmö and the World

In 1923, Ewald Stomberg was appointed editor-in chief of *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten*. For him it was redemption, for the paper it was a shake up. With its commitment to influencing opinion in both politics and arts and letters and with correspondents stationed abroad, the paper wanted to participate in national affairs. As its name indicates, it wished to be considered a regional newspaper in a large, densely populated, area. Nonetheless, being large in Malmö and its immediate surroundings was of special importance for creating the basis of advertising dominance.

Skånska Dagbladet was still the largest. Stomberg experienced the change in ownership there as a threat and one of his counter measures was to introduce an agricultural page. Gabriel Jönsson (1892–1984) not only wrote reviews but also contributed poetry about the changing seasons and the joys and tribulations of farming.

Stomberg was a restless newspaper shaker and mover. Still he remained at *Sydsvenskan* for five years and achieved a remarkable amount. It had become a different paper by the time he left. He had the ability to find new colleagues. Some of them would have a greater impact than others. Sven Hansson (1895–1970) came to the paper in 1925. He was relied on for complex foreign assignments. He was best known, however, as a sports writer, particularly as the author of 12,000 sports columns. He attracted readers to the sports section who otherwise never would have looked at it. He was considered to be the paper's greatest drawing card. Anders Sten (1903–99) contributed for well over a half century. Through his political cartoons, he contributed more than most of his colleagues to the paper's profile.

Sydsvenskan had several competitive advantages. The only morning paper, until 1945 it was also the only paper with a Sunday edition. With

a geographically more concentrated and better off audience, *Sydsvenskan* carried the most advertisements. Given these circumstances, it is rather surprising that it did not pass *Skånska Dagbladet* until the 1940s. The latter was still living high off its laurels at its 50th anniversary in 1938, and thought it could still combine the spirit of its founder with its ambition to be the Agrarian Parties foremost outlet.

Arbetet held a central position, at least partly because the Social-Democratic Party had long enjoyed strong support in Skåne and recruited a number of its leading figures there. During the years 1918–24, the paper had an eloquent editor in Arthur Engberg. It was only in the 1930's under the leadership of Karl Hovbergs (1893–1944), however, that the paper once again asserted itself in the contest with *Sydsvenskan* and *Skånska Dagbladet*, briefly even taking the lead.

Gothenburg Provides a New Pattern

There are two papers that can compete in having most successfully re-invented themselves during the inter-war period, *Göteborgs-Posten* and *Aftonbladet*. Within only a few years of each other, those papers on the brink of closing managed not only to save themselves but also to generate sufficient momentum to seize the leadership position in their respective markets. Their saviors created a sense of urgency at their newspapers. On closer examination, their situations were less dire than believed. To some degree, their new leadership was also underestimated. Before their competitors grasped the danger, these revitalized papers had built up a head of steam.

Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning was the elite paper in Gothenburg. During the inter-war period, its circulation remained almost constant at 40,000 copies. Distribution to four out of ten households was sufficient to retain first place until the early 1930s. Dominance in advertising was retained for another decade. One of several reasons for why it was lost was that for a long time it had been so easy to keep. The withdrawal of profits was strikingly large.

Göteborgs-Posten's other competitors had each sought out its own niche. *Ny Tid*, with its concentrated distribution was the most financially successful Social-Democratic paper during the 1920s. The long contemplated morning publication, however, did not become reality until 1936. By then, the competitive situation had changed. While the circulation did in fact increase to over 20,000 copies, expenses grew even faster. During the late 1930s, *Ny Tid* was the biggest money loser in the Social-Democratic press.

Göteborgs Morgonpost was a Conservative morning paper with a circulation of between 10,000 and 15,000 issues and, at least until 1940, more advertising than *Ny Tid*. Beginning in the late 1920s, however, the paper needed substantial financial support, which was provided by the prominent industrialist Axel Wenner-Gren and local Conservative circles.

Göteborgs-Posten was in a financial bind in the mid-1920s. Edvard Alkman led the paper for a bit more than twenty years. He increasingly had to rely on his contacts to keep the operation afloat. Among the financial supporters was Dan Broström, and when this prominent ship owner died in an auto accident in 1926, the position of the newspaper became desperate.

Its savior turned out to be Harry Hjärne (1893–1960). He had begun his career at *Norra Skåne* in Hässleholm but since 1918 had been schooling himself to become the journalist of the city at *Göteborgs-Posten*.

Bonniers was among those who contemplated purchasing the newspaper. Long ago, it had been founded by Felix Bonnier, and the family placed tradition above monetary considerations. A preliminary agreement was reached, but Tor Bonnier wanted Torgny Segerstedt's approval of the transactions. He said no. *Handelstidningen* examined the possibility of taking over its competitor and closing it down. Consideration for the many long-serving staff members at *Göteborgs-Posten*, however, took precedence and stayed its hand.

Third, or possibly fourth, hand the offer went to Harry Hjärne, by this time a man of thirty something with little or no financial resources. *Göteborgs-Posten* became a remarkable success. The circulation immediately began to grow. Starting on the low side of 25,000, it had become eight times as large by the early 1940s. At its peak of 309,862 copies in 1976, it was thirteen times that of 1926. This turnabout in the competitive situation in Gothenburg was among the most important in Swedish press history. It is therefore especially interesting to determine what factors were decisive. The closing of *Göteborgs Aftonblad* played into Hjärne's hands. But a thought-through emphasis on "the ideas of 1926" involved commitments to several important types of content, including family concerns and sports. The language used was to be simple and easily grasped. Hjärne, however, was not attracted to typographical innovations. Thus the paper remained old-fashioned in appearance throughout the reign of the first Hjärne.

A well thought out journalistic program was still a rarity, and since it involved a lagging newspaper its tracks were especially noticeable. But the recruitment of high quality staff members was at least equally important. Filip Börjesson was in charge of the technical side. Ebba Ljunggren (1887–1978) organized the distribution in an effective manner.

Pricing policy played a decisive role, but it has to be seen in context. The commitment to a low priced weekly subscription became an important competitive tool. But it was also a matter of a new basic approach to newspaper finances. A large circulation was important, but it was even more important that it be geographically concentrated.

The newspaper also benefited from its competitors' mistakes. *Ny Tid* lost out in the competition for many worker households because the unions interfered in the choice of content, as well as from a long-standing feud within the local labor movement. At *Handelstidningen*, the reaction was to be offended that the newcomer had so much wind at its back. But rather than commit resources to the firm's flagship, it was decided to start an entirely new paper, *Morgontidningen* (The Morning Newspaper), that began publishing on November 1, 1932. It undermined the third house paper, *GT*, whose successful development reaching back into the 1920s was halted. For the time being, *Handelstidningen* was not short of funds. In the long run, however, the siphoning off of profits would become fatal for its continued development. Still, *Morgontidningen* did not receive sufficient resources to seriously compete with *Göteborgs-Posten*. The preparations had been inadequate even if the editorial staff became well-known. Among those who learned the ropes there were Carl-Adam Nycop, Sigge Ågren and Alf Martin. Initially, the paper's circulation was one-quarter of that of *Göteborgs-Posten* and the volume of advertising one-third. In 1940, the paper folded its tent.

In the World of the Weekly Magazines

The inter-war period was also golden for the weekly magazine press. Its total circulation in 1930 was close to two million copies, that is to say barely less than that of the daily press. During the 1930s, its circulation continued to increase, reaching 2.3 million copies in 1940. Of this, two-thirds was produced in Stockholm. The country's largest publication in all categories was for a time *Hela Världen* (The Whole World), which could boast a circulation of around 400,000 in 1928. Other titles within the weekly magazine press continued to expand until 1950. But re-launchings and mergers were commonplace in this motley world.

A characteristic of the weekly magazine press was its domination by a small number of large enterprises. It can reasonably be said that the mass production of printed material became systematic earlier in the weekly than in the daily press. The day of the forerunner and the pioneer was done; the time for broad-based implementation had arrived. The concern with the richest tradition was Allers. Two more actors on the market also

had ties to Denmark. Egmont H. Petersen's (1860–1914) *Hjemmet* was transformed into the Swedish *Hemmets Journal* (Home Journal). Originally published in Gothenburg, it moved to Malmö in 1925. *Hemmets Veckotidning* (The Home Weekly Magazine) was created in Malmö by Vitus Petersson (1898–1969) and his wife Paula in 1929. In 1931, it received company from *Allas Veckotidning* (Everyone's Weekly Magazine). After the publisher encountered financial difficulties, it was taken over by the Danish immigrant Einar Hansen (1902–94). The two magazines gave the publishing house its name, Allhem.

Initially, the weekly press was naturally Nordic. It was also suitable for decentralization. Together with Stockholm, Scania became a long-lasting center for the weekly press, although Gothenburg had played a prominent role during the establishment era. This applied for a lengthy period to Elanders, one of the large printing firms that for several decades used part of its capacity to publish weeklies and other mass market literature.

Erik Åkerlund (1877–1940), more than anyone else, took hold of developments in Sweden's inter-war media sector. No one else exploited the potential of advertising to recklessly beat the drum for his magazines, his daily papers and himself as he did. He had gotten his Gothenburg firm going, but it was in Stockholm that the national weekly magazine press had its breakthrough during the 1920s. He relied principally on a handful of collaborators who had participated in building up his firm. The advertising division was managed by his sister Anna Ehlin (1892–1958).

In 1919, Åkerlund became the sole owner of Åhlén & Åkerlund, which in addition to weekly and Christmas magazines published literature in substantial editions. J. P. Åhlén decided to sell out. Only two years later, however, he returned to the market with *Vårt Hem* (Our Home). It was precisely during the 1920s that the most tradition rich sub-genre among the weeklies, the family magazine, became complete. Åkerlund was an originator, but neither a writer nor a mover and shaker. He frequently discovered profitable niches for his publications. *Film-Journalen* (The Film Journal), in competition with other movie magazines, demonstrated how to best coordinate with a new mass medium.

Husmodern (The House Wife) functioned in a more practical arena where domesticity was celebrated and, over time, the all-conquering service material increased in volume. The magazine did not become really successful, however, until Ebba Theorin-Kolare (1891–1953) became editor and enthusiastically devoted herself to the task of supplying the homemaker with a voice.

The name *Hela Världen* came from its origin as a travel magazine. How the entire world could be made personal was later recounted in true stories about life, what has come to be called authentic fiction.

The weekly magazines emphasized illustrations, both in black and white and in color. The public's thirst for pictures was still substantial and attention-getting pictures produced by various techniques, in black and white or color, played an essential role. Photogravure printing, first introduced by *Vecko-Journalen* (The Weekly Journal) and *Hvar 8 Dag* (Every Eighth Day) in 1914, was of competitive importance. In 1921, *Hvar 8 Dag* introduced full page photographs on its front page. Still, the magazine could not deal with the competition, and in 1933 it was merged with the even more venerable *Idun*. For decades, *Idun* referred to itself as the "ladies's own". It was a cut above with its emphasis on arts and letters, reportage and photography. Eva Nyblom, married Hökerberg (1899–1994) joined the magazine as early as 1924 and, as editor-in-chief starting in 1928, carefully changed its direction. Still in 1930, its tone was ladylike, and it would take time before the newly emerging professional woman would become *Idun's* principal focus.

In Stockholm, an additional firm was created through mergers, Saxon & Lindström. At its head was Johan Lindström Saxon. After having moved to Stockholm, in 1905 he began to publish *Såningsmannen* (The Sower). There he set high goals for himself: to improve "our people's economy, health, morals, level of culture and joy in living". This he set out to achieve by publishing articles, news-items, poems and stories. After several difficult years, he was able to procure his own print shop and to found a publishing house that produced best selling books on good manners and vegetarian fare. In 1923, the magazine lineup was supplemented with the adventure-story publication *Lektyr* (Reading). In 1929, following the take over of the gardening magazine *Viola* in 1920 and *Svensk Damtidning* in 1928, a printing facility was installed at Sveavägen 98. It made photogravure printing possible. In addition, *Levande livet* (Vivid Life, 1930–82), a magazine directed at young male readers, was introduced.

Bonniers' Major Move

As a publisher, Bonniers was no stranger to producing periodic literature. It had been part of their repertoire since the founder's time. They snuck a peek at both domestic competitors and foreign forerunners. The younger members of the family were frequently sent abroad for practical experience and often would return home with ideas for new publications. Worried about Erik Åkerlund's plans, Bonniers tried to attract the authors. Despite a major commitment in the shape of *Bonniers veckotidning* (1924–29), however, it proved difficult to combine high standards with sufficient quantity.

It was at this stage that Bonniers made a major move that greatly widened the enterprise and definitively converted it into a media concern. Discussions among competitors were not unusual during the 1920s. Such was the case concerning both the daily papers and the weekly magazines. They were often directed at structural re-arrangements. Neither before nor since, however, has as huge a deal been consummated as that which ended the decade. Bonniers purchased Åhlén & Åkerlunds weekly magazines: *Vecko-Journalen*, *Allt för Alla*, *Husmodern*, *Hela Världen* and *Radiolyssnaren* (The Radio Listener). Also included were 18 Christmas magazines.

All together, more than one thousand employees were affected. The initiative had come from Åkerlund. A number of different explanations have been suggested for why he, barely past age fifty, wanted to leave his lucrative life's work. A pessimistic outlook concerning both the general economy and the future of the weekly press, as well as personal health problems, might have been the root cause. Bonniers agreed to the purchase after a certain amount of hesitation. Much remained the same. Erik Åkerlund was made chairman of the board and Anna Ehlin remained in charge of advertising. Through this purchase, Bonniers had taken a decisive step towards becoming a modern-style media conglomerate. Initially, it constituted greater financial risk taking than had previously been the practice in the Bonnier family.

The large publishing house was dominated by women, to some extent even at the highest levels. "Sometimes I felt like I was in an African matriarchy", commented Albert Bonnier Jr., who in turn had been head of purchasing, in charge of production and, starting in 1939, managing director. Even more generally, the weekly press was a woman's world. Women were the most important target group also for the oldest and, for a long-time, the most successful type of weekly, the family magazine. The specialized women's magazines had more difficulty in picking their focus. Should they emphasize the frivolous and romantic, or the realistic and down-to-earth, practical advice or even women's liberation?

"ÅetÅ", as was the standard internal designation, protected its dominant position by guarding its existing publications and by creating new ones. During the 1920s, *Vecko-Journalen* had become the refined, but modestly sized, magazine that, not least, presented a pictorial view of the world. It was considered the flagship of the fleet. For many years, the editor-in-chief was Elsa Nyblom. Despite her great contributions, she was fired in 1943 after anticipated circulation gains had failed to materialize. *Vecko-Revyn* was created in 1935 with another publication, *Damernas Värld*. The latter did not become an independent magazine until 1940.

Success Creates Alternatives

The rapid advance of the weekly magazine press resulted in an intensive public debate concerning the media which was to continue and culminate during the following decade. In 1934, the Social Democratic Youth Organization initiated a campaign against “the anti-educational and anti-cultural weekly press”. It was a renewal of the dispute concerning to what end mass distribution should be devoted.

The criticism was also expressed in the form of alternative publications. In 1937, the consumer cooperative movement’s paper *Konsumentbladet* (The Consumer Paper), which had existed since 1913, changed its name to *Vi* (We), and proclaimed itself an alternative to the commercial weekly magazines. Its authors contributed short-stories and poems, sometimes also reportage. The loyal servant above all others was the reporter Elly Jannes (1907–2006). She was hired by the newspaper in 1934 and continued on her trips of discovery well after her retirement in 1969. But the freelancers were even more important. Here, Ivar Lo-Johansson could pursue his examination of the 1930s’ harsh Swedish reality. Pictures became increasingly important and, especially after the magazine had converted to photogravure printing, became an example for other publications to emulate.

Unlike the consumer cooperative movement’s press, that of the labor unions was so specialized that for a long time its publications were of interest only to the membership. Right from the start, and similarly to what was the case with the party affiliated press, there had been disputes about content. There was disagreement about the amount of space to be devoted to diversion in addition to the requisite informative and opinion molding material. There were also conflicting views about the appropriate degree of professionalism and independence of the editorial staff. In any case, growth was vigorous. The number of union papers associated with LO had grown to 44 by 1925, a five-fold increase since 1890. It was during the inter-war period that the decisive steps toward modernization were taken, often on the initiative of individual members. The 1937, modernization of *Metallarbetaren* (The Metal Worker) was done with direct reference to the *Vi* magazine, and it would be perceived as an example for other union publications to emulate. Other outlets with dedicated leaders, such as *Sjömannen* (The Mariner) and *Lantarbetaren* (The Farm Worker), had been precursors in publishing serious literary material. Starting in the 1930s, they began to attract a wider readership, and came of be of decisive importance for the working class poets that emerged during the same decade, as well as some of Klara’s poetic bohemians.

The women had their own magazine during the inter-war period, the

improbable *Tidevarvet* (The Epoch, 1923–36). The female franchise was new, and in 1921 the Liberal Women's National Association was created. It opted for an independent line following the disputes surrounding the prohibition referendum. It needed its own outlet. In practice it consisted of a small circle of talented and tightly knit women who simultaneously worked at the important school at Fogelstad. The most experienced journalist was Elin Wägner who served as editor for a time (1924–27) but was torn between her writings and the magazine chores.

Folket i Bild (The People in Pictures) was started in September of 1934. It must be considered the most serious attempt to create an alternative to the commercial weekly press. The initiative came from Karl Kilbom whose concept was a magazine that would paint a portrait of the working people and thus be perceived as their own outlet. The intent is conveyed by the title. The going was rough right out of the gate, however. Failure was close at hand. Its salvation came when the Esselte concern took a majority position and determined that the magazine would be politically unaffiliated. Ivar Öhman (1914–89), first assistant editor-in-chief and then editor-in-chief, and Einar Ebe (1897–1983), who organized the special work-place based sales system, were thus given the opportunity to develop their ideas. They would remain as long as the original *Folket i Bild* lasted.

Success came. By 1940, the circulation had risen to 170,000 copies, and then peaked at approximately 235,000 around 1950. Considering the high quality content of serials, short stories, travel accounts, reportage and articles, it is an optimistic indication of what happens when people get what they want. Further encouragement came from the ability of the agents to sell books, including those of major working class authors, in very large editions, ultimately in an initial printing of 100,000 copies. Jan Fridegård became the most widely distributed of the “people’s” writers. Many of his works were serialized in the magazine.

These alternative magazines, however, did not create a long-term harm for the major weekly press concerns. *Folket i Bild* became one of the first victims of the tougher conditions encountered by the weekly press during the 1960s.

The Decade of the Journals

The golden age had hundreds of newspapers but several thousand magazines. In Stockholm alone, around four hundred magazines were published in 1930. Central components of both high quality and popular journalism evolved in the magazine sector. At this point, the division of

roles was determined by the high cost of newspaper publishing. For those who had more ideas than money, it was much easier to start a journal than a newspaper. During the 1930s, journals with artistic, literary and political contents were both common and important. The decade has been described as a golden age for journals.

Sometimes the cooperation between newspapers and journals was obvious. When Kaj Andersson in 1930 was relieved of responsibility for *Social-Demokraten's* Sunday supplement, she started the magazine *fönstret* (the window). The young writers joined in. Ten or so of them signed a protest petition against the vacuous content of the principal Social-Democratic outlet. *fönstret* carried forward the mood of the Stockholm exhibition. The debates from the People's House in Klara continued in the pages of the journal. Views that had become unacceptable in the major papers could be presented in *fönstret*. Virtually everything was subject to criticism, and not least media criticism became important. In a dubious principle expression of principle, the journal refused ads for products it did not like. During its early, and most important, years, the journal was published weekly. The finances were never secure, and starting in 1933 it became necessary to thin out the publication to once a month.

The young writers were often far left and published in young socialist, anarchist or syndicalist outlets. But they strove for their own publications. The young avantgarde eventually succeeded with outlets such as *kontakt* (contact) and *Karavan* (Caravan). These were often short lived and had tiny circulations. Over time, however, they could still be of considerable importance and attract an interest in principle exactly because they demonstrated the reverse extreme in circulation. *Spektrum* (Spectrum – 1931–33) was narrow, cult-like and important for the introduction of new aesthetic signals and new writers, not least Eliot and Freud. Karin Boye and Gunnar Ekelöf were among the editorial staff.

Also in this field, Bonniers took the initiative. For a pair of years (1931–32), they made it possible for Sven Stolpe to publish *Fronten* (The Front). In addition to the highly sophisticated, in 1932 they initiated *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* or *BLM* (Bonnier's Literary Magazine). By the time it shut down in 1999, only *Ord och Bild*, had lasted longer among Swedish journals with serious content.

The rest of the 1930s witnessed a string of important literary journals, including the Marxist *Ateneum* (1933–35). It was published in Lund, as was the somewhat later *Nordeuropa* (Northern Europe, 1938–39) in whose pages the war clouds were already apparent.

The Owners Take the Lead

A further sign that the press was in a golden age was that the nation's wealthiest capitalists became involved and competed for influence over the newspapers during the 1920s. For a time, the leading dailies and magazines both seemed to be more a matter of concern for the owners than for the editors. Among them, only Bonniers had a tradition and possessed its own competence in the area of graphics. During the 1920s and 1930s, a number of decisive steps were taken in the mass media world. The take over of *Åhlén & Åkerlund* was important in itself, but in addition it had important consequences for the daily papers. In 1930, Bonniers obtained a majority share position in *Dagens Nyheter*.

Of the two Kreuger brothers, Ivar was the first to become involved with the media, initially by creating Svensk Filmindustri (SF). Next he turned to the newspapers, at first in order to obtain favorable publicity for his widespread dealings in other areas. In 1920, Ivar Kreuger became involved with *Aftonbladet*. His younger brother Torsten displayed a more long-lasting interest in the field of newspapers. He acted both on his own and on behalf of his brother.

The most frequently used chip in the game, however, was *Stockholms Dagblad*. In 1920, Ivar Kreuger became a minority share holder in the paper. Axel Wenner-Gren had achieved his position by building up Electrolux. During World War I, he began to develop an interest in newspapers and during the 1920s he looked around for a large newspaper enterprise. His gaze also was attracted to *Stockholms Dagblad*. For several years, it had been on the brink of closing. In 1925, the circulation was a mere 6,000 copies. In 1926, however, the same year that new ideas were successfully launched at *Göteborgs-Posten*, a turnaround was achieved. Both Wenner-Gren and the Kreuger brothers were interested in supplying more capital. Some time later, however, Wenner-Gren was bought out and the shares ended up with Torsten Kreuger.

On October 1, 1926, the single copy price was reduced from 15 to 10 öre. The layout was changed to the Berliner format, the editing was altered and the newspaper declared itself politically independent. To a considerable extent, these measures were steps towards tabloid journalism, which would later be handled by the evening papers. For several years the paper tried new approaches and opened itself to new writers, both of which would benefit other newspapers. It was here that Herbert Grevenius (1901–93) began his multi-faceted career in 1924. After moving to *Stockholms-Tidningen*, he also functioned as chief of arts and letters.

In the last of its many incarnations, *Stockholms Dagblad* became both a promise and a threat. Bonniers, who for a long time had been ignorant

of who covered the low-price paper's losses, were not averse to taking over and closing it. Ivar Kreuger, however, wanted to prevent Bonniers from becoming too dominant.

The big three, *Stockholms-Tidningen*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* were not allowed to fight in peace. A commitment to the new journalism had been undertaken by another actor. At *Dagens Nyheter*, the concept of an evening paper had been sketched already in 1922. It was to be an Anglo-Saxon inspired paper in half of *Dagens Nyheter's* format. These existing plans now risked being crushed by *Stockholms Dagblad's* innovations. Once the competitors became aware of the availability of long-term capital that could absorb the losses for numerous years, a whole new game intended to neutralize the troublesome upstart began.

An Anti-Competitive Agreement

In October of 1928, a few months after Ivar Kreuger had obtained a majority share holding, *Svenska Dagbladet* entered into an agreement with Torsten Kreuger representing *Stockholms Dagblad*. The idea was to coordinate the papers with *Stockholms Dagblad* becoming more of a purely popular paper. Under the leadership of Gösta Sjöberg and Ewald Stomberg and relying on a host of talented young writers, the newspaper nevertheless evolved. Important journalistic innovations, such as "human interest" stories, wedding pictures, personal columns and new types of letters-to-the-editor, were launched there. The circulation grew. 17,500 copies were announced for 1927. There was a substantial number of advertisements by tradition, but in accord with the laws of inertia, they did not increase as rapidly as the circulation. Finally, it reached the impressive level of 70,000 copies in 1931.

In 1930, *Stockholms-Tidningen* also changed ownership. *Svenska Dagbladet's* pushiness played a role when Leijon contacted the Kreuger brothers. Previously, in 1930, he had sounded out Ivar Kreuger about a sale, but it was Torsten Kreuger who took over in 1930. He did not wish to have it known publicly, however, so he let Erik Åkerlund play the role of owner when the newspaper itself announced the transaction on May 23, 1930.

The large newspapers required a great deal of capital, and the perseverance of the new paper owners could not be taken for granted. Market competition was therefore interspersed with feelers intended to change conditions. But it was not just the public that was denied insight into the newspapers' ownership situation. Those directly involved tried to ambush each other by keeping the ownership and various agreements secret

and by utilizing front men. The best kept secret appears to have been Ivar Kreuger's large ownership stake in *Svenska Dagbladet*.

In connection with Torsten Kreuger's take over of *Stockholms-Tidningen*, Ivar Kreuger was handed *Stockholms Dagblad* free of charge. Although declining, the losses were still substantial. In any case, the end result was that the more than century old newspaper was shut down. Its demise was finalized in an agreement signed on October 31, 1931, one of the most anti-competitive in the history of the Swedish press. *Stockholms Dagblad* disappeared from the market through a merger with *Stockholms-Tidningen*. In return, the Kreuger side received compensation in the form of 750,000 kronor from *Dagens Nyheter* and 500,000 from *Svenska Dagbladet*. Since the latter was owned by Kreuger, however, that part only consisted of a rearrangement of money. The agreement set the individual copy price at 15 öre and raised advertising rates. The agreement laid the groundwork for peace on the surface and conflicts and lust for revenge underneath.

The consequences of this unholy alliance were many, although several of them were not immediately apparent. At *Dagens Nyheter*, the elimination of the troublesome upstart, *Stockholms Dagblad*, was good news. Still, it was a substantial amount that the paper had to lay out, and *Dagens Nyheter* was the only one who had to pay up in ready cash. According to the agreement its evening newspaper plans had to be put on the backburner throughout the entire 1930s.

Stockholms-Tidningen/Stockholms Dagblad ended up with a long-lasting double name that no one used informally. Nevertheless, the closed paper left some important traces. Key staff members led by the editor-in-chief Ewald Stomberg moved over. So many of *Stockholms Dagblad's* readers followed along to the combined paper that *Dagens Nyheter* lost the longed for circulation hegemony that had finally been achieved in 1929. Instead it took another dozen years of struggle before a superior Stockholm circulation and domination of the classified advertisement market once again became decisive.

Svenska Dagbladet had acted forcefully to get rid of the paper with such an irritatingly similar name. The events that followed Ivar Kreuger's death a few months after the merger caused the newspaper to suffer in a number of ways for what had occurred during the Match Kings' ownership years. The ensuing years have been described as "the most trying in the history of the newspaper".

Klara: An Unlikely Newspaper Concentration

Newspapers belong in cities. For a long time, Stockholm was home to a very large share of the Swedish press. It was also concentrated in the center of the city, in Klara. Even in comparison with newspaper districts in other large cities, Klara remains a unique conglomeration. The Klara period was not finally over until 1989, when *Aftonbladet*, as the last of the large papers, moved away. But the sojourn that had begun in the 1870s had reached its apex before the demolitions of Klara in the 1950s and the newspaper relocations of the 1960s.

The blocks hemmed in by three streets (Vasagatan, Kungsgatan and Drottninggatan) and the rapids between Lake Mälaren and the Baltic Sea, had attracted most newspapers with its railroad and postal facilities. External economies of scale developed in the form of useful news and picture bureaus, engraving facilities and transport services. Klara became a city district that never slept and a haven for not just journalists and typographers but also for others attracted by its special market.

In some regards, Klara was a small town in the heart of a large city. But right in its middle there was an apparatus that for some sectors was the largest in the country. Until around 1930, the number of graphic workers increased despite mechanization. At that point, 11,583 persons were employed in the branch, and approximately that level was maintained until 1950. The most rapid growth had occurred between 1910 and 1930. It was then that Klara achieved clear domination of the graphic industry.

The concentration was remarkable. At its culmination, approximately one-third of the graphic industry, measured in terms of workers, was located in Stockholm. That meant that it alone employed one out every seven industrial workers in the city. Such concentration was totally unique. Finally, further expansion in the city center became impossible.

Klara was the country's most renowned center for bohemians. It was most prominent between 1930 and 1945. This meant that it had been rather slow in developing, although there existed a tradition pre-dating the newspapers. Bellman had at least died in Klara. Snoilsky and Strindberg, Bo Bergman and Sigfrid Siwertz were among the many writers who described the milieu on the basis of personal experience. And ever since Sergel, the artists had if anything an even greater claim. Eventually, it was manifested by the location there of Konstakademien (The Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts) and Konstfack (The University College of Arts, Craft and Design).

The bohemians were a marginal group. As such they are interesting as a measure of the on-going professionalization of the newspaper staffs. Their freedom carried a price tag. In the newspaper world, profession-

alization meant that one task after another was performed by permanent and increasingly specialized employees. Victor Arendorff (1878–1958) began his remarkably long career as a news-hound.

Despite the austere circumstances, Klara gathered authors such as Nils Ferlin, Jan Fridegård, Vilhelm Moberg, Ivar Lo-Johansson, Gunnar Ekelöf, Emil Hagström, Helmer Grundström and Willy Walfridsson, artists such as Sven Erixson (X-et) and Stig Åsberg and musicians such as Gunnar Turesson and Lille Bror Söderlundh. By no means all of them can be labeled as bohemians. Quite the reverse; some of them were critical of that lifestyle. Still, the fellowship was there and the good times rolled. Especially during the early years before 1936, the most important hang out, Café Cosmopolite, long a neighbor of *Stockholms Dagblad*, was the site of important daily and nightly discussions.

The journalists from the surrounding newspapers participated in the partying and the discussions, even if there was a fairly clear divide among the restaurants. W 6, Tennstopet and Rosenbad were the principal journalistic hang outs while Café Cosmopolite, Pilen, Fürstenhof and the various Norma chain restaurants belonged to the authors and artists. There was little room for women in this man's world, although there were some, such as Barbro Alving, who from time to time were part of the group. The journalists also found it difficult to do without this atmosphere. Some were engulfed by it with disastrous results. It is startling to realize how much of the picture of reality and opinions that were spread throughout the Country originated in just a few blocks.

The Birth of the Evening Tabloid

Even after *Stockholms Dagblad* had closed down in the fall of 1931, the Kreuger brothers still possessed three newspapers, *Aftonbladet*, *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. Plans existed to combine them in a joint printing facility. Events, however, intervened. Ivar Kreuger's suicide in 1932, turned many newspapers', as well as many individual Swedes', finances upside down. It might have meant the end of the Kreuger owned evening paper with its proud tradition and uncertain course.

But Torsten Kreuger had different plans. *Aftonbladet's* previous owner, Sveriges Nationella Ungdomsförbund (Sweden's National Youth Association), had become dependent on him for loans. Starting in 1931, he became the new owner. His brother's death, however, created financial difficulties for Torsten Kreuger, and he was forced to sell substantial assets. He was convicted of securities fraud for irregularities contained in a prospectus for a bond loan for the Högbrofors forest company. He

remained in prison until June of 1934. With the help of his newspapers, he would then spend the rest of his life fighting for vindication.

After 1932, the name Kreuger was a burden. Torsten Kreuger was forced to withdraw as a newspaper owner. In 1933, he transferred *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Aftonbladet* to Erik Åkerlund who, in turn and without the seller's knowledge, conveyed half the holding to Bonniers. Only a few years earlier, Åkerlund had sold his major magazine holdings to Bonniers. Now, he was clearly more interested in *Stockholms-Tidningen* and was not averse to closing down *Aftonbladet*. Kreuger, however, used his veto right. In the sales agreement, he had provided himself with a repurchase option on *Aftonbladet* and, against all odds, he was able to exercise it in 1937. His lust for revenge required tools. The coordination between the morning and the evening paper played a certain role. Initially, *Aftonbladet* benefited the most. During the years 1931–34, *Aftonbladet* required financial support since it was incurring losses, albeit shrinking ones. In due course, when success was achieved, however, the evening paper had to pay rather high prices for the services it utilized.

The man responsible for that success was PGP. In 1920, Per Gustaf Peterson (1896–1977) started at *Stockholms-Tidningen*. As a young, but still veteran, employee, he did not see eye to eye with his new chief, Ewald Stomberg. In March of 1933 he transferred to *Aftonbladet* and was made editor-in-chief in April. Previously, in September 1932, *Aftonbladet* had taken over the presses left behind by *Stockholms Dagblad*. They were in good working order and trained personnel were available to operate them, which was especially important when the circulation began to increase. Thus the compact format that for so long has been associated with the evening paper was actually inherited from a morning newspaper.

PGP's appearance on the scene had immediate effects. He created a regional newspaper. The picture and women's pages contributed to the success. Everyone involved agreed that PGP's influence was decisive. He had a rare ability to find and inspire colleagues. In summary, it can be said that he launched a new type of paper.

According to PGP, the good legacy at *Aftonbladet* was represented by John Landquist. He had left *Dagens Nyheter* during World War I. At *Aftonbladet* he had a long career. PGP believed that his presence at the paper, until he was appointed a professor at Lund University in 1936, was an obstacle for the pro-Germans. Even he, however, demonstrated great understanding for the German views.

International examples played a role. Since the 1890s, there had existed abroad a popularly directed journalism that sought to provide what the reader wanted. The task was to adapt it to Swedish conditions and to make tempting innovations seem less dangerous and foreign. PGP him-

self had an English and French bent. In connection with his development of Swedish popular journalism he has referred to – *The Times*. He took the idea of several short editorials from there.

Popular journalism imposed its own special conditions. For one thing, it did not allow the writer's personality to find full expression in the paper's text and pictures. PGP only truly revealed his character as a writer after he also became an assiduous theater critic in 1937. He had his own style, and he appreciated others who did as well. During the early years, when the foundation for success was being laid, PGP mostly had to devote his time to what others had written. He set the tone. It was to be friendly, ironic and witty. He wielded his pencil on others' text. He saw to the rewriting. He had a nose for what the readers wanted. Crime, sports and comics helped increase the paper's circulation. Of these, the editor-in-chief himself seems to have been most interested in crime reporting.

Aftonbladet was first in the daily press to make a serious commitment to cartoon series. It was a genre that had slowly been gaining territory. It had been part of the Americanization of the late 19th century. From a press history perspective, it is of interest as an important aspect of popular journalism and the recruitment of new large groups of readers. Thus a newspaper's proclaimed stance concerning the introduction of comic figures can be seen as a signal that a critical decision had been reached on questions of policy.

The weekly magazine press was early on the comics scene with *Allt för Alla* leading the way. Swedish comic figures that have lived on ever since made their debut there. Since 1927, Kronblom, created by Elov Persson (1894–1970), has set the standard for gold bricking. Nr. 91 Karlsson, the bumbling soldier created by Rudolf Petersson (1896–1970), has lived on thanks to a long line of succeeding sketch artists.

Brokiga Blad (Motley Pages), the supplement produced by *Aftonbladet* that dared to frankly declare itself "Sweden's first colored newspaper", had contained a special cartoon page in color as early as the 1910s. Towards the end of the 1920s, however, the time had come for the daily press to take the genre seriously. In 1929, the first Swedish cartoon series, "Herr Knatt" appeared in *Stockholms-Tidningen*. *Aftonbladet* took the big step on May 28, 1934 when it introduced its first entire page of sketched series under the heading "life's humorous latitudes". That label has since come to signify the entire mode of cozy journalism developed by PGP.

Several other newspapers believed this was the basis of much of *Aftonbladet's* circulation success and emulated it. Already by late 1936 a veritable race to have the most popular comic series developed, principally

among *Dagens Nyheter*, *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. Right on their heels were a number of provincial papers.

A Choir with Many Voices

Least of all, the Golden Age lacked multiplicity. On the one hand, the demands of modernization were met and, on the other hand, room remained for the idiosyncratic. Success came to those who were able to keep up with progress towards a news-sheet that provided all the modern functions: news gathering, influencing public opinion, amusing the reader and providing services. It is clear that in important regards the newspapers looked different after the war. In the case of the daily press, it meant that it was possible to print more than the four pages that had been the classic newspaper size ever since the beginning. Moreover, the format did not have to be the same every day. There was room to create sections and, in time, to edit the contents. The introduction of a summary page, where the most important news was presented in brief, was the most striking evidence of modernization. Frequently, but by no means always, the newspaper's first page, stripped of advertising, was used. In this regard, however, things proceeded slowly. Varying traditions played a role, and concern for the advertisers slowed the process. Successful paper such as *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten* and *Östgöta Correspondenten* would not make the change for many years.

Even by 1920, the use of news photos was not striking, or in any case not abundant. This was an area where the largest papers made use of their superior resources. There was a wide range in the use of headlines. The smaller provincial papers were substantially more restrained and displayed little variation. The use of stepped headlines, an innovation especially associated with *Dagens Nyheter*, was often accompanied by the introduction of other changes in editing and content. Attempts at left edge rubrics were a rarity limited to a few papers.

Family owned newspapers has become a special characteristic of the Swedish press. It has a long tradition. Even the appearance of print widows who became pioneers among female journalists represented a type of preservation through inheritance of intellectual and commercial capital. The inter-war period witnessed a breakthrough for the family ownership. It was then that Bonniers established its dominance. Hjörnes became an ownership family starting in 1926. But the true pioneers were among the large provincial papers.

In Linköping, the Ridderstad family has participated in the editorial or operational leadership of *Östgöta Correspondenten* for 125 years. Some,

like the dynasty's founder, C. F. Ridderstad, contributed for long periods of time. His son Wilhelm remained as an active chairman of the board until his death in 1930. Grandson Eskil eventually pulled all the strings. He was a member of the board for fifty years, its chairman for 19 and editor-in-chief for 23 years. His younger brother Carl, was chairman of the board for 13 years and deputy managing director for 19. During Eskil Ridderstad's time, the circulation tripled from approximately 16,000 in 1917 to 48,794 in 1954. His price policy emulated that of Harry Hjärne. His attitude towards the employees was distinctly patriarchic, which laid the ground work for conflicts. It all ended sadly for Eskil Ridderstad with a palace revolution by the editorial staff in 1953. He withdrew from the editorial board and a year later he was excluded from the board of directors and removed as managing director. The family had to be content with its ownership position.

In Västerås, the leading newspaper family was named Pers. Anders Pers (1869–1951) was the editor of *Vestmanlands Läns Tidning* for four decades (1908–48). He consolidated the paper during the inter-war period. One of his most important steps was to convert from every other day to weekday publication in 1919. After he became involved in press organizations, it was only natural that his son Anders Yngve Pers (1902–85) would take over. It did not happen, however, until 1941 when he first became managing editor and then, in 1948, editor-in-chief. He tried to make the paper less local than was the case with many others in the same position.

During the inter-war period, *Helsingborgs Dagblad* became connected to the Sommeliuss family. Malte Sommeliuss was chairman of both Gummifabriken (The Rubber Factory) and Tryckeriaktiebolaget Helsingborgs Dagblad (The Printing Company Helsingborg's Daily Paper). Only after his death in 1922, however, did his widow Elvira and his son Ove (1896–1977) begin to buy shares in the printing and newspaper company. The co-owner Dunker thought the new printing facility had become too expensive and that Ove Sommeliuss was too willful. It all ended with Ove being made an offer to buy. For a half century, the attorney and art historian educated at the University of Lund served as editor-in-chief. He then turned the position over to his son Sören Sommeliuss.

Northwestern Scania became the base for one of the earliest provincial newspaper chains. In 1928, Thure Jansson (1886–1971) began to construct *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar* (Northwestern Scania's Newspapers). The first building block was *Engelholms Tidning* together with its two offshoots, *Höganäs Tidning* and *Klippans Tidning*. In 1931, *Öresunds-Posten* was purchased and integrated.

11. Before, During and After the War (1936–50)

Although brief in historical terms, the period between 1936 and 1950 falls naturally into three distinct parts: pre-war, war and post-war. There are things that unite people, but sadly there are more that divide them. War has dark precursors and dark consequences. The Spanish Civil War preceded World War II, and instead of ending in peace, the latter evolved into a cold war.

The outside world intruded into that of the press. Still, during the first two inter-war decades, the interest in foreign reporting decreased. “Just as a contented person only thinks of illness and death when his health is threatened, so a person whose principal goal is to continue living in peace and quiet only thinks of foreign policy and war when a crisis is at hand”. This reflection is that of Professor Herbert Tingsten, who after the war in his new role as a newspaper man injected a resurgence of vitality into the foreign policy debate. His examination of his predecessors caused him to conclude that interest in the outside world was determined by the appearance of crises.

The 18th and the 19th Centuries Versus the 20th

Considering how fleeting the life of a newspaper is, its history is remarkably important. As a rule, it is an advantage to be old. If it is a newspaper, then, in concert with its subscribers, it can establish enduring reading habits. But there are exceptions that prove the rule. On the Stockholm evening paper market, there was a fierce struggle between *Dagligt Allehanda*, whose history stretched back to 1767, and *Aftonbladet*, founded in 1830.

Nya Dagligt Allehanda was politically Conservative and guarded its traditions. Its modern history bore the imprint of Leonard Ljunglund (1867–1946), who had participated in the successful establishment of *Skånska Dagbladet*. After being transferred to Stockholm, during the years 1906–36 he personified *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. He was a strident polemicist. In time, he came to control almost all the levers of power. He was one of the principal owners and, starting in 1914, he took con-

trol of the paper's finances. He was involved with the paper's layout and dealt with personnel questions. The circulation was expanding and during the turbulent 1920s reached 35,500, compared with a later peak of just over 50,000. Since the 19th century, *Aftonbladet* had been not just a competitor but an obvious enemy. But as late as the early 1930s, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* clearly held the upper hand over *Aftonbladet*. Both papers benefited from *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* refraining from publishing evening papers.

The general economic downturn, as well as the restructuring of the newspaper market, contributed to a decline in the volume of advertising. Ljunglund believed himself to be the victim of a plot to reduce his single copy sales on the part of Pressbyrån (the principal operator of newsstands), which he accused of one-sidedly favoring the Bonnier papers.

Nya Dagligt Allehanda supported a particular view point, and tried to present itself as a quality newspaper, while its competitors took the opposite tack. Already during World War I, the paper had pursued an activist course which included clearly anti-democratic tendencies. During his last years at the paper, 1934–36, Ljunglund maintained a pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic stance which caused him to distance himself from his most enduring friends within Arvid Lindman's Conservative Party. In 1935, the paper experienced a crisis. Axel Wenner-Gren supplied funds and tried to stem "that which can be interpreted as approval of Nazism, Fascism or other dictatorial regimes". Next there were conflicts within the editorial staff, and finally Ljunglund considered himself to have been outmaneuvered. In 1938, he transferred the paper to a consortium represented by two of the men who were to serve as editor-in-chief during the paper's remaining years, Carl Björkman and Erik Wästberg (1905–1954).

Pricing played a role in the conflict. *Aftonbladet* was also fortunate in regards to sports. It established decisive superiority during the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin and Garmisch Partenkirchen. It was of great help that the events were held at a time of day that suited a true evening paper – and that their competitor had problems with its new teleprinter. The competitive situation would shift further. By 1940, *Aftonbladet*, with its circulation of 164,000 copies, had become the Country's largest newspaper, and the dramatic wartime events pushed it even higher. At 40 percent, its Stockholm household coverage was four times larger than that of *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*.

Both *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* contemplated taking over *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. Much of its editorial staff was recruited by *Expressen* when it started in 1944. This was also to be the form in which the struggle with *Aftonbladet* continued.

In Bang's World

“To great democratic relief, some mistakes in the arrangements had finally become apparent. Today, two program times had to be totally altered. And Hitler's own flagpole squeaks when the standard is raised. But perhaps that is a planned reich squeak.” Barbro Alving (1909–87) achieved her breakthrough as a reporter at the 1936 Summer Olympic Games in Berlin. It was both quick and unexpected. Seldom had a Swedish reporter been able to transport her readers out into the world to such a degree. But even if she was only 27 years old, she was well prepared.

Directly after graduating from secondary school in 1928, she joined *Stockholms Dagblad* as a cub reporter. There she had Ella Taube as her “journalistic mother”. She immediately attracted attention: “She outwrites us right and left.” Gösta Sjöberg soon became aware of what an asset she was: “What can you say about little Alving?” The newcomer herself thought highly of the training she received: “We are wrong, but a newspaper should be worn down and stuffy, with bends and nooks and crazy dead-end corridors, with people in all of the nooks and here and there, in some of them, a kook or two”. Her perspective changed, but not her evaluation: “One's first swim strokes were taken in a duck pond, and that was probably for the best.”

After only a few months, however, she moved over to *Idun*. Since the editorial staff was so small, she was allowed, on the heels of her most important mentor Elin Wägner, to act as assistant editor-in-chief. Life is hell, she informs us in a letter, but the work is anything but. She also had no doubts about her ability: “I have a wonderful job, meet a lot of wonderful people and know that I'm a good journalist. Am constantly on the move and have an awful lot to do – yes, it's all truly wonderful.” Barbro Alving worked for three years at *Idun*, including a reporting assignment in Egypt. But she worked hard, lived hard and strictly judged her own performance.

It was at *Dagens Nyheter*, however that starting in 1934 she made her most important contribution. And she was determined to make her mark without delay. Her self-esteem was wounded when editor-in-chief Dehlgren initially did not know her name. She quickly corrected the situation. Her permanent employment was assured by a trial report on the inauguration of the Traneberg bridge.

She found her unmistakable tone. It was not inborn, it rather emerged from the writing styles that she had cultivated in her diary and letters. In this important process of creating informality, her interaction with male and female friends also played a decisive role. Why, she asked herself at some point, don't I write the same way in the paper as I do to my friends

and in my diary? And then she did. It sounds easy, but it was a big step. It required personal courage. After only a year of so, she had it as a fully developed technique. She used it with great success when she was included in *Dagens Nyheter's* team at the Berlin Olympics. Various types of exaggeration became an important component of her break through at those Olympics. It is most obvious when quantitative components are used: "Give me the quiet Mr. Singh Raunak Sing from India, who ran with a blue bow in his hair and a full black beard and was 5,000 meters behind the others the whole time." What made it so characteristic was her conviction that her story was a priceless treasure.

Her success was rapid and emphatic. "So now I'm Sweden's most skilled journalist, fiddle sticks, comic is what it is." "Result: the board has unanimously said that it does not want get rid of me, so I can count on financial advancement when I get home." It is true that Barbro Alving put her all into it, but it is also possible to be a bit impressed by the audience that saw to it that she became so popular.

When Bang was at her best, she was a master. Even when fully developed, her writing style had a bantering aspect. It worked better in her reportage and personal portraits than in the columns with which it is usually associated. This might seem counter-intuitive, but it has its logic in that genre lines often have to be crossed to create personal master works. It is against a serious background that her linguistic energy, as well as her insight, has the best effect. It adds balance and intimacy to the gravity. Barbro Alving would continue on for an additional half century.

Next, despite being a pacifist, she would become known for her war reporting. The Spanish Civil War, not without reason called "the war of the authors", also became a gathering place for reporters. It was further confirmation that some types of journalism develop in the shadow of war. She reported from there in two rounds. She traveled there without being dispatched and, what is more, she was pregnant. On what later became a famous postcard, she wrote "if I were to die, please don't say that I had many friends." In war as in peace she traveled the world over and sometimes displayed a boldness that cannot have been sanctioned by the paper. Sometimes she found her work unsatisfactory, as in the case in Finland: "The Winter War was clearly an ordeal by fire for a pacifist. I did not endure." No, things were not always as easy as her texts might imply. Sometimes she risked the paper's press time by failing to produce a simple news item.

There was a basic humanity in what she wrote. Many have learned from her. She went as far as a Swedish journalist could go. Her contact with her readers had a conversational aspect – or at least gave that impression. It is an impression that has its roots in her mastery of another mass

medium, the radio. Those who heard her there could not avoid also hearing her somber tone with their inner ear when they read her texts.

The Arsenal of Repression

Sweden found itself much more exposed during World War II than had been the case in World War I. The limitations on personal freedom were substantial. Masses of private letters were examined. There was a considerable amount of wire-tapping. The fear of espionage resulted in both vigilance and distrust. Since the Swedish word “tiger” means both “tiger” and “keeps quiet” in English, the government sponsored symbol for discretion was a tiger with blue and yellow stripes – a Swedish tiger. It became wide-spread and popular. The population rallied around and the determination to keep Sweden out of the war was virtually unanimous.

For newspapers and magazines, which were responsible both for providing information and facilitating debate, the limitations were palpable. At the outbreak of the war in 1939, the Swedish Prime Minister, Per-Albin Hansson, announced that “Sweden’s preparedness is good”. It was a dubious, although necessary, claim. Nor was the preparedness for handling information good. Total war and modern propaganda had taken forms that were unanticipated when the classic freedom of the press ordinance had been enacted in 1812.

As early as October 1939, the government had requested restraint both with regard to criticism of foreign powers and information concerning national defense. During the earliest days of the war, the creation of a council where leading representatives of the press were involved in establishing guidelines for the responsible handling of news was initiated. Its composition was reminiscent of the national unity government that replaced the purely Social-Democratic cabinet in December of 1939.

Statens Informationsstyrelse (The Government Information Authority) also began to function from the start of 1940. It became best known for its “grey slips”. Altogether, 260 of these were distributed during the war years through the Newspapers’ Telegraph Bureau (TT). In this function, instead of its usual role as a supplier of news, TT forwarded requests that a particular piece of news be withheld. Through Sten Dehlgren’s involvement with the Information Authority, *Dagens Nyheter*, like *Svenska Dagbladet* through Ivar Anderson, also involved came to play a problematic double role.

During the early war years, prosecutions under the freedom of the press statute was the standard approach to suppressing what was considered to be unsuitable writing on foreign affairs. Fairly quickly, however,

other forms of repression were adopted. Starting in the spring of 1940, outlets that had been convicted of freedom of the press violations were denied permission to transport their periodic publications. This restriction principally impacted the Communist press. Despite being criticized as being both unconstitutional and ineffective, the ban remained in force until 1944.

On the initiative of Minister of Justice K. G. Westman, sequestration was added as another repressive alternative. It allowed printed material to be seized without a court order. Between April 16, 1940, shortly after the German occupation of Denmark and Norway, and November 1943, 280 issues of newspapers and magazines were confiscated. The Communist papers *Arbetartidningen* (The Workers' Paper) in Gothenburg was seized 33 times and, *Ny Dag* (New Day) 22 times. Nazi publications, especially *Dagens eko* (The Echo of the Day), were seized on 30 occasions. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* was sequestered eight times, as was *Trots allt!* (All the Same!). The mere expectation that a foreign power would react – usually it was Germany – was enough to cause a paper's edition to be seized. The most notorious case was the intervention against seventeen daily papers who in March of 1942 published one and the same article describing conditions in Norwegian prisons.

In practice, even these illegal actions were not particularly effective, except possibly in calming down the foreign reaction. The remainder of the issue that could be seized was often only a small fraction of what had already been distributed. It was also effective to make a reprint with the offending article omitted.

In a controversial law that was enacted in the spring of 1941, a new possibility for censoring the press in case of war or the threat of war was provided. It outlined an inspection authority that was to work with the already existing Government Information Authority. It could be activated in response to a special Riksdag resolution, which would give it a one-year mandate. Fortunately, the law was never applied and it was repealed in connection with the peace.

Swedish preparedness was not good. That was evident in the handling of the press during the war. It was a patch work of regulations that was activated. A provisional coercion act applied from 1940 until 1945. *Allmänna Säkerhetstjänsten* (The General Security Service) acted like a secret police. Within the rules of the extensive postal censorship that was in effect until 1944, hundreds of periodicals were also handled. The import and export of newspaper and magazines was also subjected to limitations. These measures can now be followed in the archives of the Security Service.

Torgny Segerstedt's Great Moment

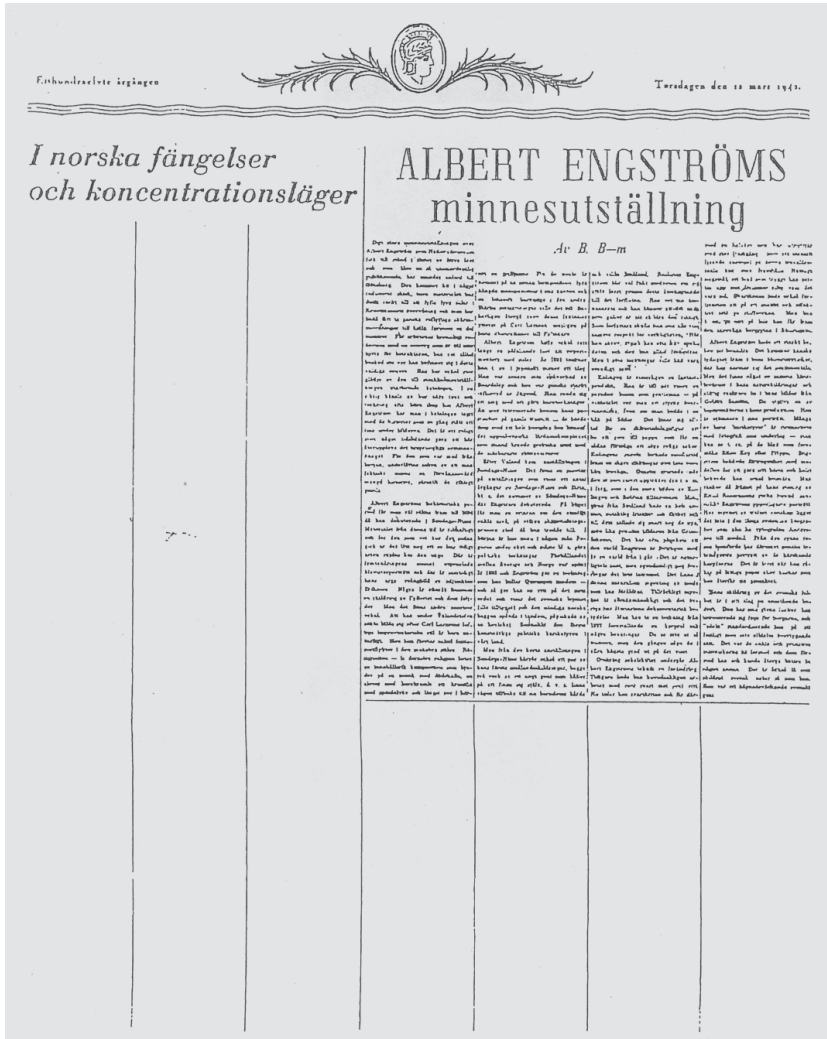
The war revealed what people were made of. This was especially true for those who had to take a position in the newspapers. In the case of Torgny Segerstedt (1876–1945), there is no question but that he experienced his greatest moment when it was most needed.

He began as a religious historian who had to migrate from Uppsala to Lund in order to have his thesis accepted as the starting point for an academic career. But the theological faculty there opposed offering him a professorship. This, his first conflict, was fought along Liberal versus Conservative lines similar to those that permeated the struggle concerning Strindberg that had occurred a few years earlier. Instead, Segerstedt became a professor in Stockholm. During his years in the capital (1913–17), he served as editor of Bonnier's publication *Forum*, which was started in 1914. When he thereafter was permanently attracted to the world of newspapers, it was taken as evidence that the modern daily papers could offer better financial terms than the universities. Segerstedt received several offers from the major Stockholm papers. He could have taken over at *Dagens Nyheter* both in 1921 and 1925, and at *Svenska Dagbladet* a bit later. But he chose *Handelstidningen* where he remained until he died.

The recruitment of Segerstedt resulted from discontent at *Handelstidningen*. It was directed at the patriarchal style that Henrik Hedlund had inherited from his uncle but which was now outdated. In addition, there was criticism of the pro-German sympathies that had become apparent at this paper which had traditionally looked westward. Segerstedt took on his task with vigor. Despite support from the leading ownership family, the Forssmans, however, he could not immediately implement all his ideas. Personally, he attracted attention with his involvement in so many of the newspaper's departments, and the skillful way he rid himself of the academic writing style he had previously utilized.

Segerstedt joined the paper on June 4, 1917. Overcoming some resistance, he created the famous third cultural page. Segerstedt was one of the notoriously diligent writers who benefited greatly from the Golden Age of the newspapers. He could also vary his style remarkably. In the Today column, he worked with quick and effective saber thrusts. That was also the style that, a few weeks after Hitler's seizure of power, for the first time unleashed German anger and action: "And now the world press will have to deal with this man as long as God allows. It probably won't be very long, but every day it continues is one day too many."

Segerstedt personified the struggle against Nazi Germany and thus also became the foremost critic of the concessions that the Swedish national unity government felt compelled to make. With his uncompromising



The third page of Handelstidningen was created by Torngy Segerstedt shortly after World War I. During the second, it was possible for blank spaces to speak volumes.

and upright stance, he became an irritant. He was considered for membership in the Swedish Academy, but Torsten Fogelqvist was selected instead. At the start of the war, he was nominated for the chairmanship of PK, but the other candidate was elected. He was criticized by those who thought he was going too far in his criticism. The circulation increased, but not fast enough to maintain the percentage household coverage. This was partly the result of *Handelstidningen* becoming a national paper. In Stockholm, many more people read Segerstedt than Hjörne.

Segerstedt's struggle against Hitler was intended to safeguard Western values. He had no use for concessions. He lived long enough to see the turning point of the war, but not the German capitulation. He died on March 31, 1945.

All the Same!

There were others who also opposed evil. The circumstances varied. Comparisons with *Handelstidningen's* fearless editorials lay near at hand. *Nybro Tidning* was established in connection with Nybro being given a city charter in 1932. The newspaper's attitude vacillated until Runer Jonsson (1916–2006) arrived. He was to remain there as sole editor for 45 years. He covered his city while composing for the Country. He was by no means a harmless journalist. He boldly attacked submissiveness towards the Germans and was reprimanded by the Information Authority. In 1941, he was summoned to the Foreign Office for a talking to. It was not for nothing that he was called the "Segerstedt of the East Coast".

J. A. Selander (1877–1964) worked at *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*. He was an "erupting volcano of ideas and feelings". His both great and difficult time came during the war. But many eventually well-known journalists were schooled by this passionate Liberal and inventive newspaper man. One of them, Carl-Adam Nycop, characterized the paper as "the best school of journalism". Per Wrigstad received his initial training there, for the first months without pay – such was the standard situation for an intern. Sven Sörmark also learned important lessons in Eskilstuna.

Ture Nerman had wandered at Lenin's side when the Russian revolutionary was on a short visit to Sweden. He had written daring new-spelt poetry and, as a literary critic, had clashed with the modernistic poets. But also this multi-faceted writer acted heroically during the war. Starting in October 1939, *Trots Allt!* (All the Same!) was published with Nerman as its driving force. Shortly thereafter, he was sentenced to three months in jail for slandering Hitler, and served his time during the following year. His newspaper was also subjected to sequestration and transport bans, but the circulation of approximately 20,000 copies continued to be distributed as long as there were dark forces to resist. In 1946, however, the paper was closed.

In Denmark, newspapers such as *Information* have benefited from their ties to the resistance movement. In neutral Sweden, the most honest newspapers have not had the same return on their wartime capital. Unlike Torgny Segerstedt, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* survived the war. Despite being Sweden's most pronounced quality newspaper,

however, it went under a few decades later. *Trots Allt!*, which Ture Nerman developed into an irritating and often sequestered newspaper, was a distinctly wartime phenomenon and pretty quickly had to withdraw when conditions changed. An uncompromising position might be less attractive in peacetime. All that it defied no longer existed, fortunately.

Varying Shades of Brown

Nazism did not have much success in Sweden. But there were some periodical publications that wholeheartedly supported Nazi party. The most remarkable of these was *Folkets Dagblad*. It was taken over by Nils Flyg (1891–1943), and when he shifted from one extreme to the other, from Communism to Nazism, he took the paper with him. It was closed in 1940, only to reappear in the summer of 1942 with financial support from the German foreign office. It then hung on until the end of the war in May of 1945. *Dagsposten* (The Daily Post) started to appear in December 1941. The Germans provided both part of the share capital and an ongoing operational subsidy. Following a 1944 trial, the intermediary who provided these sums was convicted of illegal receipt of foreign funds. The third Nazi paper was *Dagens eko* which was launched in August 1940. It was noted for its fierce partisanship. It too was supported by German money, and in 1946 the publisher was held legally responsible.

The Nazi press was of negligible importance. A much larger role was played by those papers that in various ways expressed understanding for Nazism, or at least for German interests. This was most common among the Conservative papers, but even among those that supported the Agrarian Party there were sympathetic journalists. This was also true of the two large, supposedly Liberal Party supporting, Kreuger newspapers, *Aftonbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The support offered the Germans was not particularly consistent, sometimes being provided only by an occasional journalist. For easily grasped reasons, the understanding was greatest while Germany was enjoying military success before 1943.

In 1937, Torsten Kreuger had been able to exercise his option and re-establish ownership of two of the most successful newspapers. That the editor-in-chief of *Stockholms-Tidningen* that he appointed, Börje Brilioth (1884–1968), had been engaged in unifying various Nazi and nationalistic groups, came as an unpleasant surprise for the editorial staff. Both the political and foreign editorial groups had to struggle to maintain their integrity. Kreuger sometimes acted as arbitrator. With his political naiveté and his hostility to Bonniers, Kreuger nursed hopes for a German victory. The Germans were satisfied with his papers, but were less successful in influencing his morning paper than *Aftonbladet*.

Several large provincial papers also went remarkably far in their support of the Germans. *Helsingborgs Dagblad* was to the right of the right. The paper had one writer who expressed himself exactly like a Nazi. He was dismissed by the editor-in-chief Ove Sommelius (1896–1977) in early 1944. *Östgöta Correspondenten* displayed understanding for the German view of the world. The occupation of Sweden's Nordic neighbors in April 1940 was defended with reference to the English position. The persecution of the Jews, however, contributed to a change in perspective.

Norrbottnens-Kuriren followed a similar line, but in addition it had a columnist who expressed views that in various regards was provocative. He argued that democracy was more developed in Germany than in England and that Segerstedt belonged in a mental institution. In response to a very attention getting explosion at the Communist *Norrskensflamman's* printing facility, he expressed regret that human lives had been lost. His empathy did not reach all that far, however; the important thing was that (the province of) "Norrbotten be rid of Communists".

A Difficult Balancing Act

The trend was for the press to become increasingly independent. The third estate wanted to safeguard its separate status vis-à-vis the first two. Scrutinizing and calling into question are most naturally performed in opposition. With a world war raging around the corner, however, this rule no longer held. Once Sweden installed a national unity government, the party newspapers of the Social Democrats, the Agrarians, the Conservatives and the Liberals all become at least potential government outlets. When, in addition, the journalistic profession united behind a principle of self-restraint, both domestically and abroad, the large newspapers found themselves walking a tight rope. The result was tension within the editorial staffs and between them and the owners.

At *Svenska Dagbladet*, Ivar Anderson became editor-in-chief in 1940. He was the embodiment of the compromise policy. Thus, the diligent and long-serving Otto Järte, who advocated a steady continuity and rallying around the neutrality principle, presented no problem for the paper. However, one of the paper's best known writers, Fredrik Böök, was banned from its pages in 1940 after he had described conditions in German occupied Denmark in idyllic terms.

At *Dagens Nyheter*, which had always wanted to be an opposition paper, the conflict was more pronounced. Johannes Wickman (1882–1957) was a loyal and long-serving employee. His roles there including serving as Paris correspondent until the spring of 1918 and then becoming

foreign news editor. Already during the 1930s, his anti-Nazi views had been considered provocatively obvious. The ownership family shared his views but, at least initially, believed they should be expressed with greater moderation. This was also the position advocated by Sten Dehlgren in his double role as editor-in-chief and chairman of the Government Press Board, especially during the beginning of the war.

Preparedness and Rationing

The war was devastating. But in the midst of a stricken world, Sweden was a blessed isle. The threat that Sweden would imminently be occupied, or otherwise drawn into the war, was a Damocles sword hanging over the Country during the early years. The entire population was also affected by the rearrangement of life resulting from guarding the borders, military call-ups and the rationing of goods. Viewed in a positive light, it produced a unity that brought people closer to each other. Quite a few came to view the war years as a memorable idyll.

The newspapers, having been drawn into and serving to reflect these realities experienced their fair share of problems. Their financial condition deteriorated during the early war years as a result of less advertising and higher costs. Technological advance was slowed due to the inability to obtain modern printing presses. Newsprint became considerably more expensive and printer's ink became scarce.

The expansion of the teleprinter network to the northernmost parts of the Country had not been completed. In most pressrooms, however, the chattering of this noisy machine became a mental image representing the flow of news. The legendary foreign news commentator Gunnar Franzén (1882–1983) received essential assistance in his long-lasting task in *Smålandsposten*, and eventually in the radio, to cover the entire world from Växjö.

But there were also factors that benefited the papers. Most important, of course, was that the Country was spared from the war. The demand for news contributed to larger circulations. Even though the radio had established itself as an obvious source of news, the newspapers held their own. In time, they could also raise their prices, both of subscriptions and for advertisements. The text space shrank, sometimes as the result of an agreement among competing papers. The principal losers were the Sunday supplements, sports and cartoons. Both the difficulties themselves and the steps taken to overcome them contributed to a decline in the total number of newspapers.

Little *AT* Is Worth Remembering

Still, newspapers were being founded. The 1940s were the debut decade of the evening tabloids above all others. First out of the gate was the short-lived *Afton-Tidningen* (1942–56).

Aftonbladet's pro-German stance created a reaction that slowed the paper's advance and triggered the thought of starting a competitive paper. *Afton-Tidningen* (*AT*) was thus started with the purest of motives. It was also rooted in a popular movement. Initially, the LO leadership had been skeptical on financial grounds. *Afton-Tidningen* had many opponents. One of them was the Country's Prime Minister. Per Albin Hansson was concerned that the result would be "an offshoot of Gothenburg's *Handelstidning* in Stockholm" and that LO would be creating a paper that would oppose the government's foreign policy".

Bonniers had had plans for an evening paper since the 1920s. Their wrath at *Aftonbladet* finally motivated them to act. In those desperate times, cooperation was an attractive possibility. Kaj, Tor and Albert Bonnier contacted the paper planning committee that LO had appointed in November of 1941. Given the Country's critical situation, the parties were able to make considerable progress towards a compromise. The defense of democracy was the principal common goal. Bonniers was willing to accept that LO would select the editor-in-chief. It was intended that the cooperation would be long lasting – for five years past the still distant peace. Bonniers would do their part by making *Dagens Nyheter*'s production facilities available. LO was to provide new money, a million kronor in share capital and an additional million as a loan. The idea of joint ownership, however, was questioned, originally by LO. It was to be the reef on which the project foundered. *Aftonbladet* (*AB*) had an interest in revealing the secret negotiations. "Boycott against AB exposed / Bonniers tried to cooperate with LO", proclaimed the paper's front page on January 9, 1942.

Left to its own devices, LO had to implement the plan quickly. The first issue came out as early as March 26, 1942. What *Afton-Tidningen* stood for triumphed. But that did not mean that the paper won out. The time available for a breakthrough was barely any longer than the preparatory period. During its second year, the fortunes of war turned and the war ended during its fourth year of publication. The special war-time circumstances were replaced by others. The squadron with popular journalists and an important opinion forming assignment had to find its place in a new environment. It was not easy to know on which foot to stand. The problem was made acute because *Afton-Tidningen*, which had been founded to defend democratic values, had to live on in a world

where commercial aspects were becoming ever more important. There, two largely irreconcilable strategies clashed in a way that was more instructive than almost anywhere else.

The 1943 policy shift at *Aftonbladet*, together with the launching of *Expressen* in 1944, worsened the situation of *Afton-Tidningen*. Moreover, with the coming of peace in 1945, the principal motive for its establishment vanished. The opponents and the set-backs were legion. The board of directors was weak and had little newspaper experience. The equipment worked poorly. The unavailability of newsprint with the right color until 1946 made a bad impression.

Even the recruitment of staff members became mired in strategic disputes. The first editor-in-chief, Frans Severin (1889–1972), like several of his principal colleagues, had political careers on the side. Writers, politicians and youths inhabited *Afton-Tidningen*. They were distinctly outnumbered by their competitors. The newspaper also functioned as an educational institute for journalists before such training had been formalized in schools. There is good reason to assign part of the blame for what was to happen on the shortage of personnel. When the struggle with *Expressen* was at its peak, the paper could only muster 40 colleagues to counter its competitor's 140. Youthful enthusiasm was not enough.

At the end of the war, in July of 1945, Ivar Sundvik (1909–86) was made editor-in-chief with the difficult assignment of turning the situation around, just as the paper's two competitors threatened to take over completely. In fact, he succeeded. Together with the very earliest period, the post war year of 1946–50, appear to have been the paper's least troublesome time. It was especially the provincial circulation that increased.

The conflict between expectations and reality at an evening tabloid that was still associated with a popular movement became more severe. A test-case that has remained in the memory of several staff members was the news of the birth of the current monarch on April 30, 1946. It is said that the placard with the text, "It's a Prince" was the most effective in all 15 years of the paper's existence. It simultaneously resulted in a large sales volume and disappointed comments from a movement that was formally anti-royalist – of course, by now we have seen enough to have difficulty understanding the excitement. Nor did Sundvik, when looking back at it, believe that it was all bad for the paper. Once again, the circulation began to move in the right direction.

According to Sundvik, the fate of the paper was decided on September 30, 1950. That was the day direct ownership responsibility was transferred from LO to A-pressfonden (The Workers' Press Fund). As a result, the needs of *Afton-Tidningen* were now weighed against those of the other A-press papers, and this at a time when newspaper deaths were

accelerating. In anticipation of 1951, the paper's leadership wanted to escape a difficult situation by committing more resources, but their plan was rejected. Efforts after that point were mostly intended to keep the paper going without, however, a belief that it was actually possible. In his farewell editorial, Sundvik apologized for "the bizarre material that has to be served up in an evening tabloid under existing competitive conditions".

The Fortunes of War and those of *Aftonbladet* Turn Around

In 1937, after having served a term in prison, PGP resigned his position as responsible publisher of his successful newspaper. He was replaced by the political editor, Fritz Lönnegren (1895–1971). Thanks to his good relations with Torsten Kreuger, he could himself determine the paper's political stance, as well as influencing the composition of the editorial staff. The number of pronounced pro-Nazis at the paper increased, and they were able to leave their imprint on the paper's position as long as the Germans were militarily successful. On a few occasions, the press attaché at the German Embassy influenced the contents of the paper.

PGP was not a Nazi, but neither has he been able to explain why the paper he had saved ended up where it did. He maintained his recipe for success. He argued that there was still a need for "a newspaper that was happy". It turned out to be a stance that could be abused. When the circulation, thanks to political resistance and competition, declined by around 20 percent, he was able to persuade Torsten Kreuger to approve a re-orientation of the paper's position. By that time, he had also become convinced that the Germans could not possibly win the war.

Hilding Eek (1910–83), a jurist who had just defended a doctoral thesis concerning freedom of the press in Sweden, was employed as political editor to demonstrate what the Swedish legislation meant in practice. Allan Fagerström (1916–85), like so many leading personalities in the Swedish evening press, had been schooled in Lund. In that city, where there were so many German fellow travelers, his stance had attracted attention. Until the fall of 1943, he had not even read *Aftonbladet*, where he, with his distinct views and his equally distinct prose, would become a long-serving and faithful staff member. In 1943 he was summoned to change the paper's profile. Ironically enough, thirteen years later in 1956, he was installed as editor-in-chief to demonstrate that the paper's profile had not been altered in any decisive way after Torsten Kreuger had sold it.

Expressen's Conquests

1944, the year of the invasion, witnessed a change in the newspaper landscape with the launching of *Expressen*. It was desperate to appear youthful and sassy. But unlike *Afton-Tidningen*, which had to be rushed out in a few months, *Expressen* had been under preparation for a quarter century. After the negotiations with LO had run aground, there was an ongoing discussion within the board of *Dagens Nyheter*. Opinions, however, differed. Sten Dehlgren opposed splitting the available resources and feared that *Dagens Nyheter's* working class readers in particular would resent such an effort. However, he lost. In April of 1942, only a month after *Afton-Tidningen's* start, a decision in principle was taken that another evening tabloid would be published. Two more years elapsed, however, before the paper was available on the market. The recruitment of staff from the oldest Swedish newspaper, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, which had been forced to close a few months earlier, also brought with it a degree of experience.

Leading the strikingly young editorial staff were newspaper men such as Ivar Harrie (1899–1973), Carl-Adam Nycop (1909–2006) and Sigge Ågren (1910–89). They were different, brought with them different experiences and played different roles. Harrie had received a classical education at the University of Lund and learned the newspaper business at *Handelstidningen*. For a few years, he had earned his keep as chief of arts and letters at *Dagens Nyheter*, and it was mainly to emphasize that the new paper had its origins there that he was made editor-in-chief. Some considered him to be a hostage at a paper that had to bear the brunt of the criticism for sensationalism. He became an eloquent defender of Nycop, who among the three was the visionary for the new type of paper and who took the blame for the sensational aspects. With his experience of sports and picture journalism, he continued some of what the earlier evening tabloids had relied on. His memos to the editorial staff were intended to convey the impression that the product was well thought out right in the middle of the frenzy. Ågren was the steady practitioner among the three and the one who, early in the morning, determined the appearance of the paper. He was the typical newspaper shaker and mover: long controversial, eventually legendary and possible, the one most responsible for the paper's success.

But success was not immediate. Not until the spring of 1945, and probably thanks to a popular lottery, did the circulation exceed a level sufficient for the paper to break even. It was as if the German capitulation on May 7, 1945, which was greeted with the placard reading "PEACE", was precisely the sensation needed to bless the paper.

EXPRESSEN

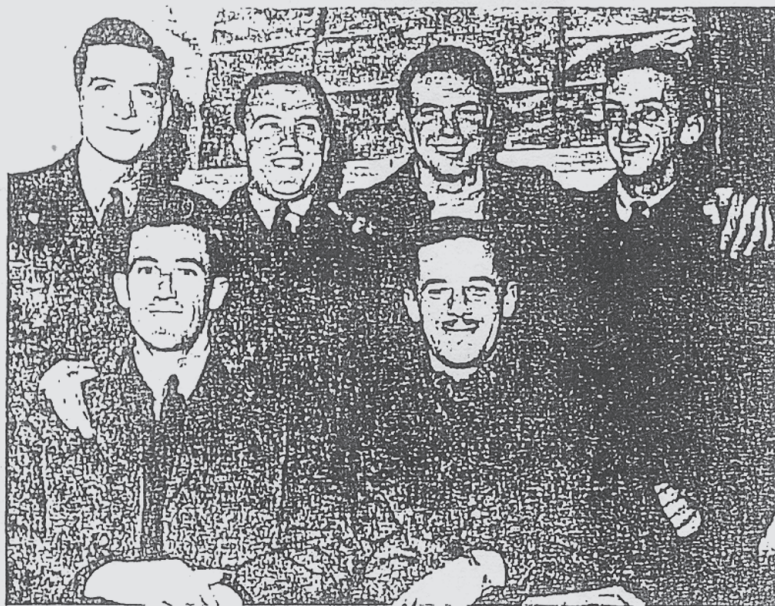
Den **nya** kvällstidningen 15 öre

Årg. 1 Torisdagen den 16 nov. 1961 1 ppage 2 Nr 1 På 14g och böcker 20 öre

6 AV TIRPITZ BANEMÄN HÄR

Piloten och hans kamrater berättar för Expressen

Är de de brittiska flygare som i november lyckades sänka det tyska slagkeppet "Tirpitz" i närheten av Iwojima? Ja, det är det som berättas i Expressen. Det är ett stort och viktigt arbete som utförts av dessa män som har varit i fronten för den svenska flygväsendets utveckling. De har varit med om många av de viktigaste insatserna under andra världskriget. De har varit med om att sänka ett av de största krigsskeppen i världshistorien. De har varit med om att rädda många liv. De har varit med om att vinna många strider. De har varit med om att göra Sverige till en av de största flygväsendena i världen. De har varit med om att göra Sverige till en av de största flygväsendena i världen. De har varit med om att göra Sverige till en av de största flygväsendena i världen.



Karin Ekelund lär jiu-jitsu <small>Sida 1</small>	Brandkären ej mer stjärnklubb <small>Sida 2</small>	Svenskätling flyghjälte nr 1 <small>Sida 3</small>	Nye "Rommel" till motattack <small>Sida 4</small>
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Hemliga pressens fantastiska saga

Following a sluggish start, the new evening paper Expressen became a great success. During the second half of the 20th century it was the largest paper of its type.

The relatively recent, and for a long time successful, modern evening tabloid was a type of paper that requires such a large circulation that it must remain a rarity. Among the hard knock lessons learned was thus that its publication is limited to the largest cities. This was the case despite the fact that national distribution was an important, perhaps even an essential, condition for reaching a sufficient circulation. It became necessary, on the one hand, to give the provincial readers the, perhaps illusionary, impression that these decidedly Stockholm oriented papers mirrored the entire Country and, on the other hand, to distribute the paper to them as quickly as possible.

Distribution thus became more important than believed by those who consider newspapers different from other products because they contain reading material. In time, the airplane came to play a decisive role and helped determine which papers would survive. *Afton-Tidningen* had originally committed itself to an agent based delivery system. When it refused to abandon this approach, it found itself excluded from air transport to the provincial cities. This handicapped it especially in the contest for youthful and sports interested readers. Arranging its own air transport proved to be expensive and could only be sustained to a few places. The paper fell behind and was unable to fully exploit the opportunity when circulation-lagging *Aftonbladet* eventually suggested cooperation in order to resist their most successful competitor even in the provinces.

With its long period of success, *Expressen* could claim credit for many of the innovations that in the post-war period were introduced not just into the evening tabloids, but in Swedish journalism generally. Ultimately, it goes back to the paper's strong self-image.

The Cold War and the Welfare State Idyll

The war ended in 1945. As one of the countries spared from destruction, Sweden was able to benefit from the situation. Low unemployment contributed to a rapidly rising standard of living. More and more women joined the labor force. It made it possible to implement the welfare state that had been under discussion since 1928. The use to which this new-found wealth should be put, however, was the subject of political dispute. The Social Democratic government that in 1945 replaced the national unity government was challenged by a non-socialist opposition. Following the sudden death of Per Albin Hansson in 1946, Tage Erlander surprisingly took over as party leader and Prime Minister – *Expressen* was the first paper to break the news. He was to display unusual staying power in the post, continuing to lead governments until 1969. For many years,

his chief opponent was the distinguished economist Bertil Ohlin. Even before he assumed the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1944, his articles had made *Stockholms-Tidningen* the best informed paper concerning the party's policies. The political debate was especially intense in connection with the 1948 election, and most of it was still conducted in the daily papers.

World War II was not followed by peace, instead it morphed into the Cold War. It was to dominate the world scene until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In this division of the world into East and West, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the pre-eminent powers, Sweden would find itself in a precarious position. Following futile attempts to form a Nordic military alliance, Denmark and Norway joined NATO. Finland was left to guard its non-aligned status while keeping an eye on its powerful eastern neighbor. Neutral Sweden became a buffer between the two power blocks. How far the proclaimed neutrality actually stretched, however, has been the subject of debate, even since the files have been declassified.

Americanization occurred on a broad front, not least among the media. Comic books became available. Allers started the rush in 1946 by creating a special magazine for Karl-Alfred (Popeye). Even greater success was achieved by the Walt Disney comics that appeared in the 1948 creation, *Kalle Anka & Co.* (Donald Duck & Co.). Its circulation eventually grew to over 200,000 copies per week.

Newsprint Is Rationed

During the war, most people had adjusted to a rationed life, especially since the system worked better than during World War I. It was even said to have improved public health. It was more difficult to accept, however, that the end of the fighting did not quickly result in a restoration of free consumption. Coffee was the greatest source of popular complaint, but for the press newsprint was crucial.

The smaller newspaper size during the war was accepted. The continued post-war rationing did not result from a newsprint shortage, but from a lack of foreign exchange. Sweden was one of the principal exporters of newsprint. It was unavoidable that this advantage would be used to achieve balance in foreign trade. Faced with the threat of formal regulations, the newspaper industry opted for voluntary limits. Starting on October 1, 1945, the newspapers agreed to reduce their newsprint consumption by ten percent compared with the previous year. This rationing continued until 1950.

The restraint on newsprint consumption left its mark in various parts of the newspaper world. It reduced new establishments. The newspaper *Dagen* (The Day) managed to see the light of day, if barely. It was launched on the initiative of the Pentecostal leader Lewi Pethrus (1884–1974). When he applied for a newsprint allocation for the long-planned project, he was at first refused. But since the paper had already made an agreement with the printer in July of 1945, the decision was reversed, and the paper could appear starting on November 1, 1945.

As a result, *Kvällsposten* (The Evening Post) in Malmö became the only paper started during the rationing years. When the existing set of evening papers was thus completed in 1948, the year *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten* celebrated its 100th birthday, the Newspaper Publishers' Association's special newsprint committee urged delay. The mother newspaper, however, had saved up enough newsprint so that Malmö too could have a tabloid.

The rationing had the general effect of consolidating the existing structure, or even of creating stagnation. Nor was it easy to fit an increasing circulation into the newsprint allocation constraints.

Newspaper content was also affected by the restrictions. It was true of details; thus for example, narrower columns were tested. But it was also true of more serious matters. It became necessary to decide what was more and what was less important. Judgments as to what was cultured and what was not became involved. Sports coverage was deemed expendable and could be reduced.

The Weekly Magazine Press under Fire

The weekly magazine press continued to be successful, and therefore also subject to criticism. Even during the war, epoch making magazines had been stated. In 1938, the first Swedish picture magazine appeared when *Se* (Look) was created in the image of American precursors, with Nycop as the prime mover and editor. It played an important role in mirroring the war. During the 1940s, a number of publications that successfully located their niches were founded. Starting in 1942, Edwin Ahlqvist's (1899–1984) creation at the Cirkel publishing house, *Rekord-Magasinet* (The Record Magazine), served as a dream factory for boys interested in sports. Through short stories and serials, the reader could visualize his future as a sports star – while at the same he was admonished to do his homework. *Fickjournalen* (The Pocket Journal), launched by Hemmets Journal Inc. in 1945, with its emphasis on short stories, fashion tips and film news became in many ways the girls equivalent of *Rekord-Magasinet*.

Together they were historical in their innovative discovery of new niches for popular magazines.

Continued success kept the lively criticism of the weekly press dating back to the 1930s going. Faced with the tightened rationing of newsprint, in 1947 the Country's book writers attempted to get at the weekly press. Bonniers was now made to suffer for having wandered so far away from the world of books when it purchased Åhlén & Åkerlund. And things were not limited to just the liveliest debate ever. The writers issued demands to both the government and the large publishing firm that the use of newsprint be supervised. The result was a government inquiry that in 1948 presented a proposal that grouped the weekly press into four different categories. At one extreme, represented by pornography, newsprint supply would be limited to one half of that used in 1946. The most favored category, consisting of professional journals and magazines dealing with art, music and literature, were allocated three quarters of their earlier consumption.

In another assault, the writers demanded that the publishers improve the literary quality of the weekly magazines. It resulted in an attempt to alter the contents of the family magazine *Vårt Hem*. Artur Lundkvist and Stig Dagerman, both distinguished literary figures, participated, but the experiment ended in failure. *Vårt Hem* was merged with another, newly started, family magazine, *Året Runt* (Around the Year), and contributed to its success.

Herbert Tingsten's Tone

No one who saw him could fail to appreciate his remarkable vitality – and over time, he also became known for his debating style on both radio and television. A prominent professor of political science, Herbert Tingsten (1896–1973) was recruited to *Dagens Nyheter* in 1946, and, until he left the paper in 1959, he was to keep it at the center of public debate.

Tingsten inherited an enviable situation. During the war, the paper had definitively established its leading position. The circulation had increased by a third to 207,640. *Stockholms-Tidningen*, whose total circulation had not been surpassed until during the war's first year, had only one half the household coverage of *Dagens Nyheter* in Stockholm. The re-conquest of first place, that had been initiated under Hemberg and Karlgren during the first decade of the 1900s, was finally accomplished four decades later.

Tingsten had no newspaper experience, nor was he interested in anything that went on outside the editorial offices. The long-serving second

in command, Ivar Ljungquist, who had played an important role in the newspaper's successful development, choose to leave only a year later. He had difficulty adjusting to the new editor's domineering attitude. When appointing the new editor-in-chief, the owners for the first time had discovered that the editorial staff had a will of its own. Their candidate was Sten Hedman (1897–1992), who had played a leading role at the paper as a reporter, a supplement editor and the head of celebrity and society reporting. As to Tingsten, one was either for him or against him – at least until he revealed his human side in his memoirs, *Mitt liv* (My Life, 1961–64).

Tingsten introduced a new tone into the political debate. In the ongoing Cold War, he became an energetic defender of the western democracies and strongly opposed all attempts to equate the two sides. As a leading political scientist, one of his writings had been a major study of the evolution of Social-Democratic ideology. Now he became a strident critic of the Social-Democratic government's policies. He cast suspicion on the government for appeasing the Soviet Union and striving for socialization of the economy. The conflict culminated with the parliamentary elections of 1948. A change of power was near at hand. An early edition of the paper even proclaimed it to have happened, on both the front and the editorial pages. When the ultimate result was otherwise, Tingsten had to eat crow.

That Tingsten set the tone and shifted the terms of the debate is unquestioned. Disagreement, however, has raged over the extent to which he achieved his policy goals. He championed Swedish membership in NATO and the acquisition of nuclear weapons. His uncompromising stand risked strengthening the opposition. He also took positions that provoked the bourgeois public. As a convinced republican, he tried to influence the paper to reduce its coverage of Royal events. He turned against the established church and argued for non-denominational instruction in the schools. With his remarkable work habits, he stamped his mark on the paper. In the editorial offices, he surrounded himself with a long line of skilled writers. Right from the beginning, he was eagerly cheered on by the owners. He was countered by the Social-Democratic press, which also experienced a favorable period following the war.

In retrospect, it is near at hand to see the public opinion formers in the print media as utilizing their advantages to produce a grand finale before being challenged by TV during the 1950s. And regardless of how prominent a soloist Tingsten was, by necessity at a large paper, the choir of journalists determined success or failure. Here, their success was unsurpassed in the history of the Swedish press. The formerly folksy paper had become dominant in arts and letters. The foreign correspondents

were still allowed to stay at their posts long enough to give world's great cities a voice of their own. The celebrity and society page retained its position as a gathering point. The sports page kept "R:et" Eklöw and, with the assistance of sports cartoonist "Rit-Ola", retained the initiative it had seized in 1920.

Individual staff members, such as Jan Olof Olsson ("Jolo", 1920–74), still could devote all their talent and energy to capturing aspects of the world and of history in their reporting, columns and reviews. He had been Tingsten's political science student and joined the paper in 1945. There he maintained his friendship with his former professor. It has been said of him that he "emphasized the importance of the moment and the person". He believed in the individual. He was out of step with the times and, exactly therefore, was able to capture its spirit. Although he did not ultimately become a big name for all at the paper, late in life he became known to the entire nation through his recreation of the war-time mood in the TV series *Någonstans i Sverige* (Somewhere in Sweden, 1974).

The War Produces Constitutional Law

The war left many tracks. One of them was a new constitutional provision intended to regulate the future status of the mass media. The need to regulate what could be said or written when the nation's borders were threatened had been made absolutely clear during the war. Thus, an official commission was appointed already in 1944 with the goal of developing a new freedom of the press statute.

The press was represented by influential personalities, including Knut Petersson (1892–1982). When, after many years as number two, he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Handelstidningen* in 1945, he followed in the foot steps of Torgny Segerstedt. The commission unanimously recommended that much of what had happened during the war not be allowed to recur. Censorship was out of the question, as was sequestration without legal proceedings. There should be no obstacles to the printing and distribution of printed materials. Liability would rest on the responsible publisher, while the messenger ran no risk of prosecution.

While the experiences of the war laid the groundwork for unanimity on these crucial points, it was more difficult for the commission to agree on how any legal proceedings were to be organized. In the end, they retained the jury system. It was felt to be a guarantee both of competence and of public support.

This experience-based unanimity also resulted in relatively fast legislative action. The proposal was given initial approval at the spring 1948

Parliamentary session. The required second reading following a new election occurred in the fall of 1949. The only difference between the government's proposal and the commission's recommendation was the inclusion of a special wartime provision. It allowed for the imposition of a six-month publishing ban on a newspaper that had been convicted of serious violations. Despite this reminder of war, it could justifiably be maintained that this new constitutional provision provided far-reaching freedom of the press. The proud tradition of 1766 lived on.

12. Structural Change in the 1950s

The number of Swedish newspapers that published at least four times per week reached its peak in 1955: 20 seven day papers, 106 six day papers and 10 four day papers. There were no five day papers. The first of these appeared in 1962 when *Länstidningen Södertälje Tidning* increased its publication frequency from four to five times per week.

An important reason for this record number was that Sweden had not been dragged into World War II; in 1945, the facilities of the Swedish daily press did not lie in ruins, and it could restart free of impediments. The expected post-war depression did not materialize, and the favorable economic environment benefited the entire branch. The rationing of newsprint put a ceiling on the expansion of the leading paper in each locale, thus favoring the number two papers. Moreover, as compensation for the rationing, the daily press was allowed to raise its advertising fees despite a general price freeze.

In this hothouse atmosphere, the number of multiple-day papers increased, and the newspaper publishers' financial results became very favorable during the late 1940s. During this news-intensive decade, ten or so daily papers were started and about twenty increased their publication frequency to six days per week. In terms of circulation and number of papers, the years 1942–54 were the most successful ever for the Social-Democratic press.

Newspapers Meet the Grim Reaper

In the early 1950s, the circumstances of the daily press changed. The rationing of newsprint was abandoned, and the leading papers increased their lead. It was easier for them than for the number two papers to deal with the cost increases that accompanied the Korean War. In the middle of the 1950s, a new American-inspired anti-trust law was enacted. The 1954 Law Against the Limiting of Competition shifted marketing power from the producer to the distributor. Retail price maintenance imposed by manufacturers was prohibited. Price setting became free and the introduction of cost-saving self service stores created space for price competition. Strong, locally ensconced retail chains were soon established in

virtually every branch. Producers' brand advertising was replaced by the retail chains' weekend advertisements featuring loss leaders. The major advertisers favored the local daily press, especially the papers with the greatest publication site household coverage. Thanks to the reliable circulation statistics (Newspaper Statistics, TS) that had become available starting in 1941 as the result of an American-inspired campaign by the advertising agencies, it was easy to determine how the circulations of various papers compared in a given area. The advertisers could easily separate number one from number two papers. Having a large site of publication circulation became more important than having a large total circulation.

Thanks to the ban on radio advertising right from the start in 1925, later expanded to include television in 1955, the daily press had many years in which to build up and strengthen its position in the market for advertisements. The locally oriented press also benefited from the organization of radio and television as nationwide public service-enterprises.

The new competitive conditions resulted in failures among the daily press. Only three of the ten daily newspapers founded during the 1940s survived: the evening tabloids *Expressen* and *Kvällsposten* and the non-conforming church paper *Dagen*. During the 1950s, the number of multiple-day newspapers shrank from 136 to 102, that is by 25 percent. Within the press, this was referred to as the "newspaper death", although the total circulation did not decline. The summed circulation total of multiple-day papers was 375 per 1,000 persons in 1950. The number edged lower to 370 in 1952, but reversed course and returned to 375 in 1959. The record for this category was established in 1965 with 399 copies per 1,000 persons.

The political parties felt responsible for the newspapers associated with them, and they tried to help in various ways. Way back in 1908, the Social-Democrats had formed A-pressens samorganisation (the A-press' joint organization) for newsprint purchases and the procurement of advertisements. A year after the successful 1936 elections (for the first time more than 45 percent of the electorate voted for the party), LO and the Social-Democratic Party jointly established A-pressens Förlags AB (The Workers' Press Publishing Co.) in order to refurbish their papers and take full advantage of their electoral triumph. Starting in 1942, the business sector and the Swedish Employers' Federation supplied funds to weak Conservative and Liberal Party papers through the Libertas Foundation. Since the foundation did not consider itself capable of judging the political value of various papers, starting in 1949, the funds were allocated to weak but important Conservative and Liberal papers by Högers förlagsstiftelse (the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation) and the Liberal Stiftelsen Pressorganisation (Press Organization Foundation) re-

spectively. The Rural Areas Press' Newspaper Fund supported the papers that represented the Agrarian Party (since renamed the Center Party). The Communist newspapers had their own fund raising organization that was called "The Firm Defense".

As a rule, the rescue efforts failed, but of course they were mostly dealing with hopeless cases. Most of the papers that closed down had circulations not exceeding 5,000 issues. Several of them did not even reach 2,000. Some of the daily newspapers were converted into political weeklies, the most important of which was *Arbetaren*.

Communist Hubris

The radical political winds that followed the end of the war resulted in the Swedish Communist Party (SKP) receiving ten percent of the popular vote in the elections of 1944 and 1946. The party took their electoral success as a sign that it should revitalize its daily newspapers since they only accounted for a few percent of the total daily press circulation.

At the start of 1950, four of the party's weeklies were converted into offshoots of its principal newspaper, *Ny Dag*. A few years later, eight more daily provincial papers were added. Together with its offshoots, *Ny Dag* achieved a circulation of 45,700 issues, the largest ever for a Communist paper in Sweden. The system of daily offshoots was dropped in 1956, and the circulation decreased to 15,000 copies. The party's share of the vote fell below four percent in the 1958 election.

During 1959–64, the editor-in-chief of *Ny Dag* was the future party leader C. H. Hermansson (1917–). The paper was tightly tied to the party. Even in the late 1940s, the paper's journalists were considered to be party functionaries. Editorials, commentary, columns and sports coverage were always equally political. Generally speaking, the paper adopted the views advocated by the Soviet Union.

In 1947, *Norrskensflamman* in the northern city of Luleå set a circulation record of 8,200 copies. During the 1950s, however, it declined to 5,000. The best know staff member and contributor was the party leader, Hilding Hagberg (1899–1993), who served as editor-in-chief 1930–35 and continued as a columnist all the way into the 1980s.

Arbetartidningen in Gothenburg reached its high point in 1949 when, as part of the renewal effort, its printing was moved from Stockholm to Gothenburg. The political connection to Stockholm, however, was maintained; the paper was provided with detailed instructions concerning content from there. Nils Holmberg (1902–81) was political editor during the immediate post war years, while simultaneously serving as

vice chairman for the Gothenburg City Council. Among other contributors, it is possible to mention the working class writer Gunnar Adolfsson (1906–83), who was editor-in-chief 1952–65, and the author Jan Myrdal (1927–) who began his writing career there as a teenager.

Regional Conservative Dreams

During the early 1950s, the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation took the initiative for three mergers of local second place papers along the northern Baltic Coast and the West Coast. The plan was to create large Conservative regional papers beside *Svenska Dagbladet* in central Sweden and *Sydsvenskan* in the southern part of the country.

The first of these mergers occurred in 1951, combining the second place papers *Umebladet* (founded in 1847), *Skelleftebladet* (founded in 1887) and *Norrbottens Allehanda* (founded in 1891) in Piteå into *Nord-svenska Dagbladet* in Skellefteå. The circulation of the new paper exceeded the sum of its three components' individual levels by 30%. Since it did not achieve increases in the communities served by those components, however, advertisers were not impressed. When the paper closed in 1958, its circulation was 11,000 copies. The main gainer from this failed reconstruction effort was the Liberal *Norra Västerbotten* (founded in 1910). It was now the only paper left in Skellefteå and in 1959 increased its circulation from 21,000 to 24,000 copies.

The second merger occurred a few months after the first. It involved the three second place papers *Härnösands-Posten* (founded in 1842), *Sollefteå-Bladet* (founded in 1895) and *Örnsköldsviks-Posten* (founded in 1890). The new paper was called *Ångermanlands Nyheter* and was stationed in Härnösand. Even in this considerably smaller geographic area, the mental distance between the local communities turned out to be too great. The readers were not prepared for a newspaper for the whole province. After two years, a circulation approximately 10 percent less than the combined starting number caused the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation to throw in the towel. The readers were distributed among the Liberal Party's *Örnsköldsviks Allehanda* (founded in 1901), the Social-Democratic *Nya Norrland* (founded in 1907) in Sollefteå and the Liberal minded *Västernorrlands Allehanda* (founded in 1874) in Härnösand.

The third merger engineered by the Conservatives was initiated in 1951 and concerned the West Coast province of Halland. It centered around the newspaper *Halland*, founded in Halmstad in 1875, with off shots in Laholm and Varberg. The papers absorbed by *Halland* were *Falkenbergs Tidning* (founded in 1875) and the Liberal *Vestkusten-Var-*

bergsposten (founded in 1894). When the Liberal Party thus lost its daily outlet in Varberg, the party immediately started a new paper. The now regional paper *Halland* enjoyed a circulation gain of almost 30 percent, but it did not last and the paper was closed in 1959. The two family owned papers, *Hallands-Nyheter* and the Liberal *Hallandsposten* in Halmstad, could now divide the province of Halland between them.

These important restructuring lessons did not sink in throughout the press. In the middle of the 1960s, the Social Democrats made the same mistake. In 1966, the second place papers *Östergötlands Folkblad* in Norrköping and *Östgöten* in Linköping were combined to form *Folkbladet Östgöten*. After a few years, its circulation was no greater than that of *Östergötlands Folkblad* alone had been before the merger. Things turned out even worse for the second place paper *Folket* in Eskilstuna which at about the same time absorbed *Västmanlands Folkblad* in Västerås. With a total circulation of 40,000 copies, *Folket* styled itself a “middle of Sweden big city paper”. The province of Södermanland became less and less enchanted with *Folket* – local news from the adjacent province of Västmanland was of no interest to them. The circulation collapsed and the merger was undone. The five year long adventure broke the back of *Folket*, which, during the late 1950s, had actually been larger in the industrial city of Eskilstuna where it was published than its Liberal competitor *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*.

Competition Doubles the Circulation

During the late 1940s, no true evening tabloid was published outside of Stockholm. This situation changed quickly when the provincial editions of *Expressen* and *AT* doubled in the course of a couple of years. Newspaper publishers in Gothenburg and Malmö responded to the challenge.

The conversion of the tabloid *GT* from a lunch time to an evening paper occurred in 1948 when the mother newspaper, *Handelstidningen*, changed from afternoon to morning publication. At the same time, *GT* adopted a policy of single issue sales only. The editor-in-chief responsible for the transformation was Jerker Thorén (1895–1977). The legendary soccer player Sven Rydell (1905–75) was in charge of the sports section.

The circulation of *GT* doubled in four years, from approximately 20,000 to just over 40,000 copies. The paper even became larger than *Handelstidningen*, where it was largely considered a necessary evil. At *Göteborgs-Posten*, anticipatory plans were laid for an evening tabloid of its own with the working title “GP Extra Paper”.

The conversion of *GT* into a successful evening paper raised hopes at

the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation which was supporting the publication of *Göteborgs Morgonpost* (founded in 1896). *Handelstidningen's* move to morning publication had made that market crowded, so that a move over to the apparently much more less competitive evening paper market seemed to be a sensible rescue measure. The paper's name was changed to *Aftonposten* and began publishing under that name at the beginning of 1951.

The new evening paper was a success. *Aftonposten* immediately initiated a contest with a new SAAB automobile as first prize. In addition, there were small daily drawings where the readers could win with their used tram or movie tickets. The success was credited to Erik Westerberg (1915-), the editor-in-chief starting in 1952, who gave the newspaper a distinct evening paper character. The major loser was *GT* which lost 20 percent of its readership, allowing *Handelstidningen* to once again surpass it. By the mid-1950s, *GT* was threatened by closure.

Together, *Aftonposten* and *GT* thus increased the interest in evening papers in Gothenburg. *Aftonposten's* circulation success, however, was not repeated in the advertising market. In addition, the resources of *GT* exceeded those of *Aftonposten*; by the time of its 50th anniversary, the editorial staff consisted of 25 persons, in addition to which the paper had access to *Handelstidningen's* photographers. Technically, *GT* was also better equipped because, once again, it had access to *Handelstidningen's* resources. Granted, *Aftonposten* installed a new press in 1954, but it became an expensive affair. Another headache was that Westerberg resigned already in 1954 following a contract dispute. In 1955, *GT* launched a coordinated counter-attack, increasing the number of pages by more than 20 percent.

In 1956, the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation and local financiers refused to provide more money, and the board of *Aftonposten* decided to close the paper. As a result, *GT's* circulation increased by almost 50 percent over the next few years, from barely 40,000 to almost 60,000 copies. *Aftonposten* had helped *GT* in defending the Gothenburg market against the evening papers from Stockholm. Now *GT* took over the jointly developed evening tabloids paper market and once again became larger than *Handelstidningen*. The success of *GT* provided important financial support for the mother paper. As a result, it was able to survive longer than would have been possible on its own revenues alone.

Carefully Guarding One's Turf

At the end of the 1940s, the afternoon papers *Helsingborgs-Posten* in Helsingborg and *Skånska Aftonbladet* in Malmö encountered financial difficulties. Both were owned by Conservative Member of Parliament Erik Hagberg (1891–1982), who wanted to straighten out the finances by selling *Skånska Aftonbladet*. Among the potential buyers were first the Liberal Party and then Torsten Kreuger, the owner of *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Aftonbladet*. The Wahlgren family, which owned *Sydsvenskan*, wanted at all costs to prevent Hagberg's Malmö newspaper from ending up in the hands of the Liberal Party. Nor did they intend to let "financial interests" from Stockholm establish a toe hold in the Malmö newspaper market.

Sydsvenska Dagbladet offered to buy *Skånska Dagbladet*, but no immediate agreement was reached. As a defensive measure, in 1948 *Sydsvenskan* began to publish its own evening paper, *Kvällsposten* (Evening Post), but only on Sundays as an indication that there was no intention of driving out *Skånska Aftonbladet*. It was also considered important to stake a claim in the Malmö evening paper market before their competitor *Arbetet* had time to implement its presumed plans for an evening tabloid. *Kvällsposten* appeared for two years with a minimal editorial staff of a couple of persons, and it was to a large extent written by employees of *Sydsvenskan*. During these years, *Kvällsposten* served principally as a complement to *Sydsvenskan* in the realms of sports and entertainment.

In late 1949, reopened negotiations between the papers resulted in an agreement. At the start of 1950, *Skånska Aftonbladet* was closed and *Kvällsposten* became a daily. It was endowed with a ten person editorial staff. The leadership consisted of the editor-in-chief Sven-Olof Berlin (1910–2004), who had been responsible for the previous Sunday-only version, the assistant editor-in-chief Åke Thomson (1916–89) and the political editor Sixten Palm (1909–88). Perhaps the best known personality at the paper was Birger Buhre who was put in charge of sports starting in 1950. The entertainment editor was Bertil Behring (1927–2002), while Henrik Sjöholm (1926–) was put in charge of arts and letters. It consisted of a "second page article" next to the political editorials until a regular arts and letters page was introduced in 1956. For the younger readers, the "Junior Post" was launched in 1954 as a four-page Saturday supplement. *Kvällsposten* had heard that *Arbetet* was planning something similar.

After the Wahlgren family had purchased *Skånska Aftonbladet*, rumors were floated in Helsingborg that they intended to go further by taking over *Helsingborgs-Posten* with a circulation of 7,500 copies, of which 6,300 were in Helsingborg itself, and merging it with *Kvällsposten*. The

owners of *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, the Sommeliuss family, desperately wanted to keep the Wahlgrens out of the Helsingborg newspaper market, and in 1951 they succeeded in buying *Helsingborgs-Posten*. The family then decided to convert the Hagberg paper into an evening paper.

The afternoon paper *Helsingborgs-Posten* successively changed its character and was renamed *Kvällsnytt* (Evening News). It never did become an evening paper, however. It was published at lunch time, accepted subscriptions and, like other subscribed papers, was home delivered. Single copy sales never contributed very much to the circulation. After reaching a peak of just over 9,000 copies, *Kvällsnytt* closed down in 1954. Its foremost staff member was Ulf Nilson (1933–), later a reporter and foreign correspondent for *Expressen* during 1963–1995, and after that an industrious columnist for various papers.

A transaction that the Sommeliuss family missed, however, was the sale of the Conservative *Landskrona Posten*, which had a 65 percent household coverage in its home town. The family believed it had been promised the right of first refusal if the paper came up for sale, or at least that Thure Jansson, the newspaper owner in neighboring Ängelholm, would not be allowed to buy it. A middle man solved the conundrum in an unexpected manner.

In 1952, the owner of *Landskrona-Posten*, an honorary consul in Helsingborg, sold the paper to the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation. After only a few weeks, the Foundation then passed it on to the party-insider Thure Jansson. This purchase was the third, and last step in the creation of the chain of newspapers known as *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar*.

The Social-Democrats Overreach

The publication of the Social-Democratic newspapers was organized in accord with the party's district divisions. To be eligible for financial assistance from national headquarters in case of need, a paper had to be an approved party outlet. In the province Scania, the official party outlet was *Arbetet*. The paper had company from other Social-Democratic papers in Ystad and Landskrona, but they were not sanctioned by the party's highest authority.

Nor was there any intention to start a Social-Democratic paper in Helsingborg. It happened anyway because *Arbetet's* local editor in that city thought much was happening there during "the time of the consuls" that needed to be illuminated in a way different from that provided by the non-socialist papers. Following some success in the local elections in

the early 1900s, the leadership of the labor unions decided that the time was ripe and *Skånska Social-Demokraten* was founded. It was only with great reluctance that the paper was recognized as an official outlet by the national party. In 1932, *Arbetet* encountered a fourth compatriot/competitor in Scania when *Läns-Demokraten* was launched in the county seat for Northern Scania, Kristianstad. Starting in 1936, it appeared every weekday.

Since its competitors in Helsingborg were seven-day-per week papers, in 1907 *Skånska Social-Demokraten* began publishing every day. On Saturdays, *Arbetet* in Malmö distributed a Sunday supplement which was dropped in 1920, but later resurrected during the 1930s. When *Arbetet* during World War II came to the realization that *Skånska Dagbladet*, still the largest paper in Malmö, intended to publish a Sunday edition, it wanted to strike first. The Sunday supplement was eliminated in 1945 and replaced by a real Sunday paper. *Skånska Dagbladet* did not begin publishing every day until 1949, and already by 1955 it reverted to six days per week. By then the paper had fallen behind its Malmö competitors, far behind *Sydsvenskan* and just behind *Arbetet*. *Sydsvenskan* had become the largest paper in the Malmö area in 1948.

Converting *Arbetet* into a morning paper was under discussion during 1948, but the board kept postponing a decision. There was concern that the upward trend in the paper's circulation would be disturbed. Moreover, there was reluctance to leave the afternoon market entirely to *Skånska Dagbladet* and the newly started *Kvällsposten*. *Sydsvenskan* had always been a morning paper.

The tougher competitive situation during the 1950s impacted the Social-Democratic Scania papers outside of Malmö. *Arbetet* had to take them over. On December 31, 1957, *Aurora* and *Läns-Demokraten* were absorbed by *Arbetet*. Of their total circulation of 8,900 copies, approximately 70 percent migrated to *Arbetet*. This increase strengthened the paper's position within the party, but not elsewhere. The paper was considered boring – it was more politics than entertainment – and even internally it was called “Pravda”.

The Social-Democrats in Helsingborg were able to retain *Skånska Social-Demokraten* until 1965, when it too was taken over by *Arbetet*. Its Sunday edition, however, had been dropped back in 1956. For marketing reasons, the name had been changed to *Nyhetererna* even earlier in 1954. The Social-Democrats had come to believe that names associated with their movement were detrimental. Starting in 1953, the editor-in-chief had been Frans Nilsson (1915–89), who in 1961 took over the same post at *Arbetet* and began modernizing that paper.

Kreuger Losses Ground

The most unexpected restructuring deal during the 1950's was the purchase of the Liberal *Aftonbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen* by the National Labor Federation (LO), and its consequences. First of all, since two Social Democratic papers were shut down, the transaction contributed to the decline in the total number of newspapers. Secondly, the take over turned out to be much more expensive than LO had expected.

Following the war, the party's official mouthpiece, *Morgon-Tidningen/Social-Demokraten* (for marketing reasons, simply referred to as *MT*), had the unenviable task of being the only Stockholm morning paper to defend government policy. The party leadership's interest and involvement in the paper, however, increased when the party's policies and representatives were harshly attacked, especially by Herbert Tingsten at *Dagens Nyheter*. Although *MT* had no political commentator to equal Tingsten, the columnist Karl Fredriksson (1895–1963) was capable of answering and sometimes of provoking him. Fredriksson, known as "The Karlsson of the North", had been recruited from *Smålands Folkblad* in Jönköping.

MT achieved record circulations, both for weekdays and Sundays, in the late 1940s, but in the 1950s things became tougher. The circulation stagnated, and inflation brought financial difficulties. The paper lost millions of kronor and things were just as bad for the evening tabloid *AT*, which was produced in the same printing facility. Some improvements were made, but a long-planned new building was never constructed.

In regards to arts and letters, *MT* also played a role as a counter weight to the large non-socialist papers. Head of the department during the 1950s was the film maker and author Erwin Leiser (1923–90). In 1951, Artur Lundkvist (1906–91), previously a literary critic at *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Dagens Nyheter*, began to write for the paper after Tingsten had criticized him and other supporters of the "third way". Another notable arts and letters contributor was the poet Erik Blomberg (1894–1965).

Torsten Kreuger's newspapers lost ground to the Bonnier papers. By 1952, the venerable *Aftonbladet* had been surpassed by the upstart *Expressen*, although it still retained a lead in Stockholm. In 1955, *Aftonbladet* was bought by 27 percent of the households in Stockholm, *Expressen* by 23 percent.

Kreuger's other Stockholm paper, the once so successful *Stockholms-Tidningen*, had two-thirds of its circulation outside the city. In Stockholm, the household coverage of the paper was 17 percent, compared to 50 percent for the market leader, *Dagens Nyheter*, and 12 percent for the third place paper, *Svenska Dagbladet*. The fourth paper, with a mere 8 percent coverage, was *MT*.

Following the war years, *Stockholms-Tidningen* became a dependable mouthpiece for the Liberal Party, with its leader Bertil Ohlin (1899–1968) contributing a steady stream of political and economic commentary. The new editor-in-chief, succeeding Börje Brilioth (1884–1968) in 1948, was Carl Kreuger (1914–89), Torsten's son.

Stockholms-Tidningen had difficulty holding its own against *Dagens Nyheter*, despite expanding its foreign news coverage, committing to airborne reporting and telephoto technology and had many well known staff members. Perhaps the most popular of all was the light-hearted columnist Olle Carle (1909–98, "Cello"). The editorial efforts eventually resulted in circulation growth, reaching a record level of 186,900 copies in 1950. The entire increase, however, occurred outside Stockholm, while the paper's household coverage ratio in Stockholm declined. *Stockholms-Tidningen* cultivated its position as the nationally most widely distributed morning paper. Financially, however, its large provincial distribution was of little benefit since it did not result in much advertising.

The editorial staff devoted much effort to feature materials, especially in the Sunday supplement. Gunnar Helén (1918–2002) was recruited from the radio and in 1949 was made arts and letters editor, succeeding Herbert Grevenius (1901–93) who became head of the radio theater. Erik Hjalmar Linder (1906–94) was appointed deputy editor. Linder was also an addition to the paper's stable of first rate literary critics. These included Victor Svanberg (1896–1985) and the Finish Swede Bengt Holmqvist (1924–2002).

Kreuger Gives Up

Kreuger's newspaper business, which still in the late 1940s had been highly profitable, began to lose money. The problem was *Stockholms-Tidningen*, which became ever more costly to produce during the inflation of the 1950s. Sometime around 1950, Kreuger began considering selling his newspapers, or at least *Stockholms-Tidningen*. He would have preferred to keep *Aftonbladet* in order carry on his campaign of personal exoneration. For him, nothing was as important as the Högbroforsen case.

Kreuger discussed a sale with all of the political parties except the Communists. The most progress seems to have made in his negotiations with the Agrarian Party. In 1952, the Conservative Party had contacted LO and proposed that *Svenska Dagbladet* should buy *Aftonbladet* with LO simultaneously purchasing *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The Conservatives wanted to acquire an evening paper in Stockholm where *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, despite substantial support from Libertas, had become a can-

didate for closing. The unholy plan was revealed by *Dagens Nyheter*, thus killing it. Kreuger retaliated by accusing Bonnier, falsely as it turned out, of during the war having made preparations for a sale of *Dagens Nyheter* to the Germans. Herbert Tingsten became so agitated that he banned the Kreuger papers from being cited in the "Newspaper Neighbors" section and issued instructions that no notice should be paid to those papers.

Kreuger was forced to sell some of his assets in order to offset the losses of his Stockholm newspapers. In 1956, he sold *Västernorrlands Allehanda* in Härnösand to the Conservative Party's Publishing Foundation, as well as building lots to the renters' movement and a centrally located hotel site to the consumer cooperative movement. Kreuger's personal interest in owning newspapers also seemed to have diminished after the Supreme Court in 1956, for the third time, dismissed his appeal in the Högbro-forsen case. At that point, he began to seriously bargain with the potential buyers.

The most likely bidders were *Svenska Dagbladet* and LO, who were closely associated with the parties with whom Kreuger had just dealt. The negotiations continued for at least six months. Most signs indicate that, right from the start, Kreuger intended to sell to LO and the talks with *Svenska Dagbladet* were not serious. In truth, Kreuger thought of himself as the rightful owner of *Svenska Dagbladet* in succession to his brother Ivar. He never accepted *Svenska Dagbladet's* justification for why such was not the case.

The go-between for the contacts between Kreuger and LO was the former Stockholm city alderman Zäta Höglund. During the 1930s, he had been part of the leadership of *Social-Demokraten (MT)* and ever since had been on good terms with Kreuger. Thus, for example, together with his party colleague and professor of law Vilhelm Lundstedt, he had organized public meeting supporting Kreuger in the Högbro-forsen matter. The Social-Democratic government minister Gustav Möller had also been supportive of Kreuger. At least as important, however, was no doubt that in the summer of 1956 LO was the only potential buyer willing to pay Kreuger's price. The transaction was concluded in August of 1956. LO purchased the newspapers for 25 million kronor, with Kreuger retaining the right to appoint the editor-in-chief, the responsible publisher and one additional staff member at each of the two papers for a period of two years.

The deal was kept secret until after LO's general meeting in September and the Parliamentary elections held later that same month. The LO meeting enacted an increase in the support for the movement's newspapers by 50 öre per member per month. The national secretariat was

authorized to take all necessary measures with regard to newspapers, measures that in practice had already been taken. On October 4, Kreuger and LO made the transaction public. Torsten Kreuger was severely criticized in the non-socialist press.

After Kreuger

The now “politically independent” former Kreuger papers, were endowed with new in-house editors-in-chief. Gustaf Näsström (1899–1979), for over 25 years an arts and letters staff member at *Stockholms-Tidningen*, was made editor-in-chief of that paper, while Allan Fagerström was put in charge at *Aftonbladet*. With the exception of the two former editors-in-chief, P. G. Peterson and Sigvard Malmberg, the journalists at *Aftonbladet* remained at their posts. About fifteen staff members at *Stockholms-Tidningen* resigned, several of them moving to *Svenska Morgonbladet*.

Svenska Morgonbladet, which had survived thanks to contributions from Libertas, was re-launched in 1957 after LO had taken over *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The paper readopted its old name, *Morgon-Bladet*, and became the Stockholm paper most closely associated with the Liberal Party. Pressure from Libertas had persuaded the non-conforming-church based paper to relax its advertising policy. Erik Hjalmar Linder and the Liberal Party politician Per Olof Hanson (1918–98) became co-editors. The group of writers that transferred from *Stockholms-Tidningen* included the future Liberal Party leader Gunnar Helén. It was hoped that a substantial part of *Stockholm-Tidningen's* readership also would switch to *Morgon-Bladet*. The paper expanded its program and tried to attract a much broader audience than the non-conforming church members that made up its core constituency. The hoped for success, however, did not materialize. Of the 55,000 copies lost from *Stockholms-Tidningen's* circulation over two years, only slightly over 10,000 accrued to *Morgon-Bladet*. The paper closed immediately following the 1958 election.

During the discussions within the Social-Democratic camp following the purchase of Kreuger's Stockholm papers, *AT* emerged as the step-child. This was partly due to the general bad reputation of the evening tabloids, but in addition there had been considerable opposition to the paper within the party leadership right from the start. At the end of 1952, Kreuger had proposed that *Aftonbladet* and *AT* distribute their papers jointly by airplane, but *AT* had declined the offer. Even after the purchase, when there were no longer any obstacles to such cooperation and its competitive advantage versus *Expressen* was just as great, that refusal was not reconsidered. LO took over the publication of *Aftonbladet* on

November 1, 1956, and the last issue of *AT* appeared on November 3. For political reasons, however, *MT* was allowed to co-exist with *Stockholms-Tidningen* through the 1958 election. *MT* was shut down three days before *Morgon-Bladet*.

A New Type of Newspaper – The Political Weekly

Despite being converted to a weekly at the beginning of 1958, after having been published six days a week since its beginnings in 1922, the Syndicalist paper *Arbetaren* continued to play an important role in the public debate. It became the first hard-hitting Swedish political weekly.

An important contributing factor was that the paper had taken strong stands concerning a number of judicial scandals during the 1950s, the Kejne, Haijby and Lundquist cases. The most serious of these was the last. It involved a long list of breach of faith and fraud charges. Back in 1947, *Arbetaren* had charged Magistrate Folke Lundquist with embezzling funds from minors. The paper was convicted of libel and the responsible publisher, Armas Sastamoinen (1909–86) was sentenced to two months imprisonment and the payment of damages. After Sastamoinen has served his sentence, Lundquist was sentenced to prison for exactly the offenses the paper had alleged. Sastamoinen wrote about the Haijby case for the first time in January 1948. It concerned bribery and blackmail in connection with the Royal Court. *Arbetaren* became a center of controversy when the author Vilhelm Moberg (1898–1973) chose the paper as the platform for the campaign against the miscarriage of justice that he launched in 1950. Thereafter, Moberg became a frequent contributor to *Arbetaren*.

The interest roused by the paper paid off in the form of an increase in its circulation by over 40 percent in a single year, from 9,800 copies in 1951 to 14,100 in 1952. Another factor contributing to this success was the paper's first arts and letters editor, Stig Dagerman. He wrote 1,350 "daily notes" – timely commentaries in lyrical form – between 1945 and his suicide in 1954. Surrounding Dagerman, there existed a large group of free-lance, young literary talents. One of these, who started his writing career at *Arbetaren*, was Mauritz Edström (1927–87).

The newspaper, which originally had principally been distributed within the Syndicalist labor movement, broadened its staff and readership during the early 1950s. The new generation of journalists was not particularly well-informed about Syndicalism, but did have a radical outlook. The editors-in-chief, however, were syndicalists of the old school. After the miscarriage of justice discussion had ebbed out, Dagerman had

1947 — Arbetarens jubileumsår — prenumerera!

Organ för Sverges Arbetare
Centralorganisationen
Arbetslösa Upplysningscentralen
Arbetsmarknadscentralen

Årgång 26
Pris 15 öre

Nummer 3 Lördagen den 4 Januari 1947 Uppslags A

Arbetaren

Till en fri tidning

Världen har ingen brial på rika drömpar.
Det lönar sig att barga i sin tjänst.
Din som är fri har ofta ont om pengar.
Din fattigdom är raktiskt en förtjänst.

Nog finns det dom med fetare gestalter,
Nog finns det blod med lenare behag,
Men ledde fri och frittillfälle spölar
En slas och hantrotslags varje dag!

Heltre fri än ett en guldsipen allas,
Endast slas som är en fiktiv fri
Förstår att bida det som måste bli.
En man som tuggar låter öarna bli.

Millia rinter miljö skogar slunger.
Soc och led blivaren ha sin slung.
Endast den som har sin arbetsgång
I behåll kan räcka med sin slung.

Låt miljö utmanar sanna under Motal.
Låt märkman ha i slugarna miljö.
Ordet är fritt — för den som vägar in det.
Du har vägar — därför blev det allt!

Foga ögan torde löst blinda.
Hogman skaller betel bring märka his.
Ljusst är till för den som vägar blinda.
Du har vägar — därför fick vi till!

STIG DAGERMAN.

Sverige får mera kol från USA

WAREHOUSES, kolbågar, frys-kyl-
boxar i
den amerikanska kolgruvarna till
Europa, som vilade kolgruvarna
skulle ha varit en stor hjälp för
Sverige och gravtillståndet i
Sverige. Men det är nu som
Sverige har fått en stor hjälp
i sin kolbehov.

Med kolgruvar till de tidigare kolgruvarna i
USA, som vilade kolgruvarna
skulle ha varit en stor hjälp för
Sverige och gravtillståndet i
Sverige. Men det är nu som
Sverige har fått en stor hjälp
i sin kolbehov.

Albert Jensen: Tvärsnitt genom årtionden

Du är i årtionden. Arbetaren måste
nu lägga till en av de mest
viktiga delarna i arbetet som
är en del av den stora
arbetarkampen. Det är
den stora, världsomspännande
kampen för en bättre värld.
Det är den stora kampen för
en bättre värld. Det är den
stora kampen för en bättre
värld. Det är den stora
kampen för en bättre värld.
Det är den stora kampen för
en bättre värld. Det är den
stora kampen för en bättre
värld. Det är den stora
kampen för en bättre värld.

**Jubileumstext
sidorna 9-15**
Första 30. Årtid i omtryck av
Karl Olofsson.

On the occasion of Arbetaren's 25th anniversary in 1947, Stig Dagerman's daily contribution was entitled "To a Free Newspaper".

died and the paper's resources had shrunk and inflation had increased the cost of production, the circulation declined by half and the paper was converted into an opinion weekly.

To the Top in a Single Bound

The papers that were closed during the "newspaper death" were mainly non-socialist and their readers usually went over to the largest local paper, a change facilitated by the fact that it too was non-socialist. In several locales, the non-socialist leading paper often took the initiative to merge with the failing second place, also non-socialist, paper, thus consolidating its position in a single bound. Such mergers often resulted in an unbeatable household coverage in excess of 50 percent. Thus, the restructuring during the post-war period principally occurred within the non-socialist part of the newspaper market.

Such a merger occurred in Norrköping between two Conservative papers, *Norrköpings Tidningar* and *Östergötlands Dagblad*. The later had been founded in Linköping in 1890 as the first daily morning paper in

the province of Östergötland. Its intended purpose had been to support free trade in opposition to the large Conservative papers *Norrköpings Tidningar* and *Östgöta Correspondenten*. After a few years, the publication was moved to Norrköping, where the paper had had its greatest success. In the early 20th century, *Östergötlands Dagblad* became Conservative and in 1930 a majority of the shares were obtained by Ivar Anderson (1891–1980), the editor-in-chief of *Östgöta Correspondenten*. When he was appointed editor-in-chief of *Svenska Dagbladet* in 1940, he sold his majority position to the Ridderstad family, which was the principal part owner of *Östgöta Correspondenten*. The purchase agreement gave Anderson an option to repurchase the shares in case the paper was to be sold to anyone with a non-Conservative point of view. This clause halted the attempts of the Liberal Party to purchase the paper. *Norrköpings Tidningar*, which since 1947 had had the Erik and Asta Sundin's Foundation as its majority share holder, bought *Östergötlands Dagblad* in 1956, but there was no immediate merger.

The morning paper *Östergötlands Dagblad* was mainly distributed in the rural areas and the afternoon paper *Norrköpings Tidningar* mainly in the city of Norrköping. They continued to be published separately for three years after the purchase, but in 1959 they were combined into a morning paper. The merger was delayed, first because of a desire to celebrate the 200th anniversary of *Norrköpings Tidningar* independently, and second because of a reluctance to leave the afternoon market entirely in the hands of their Social-Democratic rival, *Östergötlands Folkblad*.

During the early 1940s, the Liberal *Nerikes Allehanda* was the leading newspaper in the Örebro area, without, however, having a high household coverage level. The second largest paper was the Social-Democratic *Örebro-Kuriren*. The third and fourth were the Liberal *Nerikes-Tidningen* and the Conservative *Örebro Dagblad*.

Nerikes Allehanda reinforced its leading position in a single leap when the paper's owner, managing director and editor-in-chief, Claës Ljung, in 1944 bought *Nerikes-Tidningen*. None of his competitors could match this gambit. It was utterly unthinkable for the left-wing *Örebro-Kuriren* to merge with the Conservative *Örebro Dagblad*. When the new competitive situation, in 1956 forced the latter to shut down, its readers went over to *Nerikes Allehanda*. Since Ljung took over, the latter had been able to increase its number of pages and its editorial activity, convert to morning publishing in 1950 and put a new rotary press into use in 1953. In this situation, *Örebro-Kuriren* was helpless.

During the early 1960s, discussions were started concerning cooperation between the Liberal first-place paper with more than 50 percent household coverage, *Jönköpings-Posten*, and the number two paper, *Små-*

lands Allehanda. The latter was owned by the Conservative Press Association in Jönköping county. An agreement was reached according to which the owner of *Jönköpings-Posten*, the H. Hall Printing Company, accepted responsibility for publishing *Smålands Allehanda* for a period of three years. A new share issue gave the Conservative Press Association a 15 percent stake and board representation in the H. Hall company. After three years, the two papers would be published as one as long as the Conservative Press Association's board member agreed. The agreement was extended on two occasions. For ten years starting in 1964, *Smålands Allehanda* was a separate edition of *Jönköpings-Posten*, after which it was absorbed by the latter.

Jönköpings-Posten was directed by the two brothers Hamrin, Carl-Olof (1903–70) and Yngve (1967–69). The former was managing director and the latter editor-in-chief. The two engaged in a power struggle concerning what was more important, the paper's financial health or its ideological stance. Despite Yngve Hamrin's efforts to maintain the paper's nonconformist profile, it became increasingly secular during the 1950s. A milestone on this road was its initial acceptance of movie advertising in 1952.

Unique Second Place Paper Cooperation

If the political obstacles could be overcome, it was possible for small newspapers with different political leanings to combine to compete against a larger rival. Such a breakthrough was accomplished on the island province of Gotland.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the competition among the three newspapers on Gotland intensified. The Conservative morning paper, *Gotlands Allehanda*, dominated the principal town of Visby, thus becoming the leading advertising outlet and achieving financial success. The other papers were published in the afternoon. After the postal service stopped afternoon deliveries, they were forced to handle their own distribution at considerable expense. For the Social-Democratic *Gotlands Folkblad* the result was a substantial loss in 1961. The newspaper's editor-in-chief since 1950, Pelle Sollerman (1914–2006), was also appointed managing director in 1962. He then began talks concerning cooperation with the Center Party paper *Gotlänningen*.

Gotlänningen, which in the meantime had converted to morning publication, offered to print *Gotlands Folkblad*. Its capacity, however, turned out to be inadequate and the resulting delay in distribution meant that the paper did not become available until after the evening tabloids from

Stockholm had arrived in Visby. The director of the A-press, Evert Larmén (1921–2006), who had been in charge of advertisements at first *Gotlänningen* and then *Gotlands Folkblad*, believed the solution lay in intensified cooperation. In 1966, the newspapers formed a joint operating company that was to publish them as two editions – both morning papers – under the common name *Gotlands Tidningar* (Gotland’s Newspapers). Aside from the editorial and a few other pages, the content would be identical. A precursor existed in Trondheim, Norway. There the Liberal newspaper *Nidaros* and the Agrarian paper *Trøndelag* had been combined but with each retaining its front and editorial pages.

Gotlands Tidningar improved its finances by reducing its personnel. *Gotlands Allehanda* had better technology and distribution. In 1964, it became the first Swedish newspaper to adopt offset printing. The hold of the freighter carrying the offset press to Visby also contained similar presses for *Västernorrlands Allehanda* in Härnösand and *Örnsköldsviks Allehanda*. Loans from the government’s newly established press fund made it possible for *Gotlands Tidningar* to purchase an offset press that was put into use in 1971. At the same time, the paper converted to tabloid form and carried out a journalistic renewal. Its instigator was the editor-in-chief, Rune Jacobsson (1928–), who had previously worked at both *Gotlänningen* and *Gotlands Allehanda* and thereafter at *Aftonbladet* and various magazines. In 1975, he was awarded the “Great Journalism Prize” for the renewal.

Gotlands Tidningar kept reducing its competitor’s lead and, in 1974, passed it. An important pre-condition for this success was the national press subsidy system introduced in 1971 and which treated *Gotlands Tidningar* as two separate newspapers. Over time, more and more of the contents were the same, and only the editorial page differed.

Dagens Nyheter Widens the Gap

By 1942, *Dagens Nyheter* had become the country’s largest newspaper. Thereafter, it continued uninterruptedly to increase its circulation every year, from 207,000 copies in 1945 to 341,000 in 1958. Nonetheless, in that year it was surpassed by its rapidly growing concern colleague, *Expressen*. Some of *Dagens Nyheter*’s staff saw this development as a loss of prestige. In Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter* passed the 50 percent household coverage mark in 1952. Even in the early 1950s, more than 70 percent of the total of classified advertisements in the three morning papers appeared in *Dagens Nyheter*. Its coverage percentage continued to increase after the Social-Democrats had purchased *Stockholms-Tidningen* in 1956.

Dagens Nyheter was considered to be the national standard in journalism, the ultimate goal for the generation of journalist that began their careers around 1950. The newspaper's increased resources benefited all its departments. The night time editorial staff was increased and the network of domestic correspondents was expanded to nine editorial offices. Tingsten was strongly committed to the arts and letters section and was one of its most diligent contributors. The Bonnier ownership family, with its large book publishing interests, was particularly interested in a section with numerous book reviews.

There was a clear division between the newspaper's political and general editorial functions, between the editor-in-chief, Tingsten, and the head of the editorial staff, Sten Hedman. The latter summarized his years at the paper by saying: "He pursued his campaigns and I took care of *Dagens Nyheter*." As head of the editorial staff, Hedman particularly fostered the foreign news reporting and the narrative and commenting journalism. *Dagens Nyheter* was well equipped in both these categories. The paper had a quartet of renowned foreign correspondents: Agne Hamrin (1905–82) in Rome, Daniel Viklund (1908–96) in London, Victor Vinde (1903–70) in Paris and Sven Åhman (1907–93) in New York. The group was supplemented by Bo Järborg (1917–2007) in Bonn. Two masters of reportage were employed by the paper, Barbro Alving and Jan Olof Olsson ("Jolo"). The former ("Bang") resigned in 1959 after her pacifism had collided with the campaign for the acquisition of a Swedish atomic bomb that Tingsten was orchestrating. She continued writing columns and reportage for the Bonnier weekly magazine *Vecko-Journalen* to which she had contributed since 1942.

The chatty column had two heydays, the first following World War I and the second during the 1950s. The light touch also characterized a number of the contributors to the "Woman's Page", which in 1958 was re-baptized "The Whole Family". Those who wrote for it included the columnist Eva von Zweigbergk (1906–84, "Colomba") the food writer Pernilla Tunberger (1912–86) and Gerd Ribbing (1889–1979) who provided personal advice.

An Excessively Multi-Tasking Editor-in-Chief

Although it did not have a decisive effect, *Svenska Dagbladet* also benefited from the 1956 Kreuger transaction. The distance to *Dagens Nyheter* remained enormous.

Svenska Dagbladet was considered to be the Conservative Party's principal mouthpiece even though it was owned by a foundation. The edi-

tor-in-chief and managing director was Ivar Anderson, who also was on the party's ruling committee and served as a member of Parliament. He had been head of IUI (the Industrial Research Institute) and been involved in the business world's subsidization of the Conservative press. Eventually, it became impossible to combine all these assignments, and Anderson resigned from Parliament. At the same time, Allan Hernelius (1911–86) was employed as deputy publisher in charge of general editing while Harry Grönfors (1894–1980) assumed the position of managing director. Hernelius succeeded Ivar Anderson in 1955.

One of the newspaper's strong sides was the provision of business news and the views of businessmen. Among the contributors in this area was the well-known economist Professor Torsten Gårdlund (1911–2003). Starting in 1949, he became a regular economic commentator. In addition, the head of Konjunkturinstitutet (the Business Cycle Institute), Professor Erik Lundberg, bank director Lars-Erik Thunholm and the former head of the Riksbank, Ivar Roth, were frequent contributors. During World War II (1939–1944), Gårdlund had served as editor of the Social-Democratic think tank magazine, *Tiden* (The Times).

The paper was also well-thought of for its arts and letters material. Karl Ragnar Gierow (1904–82) was head of its literary division between 1946 and 1951. Another prominent contributor was Gunnar Brandell (1916–94). The net-work of foreign correspondents was similar in structure to that of *Dagens Nyheter*. The solon was Sven Aurén (1906–85), working first in London and then, starting in 1945, in Paris.

In the mid-1950s, the paper's group of well-known columnists, reporters and reviewers was reinforced with, among others, Axel Waldermarsson (1918–2006) and Gunnar Unger (1915–76, "Sagittarius"). On the lighter page, "In the Margin", a somewhat odd byline appeared during the 1940s, "SOJ". It represented the young law school graduate Olof Palme (1927–86), later the leader of the Social-Democratic Party 1969–86 and Prime Minister of Sweden 1969–76 and 1982–86.

Nothing New in Gothenburg

In Gothenburg, even without capturing many readers from *Handelstidningen*, *Göteborgs-Posten* managed to pass its competitor in one part of the advertising market after another. *Göteborgs-Posten*'s chief competitor for the wider public was the Social-Democratic *Ny Tid*. The first publication of newspaper statistics in 1941, revealed that *Göteborgs-Posten* had a 63 percent household coverage in Gothenburg. Despite switching to morning publication and converting its first page from advertisements to

news, *Handelstidningen* lost ground. The editor-in-chief Knut Petersson (1892–1982), who had succeeded Torgny Segerstedt, stuck to the paper’s high-minded journalistic ambitions, thus assuring a modest circulation.

Handelstidningen’s premier page was still number three containing various types of arts and letters material. Both it and the “Today” column, with its political chat and commentary, were tenderly cared for institutions. Among the Gothenburg papers, *Handelstidningen* utilized the most editorial resources. In 1956, its staff consisted of approximately 60 journalists while *Göteborgs-Posten*, with five times the circulation, made do with around fifty. Even Karl Gerhard, the undisputed king of the humorous musical skit, used song to satirize Harry Hjärne’s frugality. During the 1950s, *Handelstidningen*’s circulation began to grow. It increased from 36,000 copies in 1951 to 51,000 in 1959 and then continued up to 62,000 in 1966/67. Thereafter, however, decline set in.

The leadership of *Göteborgs-Posten* was totally averse to change. The paper looked just about the same at the end of the 1950s as it had 20 or 30 years earlier – no color, few photographs, small headlines and much text, but still an increasing number of advertisements. The emphasis was on local, sports, crime and family news. The leading writers reporting on the western part of Sweden were Åke Hall (1907–93) and Ingvar Kjörck (1922–2004), and the latter’s long-time collaborator, the illustrator Stig Gitse (1921–). Hall was one of the journalists that most frequently appeared on the pages of *Göteborgs-Posten*. Despite his folksiness, Harry Hjärne long resisted the inclusion of comic strips. It was not until 1968, the year before his death, that *Göteborgs-Posten* introduced a comics section. The first day, it was big news on the placards: “Comics in G-P!”

Ingrid Segerstedt Wiberg (1911–2010), Torgny’s daughter, was enticed from *GT* to *Göteborgs Posten* as an editorial writer in 1955. In 1957, Harry Hjärne started his own column next to the editorial, “Teeny Tiny Words of Love”, which he dictated daily shortly before the deadline. His last column appeared in 1969, the same week that he died.

During the 1940s, the Conservative *Sydsvenskan* (*SDS*) had become the largest paper in Malmö, but its position was not impregnable. Its household coverage rate was only 37 percent in 1948. *Arbetet*, the Social-Democratic newspaper that had been largest during the war, was declining, as was the third paper *Skånska Dagbladet*. The latter had been taken over by the Agrarian Party in 1919 and had then started to lose market share in Malmö. Nonetheless *SDS* enjoyed a clear lead with regard to advertising giving it superior editorial and technical resources. *SDS* did not wish to be limited to the Malmö-Lund area, but instead wanted to be a newspaper for all of southern Sweden. In order to save money, foreign cor-

respondents were often shared with other papers. During World War II, and for fifty years thereafter, Hedvig Thorburn (1915–) reported from London for both *Göteborgs-Posten* and *Sydsvenskan*. The strong standing of arts and letters was demonstrated at *SDS*'s 100 year anniversary celebration when a culture prize was instituted.

13. The Glory Years of the Popular Press (1950–70)

The times were good for the popular press following World War II. A few titles disappeared, but they were absorbed by others with good ultimate results. New publishing ideas flourished without harm to the traditional ones. Among the new genres were fashion, comics and specialty magazines as well as men's and gossip publications. The limits of decency were tested in the men's magazine field.

Around 1960, the popular press – weekly, specialty and consumers' magazines and comic books – achieved its circulation apex with approximately seven million distributed copies. The weekly magazines had reached their maximum in the middle 1950s while the specialty and consumers' magazines continued to increase during the second half of the 1960s. At that point, the popular press' circulation began to decline sharply.

One Last Large Family Magazine Is Founded

The last establishment of a major family magazine occurred in 1946 when Åhlén & Åkerlund launched *Året Runt*. The magazine was intended to be folksy with an increased reality reporting content. It was to be more strongly anchored in the rural areas and be less focused on entertaining the reader. The driving force among the ownership was Albert Bonnier Jr, who a few years earlier had helped create *Expressen*.

Året Runt was not particularly successful during its first year. By the end of that year, its circulation had only reached 60,000 copies. Within the ownership group, Albert Bonnier had to struggle to keep the magazine going. As a last resort, the editor-in-chief of *Teknikens Värld* (The World of Technology), Sven Broman (1922–98) was transferred to *Året Runt*.

Boman had begun his newspaper career with the provincial Social-Democratic press supplemented with sports assignments for the Stockholm papers, including *Expressen*. That was where he was noticed by Bonnier. At Året Runt, Boman began by straightening out a number of the publishing house's technology and hobby magazines. His work resulted in

the very successful 1948 launching of *Teknikens Värld*, a bi-weekly magazine dealing with cars and motorcycles. Broman was labeled a winner.

His program for *Året Runt* emphasized greater realism. More reporting on real people, fewer novels and serials, more practical attractions: cooking, baking, flowers and gardening, contests and comic strips, all presented in a more up-to-date and accessible format than that of its competitors. Examples of the contests were “Miss Sweden” and “Swedish Cooking Championships”. Albert Bonnier especially emphasized reporting from exotic countries. Thus there were numerous contributions by explorers such as Sten Bergman, Thor Heyerdahl, Rolf Blomberg and Sven Gillsäter. An attractive serial during the 1950s was Vilhelm Moberg’s epic story of Swedish migration to America. It appeared alternately in the commercial *Året Runt* and the non-profit *Folket i Bild*, depending entirely on the author’s momentary attitude towards the two magazines.

The circulation of *Året Runt* turned around, and the increase was reinforced by the 1951 absorption of *Vårt Hem* (Our Home). The merger made *Året Runt* the Country’s largest family magazine. With the single exception of 1958, when *Hemmets Veckotidning* (The Home Weekly Magazine), briefly assumed the lead, *Året Runt* remained the market leader through 1993, for all of forty years. It set a circulation record for family magazines in 1955 with 498,000 copies.

The merger with *Vårt Hem* brought with it the star reporter Thea Oljelund (1921–), daughter of the author Ivan Oljelund. She was the foremost exponent of personal interview reporting. She undertook long reporting trips, including some to the United States. Sometimes she also appeared as the “lovelorn” columnist under the signature “Mrs. Margareta”. She was so productive that on occasion she had to use pseudonyms to keep the readers from believing that she was the magazine’s only contributor. Thea Oljelund continued to produce columns well into the 1990s.

Old-style family magazines also continued to enjoy a measure of success during the 1950s. The traditional *Hemmets Veckotidning* set its circulation record of 455,000 copies in 1957 and 1958. The old recipe seemed to be just about as salable as the new. *Allers Familj-Journal* reached 327,000 copies during 1957, the record year for family magazines.

A third magazine also surpassed the 400,000 level during the 1950s. It was Åhlén & Åkerlunds youth oriented *Vecko-Revyn* (The Weekly Review), edited by Mikael Katz (1913–93). It was ahead of others in emphasizing reportage and pictures, not least concerning the worlds of entertainment and fashion.

Åhlén & Åkerlund’s prestige publication *Vecko-Journalen*, with its high-class content and socially and geographically more restricted dis-

In 1960, Sweden's last started family magazine Året Runt (The Year Round), became the first to contain a TV-section of even six pages.



tribution, never exceeded 100,000 copies despite having writers such as Stig Ahlgren, Barbro Alving and Gustaf von Platen. The editor-in-chief, Ahlgren, had been one of the weekly press' most acerbic critics while he was chief arts-and-letters editor at *AT* (1942-46), and in 1940 he had published the critical work *Veckopressen och folket* (The Weekly Press and the People). His 1946 shift from being arts-and-letters editor at the LO-owned *AT* to editor-in-chief at the Bonnier-owned *Vecko-Journalen* attracted so much attention that those knowledgeable about the history of the press compared it to Geijer's conversion to Liberalism in 1838.

Vecko-Journalen did not enter the fray against the other weekly magazines, instead maintaining its traditional sober style directed at the upper social classes. In 1963, the ladies magazine, *Idun*, which had a partly similar orientation and audience, was combined with *Vecko-Journalen* under the direction of Gustaf von Platen. Surprisingly, the merger was not a success. Before the merger, the two magazines had a combined circulation of approximately 150,000 copies. In 1975, the merged magazine had a circulation of just 65,000 copies.

Stricken by New Rules

The decline experienced by the family magazines in 1958 was minor, a circulation decline of only 2.5%. It turned out to be the start of a new

trend, however. It is tempting to explain the downturn by the start of regular television broadcasting in Sweden in 1957. TV, however, does not seem to have been the cause. On the contrary, it was a source of inspiration for the family magazines, just as radio had been. *Året Runt* had latched on to popular radio programs.

Instead, the turning point for the branch was a result of the above mentioned anti-trust legislation enacted in 1954 and its consequences for the structure of marketing and advertising. This change in the marketing system resulted in the ICA private retail block becoming an important actor through its own publication *ICA-kuriren* (The ICA Courier). Founded as an alternative family magazine in 1942, it had initially been distributed free of charge in the ICA shops. Later, it was made available to ICA customers for a token postal subscription fee that was charged against the annual rebate. During the 1950s, *ICA-kuriren's* circulation increased by almost 300,000 copies, from 400,000 to 700,000. It became a cheap alternative or complement and can be assumed to have affected at least the multiple purchases of family magazines. As part of a systemic change, *ICA-kuriren* halted the expansion, and initiated the decline, of family magazines. The branch never worried about television. First of all, no television advertising was permitted and, second, the publishers believed in their products and were convinced that they could be developed further.

ICA-kuriren faced its own competitor in the consumer cooperative movement's weekly magazine *Vi*, whose subscription fee also was deducted from the customer's rebate. During the 1950s, the two together had a circulation of more than one million copies. Both magazines contained much practical material. In addition, *Vi* had short stories and social reporting. *Vi* was a slightly more male-oriented magazine than *ICA-kuriren* whose content was clearly directed at women.

The family journals encountered yet another competitor in 1971 when *Land* (The Land) was created by the agricultural cooperative movement through the merger of *RLF-tidningen* and *Jordbrukarnas Föreningsblad* (The Farmers' Association's Paper). The magazine was published in two parts: a general part, *Land Konsument*, and an association part, *Land Lantbruk*. The magazine was intended to "combine the function of being an association magazine with the goal of, at the same time, participating in the general magazine market". In 1971, *Land's* circulation was 340,000 copies. This magazine of the agricultural cooperative movement turned out to be a more serious competitor for *ICA-kuriren* and the traditional family magazines than was the consumer cooperative publication *Vi*.

The family magazines also meet competition from the labor union press. The magazines of the large LO unions in particular strove to serve

as alternatives to the commercial weekly press. A quarter million copies of the weekly *Metallarbetaren* (The Metal Worker) were distributed. In 1955, the general material in the magazines amounted to slightly over half of its contents, with emphasis on fiction and foreign reportage. The country's largest publication, with a circulation of over one million copies, was the monthly *Vår Bostad* (Our Dwelling), jointly published by the housing cooperative and tenant movements. It continued to be published through 2006, when it was divided into two drab magazines, one for the housing cooperative movement (*Hemma i HSB – At Home in HSB*) and one for the tenants' organization (*Hem & Hyra – Home and Rent*).

The weekly magazine market also provided two Christian alternatives, *Svenska Journalen* (The Swedish Journal) and *Hemmet och Familjen* (Home and Family) which, for financial reasons, were forced to merge. *Hemmet och Familjen*, which had been started in 1941, surpassed *Svenska Journalen* after a few years. In 1952, it bought the latter and assumed its title. During the late 1950s, the merged magazine reached a circulation of 150,000 issues.

Branch and Magazine Reforms

The effects of the marketing system shift, however, were not universally negative for the traditional weekly press. During the late 1950s, the weekly magazine publishers wanted to start selling through the self-service stores that benefited from the new anti-trust legislation. This same law also freed up the sale of tobacco products. As of January 1, 1960, the kiosks and tobacco shops lost their monopoly rights in this area.

The weekly press immediately latched on to the new retailing trends and started to sell their magazines through the new channels. Among the benefits for the weekly family magazines was that the food stores had a larger share of women customers than did the tobacco shops. In addition, they had more space available for displaying the magazines.

Already by the early 1960s, the retailing reform had resulted in an increased circulation for the family magazines. Further circulation increases occurred at regular intervals thereafter as a result of new content reflecting popular trends: 1973–1974 by *Hemmets Journal* (medical information) and *Saxons Veckotidning* (health food), 1979 by *Hemmets Journal* (reporting on ordinary people experiencing difficulties) and 1985–1986 by *Hemmets Veckotidning* (cooking).

For Women and For Men

During the war years, *Allers* had launched a weekly magazine in Sweden directed at the drafted soldiers, an entirely new market. It originated in 1941 and was called *Tjugofemman* (The Twenty Fiver), reflecting its low price, five öre less than normal – a strong sales pitch. The magazine reached a circulation of approximately 100,000 copies. There seems to have been two reasons why it did not grow larger.

One reason was that the magazine was omitted from the military's lists of publications that could be subscribed to from the barracks. *Tjugofemman* had to rely on kiosk sales. Moreover, the editor-in-chief, Anna Bråve (1906–99), was far from pleased with her assignment. In the paper, she listed herself as A. Bråve in order to not reveal that she was a woman. The magazine continued to be published after the war as *Familjetidningen 25an*, but in 1959 it was absorbed by *Allers Familj-Journal*, resulting in a major jump in circulation. Together, the magazines became *Allers Familj-Journal*, starting in 1968 shortened to just *Allers*.

Later, Anna Bråve was to make an important name for herself as editor-in-chief of the modern ladies magazine *Femina*, started in 1944. "Let me handle it!" she said frankly and remembered later: "I was young and bold and had no notion of fear." She achieved quick success and challenged the other magazines for women.

The trend had started in Norway where the Norwegian *Aller* in 1940 had transformed *Nordisk Mönstertidende* (Nordic Pattern Magazine) into *Kvinnor og Klær* (Women and Clothes). In Sweden, this transition from the traditional to the modern ladies magazine was initiated by Åteta when it reworked *Husmodern's* sewing supplement *Flitiga händer* (Busy Hands) into *Damernas Värld* (The Ladies' World). Swedish *Aller* converted *Allers mönster-tidning* (*Aller's Pattern Magazine*) into *Femina* in 1944. In both cases, the old name hung on for a while. The publishing house Saxon & Lindström started its contribution to the genre, *Vi Damer* (We Ladies) in a small format that fit into a pocketbook, but it never caught on. Unlike *Allers Familj-Journal* and *Allers mönster-tidning*, *Femina* was a high-price publication. Despite the price, under Bråve's leadership *Femina* reached a circulation of 280,000 copies. The magazine was oriented towards "well-paid, professional women with children".

Damernas Värld enjoyed great success immediately following World War II, but it was passed by *Femina* during the mid-1950s. The latter's breakthrough occurred between 1953 and 1956 when the circulation under Bråve's leadership rose from 100,000 to over 250,000 copies. Elegantly designed home decorating reporting and table setting contests, together with fashion advice, recipes and beauty tips, resulted in many

members of the intended target group, women between 25 and 45, discovering the magazine. *Femina* was a pioneer in the utilization of offset technology and the availability of four-color printing. Financially, the magazine was a very good venture.

The more traditional ladies magazines, *Husmodern* and Saxon's *Svensk Damtidning*, also partook of the growing market. In 1953, *Husmodern* reached its highest circulation level of 240,000 copies, but then declined as a result of competition from its stable mate *Året Runt*. *Svensk Damtidning* expanded during the 1950s, passing the 200,000 copies mark in 1958.

Most successful among the magazines that were directed at a male audience was the reportage and picture publication *Se* (Look). In the mid-1950s, it reached a circulation of 240,000 copies. Its best known contributors were the editor-in-chief Rune Moberg (1912–99) and the sketch artist Jan-Erik Garland ("Rit-Ola" – Drawing Ola). The magazine was the largest men's publication in the late 1950s, reaching a circulation of 250,000 copies in 1964. During the late 1960s, its circulation began to decline and by the mid 1970s it had almost been cut in half to approximately 110,000 copies.

Ivar Öhman, the editor of the popular movements' alternative, *Folket i Bild* (The People in Pictures), had engaged a well-known squad of regular contributors. Among those at the serial division were Per Anders Fogelström, who also served as assistant editor-in-chief, Jan Fridégård, Moa Martinson and, when he was in the mood, Vilhelm Moberg. The covers often consisted of work-life photographs by K. W. Gullers. After having been taken over by Tiden's publishing house in 1948, the magazine reached a circulation of 236,000 copies in 1952, but declined somewhat thereafter. In 1961, the magazine suffered a loss for the first time, and a majority of its shares were sold to the Esselte printing concern. A year later, it was sold on to ÅretÅ, on the, often required but seldom observed, condition that the character of the magazine be maintained at least for the time being.

ÅretÅ already had a men's magazine, *Levande livet* (In real life), whose circulation was also declining. In 1962, that magazine changed its name to *Aktuellt för män* (Timely for Men), and the following year it was merged with *Folket i Bild*, with the title *Fib-Aktuellt*. When the Swedish ban on pornography was lifted during the mid-1960s, the magazine quickly took advantage of the liberalization, and, in the footsteps of *Playboy*, began to publish center folds. Its competitor, named *Lektyr*, took things a bit further and consequently surpassed *Fib-Aktuellt's* circulation.

Fib-Aktuellt's increasingly vulgar content bothered the Bonnier family and certain decency limits were imposed. It was more important, how-

ever, that, exceeded only by *Året Runt*, *Fib-Aktuellt* was the firm's most profitable publication. *Se* also tried to maintain its circulation by including naked women and sexy stories, but the effort failed.

Karl-Alfred & Company

In Sweden, large-scale comic book publishing started after the war. Following the Danish publishers Allers and Egmont, who issued *Karl-Alfred* and *Kalle Anka & Co.* respectively, Armas Morby (1909–80) started the publishing house Press & Publicity in 1948 and began to produce *Serie-magasinet* (The Comic Strip Magazine). ÅetÅ established Serieförlaget AB (The Comic Strip Publishers Inc.). Its first triumph was the comic book *Fantomen* (The Phantom), which, starting in 1950, provided both adventure and humorous strips. It was followed by *Tarzan* and then *Blondie*, the first entirely humorous comic book.

In 1938, Armas Morby had started a press agency and, through it, had established valuable American contacts. During the mid-1950s, Morby controlled about 30 percent of the comic book market. In 1956, he expanded into the daily press. In that year, he bought *Södermanlands Nyheter* in Nyköping, a year later he added *Trosa Annonsblad* (Trosa Advertising Paper), and, in 1962, *Länstidningen* in Södertälje. In 1964, Morby wanted to purchase the Social-Democratic paper *Folket* (The People) in Eskilstuna and publish it as an offshot with a Social-Democratic editorial page. He was afraid that his competitors *Eskilstuna-Kuriren* and *Katrineholms-Kuriren* were about to merge and wished to make a pre-emptive move. The management of *Folket* was totally opposed. As noted above, it had other, more grandiose, plans.

The comic books encountered criticism. It reached its peak during 1953–54 when public meetings were held all over the Country. The scale of the debate becomes apparent from the support offered by Liberal newspapers such as *Handelstidningen* for legislation against “desensitizing” publications and the founding of a special anti-comics magazine, *Ungdomsnytt* (News for Youth), by a non-profit association.

As during the great weekly magazine debate a few years earlier, ÅetÅ tried, at least to some degree, to placate the critics. Bonnier changed the name of the Comic Strip Publisher to Åhlen & Åkerlunds Youth Magazines. It published the first entirely Swedish comic book, *Tuff och Tuss* with Gösta Knutsson (1898–73), the creator of Pelle, the Tail-less Cat, as editor. The title comic strip was written by Knutsson and drawn by Helga Henschen (1917–2002). It was here that Rune Andreasson (1925–99) introduced Teddy, later renamed Bamse (the Bear), the ideological op-

ponent of Donald Duck during the 1970s. Lukas Bonnier also wished to have an “innocuous” Swedish humor magazine. As a result, the old, incredible inept, Swedish comic soldier, No. 91 Karlsson, was resurrected and given his own comic book. During the 1960s, other comic strips were endowed with their own publications: *Lille Fridolf* (Little Fridolf) in 1960 and *Åsa-Nisse* in 1967. Like all the weekly magazines, the comic books contained the seeds of additional titles.

Åhlen & Åkerlunds Youth Magazines once again changed its name, this time to Semic International. In 1969, Semic, together with Williams Publishers, bought Armas Morby’s Press & Publicity. Semic received 60 percent of the titles, including *Seriemagasinet* (The Comic Strip Magazine). Morby continued his expansion within the daily press. In 1969, he bought *Norrtelje Tidning* and *Nynäshamns-Posten* and, somewhat later, *Nacka-Saltsjöbadens Tidning*. The comic book king had now achieved his goal, a chain of newspapers around Stockholm.

Williams Publishers, a subsidiary of Warner Communications, appeared on the Swedish market in 1960. Under the leadership of Rolf Jansson (1925–), it began publishing *Illustrerade Klassiker* (Classic Comic Books) and *Svenska Mad*. Until 1975, this version of the American humor magazine “Mad” was edited by Lasse O’Månsson (1931–88). The firm was sold to Bonniers in 1975.

Partly inspired by *Mad Magazine*, an underground press developed in the United States. These were not strictly comic books, but comic strips played a major role in many of them. A Swedish example of this trend was the political satire magazine *Puss*, started in 1968.

Everything about Little

The first Swedish specialty magazines dealt with sports: *Idrottsbladet* (The Sports Paper) and *Rekord-Magasinet*, founded in 1910 and 1942 respectively. As noted above, the combination of a number of hobby magazines in 1948 resulted in *Teknikens Värld*. In 1950, it was joined by *Populär Mekanik*, a Swedish version of “Popular Mechanics”. During the mid-1950s, ÅetÅ latched on to the growing interest in interior design with a number of specialty magazines.

The post-order firm IKEA, founded in 1946, was part and parcel of this interior design trend. It had started to sell furniture the following year, and in 1958 had opened a department store in Älmhult, the home town of its founder, Ingvar Kamprad. The Helsingborg exposition of 1955 (H55) also contributed by putting great emphasis on furnished dwellings. There, the interior designer Lena Larsson (1919–) launched

the concept of a “multi-purpose” or “family” room as contrasted with a “formal living room” or “front parlor”. In the wake of H55, ÅetÅ started the monthly magazine *Allt i Hemmet* (Everything in the Home). It emphasized décor and do-it-yourself articles. Among the contributors were Lena Larsson and Marianne Fredriksson, editor-in-chief 1962–74.

A decade later, *Allt i Hemmet* had a circulation of 150,000 copies. At that point, in 1966, the ICA publishing house, eager to broaden its product line, entered the market with *Hem och Fritid* (Home and Leisure Time). The two magazines were combined in 1983. Later, *Allt i Hemmet* would reappear at regular intervals.

With *Allt i Hemmet*, ÅetÅ had opened a new field for magazines. In 1960, the firm started *Båtnytt* (Boating News), and, in early 1965, *Veckans affärer* (Business Week). The latter was conceived by Erik Westerberg, with inspiration from, among others, *Business Week*. The magazine’s first editor-in-chief was Gustaf von Platen. It quickly became the Country’s leading business publication with a circulation exceeding 45,000 copies in 1975.

Marianne Fredriksson participated in the creation of two specialized monthly magazines with content traditionally reserved for the family magazines: *Vi Föräldrar* (We Parents), directed at the large cohorts born in the 1940s, in 1968, and *Allt om Mat* (Everything About Food), in 1970. The latter was an immediate success, achieving a circulation of more than 160,000 during the first half of the 1970s.

Frivolity and La Dolce Vita

Following the war and the introduction of television into Denmark barely ten years later, Aller re-launched in Denmark its radio and television program magazine, *Det ny Radioblad*, with the title *Se og Hør* (See and Hear). The new version was intended as celebrity journalism. Apparently Aller’s had plans to use this title throughout the Nordic countries, but was unable to use it immediately in Sweden.

In Sweden, the pursuit of celebrities was initiated by the smallest of the ladies magazines, *Svensk Damtidning*. The venture was successful. Aller’s anticipated Swedish initiative came in 1964 in the form of *Hänt i Veckan* (Events of the Week). The name was taken from a television program, a weekly sports summary.

Initially, *Hänt i Veckan* performed poorly. The circulation was limited to a modest 12,000 copies. A radical reorganization was considered necessary. The magazine mover and shaker Thomas Rosenborg, who was responsible for the success of the Danish *Se og Hør*, was enlisted to save the

Swedish version. He “blew away all that was stuffy and boringly Swedish” and replaced it with “frivolity and la dolce vita”. It became a “kändis” magazine. The term “kändis”, a slang version of “celebrity”, was coined in 1963 by another television program. The circulation took off. At the end of the 1960s, it surpassed 200,000 copies. In due course, *Se og Hør* was launched in the rest of the Nordic countries; 1978 in Norway (2 issues per week from 2003), 1992 in Finland *7 päivää* (Seven Days) and 1994 in Sweden. During the early 2000s, the combined Nordic circulation approached one million copies.

14. The Era of Structural Preservation (1960–75)

The on-going structural change caused concern, not just among the daily press but also in political circles. The multiplicity of the daily press was considered to be essential for democracy and important to preserve, especially since it was the totally dominant local source of news and arena for public debate. The government looked for means to prevent further newspaper closings and maintain competition. Despite financial contributions from sympathizers, left and right respectively, threatened newspapers had not been salvageable. Within the labor movement, the conviction that the government had a responsibility to help maintain the structure of the press grew ever stronger.

During the 1960s, two government commissions considered the desirability of government support. Their branch analyses indicated that the financial situation of the leading papers was satisfactory, but that the second place papers had problems. The commissions concluded that, in order to be effective, government subsidies would have to be selective, that is to say, directed at the weaker newspapers. They did not, however, suggest any objective standards for the allocation of such subsidies. Following the recommendation of the second commission, incentives were enacted to encourage the adoption of joint home delivery to morning paper subscribers. In addition, a special press' loan fund was instituted to assist newspapers with poor credit. These measures were effective, especially in encouraging joint home delivery. It soon became clear, however, that regardless how great the joint delivery savings might be, they were insufficient for rescuing the second place papers. The concern for closings increased.

In this situation, the Social-Democratic government, jointly with the Center (Agrarian) Party, proposed the introduction of government operating subsidies for subscribed papers that faced a local competitor with a greater circulation. This selective press subsidy was introduced in 1971, financed by a tax on advertisements. A third press commission (1972–75) examined both the motives for the subsidy and the rules for its allocation. As a result, in 1976, a still existing, system was introduced. It was based on the observed close correlation between advertising revenue

and the degree of local household coverage. The upper coverage limit to receive assistance was set at 40%. Thus, the system was considered to serve as compensation for the lost advertising revenue resulting from a low household coverage level.

Better Truly Dead Than Just Subsidead

In Gothenburg, after having been forced to drop its Sunday edition in 1959, *Ny Tid* attempted to improve its position by taking over various Social-Democratic papers in western Sweden. In 1960, *Skaraborgaren* was the first, but it was to no avail and the losses continued to increase. At the same time, the finances of the now Social-Democratic *Stockholms-Tidningen* deteriorated. The A-press did not have sufficient resources to save both newspapers. In 1966, a final attempt to save the situation by having part of *Aftonbladet's* edition printed by *Ny Tid* and converting *Kuriren* (The Courier) in Uddevalla into an offshoot of *Ny Tid* failed. As a result, *Ny Tid* closed in 1966.

Following the closing of *Ny Tid*, *Göteborgs-Posten* increased its household coverage in Gothenburg from 78 to 83 percent, while the gain for *Handelstidningen* was only marginal. Similarly, *Göteborgs-Posten* was the great gainer on the advertisement market.

Göteborgs-Posten experienced a change in leadership. In 1964, the two veterans, Ebba Ljunggren and Filip Börjesson, left the paper, and Harry Hjärne focused on his editorial duties. At his death in 1969, his son and deputy editor, Lars Hjärne (1929–) took over as editor-in-chief.

Despite the lack of benefits from *Ny Tid's* demise, the leadership of *Handelstidningen* had a sanguine view of the future. The paper devoted much space to economics, trade and arts and letters, where *Göteborgs-Posten* did not seriously try to compete. The financial results of *Handelstidningen* were considered satisfactory. In 1968, however, for the first time the paper suffered a loss. In order to improve the finances, subscription prices were increased by 40%. As a result, the circulation dropped by almost ten percent and then continued to decline.

In early 1969, the management suggested that *Handelstidningen* be closed and replaced by a “weekly commentary paper”. Instead, the company was reorganized. Business firms and 2,000 individual subscribers bought new shares. In 1971, *Handelstidningen* pared back its contents – a reduction and specialization that resulted in sports and police reporting being eliminated. This editorial rearrangement was a failure. Quite simply, the readers wanted sports and local news. In a last attempt to save the newspaper, the company sold its evening newspaper *GT*, including

A quicker implementation of one planned increase in the press subsidy would have saved Handelstidningen, but the paper was opposed to subsidies and did not argue in favor of the increase. The headline reads: "HT couldn't be saved."



the popular, single-issue on Sundays, *GT Söndagstidningen*, to *Göteborgs-Posten*. The editor-in-chief of *GT*, Pär-Arne Jigenius (1942–), who had come from *Handelstidningen*, stayed on. *Söndagstidningen* was closed.

At *Handelstidningen*, there was strong opposition to the press subsidies. Harald Wigforss, editor-in-chief starting in 1958, fought against the system. When it was nevertheless enacted, and the newspaper's board felt compelled to accept it, Wigforss resigned in protest. Björn Ahlander (1920–80), who had been Swedish Radio's correspondent in Washington and Moscow, succeeded him in 1971 and thus had to implement the editorial rearrangement. Ahlander stayed for a year and was then replaced by Åke Djurberg, the paper's last editor-in-chief. The newspaper closed down in 1973.

One of Europe's Great Newspaper

Around 1960, *Dagens Nyheter* changed editorial leadership. Herbert Tingsten was replaced by two editors-in-chief: Sven-Erik Larsson (1913–1998), who had been a political journalist 1951–57, and Olof Lagercrantz, who had been arts and letters editor. Following demands from the editorial staff union, its chairman, Börje Dahlqvist (1929–), was appointed to succeed Sten Hedman.

Dahlqvist emphasized *Dagens Nyheter's* role as a many-faceted news source. A number of new specialty divisions were added to the existing ones and all were provided with additional resources. During Dahlqvist's reign, 1962–1974, the editorial staff grew from 170 to 276 individuals. The reporters became experts. Such was the case, for example with political reporting under Sven Svensson (1926–) and the local government coverage by Mert Kubu (1933–). A number of general reporters were given responsibility for specialized areas in which they were interested.

The photo journalism was improved, the editing tightened up and the foreign reporting increased. The goal was to add a foreign correspondent each year. Dahlqvist was determined that the readers should feel that they were partaking “of one Europe's great newspapers”.

Stockholms-Tidningen lagged far behind. Its circulation and advertising volume were developing unfavorably, and its finances were in decline. In 1963, the paper attempted to lure a younger audience with an advertising campaign claiming that it was a more light hearted paper suitable to the “TV age”. The editors, however, belonged to an older generation; the editor-in-chief, Gustaf Näsström, had been succeeded in 1959 by Victor Vinde, and both he and the political editor, Ivar Sundvik were around 60 years old. The success achieved was short-lived. The losses increased and LO wanted to convert the newspaper to a weekend publication along the lines of the English *Observer* and *Sunday Times*. At least they did not want to shut down. The leadership of the ownership company, *Stockholms-Tidningen AB*, advocated converting to a tabloid, but Vinde was skeptical. He had traveled around Europe talking to newspapermen, most of whom were convinced that a morning tabloid could only succeed if it had a purely “boulevard” character, that is to say, if it was fluffy, sensationalistic and totally apolitical. He could not, however, persuade the owner, LO, and the decision was taken to convert. In early 1965, *Stockholms-Tidningen* made its debut in a new smaller format. The old editors resigned, and a new, young editor, Gunnar Fredriksson (1930–), was brought over from *Aftonbladet*. Fredriksson introduced a Sunday political diary signed “Struve” after the seedy reporter in August Strindberg's satirical novel *Röda rummet* (The Red Room). The “diary” was alternately written by Fredriksson and Dieter Strand (1936–).

The tabloid format also failed to reverse the negative trend. Critics saw it as half-way stop on the road to closure. The losses increased further, and in February of 1966 *Stockholms-Tidningen* ceased publishing. As a result, *Dagens Nyheter* increased its total circulation by about 30,000 copies and its household coverage in Stockholm from 57 to 63 percent. *Svenska Dagbladet* enjoyed a somewhat smaller increase in coverage, from 15 to 17 percent. Together those two papers thus captured not quite half

of *Stockholms-Tidningen's* circulation in the capital. The rest apparently benefited *Aftonbladet*.

Sydsvenskan Breaks the 50 Percent Barrier in Malmö

During the first half of the 1960s, *Sydsvenskan* moved to a new building outside Malmö and a printing facility with new presses. Olof Wahlgren (1927–1990) family heir and the newspaper's Paris correspondent, was appointed deputy editor in 1961 and became vice managing director of the newspaper firm and managing director of *Kvällsposten*. *Sydsvenskan* increased its text quantity and hired additional staff. Together with his father, Christer (1900–1987) Olof became involved in an attempt to unify the non-socialist opposition in anticipation of the 1964 election. Under the party designation Medborgerlig Samling (Citizens United), the combined candidate list enjoyed considerable success. Nonetheless, the Wahlgrens were accused of having splintered the opposition. In 1966, *Sydsvenskan* changed its political designation from Conservative to unaffiliated Liberal. The following year, the paper surpassed 50 percent household coverage in Malmö.

At *Arbetet*, the editor-in-chief, Frans Nilsson, also assumed the role of managing director in 1962. The first step in modernizing *Arbetet* was to convert it into a morning paper. Just as *Stockholms-Tidningen* had done, *Arbetet* tried to attract younger readers by presenting its content in a more popular manner and by utilizing approaches borrowed from the evening tabloids.

Because of *Skånska Dagbladet's* precarious financial situation and insufficient resources, the editorial leadership left the paper. A new team modernized the lay out. The paper pursued readership even outside its publication locale. In 1959, *Kalmar Läns Tidning* became an offshoot printed in Malmö. This arrangement was canceled after three years as a result of distribution problems. Savings and cutbacks resulted in a lower quality product and further circulation losses. Households in the Malmö region preferred the two larger newspapers. *Skånska Dagbladet* lost its leading position in Vellinge and Svedala when these areas evolved from countryside to Malmö suburbs.

The Evening Tabloids Have Their Day in the Sun

In 1952, *Expressen* became the Country's largest evening tabloid, without however surpassing *Aftonbladet* in Stockholm. Only with new ownership in 1956 and new leadership – Sven Sörmark (1923–87) as managing

editor, Lars Lestad (1928–63) as deputy editor-in-chief, Gösta Bodin (1917–84) in charge of distribution and Sigurd Glans (1929–) as head of national news – did *Aftonbladet* become a nation-wide paper. It was re-launched as a nation-wide evening tabloid in 1964 with the help of Bingo. This move also marked the beginning an intense competition between *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*, as well as an extraordinary expansion. In a brilliant marketing ploy, *Aftonbladet* did not compare total circulations, where it was hopelessly behind, but instead compared increases (“increased the most”). By this measure, the two rivals were much more equal. Over ten years, the combined circulation increased from 580,000 copies in 1961 to an all-time record of 1,121,400 in 1971.

Many factors contributed: increased urbanization, the conversion of local evening papers to morning publication, distribution by air and satellite printing facilities, rising real incomes, more leisure time, a rapidly growing population aged 20–29 and food store sales. Initially, television caused considerable concern, but the attitude gradually changed as the evening tabloids took advantage of television programs and personalities, just like the weekly magazines. *Aftonbladet* was the first to have a TV page, but *Expressen* quickly followed suit.

When Per Wrigstad (1917–2002) succeeded Ivar Harrie as editor-in-chief of *Expressen* in 1960, he wanted considerably greater influence over the paper than his predecessor had exercised. Harrie had left most of the content and editing decisions up to Carl-Adam Nycop in his capacity as managing director. Wrigstad and Nycop have both testified to their lack of personal chemistry. Nycop, who was a Social-Democrat, could not reconcile himself to *Expressen*'s increasing support for the Liberal Party. On his part, Wrigstad became increasingly critical of Nycop's notion of converting *Expressen* into a great “people's university”, thus placing the paper at the service of popular education. According to Wrigstad, such ideas were making *Expressen* “greyer and greyer”, thus playing into the hands of *Aftonbladet*. Wrigstad wanted the paper to be a “vigorous news source” and “an influence on current campaigns”. The differences between Wrigstad and Nycop deepened, and the conflict was only resolved in 1963 by moving Nycop over to *Dagens Nyheter*, where he was to work on a planned branch printing facility for *Expressen* in Jönköping.

Editor-in-chief Kurt Samuelsson and his colleagues at *Aftonbladet* sometimes advocated a mixed political position that deviated from that of the Social-Democrats. They, for example, favored a Swedish atomic bomb, television advertising and increased European economic cooperation.

In the eyes of the world, it was Samuelsson, not Sörmark, who had directed the transformation of *Aftonbladet* into a national newspaper, and

he thus received the major credit for its success. In an attempt to slow down *Aftonbladet's* gains, Bonnier lured Sörmark over to ÅretÅ in 1962 as a publishing house director. This move at least temporarily halted the growth of *Aftonbladet's* circulation. That same year, Fagerström resigned as editor-in-chief to become an unaffiliated writer, and Sigurd Glans was appointed managing editor.

1964 was an eventful year for the two national evening tabloids. At the start of the year, *Expressen* began to be printed in Bonnier's new newspaper building in the Marieberg district in Stockholm. Thanks to its satellite in Jönköping, *Expressen* became the first paper in Europe to be sent in its entirety by wire. A few months later, *Expressen* began to also print in Gothenburg and Malmö. Once again in 1964, *Expressen* increased its circulation by more than *Aftonbladet*.

In September of 1964, *Expressen* added a supplement, *Söndags-Expressen*, to its Sunday edition. It was produced under the leadership of Lasse Persson (1921–2000). The supplement was a great success, among other reasons because it was off-set printed at the Jönköping facility, resulting in a high quality especially noticeable in photos. Its circulation exceeded a half million copies for the first time in 1965. For *Aftonbladet*, this supplement came as a nasty surprise, but remarkably the paper managed to produce its own version within a week.

Aftonbladet slipped further behind *Expressen* in circulation, and its finances deteriorated. In addition, there were major personnel disputes at the paper. The tension increased in early 1964 when Samuelsson was appointed managing director of Stockholms-Tidningens AB while remaining editor-in-chief of *Aftonbladet*.

In late 1964, the head of arts and letters, Karl Vennberg, and the deputy managing director, Folke "Macke" Nilsson (1929–82), both resigned. A number of journalists left the paper. In order to restrain the managing editor, Sigurd Glans, Samuelsson appointed Börje Lindkvist (1915–93) as deputy editor-in-chief and his own stand-in. Samuelsson held Glans responsible for letting "pop journalism" establish a foothold in the paper.

The concern at *Aftonbladet* was reinforced when the circulation declined for the first time in many years. Bertil Nilsson, who strongly disliked Bonnier's recruitment coup, asked Sörmark to return as administrative editor-in-chief. When he heard of the offer, Samuelsson objected and threatened to resign. A petition from 35 colleagues urging the return of Sörmark to the paper caused Samuelsson to resign as of January 1, 1966. At the same time, Sörmark assumed the position he had been offered.

One Man's Loss Is Another's Gain

The closing of *Stockholms-Tidningen* in 1966 marked the beginning of a growth period for *Aftonbladet*. The circulation gap to *Expressen* shrank and several of *Stockholms-Tidningens* staff members were recruited. These included the editor-in-chief, Gunnar Fredriksson, who succeeded Kurt Samuelsson as head of the political editorial staff. Latching on to the left-wing wave, the paper became increasingly radical, attracting more and more young readers. Just about one-third of the increase in the paper's readership during the late 1960s resulted from increased distribution among 20–29 year olds.

The return of Karl Vennberg to *Aftonbladet* in 1966 was also of importance. The paper's reputation in left-wing intellectual circles rose, and Vennberg opened the arts and letters page to numerous radical writers. In 1957, Vennberg had provisionally been made head of *Aftonbladet's* arts and letters page, following ten years as a staff member. It was to become one of the longest provisional appointments in press history. With the exception of 1964, when following the conflict with Samuelsson Vennberg spent a year writing for *Expressen*, Vennberg stayed at his "provisional" post until his retirement in 1975. Even after that, he continued to write diligently until his death. Vennberg advocated the so-called "third point of view". He was an early critic of American military intervention in Vietnam, and he opened the newspaper's columns to the foremost critics of American policy, such as Sara Lidman, after they had been rejected by *Dagens Nyheter*. Vennberg, however, also attacked the Soviet Union, especially following its occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1963, Vennberg instituted the "Inner Column", which quickly became the probably most widely read section of the arts and letters page. In it, Vennberg and Axel Liffner (1919–94) criticized Swedish society from a left-wing perspective. Agneta Pleijel (1940–) succeeded Vennberg in 1975.

Expressen also encountered its allotment of conflicts. In the fall of 1966, the position of the editor-in-chief, Sigge Ågren, was challenged. He emerged victorious from the conflict and was able to concentrate all power in his own hands. *Expressen* continued to expand its national editorial network, reaching a maximum of 21 local editorial offices in 1967. The distribution was improved with a goal of having the paper available throughout the country at the latest by 4 P.M. In 1969, *Expressen* introduced a section entitled "Reflex", consisting of five pages with easily accessible and informative background material, three times a week. In the Stockholm suburban edition, a special section entitled "Around Stockholm" was added, in the hope of increasing the paper's attractive-

ness in the Stockholm region. *Expressen* also launched a Gothenburg edition with four pages of local material. That same year, the paper also presented a special TV supplement, *TV Expressen*. It was intended to capture the increased interest in television anticipated from the startup of Swedish Television's second channel. Starting in the summer of 1969, *Expressen* once again began to grow faster than *Aftonbladet*. The annual race they had been engaged in throughout the 1960s was over.

Oversight by LO

In response to the times, *Aftonbladet* adopted a clear left-wing Socialist stance. The news reporting was frequently to the left of the views on the editorial page. Columnists such as Jan Myrdal and Åsa Moberg (1947–) contributed to the radicalization. Leading Social-Democrats, union officials and other representatives of popular movements disliked being attacked in their own newspaper. It was felt that the paper assisted the Communist cause when, for example, it reported favorably on unauthorized strikes.

The chairman of LO criticized the paper during a long conference with the editorial staff, and Sven Sörmark reported that he had had enough and wished to resign. Gunnar Arvidson (1924–), then employed by Swedish Television but previously with *Dagens Nyheter*, was offered the position of deputy editor-in-chief. The local journalist union protested against the title. It wanted strong editorial leadership to confront Glans and Fredriksson and therefore demanded that Arvidsson be given the same title Sörmark had had, administrative editor-in-chief. Glans and Arvidsson worked poorly together and the editorial leadership was expanded to include Bengt Löthén (1934–) as administrative editor. Dieter Strand was put in charge of feature material. Following a period of intrigue, Arvidsson returned to Swedish Television.

Hoping to recruit his successor, editor-in-chief Fredriksson contacted Bengt Dennis (1930–) who was then employed by the Department of Finance. Earlier, however, he had been a financial reporter for *MT*, *Stockholms-Tidningen* and Swedish Radio. Dennis, however, declined the offer. Instead the LO press chief, Gösta Sandberg (1927–) was appointed administrative editor-in-chief and legally responsible publishers. When Sandberg took over, the editorial staff protested and Dieter Strand resigned.

Sandberg had journalistic experience from the union press, and he immediately strengthened the labor market reporting. In addition, he devoted special effort to dealing with *Aftonbladet's* many ethical issues

before the Swedish Press Council. Sandberg eliminated some questionable articles which led to internal protests, but the number of complaints to the Swedish Press Council declined. *Aftonbladet* had been the paper subjected to the most complaints.

The press' self-regulation had been reformed in 1969. A Public Press Ombudsman (PO) office had been instituted and the Swedish Press Council had been reinforced with representatives of the public. An additional step towards reform was taken in 1974 when the Swedish National Press Club, the Swedish Journalists' Union and the Swedish Newspaper Publishers' Association adopted a set of rules entitled "Rules of the Game for Press, Radio and TV".

Double Buyers Sacrifice One Paper

In 1971, the circulation of *Expressen* increased by approximately 12,000 copies and that of *Aftonbladet* by 600. Thereafter, the trend was downward for both papers. The decline had been triggered by a price increase. For four years, 1966–1970, both evening papers had cost 50 öre. It was a practical price: one krona for both. Such double purchases accounted for roughly one third of 1971's record circulation. In the fall of 1970, the price was raised to 60 öre and a year later to 75 öre. The circulation decreased by 5 to 6 percent. The price increases continued and after four years it had doubled to one krona per paper. The evening tabloids actually did remarkably well in maintaining their circulation. The continuing increases, however, eventually took their toll. By 1979, when the price had been doubled once again, the circulation was 15 percent below the record 1971 level. With the price increases, approximately 300,000 double purchases virtually vanished. The effect was most serious for *Aftonbladet*. For most double purchasers, *Expressen* was their first choice.

One of the measures taken by *Expressen* to slow down the decline in circulation was trying to increase the distribution of the paper in Gothenburg and Malmö. Starting in 1971, the Gothenburg pages were included five days per week. In 1972, *Expressen* moved the printing of its southern edition from Jönköping to *Arbetet's* printing facility in Malmö, where *Aftonbladet* already was being printed.

None of the evening tabloids from Stockholm were successful in Gothenburg or Malmö. The local evening tabloids, *GT* and *Kvällsposten* respectively, dominated their markets. *GT* even expanded during the second half of the 1970s, although this was a result of the paper's ability, after it had been sold to *Göteborgs-Posten*, to insert daily ads in that much larger regional morning paper.

Union Opposition to Cooperation

The traffic situation in central Stockholm, together with crowded facilities that made the installation of new presses impossible, became a problem for *Aftonbladet* during the early 1970s. For several years, *Aftonbladet's* Sunday edition had been printed at Dagens Nyheter AB's facilities in Marieberg. Now *Aftonbladet's* managing director, Bertil Nilsson (1919–2000), suggested to Erik Huss, managing director of Dagens Nyheter AB, that all of his paper's editions be printed there. The proposal was greeted with interest at Dagens Nyheter AB. Only relatively modest additional investment would be required to handle *Aftonbladet's* daily production needs.

There were several good reasons for such cooperation. Modernization of the production facilities would require a great deal of capital. The two papers were already cooperating with regard to distribution and an extension of this coordination to production was expected to yield substantial cost savings. By the end of 1971, the parties had reached an agreement in principle. The agreement specified that no employees would be laid off, that the cooperation would be strictly limited to production and distribution and that editorial confidentiality would be guaranteed. The papers were to be printed simultaneously – one would not be able to include later news than the other. A binding agreement was to be signed before the end of 1982. The boards of directors were satisfied.

The employees at *Aftonbladet*, however, objected, both the technical workers and the journalists' union. At *Dagens Nyheter*, the journalists' union demanded guarantees that their paper would not be pushed aside.

In late 1971, it was announced that *Svenska Dagbladet* also would participate in the joint production agreement. At the start of 1971, a number of working groups were formed. Then, in the fall of 1972, the managing director of *Svenska Dagbladet*, Sven Gerentz (1921–97), instead suggested that his paper and *Aftonbladet* establish a joint production company. Bertil Nilsson, however, wanted to pursue the *Dagens Nyheter* alternative. Consequently, during 1973, *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* reached an agreement in principle to form a joint printing company. By early 1974, the situation seemed to be in hand. 23 of LO's 26 member unions supported the proposal and on *Aftonbladet's* board of directors only the representatives of the personnel were opposed. The board of Dagens Nyheter AB gave its support. It was expected that *Svenska Dagbladet* might eventually participate as well.

At this point, however, union opposition to cooperation between Bonnier and LO stiffened. The graphical workers at *Dagens Nyheter* initiated an unauthorized strike, which resulted in the negotiations with the

personnel breaking down. Also within the Social-Democratic Party and the labor unions there was increased opposition against cooperation with the “bourgeois press”. Finally, the largest LO union, the Metal Workers’ Federation, changed its position. As a result, a majority of the LO unions followed suit. The labor movement was so strong in 1975, that its objections prevented the implementation of an economically highly justifiable cooperation agreement. Following that year, however, union influence declined as the business cycle turned down.

The Press Subsidy System Is Improved

The operating subsidy for second place newspapers was shown to be insufficient in 1971 when the daily press experienced its worst year since World War II. The principal reason was a weak economy, but the newspapers were quick to point fingers at the tax on advertisements. The A-press newspapers demanded an increase in the subsidies and the second place paper *Svenska Dagbladet*, which, unlike the Conservative Party it supported, was in favor of selective press subsidies, petitioned the government. The managing director of the newspaper, Sven Gerentz, argued for the cause within the daily press community. The subsidy was increased in 1972, and again in 1976 and 1978. The tax on advertisements was reduced by the non-socialist government that took office in 1976. The new government cut the tax rate from six to three percent and increased the joint distribution rebate. These two actions principally benefited the first place papers. The cabinet minister in charge, the Liberal Jan-Erik Wikström (1932–) explained that the non-socialist government’s policy was to “have selective actions be less prominent in favor of a more general expansion”.

The government support of the press – operational subsidies and favorable loans for new printing equipment – did much to halt the circulation decline experienced by the second place papers up until 1971. Only a handful of them, however, managed to improve their home town household coverage. When the economy turned around and advertising once again increased, the improvement, as before, was concentrated on the first place papers.

During the first few decades, the size of the operational subsidies had been based on a particular newspaper’s consumption of paper for edited material. It was a model borrowed from Norway, where such subsidies had been adopted somewhat earlier than in Sweden. Together with the introduction of offset printing, such an allocation system encouraged reliance on large headlines and pictures, as well as on genres that required

much space but little journalistic work. A perfect example was letters to the editor. Another was so-called “celebration material”, with pictures of new-born babies and their mothers. A third was classified used-item sales advertisements from the public. These were carried free of charge in a so-called “flea market”. Yet a fourth example, but with considerably lower attractive power, were large advertisement for the paper itself, which were considered to be edited material. The first place papers quickly adopted the celebratory and flea market ideas.

Growth Through Division

Starting in the late 1960s, a left-wing Socialist press grew faster than any other party press had ever done in Sweden. In accord with Communist tradition, newspaper publishing was high on the agenda.

To a great extent, this expansion relied on voluntary efforts. Hawkers sold single copies of the papers on the street. Sympathizers were continually urged to show support by subscribing, and separate fund raising campaigns were routine.

The left-wing Socialist papers, hundreds of more or less short-lived publications, often reached a dead end, but the journalists pushed on. Some of the papers earned a reputation for being journalistic nurseries. The revolutionaries might have abandoned their ideals, but they retained the ability to pursue rebellious journalism, to adopt unconventional approaches and, even more important, to start new papers.

At the 1967 congress of the Swedish Communist Party (SKP), the left-wing socialist “modernizers” were victorious. The party adopted a new program and changed its name to the Left Party, The Communists (VPK). The party’s principal mouthpiece was *Ny Dag* in Stockholm. Due to the party’s shaky finances it had become a one-day-per-week paper in 1965. Factional conflicts within VPK finally resulted in the “traditionalists” seceding and forming a new party, the Worker’s Party, the Communists (APK), with *Norrskensflamman* in Luleå as its press outlet.

To speak for the third grouping among the Swedish Communists, the Maoists, the Communist Association, the Marxist-Leninists (KFML), was formed. The Maoists wanted to follow in the footsteps of “beautiful China” and be guided by “the Albanian lighthouse”. They found most of its sympathizers among university students. In the long-run, the goal was to establish a new Communist Party in Sweden. The movement’s principal outlet was *Gnistan* (The Spark, 1967–86), named after one of the best known Bolshevik newspapers.

When the election of 1970 turned into a great disappointment for

KFML, it received only 0.4 percent of the votes cast, the radical demands and revolutionary rhetoric was toned down. Starting in 1972, the paper became a weekly. The editor-in-chief was Gunnar Ohrlander (1939–2010), known as a political columnist (“Doctor Gormander”) in *Stockholms-Tidningen* and *Aftonbladet*, to which he later returned.

At the start of 1973, KFML changed its name to Sweden’s Communist Party (SKP) as a way of proclaiming itself the rightful heir to the old SKP. *Gnistan* had doubled its number of pages, but the circulation did not develop favorably.

As an expression of the united front ideal among the Maoists, *Folket i Bild/Kulturfront* (The People in Pictures/ Culture Front) was founded in 1971. The magazine was directed at a broad public within the working class and among the radical middle class. The initiative came from members of KFML. The prime mover was Jan Myrdal, but in the initial stages the translator Jan Stolpe (1940–) and the artist Leif Zetterling (1940–) also participated. The title, first of all, was intended to bring to mind the old *Folket i Bild* and there was a major commitment to high literary and illustrative quality; writers such as Sven Delblanc, Lars Gustafsson and P. C. Jersild were frequent contributors. Secondly, there was a desire to be associated with the popular front movement of the mid-1930s and the struggle against fascism – an anti-fascist newspaper that was published in 1936 was entitled “Culture Front”.

The magazine wished to be independent both of the government and of commercial interests. Consequently it accepted neither press subsidies nor advertisements. The later, of course, was making a virtue out of necessity. A share association collected a sufficient startup capital, and the first number appeared in January of 1972.

The magazine received much notoriety in the spring of 1973 when two reporters, Jan Guillou (1944–) and Peter Bratt (1944–), revealed that there existed a secret Swedish domestic intelligence service, IB. It engaged in the registration and surveillance of Communists and secret wiretapping in cooperation with foreign agencies. Following further revelations in the fall of that same year, Guillou and Bratt were sentenced to prison for espionage.

The most successful left-wing organization was the FNL (anti-American Vietnam War) movement. Its various sub-groups collectively formed an umbrella organization, the United FNL Groups. Its principal mouthpiece, *Vietnambulletinen* (The Vietnam Bulletin, 1965–79), was an outwardly directed propaganda publication that within the movement was referred to as “Bullen”. The newspaper inspired many political left-wing and “solidarity” magazines during the 1960s and 1970s.

Vietnambulletinen achieved its greatest circulation in 1972 with 60,000 copies. Thereafter it declined up to the paper's closing in 1979. Interest in Vietnam receded and the competition from other left-wing publications increased.

In 1970, a breakaway faction of KFML formed the Communist Association, the Marxist-Leninists (revolutionaries), KFML(r). Its motivation was a different perspective on parliamentary and union activities. The Gothenburg section founded the monthly paper *Proletären* (The Proletarian) in late 1970. It was considered the party's primary political weapon. In the mid-1970s, *Proletären* was converted to a weekly that addressed a broad public and reached a circulation of approximately 5,000 copies, about the same as that of the traditionalist's *Norrskensflamman*. *Proletären* accepted press subsidies and is still published.

The Party That Knew How to Publish Papers

During several decades in the late 20th century, the Center Party (formerly the Agrarian Party), built a successful newspaper concern consisting of medium sized provincial papers. Where all the other parties had failed publish profitable papers, the Center Party succeeded. It was the creation of a single individual: the party secretary and managing director Allan Pettersson (1930–).

The election of 1968 made the Center Party the largest single opposition party, and its leading position was confirmed during succeeding years. It received over 25 percent of the votes cast in the 1973 election. The votes-received based national and local political subsidies to the party increased in step with its growing representation in the Riksdag and local elective bodies. In addition, the money losing newspapers associated with the party became less of a financial drain after the press subsidy was introduced in 1971.

The party leadership expected that the success would be temporary, and, in order to create something lasting, it was decided to use the swelling party coffers to purchase daily newspapers. These, however, were not to be money losers but prosperous first place papers. This newspaper purchase strategy was known only to an inner circle of party leaders.

In late 1972, the previous Center Party leader, Gunnar Hedlund, was asked by Armas Morby if the party was interested in buying the handful of papers surrounding Stockholm that he owned. Given the party's preparations, a quick agreement between the party and Armas Morby was reached. In the media, however, it became a drawn-out question. Editorial writers throughout Sweden expressed dismay that a group of

independent newspapers were to be converted to Center Party outlets overnight. In order to make amends for not having informed the employees in good time, the Center Party, on Morby's initiative, set aside one million kronor for funds designed to benefit them. The 1973 purchase of Morby's papers, having a total circulation of 65,000 copies, in one fell swoop made the Center Party a player in the branch. It meant, for example, that family owned papers interested in selling found it natural to turn to the Center Party, especially if their political sympathies leaned in that direction.

In short order, the party bought two family owned first place papers: *Hallands Nyheter* in Falkenberg in 1975 and *Östersunds-Posten* in Östersund in 1975. The former had a circulation of circa 30,000 copies, while that of the latter was approximately 35,000. The purchase of the latter occurred immediately before the election of 1976, which brought the Center Party into the government and made its leader prime minister. At the same time, Allan Pettersson, the managing director of the newspaper concern, was appointed party secretary.

This double role, however, gave Pettersson too much work to do, and the newspaper transactions ceased. Moreover, the first place paper *Östersunds-Posten* encountered problems that required the managing director's attention. The local second place paper, Social-Democratic *Länstidningen*, suddenly began to increase its circulation and finally became the largest newspaper in Östersund. This development was a sensation unequalled in the post war history of the Swedish press. Not until after Allan Pettersson had resigned as party secretary in 1984 and *Östersunds-Posten* had received a new managing director could the newspaper take the initiatives required to retake the first place position that had been fumbled away to *Länstidningen*. Almost 20 years passed before Centertidningar AB bought any more papers. It was 1994 before the next purchase, that of *Hudviksvalls Tidning*, occurred.

By the creation of Centertidningar AB the Center Party demonstrated that parties were capable of publishing papers, but also that doing so required several balancing acts. One of these was to keep the party needs separate from the business aspects. Each year, the papers paid a dividend to the party according to a pre-determined formula. Another balancing act was the separation of press policy and business considerations. The party's numerous financially weak regional weeklies and the second place paper *Skånska Dagbladet* in Malmö could count on support from the party and its secretary on press policy questions, but not financial support from, or collaboration with, Centertidningar AB and its managing director. Moreover, the press subsidy resulted in an increased number of Center Party weeklies. When the first subsidies were distributed, there

were twelve Center Party weeklies among the recipients. At its peak in the late 1970s, that number had reached twenty two. Although each had a relatively modest circulation and the Stockholm region was a failure, it was still true that the country was covered with the party's regional weeklies.

The tightrope walked by the party became apparent when the first place paper *Norra Skåne* in Hässleholm was put up for sale. The paper was a good fit among the first place papers owned by Centertidningar AB, but it was bought by the second place paper *Skånska Dagbladet* which had need of a support prop in Scania.

It came as a total surprise in 2004 when the Center Party announced that the prosperous newspaper group Centertidningar AB was for sale. In 2005, it was purchased by a consortium of provincial papers led by the family owned Stampen, the parent company of *Göteborgs-Posten*. The decision made in the early 1970s to purchase thriving provincial papers turned out to have been financially very well advised. The sale brought in almost 1.8 billion kronor, making the Center Party one of the richest parties in the world. Since 2006, it has once again been part of the government.

To The Highest – Liberal – Bidder

If not displayed otherwise, the political leanings of Swedish newspapers used to become apparent when an election approached or when any of them was for sale. The later was the case when the Center Party bought Morby's papers in 1973 and again when the Liberal *Nerikes Allehanda* in Örebro was put on the block in 1975. The first was confirmed in anticipation of the 1976 election and, even more so, after the resulting shift in government from left to right.

When the editor-in-chief of *Nerikes Allehanda*, Anders Clason (1939–), informed the editorial staff that the Ljung ownership family wanted to sell it and two other papers they owned – *Bergslagsposten* in Lindsberg and *Motala Tidning*, the party leaders, Gunnar Helén (Liberal), Olof Palme (Social-Democratic) and Thorbjörn Fälldin (Center), had already been informed.

Within the Liberal Party, represented by Jan-Erik Wikström, it was agreed that the newspapers had to be retained in their camp. It was crucial that the Center Party and the Social Democrats be prevented from engaging in a bidding war before the Liberal Party had had an opportunity to find a suitable owner. Fälldin agreed to hold off for the time being. He was interested in maintaining good relations with the Liberal Party

in anticipation of a possible non-socialist victory in the 1976 election. Helén and Fällidin had reached a similar agreement in 1971 when the Liberal *Västerbottens-Kuriren* had been for sale and some members of the ownership family had contacted the Center Party. Palme made the same promise to Helén, possibly because he might benefit from it after the election if he needed the Liberal Party to form a governing coalition.

Several Liberal papers were interested in buying *Nerikes Allehanda*. Anything else would have been surprising since the paper, with its circulation of 63,100 copies, was the second largest paper outside the three largest urban areas and one of the most profitable firms in the branch.

The Liberal Party had failed to insure that the ownership family was willing to wait until a buyer of the correct political hue had been located. Instead they had commenced negotiations concerning cooperation with the Social-Democratic competitor *Örebro-Kuriren*. One possible reason that the Social-Democrats had not kept their word was that Gunnar Helén had announced his intention to resign, thus making the Liberal Party a doubtful ally. The news that the two papers in Örebro were seriously considering cooperation with regard to technology and the sale of advertisements in approximately the manner suggested by the third press commission, landed like a bomb at Liberal Party headquarters.

The party convinced the ownership family to drop all plans for cooperation. Instead, a Liberal consortium took over the Ljung family's three newspapers in December of 1975. In 1982, *Hallandsposten* in Halmstad was taken over with similar motives and in a similar manner, without, however, the party leadership being informed. The political party ties were weakening.

The Employers' Federation Rescue *Svenska Dagbladet*

The closing of *Stockholms-Tidningen* in 1966 did not ease *Svenska Dagbladet's* financial difficulties. A restructuring from top to bottom was required. The editor-in-chief, Allan Hernelius, was dismissed and the managing director, Sven Gerentz, had the editorship added to his duties. The deputy editor, Karl-Axel "Lacke" Tunberger (1912–86) was appointed political editor.

Following a drop in circulation during 1968–69, the paper's leadership decided to implement a number of changes. The first page, which had been devoted to advertisements, was changed to news coverage in 1971. In order to attract the popular post-text ads, a "flea market", where the public at low cost could advertise to sell or purchase used merchandise, was introduced. The coverage of business, foreign news and arts and letters was reinforced. Still, the circulation did not increase.

The deteriorating advertisement market during 1971 was a severe blow for *Svenska Dagbladet* and the losses increased. At the same time, the circulation continued to decline. In five years, from 1967 to 1972, the weekday circulation decreased from 169,600 to 152,000, or by over 10 percent. The 1972 increase in the press operating subsidy was helpful, but a dark cloud appeared on the horizon when the Bonnier owned Specialtidningsförlaget (Special Publication Publishers) in 1973 announced plans to publish a daily business paper. Since it would be directed at the same audience as *Svenska Dagbladet*, it had to be considered a serious threat.

The very existence of *Svenska Dagbladet* was thought to be at risk. Consequently, the newspaper was saved by the Swedish business community. The Swedish Federation of Employers' bought the paper's building and, for tax reasons, the newspaper corporation was changed into a trading company. Firms that wished to support the paper could become part owners and cover the losses of *Svenska Dagbladet* with untaxed funds. This support of the newspaper was part of an information campaign that the Federation of Employers' started in 1971 to counteract the bad image of business.

When *Svenska Dagbladet's* editor-in-chief and managing director Sven Gerentz in 1973 became managing director of the Newspapers' Wire Service (TT), the journalists' union at the paper demanded that a journalist replace him as editor. The union turned to Gustaf von Platen who was making preparations for Bonnier's planned daily financial paper. von Platen was very interested and became everyone's favorite candidate. The price paid by the paper was increased independence from the Moderate (Conservative) Party.

Olof Ljunggren (1933–), who had been managing director of the weekly magazine publisher Allers and head of the Newspaper Employers' Association, became *Svenska Dagbladet's* new managing director. He advocated a policy of expansion. In 1974, *Hemmets Veckotidning*, then the Country's second largest family weekly magazine, was purchased together with the short-story and serial magazine *Allas Veckotidning*.

The new leadership wanted to produce a newspaper that appealed to educated and financially well-off readers. The most important measure became an increase in the breadth of the business reporting, a matter high on the wish list of the paper's financial supporters. It also served as a response to Bonnier's plans for a daily business paper. The other category of prioritized material was arts and letters and the opinion pages. Other sections, including sports, had to stand aside. The revamping was successful. Over the following fifteen years, the circulation increased from

148,600 copies in 1973 to 227, 100 copies in 1987. The greatest increase occurred in the countryside.

The two magazine men, Gustaf von Platen and Olof Ljunggren, continued to widen *Svenska Dagbladet* both as a newspaper and a commercial enterprise during the 1970s. von Platen continued to divide the paper into divisions. He was encouraged in his efforts by the success of Marianne Fredriksson with the “Idag” (Today) section which dealt with everyday issues, both large and small. Idag-articles became books and the books became a publishing firm. In early 1977, the below-the-line material was transferred to the arts and letters division and the paper’s political label was changed from “Moderate” to “Independent Moderate”. Excerpts from the memoirs of world famous individuals became a recurrent feature. The right to publish the results of SIFO’s monthly political polls was taken over from *Dagens Nyheter*. von Platen committed resources to the business section. The opinion page, “Brännpunkt” (Hot Spot) became the most widely noted in the Country under the leadership of Göran Albinsson Bruhner (1927–). Albinsson was also put in charge of business editing. The invention of new flea market classified ads offers to the public seemed endless. Only sports were still short-changed.

Despite an almost uninterrupted string of successful years measured in terms of circulation while von Platen was editor-in-chief, the string of annual losses also remained unbroken. It was never the intention, as he himself expressed it, for the newspaper to make a profit. von Platen had been assured by the chairman of the board that, after all the failed attempts to economize out of the crisis, he was expected to expand out of it.

Olof Ljunggren moved over to the Swedish Federation of Employers in early 1978. His successor Håkan Lambert-Olsson (1941–) and von Platen did not get along as well, which is not hard to understand since the mission of the new managing director was to slow down the expansion. von Platen resigned as editor-in-chief in 1982.

When the Market Turned Left

Dagens Nyheter AB (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen*) was listed on the stock exchange in 1965. *Dagens Nyheter*’s circulation continued to increase even after the large jump that resulted from the closing of *Stockholms-Tidningen*. The increases continued for ten years, until the march towards half a million was halted at 452,100 issues in 1975.

At *Dagens Nyheter*, the expansionist Börje Dahlqvist was planning suburban supplements. The printing presses had been expanded during

the 1960s and a sixth one ordered. Dahlqvist adapted to the change of opinion climate of the 1960s. Gender equality, environmental questions and the third world received great attention. Many of the newspaper's established journalists felt out of place in this atmosphere.

These new left-wing tendencies and debate climate were not least apparent in the arts and letters section. In general terms, the social content of the large city papers' arts and letters sections increased by 50 percent during the first half of the 1960s and by 75 percent during the second half. This expansion occurred partly at the expense of the traditional material, for example literary reviews. *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* were leaders in this transformation. The new voices at *Dagens Nyheter* were Lars Forsell (1928–2007), Folke Isaksson (1927–) and Sven Lindqvist.

Considering all the success, there should have been peace and harmony at the paper during this period, especially since the problems of its closest competitor just grew and the chances were good that it would close. Instead, however, the period was marked by three internal conflicts. It was unclear whether or not the turn to the left was good or bad for the paper. The increased circulation and the decreasing advertisement volume were the result of the business cycle.

Albert Bonnier Jr, the chairman of the newspaper's board, wrote to the managing editor, Börje Dahlqvist, and expressed "concern over the newspaper's left-wing turn with regard to reportage material and the hostile attitude towards business that violated the ideals that the Bonnier family honored". Åke and Gerard Bonnier, however, did not share Albert Bonnier's critical attitude. They, and other members of the family, instead cherished another family tradition: not to interfere in the work of the newspapers. They were afraid of the storm of criticism that would erupt should they do so. Well aware of the situation, Dahlqvist responded that objective and unbiased reporting were the principles that guided every staff member at *Dagens Nyheter*. He then added that no "business leader, politician or union official should ever be able to assume that his portrait of reality will be forwarded".

When the newspaper's journalists' union became aware of Albert Bonnier's letter, it wrote to him emphasizing that it was inappropriate for the owners to become involved in the editing of the paper. Albert Bonnier then announced that the board wished to return to the system with a single editor-in-chief.

As chairman of the board, Bonnier received a letter from forty members of the editorial staff, referring to themselves as the "quiet opinion" that was becoming increasingly concerned about the declining goodwill for *Dagens Nyheter* that they were encountering in their daily work. They expressed their hope that in selecting an editor-in-chief the board would

not be affected by various pressure groups. Among the signers was a long row of well-known, older staff members. The newspaper's two editors-in-chief, Larsson and Lagercrantz, decided to initiate a study of the editing of the editorial page and the organization of its staff with the head of the local journalists' union as chairman of the study committee. The additional members of the committee were three editorial writers.

The committee proposed that the editorial pages' policy should be independent of the political parties and that the editorials should be signed. The journalist union supported these proposals and, in addition, decided to urge the board to extend the contracts of the two editor's-in-chief for two years. The board accepted the union's suggestion, also declaring that *Dagens Nyheter* was "politically independent" and that politically independent writers were to be given increased space. They also noted, however, that it lay outside their area of expertise to decide whether or not the editorials should be signed.

When the board of *Dagens Nyheter* AB, in preparation for an anticipated video boom, voted to purchase Svensk Filmindustri (Swedish Film Industry, SF)), editor-in-chief Larsson abstained and editor-in-chief Lagercrantz voted no. In an editorial, the latter then warned against Bonniers' increasingly dominant position in influencing public opinion. Lagercrantz's protests had no effect, neither on the transaction nor on his position at the paper.

The paper's shift to the left, however, had a positive market effect. What *Dagens Nyheter* lost on the right, it more than made up for on the left. Abroad, the continent-wide left-wing wave that swept across Europe resulted in the establishment of new papers. In Sweden, it was captured by Olof Lagercrantz to the benefit of *Dagens Nyheter*.

In the mid 1970's, *Dagens Nyheter* changed editorial leadership. The managing editor, Börje Dahlqvist resigned in 1974, and was succeeded by the newspaper's US correspondent. Hans-Ingvar Johnsson (1933–). When Olof Lagercrantz retired in 1976, he was replaced by the author Per Wästberg (1933–). Editor-in-chief Sven-Erik Larsson's contract was extended until his retirement in 1978. He was then replaced as chief political editor by Svante Nycander (1938–). The latter received increased resources for the editorial division which largely were devoted to columnists and the "DN Debatt" section at that time located on the editorial page, later to be moved to a separate page.

After 1975, *Dagens Nyheter's* circulation began to decline. It never recovered. The newspaper's time as "one of Europe's leading papers" was over.

15. New Papers in a Time of Crisis (1975–80)

The national government's press policy was initially intended to preserve an existing structure, but later the idea of easing the way for new papers also surfaced. Subsidies for the starting of newspapers were introduced in 1976 and remained in place for approximately ten years. They attracted many comers: 18 newspapers were founded and substantially more tried, despite the various crises encountered by the country's largest morning papers.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, several attempts were made to implement a recurrent dream among newspaper innovators to provide contexts, to deepen the presentation, to present explanatory commentary and to tell the whole story. Some of these projects mostly resembled weekly magazines. A few had daily paper characteristics. The latter were started with the help of government subsidies.

The Void after *Handelstidningen*

Following the closing of *Handelstidningen*, *Göteborgs-Posten* attempted to attract the former's readers by increasing its coverage of arts and letters, policy debates and business, without, however, otherwise changing the paper's general approach. Karl Beijbom (1947–), assistant editor-in-chief of the Syndicalist paper *Arbetaren*, was put in charge of the expanded arts and letters section during the years 1977–1984.

When neighborhood papers began to appear in Gothenburg, *Göteborgs-Posten* bought some of them as a defensive measure, started others and, in anticipation of receiving new presses, in 1979 launched the four color magazine *GP NU*. When the business cycle turned down in 1981, however, the prospects of both the suburban papers and the magazine deteriorated. The magazine was closed, some of the suburban papers were converted into advertising supplements and an immediate hiring freeze was imposed. The economic downturn, together with the ever more obvious need for new presses, caused *Göteborgs-Posten* to abandon its traditional low price policy. Within a year, the subscription price was increased by approximately 30 percent. Nonetheless, the circulation declined by

only a few percentage points, indicating an extremely inelastic demand and resulting in greatly improved finances. The advertisers were also hit with higher prices, but their increase was spread over several years.

The House of Crises

In late 1976, the chairman of Dagens Nyheter AB, Albert Bonnier Jr., made a new attempt to achieve technical cooperation among the Stockholm newspapers. He proposed that Dagens Nyheter sell its newspaper real estate and its machinery to a neutral ownership group not associated with the Bonnier family. This proposal did not increase the willingness of *Aftonbladet's* employees to cooperate. The employees at *Dagens Nyheter* joined the opposition. The journalists' union at *Expressen* wanted *Expressen* to become a stand-alone firm. Only at *Svenska Dagbladet* was the response unreservedly positive.

At the same time, the first three year stint of the managing editor, Hans-Ingvar Johnsson, was to be evaluated. The journalists' union appointed a committee with Mert Kubu as chairman. Its assignment included the development of new forms of editorial democracy. The result was a proposal for employee controlled management along Yugoslavian lines.

The proposal was that an editorial board and a working committee would assume control. The board would discuss the principles guiding the paper's contents and stance. The head of the editorial staff, holding the title of editor-in-chief, was to be elected by the editorial staff. The editorial leadership would be reinforced with three staff members chosen by the editorial board. When the proposal was presented in *Dagens Nyheter* in early 1977, many people inside the paper, and even more outside it, were indignant.

Other matters, however, intervened. The first sign of financial setbacks appeared during the fall of 1977. The company leadership maintained that large losses threatened if nothing were done. In October, Johnsson's contract was peacefully renewed, but in November the paper experienced an editorial crisis. Based on a secret source, *Dagens Nyheter* reported that the National Police Chief had informed the Prime Minister that the Minister of Justice was a security risk as a result of his dealings with prostitutes. Prime Minister Olof Palme categorically denied the allegations, characterizing them as lies and gross slander.

Dagens Nyheter caved in. The journalist responsible, Peter Bratt, was re-assigned and the Minister of Justice was paid damages. When, during the early 1990s, the relevant documents became public, it was revealed that the Prime Minister's blanket denial was less than truthful.

The financial crisis at *Dagens Nyheter* was to be resolved through higher subscription prices and a five-year personnel reduction plan cutting the number of employees from 3,200 to 2,700. This crisis program laid the basis for more problems down the road. The higher prices caused the circulation to decline and the labor efficiency program was abandoned after two years. At the point, the number of employees had been reduced by 150 rather than the anticipated 500.

Clean Up From the Top Down

The government press policy changed the competitive situation in Malmö. *Sydsvenskan*, which had expected to sooner or later take over *Skånska Dagbladet's* circulation, no longer could. *Skånska Dagbladet* survived.

When *Sydsvenskan* was forced to report one the worst financial results in the branch for 1977, it turned to the national government for help. It was the first place paper, but its household coverage had shrunk to 48 percent. Prime Minister Fälldin was petitioned. As a result, the paper both was relieved of paying interest for one year on a 3 million kronor loan from the press loan fund and given an operational subsidy of 3.9 million kronor for 1977. That latter sum is what a second place paper with a 48 percent household coverage would have received. Thereafter, during 1978–89, the operational support to *Sydsvenskan* amounted to one or two tenths of that paid to *Arbetet*, after which it was eliminated over a three year period.

At the newspaper, 65 staff members were given notice of possible future termination. The commercial printing division was closed. A number of planned festivities were cancelled and no dividend was paid in 1977. There was a generational change at the top and a number of individuals at the next lower level were replaced. The chairman of the board, Christer Wahlgren, resigned a year ahead of schedule.

Olof Wahlgren, took over, but he never recovered from having been simultaneously forced to resign his managing director position. The number of termination notices issued turned out to be excessive; only three staff members had to be let go. Thanks to the government assistance, the paper was quickly able to regain its financial balance. In 1985, *Sydsvenska Dagbladets AB* was listed on the stock exchange.

Arbetet also succeeded in getting back on its financial feet during the late 1970s thanks to a combination of additional stockholder contributions, increased operational subsidies and the ability to qualify for two support payments. Starting in 1977, *Arbetet* received separate subsidies

for its publication in Scania and for its Gothenburg edition, *Arbetet Väst*. At least half of the text material had to differ between the two editions. These payments, together with increased support from the owner LO, meant that *Arbetet* did not have to lower its costs. Instead the size of the staff increased and expenses were allowed to grow.

At the end of the 1970s, *Arbetet* also received new leadership. When the editor-in-chief and managing director, Frans Nilsson, departed in 1977, he was replaced as managing director by Lars Ewers (1938–) and in 1980 as editor-in-chief by Lars Engqvist (1945–).

The Newspapers of the New Political Parties

When *Norrskensflamman* in 1977 left VPK and went over to APK, the one-day-a-week paper *Folkviljan i Norrbotten* (The Popular Will in Norrbotten) was started as a counter weight and mouthpiece for VPK. Ten years later, *Norrskensflamman*, in order to become a national paper, moved to Stockholm to a new newspaper building with an offset press provided by East Germany. Publication was reduced from six to five days per week. A further ten years down the road, it became a weekly, shortened its name to *Flamman* and declared itself to be “independent socialist”.

The nationally distributed VPK paper *Ny Dag*, which in anticipation of the 1980 national referendum on nuclear power scarcely dealt with anything else, encountered financial difficulties when its circulation, and therefore its press subsidy, was cut in half. After a time as a two-days-per-week paper, it reverted to one-day-per-week publication and was finally closed in 1983. The other challenger to VPK, the Maoist *Gnistan*, ceased being a newspaper in 1986. The revolutionary *Proletären* and the Trotskyite *Internationalen* continued as weeklies, but the Traditionalists’ *Flamman* still emerged the victor within the Communist press.

A year after the formation of the Christian Democratic Party (KD), it started its own magazine *Samhällsgemenskap* (Social Community). The party, however, wanted at all costs to have a voice in the daily press. Consequently, it bought the local newspaper *Karlsхамns Allehanda*. Having gone bankrupt in 1974, the paper could be bought cheaply. Alf Svensson, who was to lead the party for over thirty years (1973–2004), became the responsible publishers and for a brief period served as editor-in-chief. The paper was sold to *Blekinge Läns Tidning* in Karlskrona in 1976. Three years later, *Samhällsgemenskap* was converted into a one-day-per-week newspaper and, in 1988, changed its name to *Kristdemokraten* (The Christian Democrat). The party won representation in the Riksdag starting in 1991.

The Environmental Party the Greens (MP), that was created in the wake of the nuclear power referendum, had not yet been officially founded when its publication *Alternativet i svensk politik* (The Alternative in Swedish Politics) first appeared in 1981. The party won seats in the Riksdag starting in 1988. The publication's name was changed to *Miljömagazinet* (The Environmental Magazine). It was on the brink of bankruptcy in 1999 when the party leadership refused to contribute and the party's EU parliamentarians stopped sharing their per diems with the paper. The threat of closure was resolved through an agreement between the Environmental Party and the magazine's incoming majority owner, the association of Sveriges Konsumenter i Samverkan (Swedish Consumers Working Together).

The Ny demokrati Party (New Democracy), which was founded in 1991 by the businessmen Ian Wachtmeister and Bert Karlsson, did not start any newspapers. Quite the contrary, it was often said that it was the newspapers, especially *Expressen*, that started the party. The party held the balance of power in the Riksdag during the years 1991–94.

New Papers for New Swedes

Subsidies for newspapers and magazines published in the languages of immigrant groups in Sweden were introduced during the mid-1970s. These payments, which were allocated by the Immigration Board, were substantially lower than the sums provided to Swedish language papers that received press subsidies. When the immigrant papers started to argue that they should be treated equally, the non-socialist government agreed to their request. Not since the Momma family's French language newspaper in the mid-18th century, *Stockholm Gazette*, had there been a foreign language paper in Sweden.

First to benefit was the politically independent, five-day-a-week Finnish paper *Finn Sanomat*, which was launched in Gothenburg in 1974. The number of Finns in Sweden amounted to 225,000, of which just over 50,000 lived in the Gothenburg area. The paper's circulation, however, barely reached 5,000 copies. It received a press subsidy for the first time in 1978. In 1982, the paper went bankrupt and was taken over by the editorial leadership. After a pause, it continued to be published one day per week, only to close in 1985.

Eesti Päevaleht (The Estonian Daily Paper), which also received a press subsidy in 1978, was older. It had started in 1954 as a recurring page in *Stockholms-Tidningen*, later becoming a special edition of that paper. When *Stockholms-Tidningen* was sold to LO in 1956, the cooperation

ceased for political reasons – *Eesti Päevaleht* was Conservative. During 1959–70, the paper was published as an edition of *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*. It then became an independent paper publishing two days per week until 1995 and one day per week thereafter.

The third immigrant paper to receive a press subsidy was *Ruotsin Suomalainen* (The Swedish Finn). It was started in 1964 as a publication of the umbrella organization, The National Federation of Finnish Organizations in Sweden. The contents were successively broadened and, starting in 1972, it became a weekly. Despite the substantial growth of its circulation, the paper was soon on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1986, it was taken over by *Uusi Suomi*, a Conservative second place paper in Helsinki. When it failed in 1986, *Uusi Suomi's* managing director took it over. The paper, which is still published, was mainly directed at the Finnish immigrants that arrived in Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s.

The Spanish speaking regions were represented by *Liberación* (The Liberation) which was started as a weekly magazine in 1981 and was principally addressed to immigrants from Latin America, among which those from Chile were the largest group. The paper first received a press subsidy in 1987.

New Papers out of Old Magazines

The press subsidies were in part intended for general news outlets, and partly for publications of a daily press character. The latter category required case by case judgments and became an opening for support for a number of magazines, usually political or religious. These magazines normally received government magazine support payments which were available during the years 1977–84. Over time, the decisions of the press subsidy authority became increasingly generous.

The upgrading of old magazines started in 1980 with the monthly *Broderskap* (Brotherhood), a publication that had been started in 1928 as an outlet for Christian Social-Democrats. *Aktuellt i Politiken* (What's New in Politics), a Social-Democratic Party publication, was reclassified as a newspaper after 40 years as a magazine.

The Liberal Party received establishment support for the conversion of the membership paper *Utsikt* (Prospects) to a one-day-per-week newspaper. Its name was later changed to *NU Det Liberala Nyhetsmagasinet* (NOW The Liberal News Magazine). In charge of the project was the future party leader Lars Leijonborg (1949–), who during 1983–84 was the paper's first editor-in-chief.

In 1992, the press subsidy authority approved the weekly magazine

Hemmets Vän (The Friend of the Home), issued by a publishing house closely associated with the Pentecostal movement. A year later, the press subsidy authority accepted *Sändaren* (The Messenger) which had been created in 1992 through the merger of two other non-established church weekly magazines. That same year, the life magazine *Petrus* passed through the eye of the regulatory needle. After a review of the press subsidy definitions had concluded that they were on a slippery downward slope, the rules were tightened. As a result, *Sändaren* and *Petrus*, but not *Hemmets Vän*, had their subsidy entitlements cancelled.

New Magazines for the Establishment and Radical Zealots

In 1975, the country's cultural elite started the quarterly magazine *Artes*. The sponsors were the Musical Academy, the Academy of Fine Arts and the Swedish Royal Academy. The magazine was intended to cover their subjects without, however, serving as an outlet for them. Representatives of the three academies worked diligently on the magazine. The periodicity was increased from four to six issues per annum in 1977. In early 1990, it demonstrated its independence by providing space for a debate concerning the Salman Rushdie affair. During 2000–2003, *Artes* also received support from Samfundet De nio (Society of the Nine). *Artes* ceased publication in 2005.

The book publishing firm Atlantis started the quarterly magazine *Radix* in 1978. It was preceded by *Horisont* (1954–1977) and followed by *Fenix*. The editor was Harry Järv (1921–2009), librarian, Finnish Swede and war veteran. As evidence of his great erudition, he was often referred to as a one-man academy or popular university.

A journalist completely outside the establishment, the left-wing radical Johan Ehrenberg (1957–) originated the arts and letters publication *Partisano* in 1977. A year later, the magazine changed its name to *ETC* and in 1979 became a monthly. The press subsidy lured Ehrenberg into converting it into weekly news publication in 1982. It did not receive any establishment subsidy, however, nor was it exempted from the value added tax. After publishing issue no. 16, the magazine went bankrupt. With the help of a fund raising effort, it became possible to resume publication, now on a bi-weekly basis. *ETC* became a style setter with regard to the use of photos and page layouts.

During the early 1980s, the Swedish State Lutheran Church decided to consolidate its splintered publishing activities. Three newspapers became one, *Svenska Kyrkans Tidning* (The Swedish Church's Newspaper). It was

published weekly and was printed in a tabloid format. The contents, in addition to organizational information, consisted of cultural material and debates, questions of faith and perspectives on life, letters to the editor and everyday material. The sees that so wished were allocated their own page. For several years, the editor-in-chief was the press historian Elisabeth Sandlund (1951–) who had been a financial journalist at *Svenska Dagbladet* for almost 30 years. In 2007, she became editor-in-chief of the non-established church publication *Dagen*.

The Woman in the Red Stockings

The previously so successful *Femina* lost one quarter of its circulation during the early 1970s. In 1974, a new leadership had taken over: Marianne von Baumgarten (1939–), who came from the specialty magazine *Vi Föräldrar*, and Karen Söderberg (1945–), who left a teaching post at the Graduate School of Journalism in Stockholm. The magazine was given a new layout and new contents. The American women's magazine *Ms.* served as a model. The magazine's advertising proclaimed: "Women are not easily led, shallow, gossipy. The weekly magazines are." Within the branch, *Femina* was accused of being leftist and run by "redstockings". The new direction pleased neither the readers nor the owners. A new editor-in-chief was given the task of straightening things out. Now the advertising asserted: "We have taken off the red stockings." It was too late. The magazine's circulation had fallen below the magic 100,000 level. In the fall of 1981, *Femina* was no more.

The weekly magazine *Femina* was succeeded by a magazine club called *Femina Månadens Magasin* (Femina the Monthly Magazine). Each month, the members received a specialty magazine on a particular subject: hints and ideas, fashion, home and garden or food. Distribution through a club was intended to be less costly than single copy selling.

Femina Månadens Magasin received a number of awards. The magazine's editor-in-chief, Stina Norling (1938–), and designer, Märith Lindström (1933–), considered the principal reason for the success to be changing social attitudes towards their type of magazine: "It is permissible to be beautiful, to treat oneself to good food, expensive clothes, a beautiful home. Most everything is allowed, even frivolity."

Other publishers climbed on board. That same year, the fashion magazine *Clic* was started. In cooperation with Åhlén & Åkerlund, the French publishers Hachette introduced *Elle* in 1988. Åhlén & Åkerlund's own magazine *Damernas Värld* also became a fashion magazine, but remained a weekly. *Vecko-Revyn* adopted the same emphasis on fashion. Both were

successful during the early 1980s, but at the end of the decade their circulations once again declined. *Vecko-Revyn* was threatened by closure. *Damernas Värld* became a monthly in 1991 and Bonniers ceased cooperating with Hachette.

The fact that *Femina Månadens Magasin* enjoyed greater success than *Damernas Värld* and *Vecko-Revyn* was credited precisely to its monthly publication by Norling and Lindstrie: “Many women don’t have the time to read the weekly magazines, but once a month it is possible to indulge oneself with a bit of relaxation and a luxuriant feeling.” They also maintained that their magazine was better positioned in terms of age groups, 35 to 55 years old, than were their competitors. It relied on a growing segment of the population.

A Serious Alternative in the Dumpster

Aftonbladet eagerly sought innovations that might halt its circulation decline. In 1977, it launched a Sunday supplement entitled “Magasinet”. It was intended to be a serious alternative to the existing fluffy Sunday supplements and an in depth complement to the daily news publication. It was designed to introduce “the new journalism”, that is to say the increased use of literary techniques and more thorough interviews.

The leadership of the new supplement consisted on the internally recruited Rune Struck (1941–) and Marianne Baumgarten. Jan Guillou made his reappearance following the IB affair. Among the supplement’s reporters were Göran Rosenberg, who was recruited from the news division (“Rapport”) of Swedish Television, and Annette Kullenberg (1939–), who had spent the previous ten years at the consumer cooperative movement’s publication *Vi* following stints at *Vecko-Journalen* and *Svenska Dagbladet*.

The supplement became best known for two personal portraits, one of Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin and the other of the transport union’s leader Hans Ericson, a tough negotiator concerning the wages of newspaper delivery employees. The first of these resulted in a public apology by the paper while the second was sent to the dumpster by the responsible publisher Gösta Sandberg. The author of the articles was Rolf Björlind (1943–) later a script writer for, among other projects, a long row of Martin Beck detective movies.

The Prime Minister, who thought he had been painted as an intellectual midget who was not playing with a full deck, sued the paper. This historic freedom of the press case – no serving prime minister had ever sued a newspaper for slander – was lost by Fälldin. The defense attorney

argued that the article was not a personal portrait in the usual sense, but a piece of prose with Fällidin as the main character in a fictitious setting. The intent was to expose and ridicule the argumentation used by Fällidin and the Center Party. In the portrait of Hans Ericson, the “fictitious setting” was a night club on the Reeperbahn in Hamburg.

“Magasinet” was published for 18 months. Within the branch, it was perceived to be a serious competitor to *Folket i Bild/Kulturfront*, although it was the later that survived. “Magasinet” was replaced partly by a Sunday supplement, partly by a leisure time publication and partly by a youth paper. The fluff was back!

During the fall of 1977, the female staff members at *Aftonbladet* had met to discuss their experiences. They were motivated by their conviction that a woman colleague had been passed over for promotion. Their stories were collected in a report that served as a protest against, among other grievances, the male chauvinism at the paper. The report, entitled *Dokumentet* (The Document), together with comments including those of male employees, was published in pocket format in 1979.

As a direct result of *Dokumentet*, resources were transferred from “Magasinet” to a new women’s editorial office and a women’s page was added to the paper. Regardless of how the importance of *Dokumentet* is evaluated in the short-run, its long-run effects should not be underestimated. When the paper’s circulation once again increased during the 1980s, much of it was due to the paper’s ability to attract women readers.

Widening and Renewal among Women’s Magazines

In the late 1970s, the leading outlet for the new women’s movement, *Kvinnobulletinen*, which had been published since 1971 by Grupp 8 encountered increased competition. It came not only from *Aftonbladet*’s women’s section, but also from a number of both old and new women’s magazines. In response, *Kvinnobulletinen* increased its frequency of publication from four to six times per annum.

Kvinnobulletinen was the source of one of its own competitors. Some members of Grupp 8 broke off, feeling that working class women were given insufficient attention. In 1974, they started the Marxist *Rödhättan* (Red Ridinghood), intended exclusively for such women. For scholars working in the new field of women’s studies, the quarterly *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* (Woman Science Magazine), was founded in 1980. It was published by the Forum for Women Scholars in Lund. To a large extent, it concentrated on topical issues intended to ease the shortage of course literature in the field.

Even the really venerable women's magazines influenced, and were influenced by, the competition. The real veteran in the area, Fredrika Bremerförbundet's magazine *Hertha*, improved its finances by dealing with subjects that could attract contributions from various cultural groups and institutions. Vera Nordin, editor 1976–82, was influenced by the American *Ms.*, the West German *Emma* and the Norwegian *Sirene*. In 1979, *Hertha* changed its format from A5 to A4, introduced a modern layout and began to be distributed through the kiosk chain Pressbyrå. Nordin had worked at *Femina*, both before and after the so-called "red stocking" period, and her uninhibited choice of material challenged the older members of Fredrika Bremerförbundet.

The Weekly Magazine of the 1980s

Declining circulations during the 1970s resulted in excess capacity for the weekly magazine publishers. As a result, the following years witnessed a number of closings, curtailments and mergers. Åhlen & Åkerlund replaced the weekly *Vecko-Journalen* with the monthly *MånadsJournalen* and *Se* was combined with *Fib-Aktuellt* in order to create room for "the weekly magazine of the 1980s", *Reportage*.

Reportage was intended to be a different weekly magazine aimed at a post-war generation that for the most part did not read weekly magazines. The project was led by the veteran newspaper and magazine innovator Erik Westerberg, who visualized a magazine that reflected the public debate concerning life styles, family life and gender equality. The potential circulation was estimated to be 300,200 copies. Only half as much was required to make the magazine profitable. Westerberg was convinced that he was about to experience "the great adventure, the great opportunity, the exciting challenge".

The publisher made a preliminary agreement with Staffan Heimerson (1935–), deputy editor at *Aftonbladet* since 1976, to become editor-in-chief. When Heimerson learned that the magazine would not be purely news oriented, that he would not receive the resources promised and would only be allowed to hire three outside staff members, however, he withdrew from the project. The launching was further delayed by the board chairman Lukas Bonnier's trepidation at merging the picture magazine *Se* with the men's magazine *Fib-Aktuellt* and converting *Vecko-Journalen* into a monthly, the package solution required to create space for *Reportage*. Then Westerberg suddenly became tired of the project and wanted to delay it. He had no desire to stake his professional competence and reputation on a failed magazine.

Despite Westerberg's protest, *Reportage* was launched. He noted in his diary that the first issue was a virtual catastrophe: "a totally unnecessary magazine." The magazine lasted fifteen issues. The first sold over 150,000 copies and the last less than 50,000. The magazine that was supposed to take over from *Se* and *Vecko-Journalen*, and in the long-run replace *Året Runt* as the Bonnier concern's money machine, was a failure.

A Really Good Final Issue

Among the measures taken to broaden the activities of *Svenska Dagbladet* was the creation of the news magazine *7dagar* (7 Days). It was designed to serve as a complement to the mother paper, providing additional in-depth reading. Its foreign models were *Newsweek*, *Time* and *Der Spiegel*.

The original goal was to recycle valuable material published in *Svenska Dagbladet*. There was concern that the run-of-the-mill subscriber might abandon the daily paper for the weekly magazine. The result, however, was essentially an independent news magazine. The editorial office consisted of ten or so staff members from the mother paper. The editorial chief was Magnus Lind. From *Reportage*, he brought with him the experience of starting on a small scale, with a modest staff and limited expectations. Following his time at *7dagar*, Lind returned to *Svenska Dagbladet*. He later became one of the Sweden's leading TV soap opera script writers. His replacement at *7dagar* was Ulf Wickbom (1944–).

The magazine's circulation grew, reaching 15,000 copies the first year and 18,000 the second. So too, however, did the losses. When the loss for 1983/84, including the press subsidy, reached four million kronor, *Svenska Dagbladet* looked around for a new owner. At that point, the staff decided to close the magazine down. Ulf Wickbom explained in a comment that he and his colleagues did not want to become chips in an extended game: "we would rather devote out energy and our last bit of enthusiasm to creating a really good final issue."

16. The Giddy Decade (1980s)

The trick to starting a newspaper around 1980 was surviving 1981, the absolute bottom year for the daily press' finances during the period 1975-2000. The branch found itself in a cost crisis, but this time the firms did not dare to seek a solution by raising prices. The losses of the second place papers mounted. In order to make it possible for them to keep publishing, the government press subsidies were raised every year during the early 1980s, so that by 1983 the subsidies were at the same relative level as in 1978 and 1979. Several of second place papers tried to further improve their finances by publishing separate editions entitled to their own subsidies and by starting one or more one-day-a-week papers in addition to their normal publication. The first post-war non-socialist government left office after the election of 1982 went the Social-Democrats' way.

During the early 1980s, the daily press' commission system with the advertising agencies was altered. The percentage payments (15 %) to the agencies were lowered. Instead they were to bill the client for their services. The advertisers, in turn, demanded that the newspapers' advertisement list prices be lowered, but that did not happen. Instead a number of performance based rebates were introduced. It is certainly possible that the papers benefited from this change.

Starting in 1984, the advertising revenues of the daily press increased. With the single exception of 1986, this growth continued every year for the rest of the decade. By 1989, they had reached a level that, measured in real prices, was 50 percent greater than that of 1983. The subscription prices, that during most of the 1980s had followed the over-all rate of inflation, began once again to exceed that growth rate in 1987. Nonetheless, the 1980s ended with record high circulations. For the papers published at least four days per week (both the morning and the evening press) this amounted to a total of 4.5 million copies or 536 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. The less frequently published papers (1-3 issues per week) contributed an additional 0.4 million copies.

The number of high periodicity papers (at least 4 days per week) increased from 91 to 98 during the 1980s. For a few years, the number even reached 101. Not since the 1960s had there been a year with so

many such papers. The growth was the result of increased periodicity, additional editions and start-ups.

At the same time as the market revenues continued to improve, there were three press subsidy increases: first one to all second place papers, then in 1986 to all provincial second place papers and then, in 1988, another to all second place papers. The increased revenues resulted in another series of record years during the 1980s with 1988 setting the all time record. During 1987 and 1988, over half of all the second place papers reported profits. Another wave of offset press investments began to sweep through the provincial press. Even the larger papers now changed their technology. During the 1988 Olympics, portable computers adapted for telephone transmission had their breakthrough.

Not even the darkest years were devoid of good results, but they were mainly achieved by small papers. Nor was there a lack of optimism. Even new daily papers were started. The largest daily newspaper firms adopted names reflecting the city district in which they were located. Dagens Nyheter AB was renamed Tidnings AB Marieberg in 1986 and Nya Göteborgsposten AB was christened Stampen.

A Leisure Time Activity for Enthusiasts

In 1980, *Tempus*, a pre-weekend news magazine containing Swedish translations of articles from foreign newspapers such as *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *Le Monde* and *The Washington Post*, was started. The publication contained no photographs, only text, and was directed at the readers of *Time* and *Newsweek*. The founder was Jens Sundberg (1938–94), who since 1960 had been employed at *Sydsvenskan*. His work on *Tempus*, like that of his colleagues, was a leisure time activity. The magazine received a press subsidy right from the start.

Sundberg raised his sights and, during three years in the mid-1980s, *Tempus* appeared four or five times per week. It meant that those who originally had sacrificed their spare time now had to work full time. *Tempus* achieved its greatest circulation as a five-day-per-week publication in 1985, reaching 12,000 copies. Nonetheless, the operation went bankrupt. Sundberg, however, retained the publishing certificate and by 1987 he was back, this time as the owner of the magazine which had reverted to weekly publication. Following Sundberg's death, the magazine was taken over by an investment company with Ulf Rytterborg (1942–), previously editor-in-chief of *Kvällsposten*, as part owner and managing director. Publication continued in accordance with the original plan. The magazine's greatest circulation as a weekly was reached in 1987 with 7,200 copies. Since then, there has been a steady decline to 2,100 copies in 2009.

Prioritizing of Markets

During the early 1980s, six newspapers in Västergötland, as a cost saving measure, instituted joint printing. Their vehicle for this cooperation from 1981 to 1996 was a company named Skaraborgspress. It was jointly owned by *Skövde Nyheter*, *Skaraborgs Läns Tidning* in Skara, *Nya Lidköpings-Tidningen* and *Falköpings Tidning*. *Västgöta-Bladet* in Tidaholm and the one-day-per-week paper *Skaraborgsbygden* were also printed at the company's facilities.

The economic downturn did not last long. It was essentially over in a year. Thanks to stricter cost controls, the first place papers took a turn for the better as early as 1982. Still, several of them experienced dramatic changes during the 1980s. Among these were *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, which began to more clearly prioritize among markets within its distribution area, and *Norrköpings Tidningar*, whose transformation began with new presses in 1984 and ended with it becoming one of the strongest provincial newspaper firms and initiator of creative structural transactions by mergers and acquisitions.

During the 1960s, rumors had circulated that *Helsingborgs Dagblad* was for sale. The Sommelius family, however, kept the paper and began to modernize it. The front page began to carry news instead of advertisements and a new press was installed – surprisingly a high pressure press. Following in the footsteps of the Danish *Information*, the paper labeled itself as politically independent. Lars Wilhelmsson (1934–), from the neighboring paper *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar* in Ängelholm, was made editor-in-chief in 1977. After a generational transfer within the family, Sören Sommelius (1941–) took over as chairman of the board, legally responsible publisher and arts and letters editor, with his brother Staffan (1944–) as managing director.

Since it had not been possible to arrange the succession within the Jansson ownership family, at the end of the 1970s, *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar* was put up for sale. Both *Helsingborgs Dagblad* and *Nya Wermlands-Tidningen* were prepared to pay the asking price, and the staff was allowed to choose the buyer. They picked *Nya Wermlands-Tidningen*, which not only guaranteed their continued employment but also offset printing and the introduction of a Sunday edition.

Following its failed attempt to buy *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar*, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, which published a number of editions and supplements in northwest Scania, concentrated its efforts on its publication site, Helsingborg. North western Scania was divided into three areas with that consisting of Helsingborg and surroundings being given the highest priority. This market prioritization was continued by Lars Svensson (1952–),

who in 1985 was appointed managing director. The policy had the full support of the editor-in-chief, who took it as a matter of pride that he had virtually never set foot outside the paper's distribution area.

The provincial newspaper groupings expanded. In 1981, Herenco in Jönköping purchased *Värnamo Nyheter* and, together with *Nya Lidköpings-Tidningen*, also *Skövde Nyheter*. The VLT concern in Västerås became the owner of local papers *Sala Allehanda*, *Fagersta-Posten* and *Avesta Tidning/Avesta Posten* in 1981. The Conservative *Nya Wermlands-Tidningen* bought in 1983 the like minded *Enköpings-Posten* in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of one of the neighboring Liberal newspapers, *Upsala Nya Tidning* or *Vestmanlands Läns Tidning*.

Dagens Nyheter Focuses on Daily News

By 1982, the economic crisis of the early 1980s resulted in the first annual loss ever suffered by the *Dagens Nyheter* concern. The short-run responses planned by the leadership were the usual suspects: higher prices and personnel reductions, this time totaling 250 employees. In addition, satellite printing was initiated in Jönköping and Umeå in order to reduce distribution costs.

Once again, the rationalization program was not implemented. The paper was hit by a massive attack of the blue flue. The graphical workers were led in their struggle by a pugnacious union chairman, Sture Ring (1933–), renowned for an uncompromising statement regarding new technology: "If the graphical workers are to be buried, DN and Expressen will accompany them into the grave." An arbitrator resolved the conflict. In the annual report for 1983, it was noted that the required reduction in staff had been implemented. It was limited to 150 positions.

The managing editor, Hans-Ingvar Johnsson, was succeeded by the social science graduate Bengt Dennis who had earlier declined an offer of the same position at *Aftonbladet*. His goal was to restore *Dagens Nyheter* to its position as a major paper in Stockholm. His editorial program included a return to Rudolf Wall's original idea of providing a source of news for the masses. Dennis aimed at an all around, factual and impartial presentation of the news. He preferred short, well-written reportage to long-winded comments and moralizing articles that appeared over several days. Inspired by *Svenska Dagbladet's* life style section entitled "Idag" (Today), he introduced his own version called "Insidan" (The Inside).

Following the Social Democrats' election victory in 1982, Dennis left *Dagens Nyheter* to become head of Riksbanken (the Central Bank). The deputy editor-in-chief, Christina Jutterström (1940–) succeeded him.

Together with Dennis, she had drawn up the editorial strategy combining the old with the new and could now implement it.

The journalists' union resisted, but powerful forces in the form of increasing circulation and a high demand for advertising worked in Jutterström's favor. After having hit a low of 386,900 copies in 1983, the circulation turned upward, if only by 1,300 copies in 1964. Still, it was enough. The financial result already showed improvement in 1983.

In May of 1984, "DN Debatt" (Dagens Nyheter Debate) moved to its own half page. After a year or so, it had surpassed *Svenska Dagbladet's* Brännpunkt as the country's premier public debate page. Partly this was the result of *Dagens Nyheter's* greater circulation, but it was also because the page was opened to opinions other than those supported by the paper. Just like the advertisers, public debaters sought out the largest newspaper. "DN Debatt" was declared independent of the editorial page and the editor-in-chief. The selection of those that were allowed to participate caused many to refer to the section as the "Tribune of Power".

During the late 1980s, plans were drawn up at *Dagens Nyheter* for the "paper of the 90s". In this "New DN", two sections were to be replaced by four: "general news", "arts, letters and entertainment", "work and money" and, finally, "Stockholm and sports". The underlying notion was to provide as many readers as possible with something of interest in each section. The leadership concluded that high quality articles from different subject areas should be intermixed. The only ones not consulted were the readers.

The whole project almost collapsed when it became apparent that the paper's volume of advertising could not be handled in four sections. The solution was to add a fifth section containing classified advertisements directed at consumers. Much delayed, the "New DN" was launched in early 1990. Many readers protested against the five sections, and after a few months they were reduced to four. By 1996, the time had come for a lighter, thinner and more compact newspaper consisting of three parts.

The Iron Age at *Svenska Dagbladet*

When Gustaf von Platen in 1982 left his position as editor-in-chief of *Svenska Dagbladet*, he became the paper's Paris correspondent. At his suggestion, he was succeeded as editor by Ola Gummesson. von Platen was not an easy act to follow. He had changed the paper and even split time into eras: before and after 1974. The paper von Platen handed over, however, was still a second place paper with finances that, despite contributions by business and the government, were out of balance.

The renewal work continued. The business section was given priority, to a large extent because the paper owed a debt of gratitude to the business world. The reporting on the Nordic Countries was strengthened, as were previously neglected areas such as sports and radio and TV. At the same time, the editorial and financial leadership had to preach restraint, whereas von Platen had urged expansion. Mats Svegfors (1948–) was recruited from the think tank Timbro and the government chancellery to head up the paper's editorial-page staff.

The Svenska Dagbladet concern was dissolved. When new rules excluded the concern's suburban Stockholm papers from receiving press subsidies were introduced, they were sold. The house cleaning yielded results. It was only during Gummesson's tenure that the paper yielded a profit several years in a row. It was also far from easy to succeed Gummesson in 1987 when he became the paper's London correspondent. His successor, the head of the SIFO polling firm professor Hans L. Zetterberg (1927–), stayed at his post for less than two years. The journalists at the paper lacked confidence in him.

Journalists Out to Pasture

The first free Swedish paper with journalistic ambitions, *Göteborgs-Reflexen*, was started in the middle of the economic crisis by a British local-newspaper firm. Rustan Älveby (1925–), an instructor at the Graduate School of Journalism, became an editorial advisor and entertainment columnist. His colleague at the school, Bengt Johannison (1931–) was made editor-in-chief. He had two full-time employees and ten or so freelancers at his disposal. In terms of content and format, *Göteborgs-Reflexen* resembled most paid-for papers, although it had fewer pages. It appeared once a week, but its distribution lasted two days.

Älveby and Johannison were subjected to a veritable media witch hunt by the paid-for papers and their staffs. They were condemned for leaving the Graduate School of Journalism for a free paper, and the Union of Journalists was urged to declare that working at a free paper was incompatible with membership. The Western Union of Journalists wrote to all of *Göteborgs-Reflexen's* advertisers calling on them to cease using the paper. Journalists at *Göteborgs-Posten* suggested blacklisting. The company leadership, however, remained calm and dispatched a staff member to England to more closely study the mother enterprise.

After publishing 22 issues, the owner lost interest and the free paper closed. The witch hunt played a role, but the weak advertising demand of the early 1980s was equally important.

In response to the appearance of a free paper in Gothenburg, the newspapers in Malmö began to publish their own such papers to forestall others. *Sydsvenskan* distributed a free paper to all households that were not its subscribers. The two second place papers, *Arbetet* and *Skånska Dagbladet*, jointly produced a free paper that was distributed to every household in the Malmö region.

The Advertising Sheets Not Content to Remain Advertising Sheets

The sharp attacks on newspapers entirely financed by advertising gave the term advertising sheets a bad name. Traditional paid-for papers with “annonsblad” (advertising sheet) in their names felt uncomfortable. In early 1981, *Skaraborgs Läns Annonssblad* changed its name to *Skaraborgs Läns Allehanda*, and later, when the “län” (county) had been abolished, to *Skaraborgs Allehanda*. The somewhat younger *Elfsborgs Läns Annonssblad* waited until 1983 to perform a similar facelift.

Annonssblad till Tidskrift för landtmän, founded in Lund in 1884 found itself in a similar situation – annonsblad is “an impossible name in the newspaper branch of today”. In 1983, it undertook the same operation and for the same motive, writing an entirely new page in the paper’s history.

“Annonssbladet från Lund”, as it was informally called, began as an advertising supplement to *Tidskrift för landtmän* (Magazine for Farmers), when the latter four years after its founding achieved such success that it was inundated with advertising. The whole venture that had been started by two researchers at the Alnarp Farming Institute was taken over by the farmers’ cooperative movement in 1919.

“Annonssbladet” became independent in 1948, but the contents remained the same: advertising, advertising and more advertising. It was “a paper entirely unreadable for poets”, the Scania poet Gabriel Jönsson noted poetically at the publication’s 65th anniversary celebration. It was not until 1963 that the edited text was increased to 25 percent, and then only because the post office’s advantageous newspaper rates required it. By then, the paper was distributed to 35,000 farmers, most of them in Southern Sweden.

The transformation from an advertising sheet to a regular newspaper began in the late 1970s. As a first step, the advertising and the editorial staffs were moved into the same offices. As a second step, the name was changed to *ATL*. Finally, as a third step, news reporters were recruited. This last step required some effort since those contacted had to be con-

vinced that agricultural matters could be converted into news. The entire process was facilitated by the eventually improving advertising market during the 1980s and the growth of the circulation to 45,000 copies. Advertising was removed from the front page and the vignette read: "ATL – the business paper for the Swedish countryside". During the 1990s, *ATL* launched a lifestyle magazine, *Gods och Gårdar* (Estates and Farms), as a supplement to the paper and also as an independent quarterly (later turned into a monthly).

The Hunt for No Newspaper Households

Almost as soon as the morning paper *Stockholms-Tidningen* closed in 1966, the Social Democrats began to plan a replacement. The evening tabloid *Atonbladet* was not viewed as a fully satisfactory alternative, neither inside nor outside Stockholm. The question was studied, resulting in a recommendation for a political weekly. It was dead on arrival, however, since none of those who could influence the final outcome would even consider anything except a daily paper. The increase in the government press subsidy for major city papers to 19.5 million kronor in 1976 was just what the doctor ordered.

When, in the fall of 1976, the Social-Democrats lost the election and control of the government, their newspaper publishing effort came into focus. The A-press' editorial service in Stockholm was expanded and the demands for a Social-Democratic morning newspaper in Stockholm city and county, became more insistent. Control of the national government was to be restored by retaking the Stockholm region. The Stockholm labor unions produced a plan calling for a seven-days-per-week morning newspaper, initially to be published in a regular format, but later possibly converted to a tabloid. In order to control costs, the paper would coordinate its administrative work with the A-press' central organization, and its editorial functions with *Arbetet* in Malmö and the Social-Democratic newspapers in the Nordic capitals. Carl-Adam Nycop who created *Expressen* in the 1940s was asked to evaluate the proposal. He found it to be utterly unsatisfactory. As a result, Nycop became seriously involved in the project, participating in a working group together with Sven O. Andersson (1923–88), at one time a staff member at the old *Stockholms-Tidningen*.

Nycop and Andersson proposed a regional tabloid published five days per week. Their somewhat hollow justification for five days only was that people left Stockholm over the weekends and did not want any papers on Saturday and Sunday. The newspaper was to be a piece of Social-

Democratic Stockholm nostalgia, “The Old Sosse” (*Social-Demokraten*) and “The Old Stocken” (*Stockholms-Tidningen*) wonderfully joined. The Social-Democratic election loss in 1979 gave the project wind under its wings. In 1980, Sven O. Andersson was named editor-in-chief with Rolf Alsing (1948–) as his deputy. The editorial office had roughly forty staff members.

The start up in 1981 was chaotic. LO provided a contribution, but only under protest. The project suffered defections, promises of advertising were broken, the graphic workers refused to accept an agreement concerning the direct entering of text and the planned printing cooperation with *Aftonbladet* was never implemented. Instead, a five-year agreement was reached with a printing facility not associated with the labor movement.

Within the Social-Democratic press – at *Aftonbladet* and the party’s provincial papers – there was concern over the problems encountered by the new *Stockholms-Tidningen*. Most of them remembered “Gamla Sossen” not as a source of inspiration but as a financial burden.

After only a year, closing the paper became a possibility. It was saved, partly by the political timetable – the 1982 election was at hand – and partly by the five-year printing contract which could not be cancelled. Following the 1982 election, won by the Social-Democrats, Sven O. Andersson claimed the credit for having produced a majority in the Stockholm county council and for other electoral successes in the communities surrounding the capital. It was to no avail. The newspaper reached far too few households to attract any advertising.

In the meantime, the press subsidy had, conveniently enough, continued to increase. The situation seemed ideal for an attempt to get out of the crisis by expanding. Supported by a study conducted by the future Minister of Finance Allan Larsson (1938–), the board decided to increase the rate of publication from five to seven days per week. This was to be accomplished with an unchanged editorial, and a reduced technical, staff. The newspaper was now to become fully comparable to the other papers. Available statistics indicated that not only had 150,000 readers of *Dagens Nyheter* voted for the Social-Democrats but, in addition, there were 200,000 households in Stockholm county that lacked a daily paper. Forgotten was the idea that people did not want a paper on Saturday and Sunday.

Barely more than a year later, it was all over and done with. The newspaper collected the press subsidy for 1984 and then filed for bankruptcy. LO maintained that the bankruptcy was necessary to save the rest of the A-press. “It was not done to escape taxes and other debts the way less

honest enterprises do.” The party secretary added that the possibilities for starting a new paper in Stockholm would now be studied.

During the early 1980s, six A-press newspapers tried various types of new and multiple editions in order to increase their press subsidy. Five failed and one succeeded. The latter was *Östra Småland* in Kalmar which, in 1980, split into a southern edition, *Östra Småland* in Kalmar, and a northern edition, *Nyheterna* in Oskarshamn. This gambit succeeded partly because the division represented a return to a previous situation on well delineated, separate markets, and partly because it was accompanied by a serious commitment of resources. Of course if these arrangements are seen as intended to facilitate a Social-Democratic return to power, then they were all successful.

Dagens Industri Becomes a Daily

The most successful daily of the late 20th century, *Dagens Industri* (Daily Industry), began in 1976 by publishing twice per week. It was created by combining eight different branch publications. It was launched three years after Bonniers had abandoned its “Dagens affärer” (Daily Business) project. In the meantime, the idea of a daily business paper had been kept alive by Bertil Torekull (1931–), the head of the Special Magazine Publishers and the new paper’s first editor-in-chief.



The last daily newspaper started in Sweden was the business publication Dagens Industri. It quickly became the Country's most profitable paper.

The initial plans called for five-days-per-week publishing. It was in the name and it determined the contents. Torekull made it into more of a specialty than a branch paper. In order to protect the Bonnier concern's weekly business publication, *Veckans Affärer* (Business Week), however, *Dagens Industri* did not begin to report on the stock market until 1979. When the time came to increase the periodicity to three times per week, Hasse Olsson (1940–) was appointed editor-in-chief.

A disappointment occurred when the national tax authorities refused to classify *Dagens Industri* as a general daily newspaper, which would have exempted it from the value added tax. Not until it became a five-days-per-week paper in 1983 was the classification changed and the exemption granted. The tax exemption, however, was not the principal concern – most of the subscriptions were paid by firms. Much more important, being declared general daily newspaper gave *Dagens Industri* access to the joint distribution system with early morning home delivery. This made it possible for it to quickly become a national newspaper with two-thirds of its edition being distributed outside of Stockholm. The paper went over to six day publishing in 1990, and reached its highest circulation of 126,500 copies in the year 2000. In 2009 it had fallen to 102,000.

In due course, the paper became the new money machine replacing *Expressen*, the first successful tabloid with the Bonnier insignia. *Dagens Industri* became unique in one, possibly unexpected, regard. The original plans included exporting the concept, but not that the internationalization would start in the Baltic States following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In the East, it became a precursor of modern newspaper development and defended the position of the press against governments and other parts of the establishment.

A Journalist-Owned Business

By the middle of the 1970s, the success of *Veckans Affärer* had almost totally done in its competitor, *Affärsvärlden* (The Business World), whose circulation of 4,000 copies did not exceed a tenth of *Veckans Affärer's* volume. In an attempt to save their paper, the editorial staff of *Affärsvärlden* suggested to the owner, a foundation created by the commercial banks, that they be allowed to take over the operation. The editor-in-chief since 1976 was Ronald Fagerfjäll (1945–), who had come from the closed *Handelstidningen*. The rescue mission succeeded and the enterprise became so profitable that the staff wished to take total control. The ownership foundation agreed. At most around twenty staff members became part owners. This ownership arrangement ceased in 1994. Af-

färsvärlden came under new ownership and the paper recovered. In 2008, *Affärsvärlden* passed *Veckans Affärer*. The circulation approached 53,000 copies.

Second Place Papers Try Harder

In 1983, *Arbetet* in Malmö started a regional lunchtime paper called *Nyheterna* (The News). The immediate reason was that *Aftonbladet* had ceased having its southern edition printed at *Arbetet*'s facilities, thus creating excess capacity there. The progenitor for *Nyheterna* was the lunchtime paper *Iltalehti* in Helsinki which had been started in 1980 by the Helsinki second place paper *Uusi Suomi*.

Nyheterna, which was published Monday through Friday and sold as single copies, was cheaper than its rival *Kvällsposten*. Most of the contents – and six journalists – came from *Arbetet*. The text was reworked and supplemented with the latest news. According to estimates, the paper would cover its costs with a circulation of 13,000. That number, however, never exceeded 6,000, most of which replaced copies of the mother paper. *Nyheterna* only lasted for three months. The Finnish precursor survived, but *Uusi Suomi* closed in 1991.

In Gothenburg, the name *Handelstidningen* had been kept alive since 1975 in the form of a one-issue-per week paper, but in 1983 even that paper faced a financial crisis. It was rescued by new owners who even agreed to make it an every-day-of-the-week paper. The paper was to be directed at decision makers in business and public administration and operated with low costs. It was the first paper in Sweden to be totally computerized. Forty journalists were hired. The chances of success were remarkably small, however, and after four and one half months the attempt was abandoned.

Nonetheless, the re-launching of *Handelstidningen* increased competition in Gothenburg. *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* took the opportunity to change their home delivery system there from late postal to early home distribution. On Sundays, when *Göteborgs-Posten* in Göteborg only had single copy sales for its Sunday edition, the Stockholm papers utilized *Handelstidningen*'s distribution network. *Dagens Nyheter* added two journalists to its Gothenburg editorial office. In response, in 1985 *Göteborgs-Posten* introduced every-day-of-the-week subscriptions with home delivery also in the Gothenburg area.

A Branch in Turmoil

The weekly magazine branch experienced major changes during the 1980s. Allers took the lead in a consolidation process. Enterprises were taken over, but no titles were dropped. Maintaining a broad selection of publications became a leading strategy.

The structural change commenced in 1983 when Allers bought the publication rights to Tifa's (Allhem's) two titles, *Allas Veckotidning* and *Hemmets Veckotidning*, from *Svenska Dagbladet*. Allers utilized their acquisitions both to create new and stronger advertisement combinations and to obtain increased shelf space in the self-service stores. Within a few years, the circulation of *Hemmets Veckotidning* had increased by ten percent and that of *Allas Veckotidning* by twice that amount. These gains impacted Bonnier's magazine *Året Runt*. This test of strength ended with Bonnier's happily abandoning the general magazine market and instead concentrating on its specialty magazines. *Året Runt* was sold to Allers. This allowed Allers to claim four spots for its family journals on the shelves of retailers – almost a full meter – and to form even more potent advertising combinations in competition with (the now permissible) TV advertising and the evening tabloids.

Saxon & Lindström had two venerable weekly magazine in its product mix, *Saxons Veckotidning* and *Svensk Damtidning*. The former was merged into the Danish Egmont firm's *Hemmets Journal* in 1987, while the latter, following five independent years, was bought by Allers in 1992. With its socially pretentious, gossipy contents, *Svensk Damtidning* proclaimed itself to be “the Royal weekly magazine”. Especially the 2009 engagement of the heiress to the Swedish throne, Crown Princess Victoria, provided the magazine with virtually endless material just as her wedding in 2010 has done.

A new family weekly magazine, *Hemtrevligt* from LRF-media (The Media company of the Farmers' association) quickly abandoned its weekly publication rate. In April of 2008, it converted to monthly publication with more pages and a somewhat higher price. LRF-media, however, continues to publish *Land*, which has a circulation of approximately 210,000 (2009), about half of which are membership copies. *Land* has thus done better than *ICA-kuriren*, which has a very modest, and declining, circulation of 170,000 copies. ICA's publishing firm, Forma Publishing, however, issues over two million copies of the free-of-charge customer paper *Buffé* eleven times each year.

A Membership Paper Visits the Market

At the end of the 1980s, the Consumer Cooperative Association (KF) decided to stop supporting its weekly magazine *Vi*, which was converted into a joint stock company within the KF organization. In addition, fifteen staff members were let go from the paper.

Mats Ekdahl (1948–), who had experience from working at *Vecko-Journalen*, *Dagens Industri* and the advertising branch magazine *Resumé*, was appointed editor-in-chief of the newly self-reliant publication. According to the board, *Vi* was to be converted from a “subsidized popular movement magazine to a self supporting market magazine”.

Before the conversion, KF and the local cooperative associations paid for 130,000 of the magazine’s total printing of 200,000 copies. Free copies were provided to all employees and new members. In order to compensate for this revenue loss, *Vi*’s price was doubled in the course of three years. Despite this increase, the paid circulation amounted to 110,000 copies.

The old *Vi* had not been allowed to accept advertising for products that the cooperative stores did not carry. The new *Vi* was to be open to all advertisers. In order to attract new advertisers, special issues concerning the history of advertising, as well as picture and reportage issues using a larger format, were produced. The inspiration came from the French *Paris Match* and the American *Life*.

The ambitious attempt failed. During the 1990’s, the circulation declined by more than half. Despite the widening of the magazine’s contents, 90 percent of the readers were members. *Vi* was and remained a membership publication. *Vi* became a monthly and its circulation fell to 40,200 (2009).

Popular Science

Through its Danish publishing firm, Fogtdals förlag, Bonniers started a monthly science magazine, *Illustrerad Vetenskap*, in 1984. It was the very first time in the history of the press that one and the same publication was launched simultaneously in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. A few years later, a Finnish version followed. The main editorial office was located in Copenhagen.

Illustrerad Vetenskap resulted in increased interest in popular science, both among the public and the branch. After three or four years, its circulation had reached 160,000 copies. The monthly magazine *Forskning & Framsteg* (Research & Progress), which was owned by a number of

scientific institutions and had been published since 1964, was supplemented by its own campaigns under the leadership of its editor-in-chief Björn Fjæstad (1943–). Its circulation reached a record level of 59,000 copies in 1987.

In 1991, the publishing house Historiska Media started the monthly magazine *Populär Historia* (Popular History), that quickly reached a circulation of 25,000 copies, which later increased to 34,600 (2009). Bonniers simultaneously launched Swedish, Danish and Norwegian versions of the international monthly magazine *National Geographic* in 2000. Five years later, in 2005, Historisk Media started another historical magazine, *Allt om historia* (Everything About History). It promptly reached a circulation of more than 30,000 copies (2009).

17. Turning Points (after 1990)

The first sign of an approaching economic downturn for the daily press could be observed in 1989. At the beginning of the 1990s, the firms initiated measures designed to adapt their activities to the downturn. As a result, their net margins once again increased in 1991 and 1992. The branch's most profitable years occurred during the late 1980s, but, considering the economic situation, its most successful ones were the early 1990s. The rules concerning eligibility for press subsidies, as well as their levels, remained essentially unchanged.

The election of 1991 resulted in the leader of the Moderate (Conservative) Party, Carl Bildt, forming a non-socialist government. Birgit Friggebo of the Liberal Party became Minister of Culture. The deregulation of the media continued. Private, local radio stations financed by advertising were permitted starting in 1993, with the daily press firms being allowed to participate. The interest in new forms of media increased. Even firms of middling size began to call themselves media houses, although their investment in traditional newspapers did not decline. Customer service increased thanks to the development of new products and higher publishing frequencies. Sunday editions were seriously considered in a number of quarters, and in the large cities free papers became a more or less permanent presence.

In the summer of 1991, Sweden applied for membership in the European Community. A lively discussion ensued concerning the possible effects of membership on the Swedish freedom of the press rules, not least the principles of access to public records and the protection of whistle blowers. The government heeded the debate, and in the final negotiation protocol maintained the position that those two principles were part of Sweden's basic constitutional heritage. On January 1, 1995, following a plebiscite, Sweden joined the European Union (EU). The country's basic principles of freedom of the press have remained unaltered.

Bonniers Abandons a Liberal Principle

Within the Bonnier family, the principle that the family should not publish papers outside of Stockholm had taken root. It, in turn, was based

on the liberal principle that there should be many opinion-influencing voices, especially in a small country such as Sweden. At a breakfast meeting arranged by *Veckans Affärer* in the fall of 1988, however, Albert Bonnier Jr., chairman of the Bonnier firms 1978–1989, declared that things might change and the principle dispensed with. There seems to have been two reasons for this turnabout. For one thing, the Marieberg company had overestimated future demand, leaving them with an extra press that had to be used for something. Secondly, discussions between Stampen (Gothenburg) and Sydsvenska Dagbladet AB (Malmö) concerning long-term cooperation had been intensified, creating a possible threat to Bonnier's position in the branch over time. There was evidence of Bonnier's increased interest in the SDS concern even before the suggested course adjustment.

Cooperation between Stampen and Sydsvenska Dagbladet AB had begun already in the late 1970s. The newspapers shared correspondents, organized common photo pools at major sports events and, during the 1980s, began a joint project providing regional business newspapers for the small business market. Peter Hjärne (1952–), the third generation of newspaper Hjärnes and who was to become the editor-in-chief of *Göteborgs-Posten* in 1993, had taken over the managing directorship of Stampen in 1985. In that latter capacity, he declared his interest in both evening tabloid cooperation and cross ownership with Sydsvenska Dagbladet AB. He received a positive response from that firm's leadership, the chairman Knut Hammar skjöld (1922–) and Lena Wennberg (1938–), who became head of the concern in 1987.

In early 1989, the Bonnier owned *Dagens Nyheter* revealed these far-reaching plans for integration between Malmö and Gothenburg. The cat was out of the bag since the SDS concern was listed on the stock exchange and thus had a fiduciary duty to inform the public. The plans were confirmed and the discussions between Malmö and Gothenburg continued. Stampen bought some small blocks of SDS stock, and in 1990 Hammar skjöld joined the Gothenburg board and Hjärne that in Malmö.

In order to reduce costs, *GT*, which was owned by Stampen, and *Kvällsposten*, which was owned by Sydsvenska Dagbladet AB, were merged into a single paper with two editions starting at the beginning of 1990. It was also anticipated that the merger would strengthen the two regional evening tabloids, *GT* and *Kvällsposten*, who were having increasing difficulty handling the competition from the national evening tabloids, *Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*. The new merged paper was titled *iDAG* (Today). Its resemblance to *USA Today* went beyond the name.

The owners considered the merger to have been a good move despite the fact that the immediate result was a two-year circulation decline. Af-

ter some recovery, the decline then resumed. The staffs in Malmö and Gothenburg worked at cross purposes. The inability to choose between being a regional or a national tabloid resulted in it being neither.

The discussions between Stampen and the SDS-concern took time. Since he considered the profit potential to be substantial, Hjärne wanted to move forward quickly, but the principal owners of the SDS-concern, the Hammarskjöld and Wahlgren families, were more deliberate. At the same time, Bonniers bought an initial small block of shares and offered to sell the press they no longer needed to the SDS-concern at a favorable price. The temperature rose further when the weekly magazine concern Allers indicated their interest. The managing director of Swedish Allers, Evert Ståhl (1932–97), who was responsible for several structural transactions within the magazine press, was considerate enough to inform Lukas Bonnier of his interest. Bonniers quickly increased its share holdings to just over 40 percent, while Stampen increased its to a more modest 15 percent. Under these circumstances, Bonniers were entitled to two seats on the SDS-concern's board, just as Hjärne was leaving. In early 1994, Bonniers placed a bid for all the shares.

Thus Bonnier, and *Expressen*, became half owners of *iDAG*, which was harmful to the cooperation on which that paper was based. Five years later, *iDAG* split up into *GT* and *Kvällsposten*. In 1997, *GT* was sold to *Expressen*, and a restructuring of the evening tabloids began. The end result was that *Kvällsposten*, *GT* and *Expressen* became a single paper with three editions. The first, *GT/Expressen*, arrived in 1998, while the second, *Expressen/Kvällsposten* appeared a year later. The third was *Expressen* itself.

Bonnier's new media policy met no resistance. All the member of the Marieberg board, even including the editors-in-chief of the papers voted in favor of the acquisition. Within the SDS-concern it was welcomed. One headline writer at *Sydsvenskan* took it lightly: "*Sydsvenskan* changes families." The comments emanating from the Social-Democratic government indicated that it at least preferred a Swedish to a foreign owner.

The SDS-concern turned out in fact to have the profit potential that had been the basis for the discussions concerning cooperation between Gothenburg and Malmö. The Bonnier camp had every reason to be pleased with the transaction, but no one was left totally empty handed. Stampen received a good price for *GT* and Allers was allowed to take over the flagship *Året Runt* from Bonniers.

The Great A-Press Bankruptcy

The adventure with the new *Stockholms-Tidningen* resulted in a basic change in the A-press attitude towards its newspapers. The new principle was that financial goals should take precedence over politics. Newspaper publishing was to be planned several years into the future and, in the long-run, stop requiring financial contributions by the owners. It might have been possible for LO to cover losses one year at a time, but to see them grow skyward in a long-term plan was something else all together. In the late 1990s, the A-press was given just over 100 million kronor and four years to get its financial house in order.

The A-press concern chief, Bo Präntare (1928–), presented a rationalization plan which was rejected. He resigned his position in 1986, after only a year. The new managing director instead wanted to make the newspapers commercially viable by broadening the concern's activities. In the same spirit, the new board chairman wrote a memorandum in 1990 concerning "Listing the A-press on the stock exchange".

The economic boom of the 1980s apparently made it more difficult to sensibly evaluate the new publishing policy. The need for all the A-press newspapers in the election campaign of 1991 contributed to the owners not reigning in the plans.

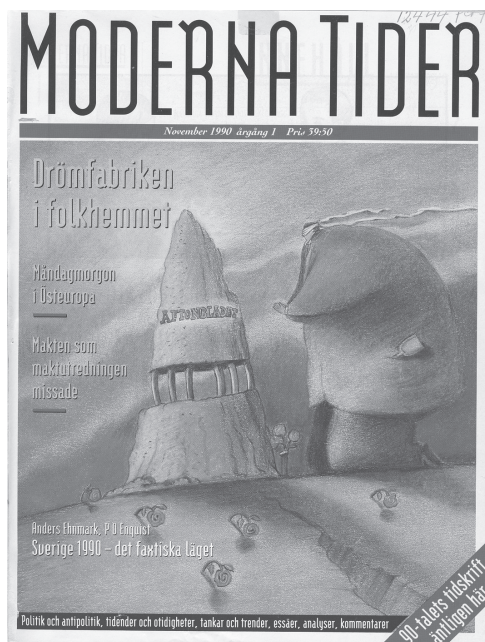
In order to raise capital, the A-press sold newspaper buildings and six newspapers to outsiders. On New Years Eve 1991, three months after the election, which the Social-Democrats lost, LO sold its shares in the A-press to the Social-Democratic Party for one krona. In February of 1992, the Social-Democratic Party put the A-press into bankruptcy. It was to be an important turning point in the history of the political party press in Sweden.

Local interests within the labor movement took over the papers. The A-press editorial service in Stockholm was bought jointly by eight of them. Centertidningar AB expressed an interest in buying four papers, but it was rebuffed.

A Modern Financier

Financiers have come and gone within the Swedish daily press. Paper's that could influence public opinion have tempted many large investors: A. O. Wallenberg, L. O. Smith, Ernest Thiel, Axel Wenner-Gren, Ivar and Torsten Kreuger among others. In the late 1980s, the financier Jan Stenbeck (1942–2002) entered the world of media. It was part of the forestry and steel company Kinnevik's search for new investment oppor-

The successful magazine *Moderna Tider* (*Modern Times*), with its many American precursors, was a fortunate combination of big-time capital and literary and artistic journalism.



tunities. The commitment eventually came to include telephony, television and radio, as well as newspaper, all with the intent of challenging the establishment in each area.

In the fall of 1987, the Kinnevik group's media firm Medvik, started the news and reportage magazine *Månadstidningen Z* (The Monthly Magazine Z). In charge of the project was Jörgen Widsell (1947–) who came from *Aftonbladet*. Journalists were recruited from the evening tabloids and the magazine *Vecko-Revyn*. Like Widsell, several of them had worked at the Maoist *Gnistan*. Among these were the reporter Peder Kadhammar (1956–) and the deputy editor-in-chief Robert Aschberg (1952–), who also was one of the paper's columnists. The contributors were supposed to “irritate and snoop, amuse and worry”.

Månadstidningen Z did not have long-term success, and Friedman suggested that it be abandoned. Stenbeck, however, wanted to push on. In a last attempt to save the magazine, it was converted into a “life style magazine for the modern information society”. After five issues, the magazine was closed. The trade mark Z lived on as a radio station and TV channel.

Stenbeck, who was disappointed in *Månadstidningen Z*, now wanted something entirely different. In 1990, therefore, *Moderna Tider* (Modern Times) was started. It was advertised as the magazine for the 90s, and for the founder and editor-in-chief, Göran Rosenberg (1948–), it certainly turned out that way. He left the magazine in 1999. *Moderna Tider* was intended to publish high quality text and to strike a blow for essays. The

name referred to Jean-Paul Sartre's magazine *Les Temps Modernes* and the Chaplin movie with the same name. The magazine was to deal with the road away from Socialism, and was viewed as a political project. The title conveyed the message that the times were modern, not post-modern. "Moderna Tider" later became the name of Kinnevik's media enterprise: Modern Times Group (MTG).

The designers of *Moderna Tider* were Helena Henschen (1940–) and Lennart Backlund (1960–). Among the most diligent contributors were Anders Isaksson (1943–2009) and Rosenberg's journalistic role models, Anders Ehnmark (1931–) and Lotte Möller (1938–), who among other topics wrote about the media.

The magazine was much written about, and other attempts at magazine renewal were overshadowed. Stenbeck had acceded to Rosenberg's desire to create a magazine in the spirit of those which inspired him during his time in the US as a correspondent for Swedish television. These were the weekly news magazine *The New Republic*, *The Atlantic Monthly* and the daily newspaper, *The Christian Science Monitor*. Stenbeck's only demand was that the magazine "be at odds with the establishment". Rosenberg's final judgment concerning Stenbeck was very positive. He described him as a philosopher, "a type of media owner with certain remaining publicist reflexes". In his last issue as editor-in-chief, Rosenberg let it be known that he had been allowed to create exactly the magazine he had dreamed of.

In 1994, Kinnevik bought an interest in, and four years later totally took over, *Finanstidningen*, which had encountered financial problems. An additional two years later, however, Kinnevik closed it down in reaction to negative comments it made about Stenbeck. This episode casts newspaper publisher Stenbeck in a considerable less favorable light. *Finanstidningen* had been started in 1989 as a narrower and more serious alternative to the very successful business paper *Dagens Industri*. Alluding to the color of the latter's papers, *Finanstidningen* sneeringly referred to it as the "rose press". *Finanstidningen* was intended to be a *Wall Street Journal* in tabloid form, printed on white paper (eventually, however, it also went over to rose colored paper). There were not sensational headlines on its pages, and personality journalism was forbidden. The paper searched, and found, a high quality niche. Its circulation reached a peak of 27,400 copies in the year 2000 which, however, was not enough. The paper received a press subsidy right from the start.

The Subway Paper *Metro*

Within the Kinnevik sphere, the possibility of starting a new daily paper in Stockholm or Gothenburg was investigated during the late 1980s. The first resulting proposal was for a mid-day paper in tabloid form, sold as single issues in Stockholm. The second was also for a paid-for paper, either in Stockholm or Gothenburg.

During the fall of 1994, news circulated that Kinnevik was going to start a free tabloid paper in Stockholm. The proposal, however, was being evaluated by a project group independent of Kinnevik. It was referred to as “Stockholmsnotisen”. In charge was Hans-Christer Ejemyr (1944–), who had been managing director of *Dagens Nyheter's* suburban supplements and, before that, that paper's marketing head.

“Stockholmsnotisen” was to be a free “down market-tabloid” with Stockholm content and directed at young people and immigrants. The opening in the market that it was intended to fill was the 40 percent of Stockholm's households that did not subscribe to any daily paper. It was to be produced by a small permanent editorial staff with the help of free lance journalists and text databases.

In return for a daily advertising page, Stockholm's Local Traffic Authority (SL) granted the project group the exclusive right to distribute its tabloid at special stands located at subway entrances. Kinnevik promised financing. On February 13, 1995, the five-day-per-week paper *Metro* was started with a printing of 211,000 copies. The contents were predominately from news bureaus. *Metro* did not have an editorial page, but did have a daily guest columnist who held forth on some current issue.

The launching of *Metro* in Stockholm was a great success. It truly filled a market vacuum. Other possible locations were considered, both inside outside Sweden. As a result, *Metro* was started in Gothenburg in February of 1998 and in Malmö in 1999. The Stockholm success, however, was not repeated.

An attempt to start a paid-for weekend paper, *Metro Weekend*, as a complement to the free paper, was a total failure. Liza Marklund (1962–), later a famous detective writer, was made editor-in-chief. The idea was that the paper would be sold in the greater Stockholm area and be distributed through the subscribing daily press' joint system. This turned out to be impossible, however, because the paper was considered part of a free paper and free papers were not, on principle, permitted to participate. *Metro Weekend* closed after three months and never reappeared.

Bonnier ventured into the free paper market in 2002 with *Stockholm City*, and four years later in 2006, with sister papers in Gothenburg and Malmö. The latter two were closed in 2007, and the publication rate of



Metro was launched in Stockholm in 1955 and became an immediate success. Stockholm has continued to be the best market for the free newspaper.

Stockholm City was successively reduced to two days per week in 2008. In 2006, the Schibsted owned *Aftonbladet* launched a free paper, *Punkt.se*, in half berlin format, in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, but the enterprise was abandoned in 2008. That same year, Schibsted bought 15 percent of the shares in Metro International.

The Left's Response to *Moderna Tider*

Rosenberg's *Moderna Tider*, challenged the left and its magazines. One of these which successfully accepted the challenge was the association Ordfront's membership publication *Gneten*, which the association had started in 1976. Among its sources of inspiration were the old *Folket i Bild's* publishers and their output of magazines and books. In 1988, the magazine had changed its name to *Ordfront Magasin*, *OM*. An editorial explained that the magazine required a new, more up to date, format but that it would maintain its connection to the ideas of 1968. The magazine was not intended as a provider of "planned careers".

The magazine publication was to be based on the voluntary efforts of contributors and members, but that proved insufficient. Thus, only a few months after the conversion, Ordfront Publishing Company entered bankruptcy. The ensuing reconstruction gave the Consumer cooperative

movement's book publishers, Rabén & Sjögren a 45 per cent ownership stake and a veto right over important decisions.

The publishing firm recovered and, thanks to its publication of Henning Mankell's detective novels, became very profitable. Mankell was associated with the firm during the years 1979–99. The profits were used to purchase the firm free of Rabén & Sjögren and to resume the struggle with *Moderna Tider*.

Prominent among the staff at *Ordfront Magasin* were Maria-Pia Boëthius (1947–), who had worked for *Expressen* during 1968–78, and the author Sven Lindqvist. The magazine was so successful that during 1997–2005 it followed its title with the immodest assertion “Sweden's largest magazine for public debate and arts and letters”.

New Features in the Press Structure

During the 1990s, the circulation of the daily and weekly presses shrank. That of the morning newspapers declined by about 15 percent while the evening tabloids and weekly magazines each lost about twice as much. Although all of the morning and evening papers lost circulation, there were roughly ten papers that could report a larger circulation at the end than at the beginning of the 1990s. Moreover, it was still possible to launch successful magazines. Finally, after many failed attempts over the years, Sweden was endowed with a news magazine, *Fokus*, in 2005. After four years, in 2009, its circulation exceeded 30,000 copies.

A magazine that in many regards, content, leanings and ownership, resembled *Moderna Tider* was *Axess Magasin*. It was started in 2002 with financial support from the family owned trading company Axel Johnsson AB. The magazine was owned by one of the Johnsson concern's subsidiaries, which also operated a TV station, *Axess TV*. A source of inspiration for the magazine was *The New York Review of Books*. Its first editor-in-chief (during 2002–06) was Kay Glans (1955–).

Most of the second place daily papers suffered significant circulation losses. *Arbetet* lost almost half of its volume and *Svenska Dagbladet* just over 20 percent. The evening tabloid press saw a new market leader, *Aftonbladet*, which made a second comeback. Among the weekly family magazines, *Hemmets Journal* retained its leadership until 2000, when *Allers* surpassed it by a few thousand copies. In 2009, the venerable pioneer *Allers* was still the largest in this category with close to 215,000 copies.

During the 1990s, the press structure was supplemented by innovations such as news oriented specialty papers and electronic newspapers.



Following about a dozen failures to start a news magazine in Sweden, Fokus was launched in 2005. It has become an ongoing success.

The shift to tabloid format accelerated, with even the largest papers being drawn along. Moreover, this change in format was often part and parcel of a larger transformation process. The number of employees decreased, the articles became shorter and the pictures greater in number and larger in size. The latter, however, probably was more a matter of the times than the format. Since the same consultants and pre-prepared pages were used, the similarities among the papers became striking. Approximately a century after the daily press moved advertisements off the front page, they returned in the form of a so-called banner advertisement at the bottom of the front page.

A trend towards structural transactions among the provincial papers that faced competition grew ever stronger after the turn of the century. The increase in cooperation became something of a revolution, now including papers of different political leanings. In fifteen of the Country's competitive newspaper publishing locales, the second place paper was taken over by the leader.

Weekly Magazines for All Ages

During the 1990s, the segmentation of the weekly magazine press continued. With age, supplemented by lifestyle, as the primary determinant, the magazine publishers tried to more fully exploit the market. The seg-

mentation began among the women's magazines. Those for men followed along, but they were not as successful.

In several foreign countries there already existed publications directed at the so-called "third age group". In Sweden, there were only the membership magazines *Pensionären* (The Pensioner) and *Veteranposten* (The Veteran Post) later shortened to *Veteranen*. These were published respectively by the Social-Democratic National Retirees Association (PRO) and the non-Socialist Retirees Association (SPF).

During the 1980s, in its homeland, the Finnish Sanoma concern took over the retiree's magazine *et-lehti* and modernized it. Its circulation tripled, reaching a quarter of a million copies during the 1990s. The magazine was launched in Sweden in 1994 with the title *Sköna Dagar* (Wonderful Days). It was not the same success as in Finland, however, and was closed in 2002. In 2010 *Veteranen* changed from tabloid to magazine format and layout.

Bonniers had plans to publish a monthly magazine for well-off retirees inspired by the American *New Choices*. The Bonnier version was called *Viva*, and it was launched in 1992. In this case as well, success was limited. Despite being converted into a life-style magazine, it was abandoned in 1996.

This age group thinking gave Amelia Adamo the idea of creating a Bonnier magazine for grown women who were not attracted by what she called "the crocheting and fortune telling model". Foreign models existed in the form of *Marie-Claire*, *Brigitte* and *Cosmopolitan*. The magazine was to combine German quality with English sassiness and humor. It was to appear every fortnight and cater to the age group 25-40, that is to say, those who had stopped reading *Vecko-Revy* but who were not ready for *Damernas Värld*. Originally the thought had been to appeal to a somewhat older group, but the potential advertisers were not interested.

The magazine was given the name *Amelia*. The quality of the paper was to be "up market", but the content "down market". The cover would be designed to attract single copy buyers. The magazine was launched in 1995, and after only two years its circulation had reached 115,000 copies. 80,000 of these were sold singly. The magazine's name was utilized for so-called "one shots": *amelia Bride and Groom*, *amelia Expectant Mother*, *amelia Christmas* and *amelia Body & Weight*. As further testimony to its success, *amelia* was soon facing several competitors. Eventually, even its precursor *Cosmopolitan* appeared in Swedish, that magazine's fortythird international edition.

In the fall of 2000, Bonniers started the monthly magazine *Tara* for active, working women over 40. It served as a type of older sister to *Amelia*. According to the publisher, magazines for 40 plus women represented an

international trend. The final step was taken in 2006, with the launching of *M-magasin* for 50 plus women. Sweden had now caught up with international developments, at least with regard to women's magazines. *Tara* and *M-magasin* had circulations around 90,000 copies in 2009. Adding over 100,000 copies for *amelia* and the picture is one of total success. Adamo said the sources of her success was never working for publications that were intellectualized, always understanding the interests of her intended audience and never trying to lecture the readers.

An alternative for working women was *Kvinna nu* (Woman Now), which had been established by Christina Stendahl (1943–). Her models were American, including *Ms*. Stendahl wanted to produce a tasteful magazine that took women seriously, not a ladies' magazine that wrote about women's role in the home and leisure nor one that concerned the feminist woman. Well paid, middle aged, women were the principal target audience.

The first issue of *Kvinna nu* appeared in connection with the premier Women Can convention in Gothenburg in 1994. With a few exceptions, the cover pictured women. Both the contributors and the interview victims were well-known personalities. Critics thought that the magazine contained much too many stories concerning captivating and successful women ("super kvinna nu"). After five years, the circulation was 40,000 copies. Nonetheless, the magazine closed a further five years down the road. Stendahl did not wish to continue or turn over her successful firm. Among those who expressed interest early on were Bonniers and Jan Stenbeck.

Modern Feminism

As part of a feminist renewal, the magazine *bang* was started 1991 by a working group of women students at the University of Stockholm, where they studied the history of women. The group saw itself as an academic branch of the women's movement. The name *bang* was adopted by the group to indicate that they reached back in time past the 1968 movement and Grupp 8, and that they had Barbro Alving as one of their models. *bang* positioned itself between the academic journal *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* and the more practical *Kvinnobulletinen*. Between 1993-98, the magazine was called *Forum Bang* and thereafter *bang – feministisk kulturskrift*.

The fact that the magazine had been started by a collective became a problem when some of the members, especially the editor-in-chief Kristina Hultman (1964–), were tempted by television debate programs and

offers to write for other publications and began to appear as individuals. Arts and letters editors and radio producers were not willing to deal with a different person on each occasion. Hultman was in such great demand that she finally decided that she could no longer belong to the group. Consequently, she left *bang* to become the editor of the debate magazine *Arena*, which had been started in 1993 by a number of Social-Democratic organizations.

In 1996, *Kvinnobulletinen* ceased publication. The magazine's editor, Inga-Lisa Sangregorio (1936–) concluded that time had passed it by. A continually declining number of subscribers made continued publication impossible since she absolutely would not adapt the magazine to the new situation. A few years later, *Hertha* ceased printing but remained an internet publication.

Expressen in Decline

Everything was coming up roses for *Expressen* in the late 1980s, and the leadership was preparing to definitively knock out *Aftonbladet*. During the 1980s, *Expressen's* circulation had increased by six percent while that of *Aftonbladet* had declined by more than four.

Just when the decisive blow was about to be delivered against *Aftonbladet*, however, things turned sour. *Expressen* published provocative series of articles alleging sports scandals and dealing with immigrants and refugees. The paper lost the confidence of its readers and the circulation sank like a stone. During the 1980s, *Expressen* eliminated its nation wide editorial offices and the business plan calling for a national paper had been weakened. The paper's change of editor-in-chief in 1991 had been a misstep: the influential publicist Bo Strömstedt (1929–), who had held the post for 15 years after having served as arts and letters editor, was replaced by a light weight. In addition, *Expressen's* chief ownership supporter, Albert Bonnier Jr., had died in 1989.

Aftonbladet saw *Expressen* pass by once again, but this time on the way down. After 44 years as the second place evening tabloid, *Aftonbladet* recaptured first place with a margin of 7,000 copies. By the turn of the century in 2000, the gap to the new second place paper, *Expressen*, had grown to just over 100,000 copies. *Aftonbladet* became the market leader at about the same time that the Norwegian Schibstedt firm became a part owner together with LO. Considering the general weakening of the evening tabloid press, *Aftonbladet's* success during the 1990s seems to have been utterly unique. When a newspaper market with two competitors declines, it is not usually the second place paper that makes gains.

The start of the process that resulted in *Aftonbladet* once again becoming largest can be dated to the late 1970s. Following internal power struggles, the ship was righted thanks to a number of decisive actions: large scale personnel reductions undertaken in 1981 to improve the financial situation were followed in 1983 by an editorial program that proclaimed that *Aftonbladet* was to be a provider of news. The program was the work of the editors-in-chief Gary Engman (1938–2000), Yrsa Stenius (1945–) and the managing editor Thorbjörn Larsson (1945–). Contributing to the success was the appointment of the news chief Lena Mellin (1954–) as head of the domestic editorial staff and the news chief Håkan Jaensson (1947–) as head of arts and letters.

A successful commitment by *Aftonbladet* was its utilization of supplements, especially since *Expressen's* response lagged. In 1983, *Aftonbladet* reworked its television supplement into "TV-bladet". "Söndagsbladet", with Amelia Adamo in charge, was started in January of 1984. Not until the fall of 1985 did *Expressen* react by reworking its Sunday supplement. These new supplements lifted the Sunday editions to new heights, in the case of *Expressen* to a record circulation level of almost 700,000 copies. *Aftonbladet* took the lead, but *Expressen* was still capable of making successful counter strokes.

In 1993, *Aftonbladet* took a further step by launching its Sunday magazine in photogravure printing and weekly magazine format. At the same time, the price of the Sunday paper was raised to ten kronor. *Expressen* once again took a wait and see attitude. The following year, *Aftonbladet's* television supplement, "TV-bladet", appeared in weekly magazine format, printed in photogravure. The paper's most successful supplement, "Sportbladet", was launched in 2000, printed on rose colored paper.

Starting in the late 1980's, *Aftonbladet* benefited from having the same energetic leadership team for almost ten years. During that same period *Expressen* suffered from a succession problems and a vague editorial profile.

In 1987, *Aftonbladet* appointed its managing editor, Thorbjörn Larsson, editor-in-chief. His managing editor, Anders Gerdin (1944–), who had been employed at the paper since 1970, in turn, smoothly succeeded Larsson. In 2008, Gerdin was replaced by Jan Helin (1967–), whose previous positions at the paper included that of managing editor.

The decline in *Expressen's* circulation was not halted for ten years and an equal number of editors-in-chief, several of whom were not really interested in editing an evening tabloid. Their preference would have been for a "decent newspaper" or an "upper class or clean" tabloid, a qualoid. Finally the paper's circulation had been cut by more than half, sinking from 550,000 copies in 1992 to 220,000 in 2002. During that same pe-

riod, the circulation of *Aftonbladet* had increased by 16 percent. In 2007, *Expressen's* circulation fell below 200,000. For many years, the decline was viewed at *Expressen* as temporary and it failed to adjust its organization to the new circumstances.

Aftonbladet advocated cooperation and helped out a hard pressed *Expressen* by raising the single copy price by one krona two years in a row, in 2006 and 2007. The circulation shrank as a result, but in the short term it improved the finances. In 2009, their circulations were respectively about 350,000 and 195,000 copies (275,000 if *Expressen's* editions *GT* and *Kvällsposten* are included).

The newspapers continued to diligently make use of supplements and special offers. Thus *Expressen* launched such efforts, apparently not without success. During the summer of 2006, the buyers of the paper had been made a test offer of low-price DVDs, and the following summer a complete series of 20 James Bond films, although for a much higher price per DVD. In the fall of 2007, this was followed up with an offer series of 30 volumes chosen from the world's great literature. *Aftonbladet* followed suit with regard to the DVDs and in 2009 issued a series of 30 travel guides. The special offers have become a profitable side business.

The Business World Bids Farewell

At the onset of 1989, the trading company Svenska Dagbladet & Co was renewed for the sixth and final time. The newspaper took on two new editors-in-chief, Bertil Torekull and Mats Svegfors, and in 1990 a new printing facility jointly owned with *Aftonbladet* was put into operation.

Torekull had big plans. *Svenska Dagbladet* would beat out *Dagens Nyheter* with better reporting and challenge *Dagens Industry* by making its business reporting the best in the country. In addition, the paper was to serve as a complement to the provincial press. The business section, that for a while was printed on rose-colored paper, would in time be spun off as a Swedish *Financial Times*. Following a year of rising costs and large losses, Torekull was forced to resign. During the 1990s, efficiency experts and savings programs alternated. At the end of 1993, the trading company agreement from 1973 expired, and in 1994 SAF cancelled its loss underwriting. Wallenberg remained as majority owner and had to supply capital to make a reduction of the personnel possible. As a final solution to the newspaper's financial problems, Svegfors argued that the paper should be taken over by Bonniers. There already existed such a plan in the summer of 1998, when Schibstedt became the principal part owner of Svenska Dagbladet Holding A.B. The Svenska Dagbladet Foundation

remained as a minority owner with the right to appoint the chief political editor. Schibsted explained its surprising purchase by describing it as a transaction more of the heart than of the head.

During the fall of 1989, *Svenska Dagbladet* stepwise began to shift to a tabloid format. Once again, the paper did not wish to choose and instead tried to be everything to everyone. *Dagens Nyheter*, *Dagens Industri* and *Metro* were the perceived competitors. In addition, the paper was to constitute a complement to the papers outside Stockholm. During 2008, Schibsted's two Swedish dailies, *Aftonbladet* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, were combined into an integrated company, much like *Aftonbladet* and *Stockholms-Tidningen* once had been joined together by Torsten Kreuger.

LO Has Had Enough

When the business cycle turned down in the early 1990s and LO declined to provide more funds, *Arbetet* in Malmö faced acute problems. Moreover, the cooperation with *Skånska Dagbladet* concerning the Sunday editions and the sale of national advertisements had ended in 1990. *Skånska Dagbladet*'s new partner instead became the arch-rival *Sydsvenskan*, thus dealing *Arbetet* a double blow.

Repeated attempts were made to save *Arbetet*. In 1992, the paper was dragged into the bankruptcy of the A-press. It was then reorganized and a plan to publish an edition in Stockholm was presented. The intent was to generate a larger press subsidy.

This plan was never implemented, but a new proposal for a five-day-per week paper in Stockholm was assembled together. This paper was to be published in tabloid format, sold in single copies and financed by the press subsidy. It was to be available at between 150 and 200 locations in proximity of subway entrances and commuter rail stops. The goal was to launch it during the second half of 1994. This version too failed to become reality, despite the fact it was very similar to *Metro*, which was started a few months later. There was something in the air.

Thereafter, the newspaper concentrated on its Malmö-Lund heartland. But it experimented so much with its title and format that the crisis of 1992 was followed by a new crisis in 1996 and yet another in 1999. The newspaper builder Mats Ekdahl was burdened with the onerous task of relaunching the paper in tabloid format and under its old name of *Arbetet* in a last ditch effort to save it. It was like rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. Half the readers had already abandoned ship. Now even the owners and the nearest and dearest followed suit. The paper once again went bankrupt in 2000.

New Trends Among Specialty Magazines

A ploy used during the 1990s by both old and new specialty magazines to signal their modernized, newspaper-like, appearance was to use the prefix “Today’s” in their title, as well usually adopting a tabloid format. In 1993, the tabloid magazine *Dagens Medicin* (Today’s Medicine) as an independent source of news challenged both the official publication *Lands­tingsvärlden* (founded 1914) and the Medical Association’s *Läkartidning­en* (founded 1904), both of them printed in A4 format. The sponsors of the new magazine were the Ekonomi+Teknik publishing firm, together with Bonniers. *Dagens Medicin* caused an increase in the advertising market in the field. The magazine was especially successful with regard to employment advertising. Its circulation increased to almost 20,000 copies. Bonniers took the initiative to start a Danish version in 1997. Thereafter followed a Norwegian version together with Schibsted, a Finnish one together with the business paper publishers Talentum and a Dutch one together with Wolters Kluwer. The latter firm had already become the owner of the Swedish book and teaching supplies firm Liber.

The E+T publishing firm reinforced the new specialty news magazine trend in 1966 by publishing *Dagens IT* (Today’s Information Technology). In 1997, the monthly magazine *Dagens Arbete* (Today’s Work) was formed through the merger of three union papers. *Dagens Media* (Today’s Media) was established in 1998 and *Dagens Forskning* (Today’s Research) in 2002. When the left-wing magazine *Arena* launched an internet based editorial page, it was called *Dagens Arena*. One of its editorial writers became Björn Elmbrant (1942–), long-time political commentator and news chief for Swedish Radio.

Dagens Medicin can be said to have served as the gateway for the Finnish publishing house Talentum into the Swedish market. Talentum is traded on the Finnish stock exchange and owns 30 percent of *Kauppalehti*, the largest Nordic business newspaper. In October in 2005, Talentum publishers bought Ekonomi+Teknik, which was owned by a venture capital firm and the Civil Engineer Association. These publishers had similar structures with specialty magazines in law, technology, economics and informational technology. In 2007, Talentum Sweden launched the free publication *Dagens Teknik* for distribution in “technically intensive locales”. It was a response to *Metro*’s startup of *Metro Teknik*. That same year, Talentum purchased the media magazine *Dagens Media*.

Digital Newspapers Bit by Bit

In the mid-1990s, the long anticipated electronic newspaper made its debut in Sweden. In 1993, a hundred years after its founding, the culture magazine *Ord och Bild*, which had a reputation for being interested in technology, became the first magazine to provide a web page. Starting in 1996, the entire magazine was made available on the internet.

The first daily paper on the net was *Aftonbladet*. In the fall of 1994, in cooperation with the Graduate School of Journalism in Stockholm it published cultural material – *Aftonbladet/Kultur* – on the internet. Half a year later, daily news was added. *Göteborgs-Posten* started experimental publication on the internet in connection with the World Championships in Track and Field held in Gothenburg during the summer of 1995. The Gothenburger in the embezzlement displayed the greatest interest. The breakthrough for the activity occurred during the winter of that same year when Western Sweden was paralyzed by a snow storm. In the summer of 1995, *Aftonbladet* established a searchable text archive. It developed into the service “The Media Archives”, which was joined by several other newspapers, among them *Göteborgs Posten*. By 1966, approximately 60 percent of all high-periodicity newspapers were established on the net. Since then, their presence has grown to 85 percent (2006). Newspaper reading is reported to be the second most common internet activity (behind only bank transactions), especially in the age group 30-44 (69%), with a somewhat lower frequency in the older and younger groups.

Aftonbladet's internet newspaper was organized in the fall of 1999 as an independent firm with approximately 50 employees. It was called *Aftonbladet Nya Medier*. In 2009, the paper was able to record approximately 1.6 million visitors on weekdays. The same year the newspaper and the net version were placed under a common leadership, the editor-in-chief, Jan Helin.

Regional Cooperation

During 1996, the cooperation in the newspaper plant in Skara ceased when the printing of Herenco's four papers in Västergötland for economic reasons were moved to Jönköping. Printing there required an earlier deadline. The editorial cooperation was expanded and for a time even included family news, probably the most local of all news. The immediate effect of the rearrangement was a major drop in circulation which it took several years to halt. The joint circulation loss mounted to 41% before the old papers with a single exception were resurrected in 2008.

In order to guarantee its survival in an area with declining population and increased competition from other media, in 1992 *Ljusdals-Posten* took an initial step by increasing its publication from four to five days per week. This was followed by an invitation to extensive cooperation among the four paper in the Province of Hälsingland. Initially, no one was enthusiastic. The discussions resulted in *Ljusdals-Posten* buying one of the neighboring papers, *Hälsinge-Kuriren*, thus putting it in a stronger position in inviting the remaining two to cooperate. One of them took the bait, *Hudviksvalls Tidning*, which was owned by Centertidningar AB. A joint corporation was formed in 1999, *Hälsinglands Tidningar*. Thus, two very profitable papers merged. Additional cost savings of approximately 15% further strengthened the papers financially. Finally the fourth paper in the Province, *Ljusnan*, joined the group.

At about the same time, and with the same motive, *Helsingborgs Dagblad* and *Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar* initiated discussions concerning cooperation. They felt increasingly pressured by Bonniers' continued purchases of papers in Scania. The decisive step was Bonnier's purchase of *Kristianstadsbladet*. The cooperation began with advertising and evolved into a merger in 2001. The result was a single paper, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, with three editions.

Competition While Cooperating

In 1964, Armas Morby, the owner of two of five dailies in the county of Södermanland, in order to strengthen his competitive position wanted to buy the Social-Democratic number two daily *Folket* in order to strengthen his position. His overtures, however, were rejected. *Folket* had other and bolder but imprudent plans. It wanted to expand into an adjacent county by a merger with the Social-Democratic daily issued there.

Four years later, the managing director and part-owner of *Jönköpings-Posten*, C-O Hamrin, for the same reason gave the same proposal to the Social-Democratic number two daily *Smålands Folkblad* at the same place of issue as his paper. At *Smålands Folkblad* they were very interested but in the end C-O Hamrin did not manage to convince his fellow-owners and the board of directors.

In 1971 the state subsidy program for number two newspapers was introduced and talks of cooperation became almost improper. Arms-length relations between the papers in the same locale became the principal rule. About two decades later, however, the road to cooperation was suddenly opened by a surprising move.

At the turn of the century, the Conservative Party's Publication Foun-

dation sold two of its three remaining papers. First to go was *Gotlands Allehanda* which was bought by the Conservative *Norrköpings Tidningar*. As a result, the two papers in Visby merged into a single company. The second sale involved *Västernorrlands Allehanda* in Härnösand, which was bought by the Liberal *Gefle Dagblad*. The newspaper in Härnösand merged with its neighboring paper, the Social-Democratic *Nya Norrland* and formed *Tidningen Ångermanland*, named for the province. Later, the third newspaper in the province, *Örnsköldsviks Allehanda*, was incorporated into the effort.

Norrköpings Tidningar, however, persisted. Its local competitor, the Social Democratic *Folkbladet* in Norrköping was taken over in 2000 and became a subsidiary and in 2000 *Norrköpings Tidningar* bought the Conservative Party's Publication Foundation's third paper, *Norrbottens-Kuriren* in Luleå.

The process accelerated. In 2002, the Social-Democratic *Örebro Kuriren* (together with *Karlskoga-Kuriren*) became a subsidiary of the Liberal *Nerikes Allehanda* in Örebro. Two years later, the Social-Democratic *Västerbottens Folkblad* was taken over by the Liberal *Västerbottens-Kuriren*. That same day, the Social-Democratic *Folket* was transferred to Liberal *Eskilstuna-Kuriren*'s ownership. The Social-Democratic *Arbetarbladet* and the Liberal *Gefle Dagblad* initiated extensive cooperation in 2003. In all these cases, the purchasing newspapers retained their names and special characteristics with only a single exception. In Gävle, *Arbetarbladet* lost a competitive advantage when its sports division was merged with that of *Gefle Dagblad*.

The Conservative *Barometern* (with Social-Democratic *Östra Småland* as its competitor), the Liberal *Blekinge Läns Tidning* in Karlskrona (with the Social-Democratic *Sydöstran* as its competitor) and *Smålandsposten* merged into a single company with the Conservative *Borås Tidning* in 2003. The local competitors were not affected, but the new group, Gota Media, started negotiations with specialty magazine publisher Albinsson & Sjöberg in Karlskrona in 2003 concerning a joint purchase of the Social Democratic *Sydöstran*. The transaction was completed in 2004. In 2009 Gota Media bought the shares of Albinsson & Sjöberg in *Sydöstran*.

Nerikes Allehanda transferred the two second place papers, *Karlskoga-Kuriren* and *Örebro Kuriren* to its subsidiary paper, *Bergslagsposten*. During 2006 it became an edition of *Nerikes Allehanda* for northern Örebro County and in 2007 the papers merged. In 2004, the Liberal *Sundsvalls Tidning* acquired the Social-Democratic *Dagbladet Nya Samhället* in Sundsvall. In 2006, the Social-Democratic *Länstidningen* in Östersund

became a subsidiary of its non-socialist rival *Östersunds-Posten*. *Gefle Dagblad* (MittMedia Company) purchased in 2008 *Dalarnas Tidningar* in Falun.

Gradually *Norrköpings Tidningar* took one of the leading roles in the restructuring of the provincial press. In 2007 it expanded in Luleå by acquiring controlling interests in the Social-Democratic *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* (34,000 copies in 2009). In 2009 it bought first the Liberal *Östgöta Correspondenten* (55,000 copies) in Linköping, the adjacent city to its own home town Norrköping and then controlling interests in the Liberal *Upsala Nya Tidning* (52,000 copies), in the old university town Uppsala north of Stockholm.

A few competitive publishing sites remain in 2010, for the time being it should perhaps be added. Competitive centers of the old type exist in Malmö and Stockholm with two non-socialist morning dailies and in Kalmar, Karlstad, and Falun with one daily from each political block.

The many cooperation arrangements became a protecting net during the economic turndown in 2008-2009, particularly for the number two papers. The adjustments to the consequences of the financial crisis was also made easier by early warnings of decreasing employment advertising. The financial crisis created the biggest problems for the two Bonnier metropolitan dailies *Dagens Nyheter* and *Sydsvenskan*. At the former, the leadership was changed. In 2009, Gunilla Herlitz (1960–) became the publisher of the paper, and replaced both the editor-in-chef and the managing director. She came from the Bonnier business daily *Dagens Industri* where she was its publisher.

Freedom of the Press

The history of the press is full of valuable lessons. The most important of these is that freedom of the press can never be taken for granted, but must continuously be defended. That is even a modern lesson. The government limitations during World War II required an even stronger protection of freedom of the press. It was improved in 1949 through new legislation that has been repeatedly defended.

In the mid-1970s, a national government study of mass media concentration was appointed in connection with Bonniers's purchase of Svensk Filmindustri, thereby establishing themselves in yet another medium. Somewhat later, Bonniers started the business paper *Dagens Industri*, which raised the boiling point further. The study committee presented a proposal countering mass media concentration. Three editors-in-chief were members of the committee. One voted for and two against. The

later based their position on the freedom of the press ordinance and their belief that enactment of the proposal would reduce the freedom of the press into an illusion. The spirit of the times of the late 1970s favored the opponents and the proposal was tabled.

During the early 1980s, the anti-competitive legislation was supplemented by rules concerning corporate purchases and mergers with harmful effects. Within the press, it was concluded that the takeover rules were overridden by the freedom of the press statute. Bonniers was not satisfied by this outcome but instead, like major players usually do, pursued its own agenda. The legal question was tested in a relaxed manner when the anti-trust authority, at Bonniers' request, evaluated Marieberg's purchase of *Sydsvenska Dagbladet AB*. The authority concluded that the purchase did not violate the anti-trust legislation. The competition in the area between *Sydsvenskan* on the one hand and *Arbetet* and *Skånska Dagbladet* on the other hand, was found to not affect the take over. This would prove to be an erroneous conclusion.

In the mid 1990s, the government investigative work concerning media concentration that had been interrupted during the early 1980s was resumed. The work was done in two stages. First, a committee, the Board for Diversity in the Mass Media, was assigned the task of proposing measures to increase diversity and competition among the mass media. Then a second committee was instructed to present legislation against harmful power concentration, which it also did.

The committee concluded that constitutional changes were required to enact media concentration legislation. With a degree of resignation, the members concluded that the Swedish freedom of the press legislation gave the daily press a stronger position than in any other country.

According to the committee, the most likely outcome would be that such legislation would be meaningless. One could hardly come closer to capitulation. Negotiations among the parties indicated that it would be impossible to assemble a majority for a law against media concentration.

In November of 2001, the Social-Democratic Government which had pushed the question, also gave up. The new century began with a victory for the freedom of the press legislation and the press as the third estate.

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