## A lesser known Norwegian state ensign

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## Abstract

A standard overview of the flags of Norway, historical or contemporary, would usually tell the difference between the rectangular national flag and civil ensign on the one hand and the flag with the tail and tongue, the state flag and ensign and the war ensign on the other. Further, such presentations would often add two state ensigns marked by special emblems for the postal and customs services. Apart from this, histories of the flag of Norway usually concentrate on the variations in flags and ensigns created as a result of the union between Norway and Sweden (1814-1908) and the disputes over the inclusion or exclusion of the union badge in Norwegian flags and ensigns. Few are aware that several other marked flags and ensigns than the state, naval, post and customs flags and ensigns existed in the latter half of the 19th century. This presentation details one of these, the flag for the lighthouse service, the Directorate of Lights. The service may have flown a flag and ensign of three different designs, only the third and last one well documented. While described in words in a limited number of Norwegian sources, illustrations of this flag are only found in a couple of foreign flag books. This forgotten flag of the Norwegian Directorate of Lights is unusual in that it deviates from the pattern of the ensigns of the postal and customs services.

### Norwegian flags and ensigns

The history of the flags of Norway is closely linked to the history of national emancipation, taking place in two stages: The parting of Denmark and Norway in 1814 on the basis of a Norwegian liberal constitution in 1814, the second oldest constitution still in force, as Norwegians will proudly tell you, forming stage one. With stage two the personal union between Norway and Sweden entered in 1814 came to an end with Norwegian independence in 1905. This political history is reflected in a series of merchant flags, national flags and naval ensigns that form the staple of any narrative on the history of the flags of Norway. Particular attention is usually paid to the latter part of the union period, from the late 1870's onwards, with the political struggle to remove the union mark from Norwegian flags.

Norwegian flag history of the 1800's is almost entirely dominated by the series of flag disputes that arose from the union with Sweden in 1814. Initially, there was a great deal of confusion over the flag question. Until a separate Norwegian flag and civil ensign was adopted in 1821, Norwegian shipping had three flags to choose from. Political developments soon led to variations in this flag too, first with the introduction of the union badge in 1844,

then with its disappearance in 1899. Into this situation, we have to introduce the different appearance between the civil ensign and the naval ensign, the former being rectangular, the latter having a split and tongue. The flag with split and tongue also functioned as the flag for non-military parts of the government.

When the story of the flag of Norway is presented, it is sometimes also noted that a couple of state ensigns exist: The postal ensign and the customs ensign (Fig. 1). As early as 1815 a state ensign was introduced for the customs service, based on the first union ensign; the postal service followed suit in 1842 when both the customs and postal ensigns were based on the Norwegian flag of 1821. Since then, Norwegian state flags and ensigns have been based on the Norwegian flag with swallow-tail and tongue and carry a special emblem on a white field set over the intersection of the arms of the cross. This is the standard model Norwegian state ensign for government services that do not fly the ordinary, undefaced ensign.

The customs and postal ensigns have survived to this day as the two state ensigns usually presented as part of Norwegian flag history. However, obscured by this standard narrative is the fact that several more flags and ensigns existed. The story of the other, lesser known state ensigns, some already mentioned, are generally told neither in words nor in illustrations. This paper briefly mentions three of these, flags that still need more research before their story can be told, and details a fourth state flag and ensign, that of the Directorate of Lights. The ensign of the lighthouse service is known from a small number of printed sources, but an illustration is nowhere to be found – in any Norwegian source, that is.

## Lesser known Norwegian flags

In 1888 Carl Johan Anker published a small booklet entitled *Tegninger af Norges flag i dets forskjellige skikkelser gjennem tiden*. The work is accompanied by a large fold-out plate with a colourful display of Norwegian flag history (Fig. 2). The plate contains little of surprise, but the text reveals more details that are usually remembered today.

In his treatment of the ensign, Anker writes that this flag is used by the army and navy, but also by the royal house, parliament, the ministries, the customs and postal services, the pilot service, the telegraph service, the geographical survey, as well as by the state harbour service, Christiania harbour board, the lighthouse service and the Norwegian Society for Leisure Sailing (later to become the Royal Norwegian Yacht Club). Whereas most of the institutions mentioned used the plain state ensign, the last four, along with the royal family, the postal and customs services, were specially marked ensigns. And whereas the royal, postal, customs and yacht flags are fairly well known, virtually nothing has been written about the flags of the two harbour services and the flag of the lighthouse service. All flags are described in further detail, though the brevity of Anker's publication leaves much about them in the dark and he supplies illustrations of none of them.

The flag of the state harbour service is described by Anker as having a badge consisting of a crowned anchor along with the letters "S.H.V.". Further we are told the badge is placed on a white square over the centre of the cross, and also that the flag has been in used since 1863. The flag of the state harbour service may have been inspired by the flag of the Christiania harbour board, running the harbour in Norway's capital, because Anker writes this was introduced a few years earlier, in 1859. The Christiania harbour board flag is described as having a badge, again placed on a white field over the intersection of the arms of the cross, consisting of the letters "C.H." in blue. Apart from the colouring of the letters, this flag follows the standard pattern of Norwegian state ensigns, as we know it from the postal and customs ensigns. Anker does not supply any information as to the legal basis for either flag, though we may assume that they were still in use when his booklet went to the printers.

The two flags of the state and city harbour services (Fig. 3) are not known from any other source and have, so far, proved impossible to trace in legal documents. With the third special ensign mentioned by Anker, that of the lighthouse service, we are in more luck. It is with this flag the present lecture will proceed to detail, though, as we shall learn, we are able to better document its demise than its origins.

## The lighthouse service

Though the first beacon in Norway was erected in 1656, it was not until two hundred years later that a state service devoted to the construction of lighthouses along the long coast of Norway was established. In 1841 a separate Directorate of Lights was established. Headed by a Director of Lights the directorate was responsible for the activities that since 1821 had been organized under an Inspector of canals, harbours and lights. The Directorate of Lights led to the construction of lighthouses and sea marks in order to increase safety at sea, first in the

south of Norway, later also in the north. In the fifty years following the establishment of the Directorate of Lights over 100 larger lighthouses were constructed, a major accomplishment reflecting that the lighthouse service was an important government service in the 1800's. Though the administration was located in Oslo, the Directorate of Lights had a presence around the coast and must have been a well known public service. It should not come as a surprise that such a service flew its own flag in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. More surprising though, is the fact that it flew a flag with a deviating design compared to the better known postal and customs flags, two other prominent state services.

In a book about the Norwegian lights service by Carl Fridthjof Rode, published in 1941 to commemorate the centennial of the Directorate of Lights, there is a short chapter devoted to the flag of this service. According to Rode the flag was introduced in 1842. The description of the flag and its origins is tied to the flag of the customs service, introduced the same year. But whereas the customs service flag is described as containing a mid cross panel with the word "Toll" ("customs") topped by a crown, Rode says the lights service got approval for a flag with the word "Fyr" ("lights") in the panel. No mention is made of a crown, though as long as the lights flag was an equivalent of the customs flag, we should assume the lights flag also had a one. Rode does not mention in what form the lights flag was approved other than that the approval came as the result of an application by the Director of Lights. This person, Oluf Arntzen, had been appointed in 1841 and was an ambitious man always working to further the interests of the lights service. In the application for a separate flag for the lights service we may see an attempt to raise the standing of the service, making it equivalent to the customs service, with the separate flag as a visual symbol of the national importance of its work.

Rode also tells us the flag of the lights service was changed in 1844 as a result of the union mark being introduced unto Norwegian (and Swedish) flags that year. According to Rode on 28 September 1844 it was decided that for the future the Directorate of Lights should use the flag with swallowtails and tongue and with a white panel containing a yellow F. This time we are informed of the date of the decision, though we are not told in what form the decision was passed, and whether it was in the form of a Royal Resolution or some other form.

In 1876 the colour of the letter changed to black. According to Rode this was based in a Royal Resolution, though he does not mention the date. We also learn that the flag of the

Directorate of Lights came to an end as a result of the Norwegian flag act adopted in 1898. This was the legislation that introduced the "pure" Norwegian merchant ensign and also "pure" state ensigns, that is Norwegian flags cleansed of the hated union mark. As a result, when the flag act went into force in mid December 1899, the customs and postal ensigns also changed by having the union marks removed. Based on Rode's writings then, we may assume the use of the lights flag extended to December 1899.

Unfortunately, Rode does not give any sources for his information and there is little more illustration material to go by than an undated photo of Skråven old lighthouse in Lofoten, with a flag is hoisted and where you can, with a little good will at least, discern an F in the centre of the cross (Fig. 5).

Based on Rode's information it seems the Norwegian lights service flew three flags. The first was a "pure" Norwegian state ensign with the word "Fyr" under a crown, flown for two years from 1842 to 1844. The second one was a union marked ensign with a yellow letter "F", flown from 1844 until 1876 (Fig. 4). And the third, flown from 1876 to the end of 1899, was a union ensign with a black "F".

From the booklet published by Anker in 1888, that is, at a time when the lights flag was actually in use we are told more about two details. First, Anker helps us with a date, writing that the flag of the Directorate of Lights was adopted by Royal Resolution dated 25 February 1876. Anker also adds a very interesting description of the lights flag stating that the panel in the cross is not like that in other state ensigns, but rather that the square is "skewed" and placed so that it does not enter into the four panels of the flag. In this skewed panel, we are told by Anker, a gold "F" with no crown was placed. Based on this description we know that the lights flag was not of the same format as the well known postal or customs ensigns. Rather, the lights service flew a flag with a diamond shaped panel in the cross, making it unique among Norwegian state ensigns.

This time, we are lucky to find the official decision on the flag. The Royal Resolution of 25 February 1876 is printed in the compendium of legislation published in 1877: *Love, Anordninger, Kundgjørelser, aabne Breve, Resolutioner m.M., der vedkomme Kongeriget Norges Lovgivning og Offentlige Bestyrelse for Aaret 1876*, published by Otto Mejlænder in Christiania in 1877. The entire text of the resolution is reproduced, though that does not

amount to much as the text is very brief. It is interesting to note that the Royal Resolution does not mention shape of the panel containing the letter; neither does it say anything about its colour, and the resolution is not accompanied by any illustration of the flag. We are told though, that the resolution authorized the flag for use on land and sea.

It has not been possible, so far at least, to confirm Rode's information on the origins of the two earliest variations of the lights flag as no Royal Resolution or other official decision has come to light. Rode says that an application for a flag was approved in 1842, but no Royal Resolution, the usual way of adopting a flag or ensign in Norway, is to be found, and no official announcement either, which is strange because resolutions, decisions and announcements were routinely printed and published. Also the decision of 28 September 1844 remains a mystery, with no officially published paper trail there either. It may be added that the 1842 and 1844 decisions concerning the lights flag are not to be found in Atle Grahl-Madsens comprehensive compendium of Norwegian flag legislation either. Apart from the mention in the little book by Anker in 1888 and in Rode's book of 1841, the flags of the lights service are not mentioned in any article or book dealing with Norwegian flags. An illustration of the flag with its deviant appearance is nowhere to be found in any Norwegian source.

We have to look to foreign sources to finally find a drawing of the Norwegian lights flag. In the 1800's the major sea powers published albums of flags used at sea. France was leading the way, with the famous *Album des pavillons, guidons et flammes de toutes les puissances maritimes*, published by Captain M. A. Le Gras in 1858 with the support of the Department of the Navy. Unlike many earlier works on flags, the book by Le Gras was more reliable when it came to the information and flags published, though not in every aspect perfect.

Unlike so many other books, that by Le Gras appears to have been made on the basis of investigation of what flags were actually in use. Norway is an example, as the 1858 edition of *Album* is well informed about the flags of this country, though unfortunately for us we find no illustration of any lights flag. In the 1889 edition of the French navy flag book, however, luck is with us. In the *Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives des marines de guerre et de commerce* two and a half plates are devoted to Norway. In addition to the Royal flag, naval ensign, jack and other flags for use in the navy, a series of other flags used at sea are also illustrated. Here we find drawings of pilot and quarantine flags. In this context,

however, we note with interest the postal flag (No. 17), the customs flag (No. 18), the fisheries inspection flag (No. 19), which incidentally is not mentioned in Anker's work adding a fourth enigmatic Norwegian state ensign (Fig. 6), and, most importantly, the lights flag (No. 21). Finally, a drawing comes to light. We note the diamond shape of the panel in the cross and the black colour of the letter "F" (Fig. 7).

The flag of the lights service is not to be found in the British or US flag books of the time. On the other hand, it is found in the Russian compendium *Album Standartov, Flagov i Vympelov* published in 1898 (Fig. 8). Four plates are devoted to Norway in this work, the range of flags being largely similar to that in the French work published ten years earlier. It is possible the Russian work relied on the French *Album* as a source. Also in the Russian book, the panel has a diamond shape and is contained within the blue cross. Again the letter "F" is in black. The copy of the Russian *Album* we have had access to shows that Russian authorities were well acquainted with flag developments in Norway. The plate has been updated with the "pure" Norwegian civil ensign, introduced by the flag act of 10 December 1898, though it misses the fact that this legislation also introduced a pure state ensign, including flags and ensigns for the postal and customs services.

Considering the sources available on the lights flag, we are faced with a situation in which we only find three written sources on the Norwegian lights flag, with its depiction known from two foreign sources. These two drawings confirm that the flag of the Directorate of Lights was unusual in shape in the Norwegian context, agreeing on this point with the contemporary written Norwegian source, Anker. Neither the legal description nor the 1941 book has anything to say on the shape of the panel. The French and Russian albums agree on the colouring of the letter "F" as black, whereas the Norwegian legal sources says nothing about the colour, and the two other sources disagree, with the contemporary source from 1888, Anker, stating it was "gold", and the one from 1941, more than forty years after the flag went out of use, stating the letter was black. Taken together, and in lieu of any actual surviving flags, it seems reasonable to assume both the diamond shape and the black colour for the capital letter "F" in the flag and ensign of the Directorate of Lights (Fig. 9).

#### **Sweden and Denmark**

Specially marked flags and ensigns did have their equivalents abroad. In the 1800's and early 1900's special ensigns became popular in both Sweden and Denmark. Several state services there had their own defaced ensigns, based on the national flag in state ensign form.

Denmark probably took this way of making special ensigns – public as well as private – to the fullest, with several specially marked flags surviving to this day. The proliferation seems to have been more modest in Norway where the multiplication of ensigns seems to have stopped as a result of the introduction of the pure state ensign, legislated in 1898 as part of the Norwegian opposition to the union with Sweden. Not too many competitors were tolerated, it seems, as might have drawn the attention from the pure and undefaced state ensign.

In the union partner Sweden there was a flag for the customs service based on a single letter "T" (for "Tull", "customs") along with a royal crown, introduced in 1844. In Sweden the lights service was a part of the pilot service. On 12 January 1874 a flag was approved for the Swedish pilot service. This consisted of the Swedish union ensign with the crowned letter "L" placed directly in the middle of the cross. Though the panel is missing, this is a parallel to the Norwegian lights flag, introduced a couple of years before the third version of the Norwegian lights flag. Whether the Norwegian lights flag inspired the Swedish pilot service flag or the other way around is impossible to say, especially in light of the information that a single letter flag had been introduced for the Norwegian lights service as early as 1844, the same year the single letter Swedish ensign was introduced.

## The end of the lights service flag

The flag of the Norwegian directorate of Lights is a flag whose demise is better documented than its origins. The 1898 flag act signalled the end of the flag of the Directorate of Lights. This piece of legislation was the centre of political controversy in the 1890's as an instrument for the promotion of Norwegian nationalism in relation to the union partner Sweden and also as power struggle between the democratically elected parliament and the union king. A proposal to remove the symbol of the union from the Norwegian flag was first introduced in parliament in 1879. In 1893 the flag act was adopted, but the union king, Oscar II, refused to sanction it. In 1896 it was adopted again, the king refusing sanction for a second time. The parliament adopted the same bill for a third time, forcing the king to publish the law without

sanction because according to the constitution, the king could only refuse sanction three times. If an identical bill is adopted by parliament three times, it becomes law without the king's sanction. This has happened only once in Norwegian history, with the flag act.

When the flag act had been adopted in 1898 and was about to become implemented on 15 December 1898, the Director of Lights reacted. The Director of Lights did not give up the flag without a fight. The Director must have reacted to the fact that the legislation mentioned only the postal and customs ensigns. Apparently the Director wrote to the relevant ministry to save the flag of the lights service appealing for the continued right to fly a defaced state ensign. The response was negative. In a reply from the maritime department of the Ministry of Defence, dated 16 September 1899, the Director was ordered to end the use of the specially marked flag and start using the undefaced state flag and ensign (Fig. 10). This means that the director of lights was far too late in reacting. Parliament needed to pass the flag act in identical wording three times. The window of opportunity for saving the flag of the lights service was in 1893, when the flag bill was written. When it was adopted for the third time in 1898, it was too late to react. Thus, by the end of 1899 the flag and ensign of the Directorate of Lights, with its unusual shape, was history.

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### About the author

Dr. Jan Oskar Engene (born 1966) is a member of the board of the Nordic Flag Society and editor of its periodical *Nordisk Flaggkontakt*. An author of dozens of articles on flags of Norway, Scandinavia and the world, he is particlularly interested in flags as material for political conflicts and as instruments of national identity. His writings on flags have appeared in Norwegian, Dutch, German and English.

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## Captions

Fig. 1. Plate of Norwegian flags from *International Signalbog*, Christiania, 1886. The top row shows the naval ensign to the left and the civil ensign to the right, the second row the customs ensign and the postal ensign. In the bottom row the pilot jack and the pilot flag are shown.

Fig. 2. Overview of Norwegian flags from Carl Johan Anker: *Tegninger af Norges flag i dets forskjellige skikkelser gjennem tiden*, 1888.

Fig. 3. Reconstructions of the flags of the state harbour service (left) and Christiania harbour board (right) based on the description in Anker's booklet.

Fig. 4. Reconstructions of the flags of Directorate of Lights, to the left in the version of 1842 to 1844, to the right in the design used from 1844 to 1876 according to some sources. Both designs are uncertain.

Fig. 5. Skråven old lighthouse in Lofoten, photo from the book by Rode, published in 1941.

Fig. 6. Fisheries inspection flag from *Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives des marines de guerre et de commerce*, 1889.

Fig. 7. Two fisheries inspection pennants, the flag of the lights service, and two quarantine flags. *Album des pavillons nationaux et des marques distinctives des marines de guerre et de commerce*, 1889.

Fig. 8. Norwegian flags including the flag of the Directorate of Lights in the Russian book *Album Standartov, Flagov i Vympelov* published in 1899.

Fig. 9. Flag of the Directorate of Lights, 1876-1899.

Fig. 10. The Norwegian flag system 1899-1905: Naval ensign with union mark on top, "pure" state flag/ensign and civil ensign in second row, with custom and postal ensigns in the third row. The bottom flag is a pilot flag. From *International Signalbog*, 1901.

# Lesser known Norwegian state ensigns of the 19th Century

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23 International Congress of Vexillology Yokohama 2009





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International Signalbog, Christiania, 1886



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# **ROYAL NORWEGIAN YACHT CLUB**



ROYAL CYPHER IN NAVAL ENSIGN





## STATE HARBOUR SERVICE, 1863-?



# UNCERTAIN RECONSTRUCTIONS



## CHRISTIANIA HARBOUR BOARD, 1859-?





# DIRECTORATE OF LIGHTS



1842-1844

1844-1876

UNCERTAIN RECONSTRUCTIONS





# SKRÅVEN OLD LIGHTHOUSE, LOFOTEN





17



# ALBUM DES PAVILLONS NATIONAUX ET DES MARQUES DISTINCTIVES DES MARINES DE GUERRE ET DE COMMERCE, PARIS, 1889















## FISHERIES INSPECTION





## ALBUM DES PAVILLONS ..., PARIS, 1889





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ALBUM STANDARTOV, FLAGOV I VYMPELOV, ST. PETERSBURG, 1898





# DIRECTORATE OF LIGHTS 1876-1899





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Internationalla Signalboken, 1886



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International Signalbog, Kristiania, 1901





# 16 SEPTEMBER 1899 ORDER TO END USE OF LIGHTS FLAG START USING THE PLAIN STATE FLAG AND ENSIGN

Strivelje fra Forsvarsdepartementet, Marineafdelingen, til 16 Septbr. Fyrdirektøren, der havde henstillet til Departementet at afaive Bestemmelje om, hvorledes der efter Flaglovens Strafttræ= den stal forholdes med Hensyn til det Flag, der benyt= tes paa Fyrvæsenets Fartøier og Bygninger, for hvilke der nu ved Kal. Resolution af 25de Februar 1876 er bestemt et Flag med Split og Tunge ligt det norste Orlogsflag, men med en hvid Firkant i Flaggets Midte, hvori er anbragt Bogstavet F. Depar= tementet meddeler, at da det i den under 10de December 1898 kundgjorte Lov om Norges Flag dens § 2, 2det Passus er bestemt, at det i Lovens § 1 fastfatte Flag men med Split og Tunge stal benyttes paa Statens offentlige Bygninger, uden at der i den nævnte Paragraf er afgivet nogen Særbestemmelse for Fyrvæsenet i Lighed med, hvad der er bestemt for Post= og Toldvæsenet, antages der at maatte forholdes i Henhold hertil for Fyrvæsenets Bygninger og Fartøier, hvilke saaledes stal benytte det norste Koffardiflag med Split og Tunge og uden noget færstilt Mærte. Departementet bemyndiger Fyrdirektøren til at forholde i Overensstemmelse hermed.





Thanks to Dr. Marcus Schmöger, Munich, for making available electronic copies of the French and Russian *albums*, made from originals held in the library of the Bremen maritime museum.