

MEDIATING EVERYDAY LIFE IN SVALBARD: HERTA GRØNDAL'S PHOTOGRAPHS, 1950S–70S

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A woman in a spotted dress sits in a living room equipped with modern furniture, carpets and cushions, a houseplant on a woven tablecloth, pictures and lamps on the walls, and in the corner a radio cabinet and a rocking horse for the children (Figure 1). She seems confident and relaxed, dressed up and ready to make her home a showcase for the photographer. As this woman is portrayed with two small children in other photographs, we assume that she is a mother, and that this picture shows her family home.¹ The motif is arranged and hence constructed, but nevertheless a witness to time and place.

The picture was probably shot in Longyearbyen, the largest Norwegian settlement in Svalbard, in the mid-1950s or early 1960s. The photographer is the Austrian Herta Grøndal (b. 1930). During half a century of extensive documentation of daily life in Svalbard, she took thousands of pictures of women, children and men at work, engaging in leisure-time activities or in their homes.

As a starting point for this chapter, I have chosen one of the most ordinary pictures from this photographer's archive, a picture that could have been taken almost anywhere in the western world during the middle of the twentieth century. Other photographs from Grøndal's archive, such as the pictures taken at a dramatic crevasse on Kings Bay Glacier, represent time, place and women in more exceptional and spectacular ways.² However, Herta Grøndal's photographic motifs seem to alternate between the ordinary and the exceptional, thus mediating the duality of everyday life in the northernmost settlement in the world. Her pictures show an Arctic town at the dawn of its emergence as a modern family society, with an increasing presence of women and children. She depicts women and men in traditional gender roles, but her pictures also transform these roles, portraying harsh miners with intimacy, and solitary women at crevasses or on mountain tops.



Fig 1: A home in one of the Norwegian settlements on Svalbard in the mid-1950s or early 1960s. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf57615

Herta Grøndal worked as a photographer in Svalbard during the period from 1952 to 1974, and continued to visit the archipelago regularly until 2008. Her maiden name was Niedermayer and she changed her name to Grøndal after her marriage in Svalbard in the 1950s. During the 1970s, she moved back to Vienna, remarried there and took her second husband's last name, Lampert. A large collection of her photographs, recently donated to Tromsø University Museum, is labelled "Herta Lampert", on her instructions, but in Svalbard and as a photographer she is most commonly known as Herta Grøndal. Her pictures have been documented neither in detail nor at length, except for a few interviews and feature articles in Norwegian newspapers and magazines.³ My perspective on her

is through a gendered lens, as a photographer who was also a woman with a strong agency within Svalbard society, and my main focus is on her pictures of everyday life. I will explore how these pictures mediate, and also construct, the new identity of Svalbard as a place appropriate even for women and their children, thus challenging common ideas of the Arctic as male, heroic, uninhabited and inhospitable.

The connection between everyday life, modernity and gender has been discussed by a number of scholars from different disciplines, and with different perspectives. In this context, I find Rita Felski's article "The Invention of Everyday Life" (1999/2000) particularly useful, because of both her critical summary and her feminist position. Felski posits *time*, *space* and *modality* as the three constitutive categories of the everyday, and invites her readers to explore these categories phenomenologically, as they appear as *repetition*, *home* and *habit*. The term "everyday life" does not only describe the lives of ordinary people, of course, since "every life contains an element of the ordinary" (Felski 1999/2000, 16), but Felski recognizes that some groups and classes, such as women and workers, are considered more closely tied to daily life than others. This may also be true of Svalbard, even though, despite strong class divisions, the population to a large extent shares the same everyday conditions, the same reality.

The interest in everyday life and the significance attributed to it is a modern phenomenon, which emerged during the last part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. During this period, everyday life became visible in literature and art, as Felski points out, and she wonders about the reason for this "new visibility" (Felski 1999/2000, 16). I argue that the answer, at least when we look at the twentieth century, has to include the growth of photographic culture, the increased number of photographic cameras, the reproduction and dissemination of pictures, and the "photographic eye" of modern culture (Mayer 1946). Photography and photographs are entangled with the everyday life of modernity as a way of seeing, and thus thinking. Photographs affect the construction of self and others and have a strong impact on collective identity. Photographs are printed, put in family albums or hung on walls, they are sent as postcards, exchanged as gifts or sold to magazines, and in different ways disseminated and circulated throughout contemporary society. According to the photo theoretician Elizabeth Edwards, this important aspect of the photograph's social function or performativity relies on its materiality and relationality (Edwards 2004, 16; Edwards and Hart 2004, 3–4). The social functions of digitized images are of no lesser importance. Photographs

have a strong retrospective function as “memory machines”, boosted by photo-sharing on social media.

The prevalence of photographic devices during the mid-twentieth century coincided with social changes and modernization in Svalbard. Herta Grøndal's photographs, taken during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, represent these changes, primarily taking the ordinary lives of women and workers as motifs, and I will explore how these photographs mediate repetition, home and habit in Longyearbyen.⁴ However, Felski reminds us that the study of the everyday “beckons to us with the beguiling allure of the ‘really real’” (2002, 607). Likewise, the study of photographic *representations* of the everyday is no less tantalizing, and therefore the pictures need to be constantly disputed as witnesses of truth and reality.

Herta Grøndal – photographer

More than once, Herta Grøndal climbed the steep mountainside nearby with heavy equipment, a tripod and large-format camera to take a panorama of Longyearbyen. In one of her most iconic images, she made the area known as Sverdrupbyen the main subject (Figure 2).⁵ In Longyearbyen, which at the time was a strongly class-divided coal-mining company town, this framing is of the greatest significance. Former inhabitants refer to the existence of “two peoples”, those who worked in the offices, and those who worked in the mine (Østlund 2016, 19). Sverdrupbyen and Nybyen contained the homes of the workers, while the higher and lower officials had their residences at Haugen and Skjæringa – positioned as peripheral in this picture.

A common meeting place, Huset (“The House”), was purposely erected in 1951 between the workers' housing area and the officials' homes. The town looks peaceful in Herta Grøndal's moonlight. Actually, most of her motifs are tranquil like this, whether she depicts landscapes or people. Hence, her photographs proclaim that the Arctic is a harmonious and good place in which to live, although the available written and spoken narratives about life and work in Svalbard tell us this was not always the case.

It was Herta Grøndal's adventures in the north of Norway that led the then 22-year-old woman to Svalbard and the mining town of Ny-Ålesund (Kings Bay) for the first time in August 1952 (Svarstad 2006). Equipped with curiosity and a simple Kodak camera, she only stayed for a short time. Back home in Vienna, she took courses in photography, then returned the following summer with a new and better camera to spend her first winter in Svalbard, in the other Norwegian mining town, Longyearbyen. She afterwards settled there, together with her husband, the



Fig 2: Herta Grøndal's iconic panorama of Longyearbyen from the late 1950s or, most probably, the first half of the 1960s. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41023

miner Leif Archie Grøndal (1914–1991). Leif Grøndal was given assignments as a photographer – shooting for the mining company, Store Norske Spitsbergen Kulkompani (SNSK), documenting official events in Svalbard. He also had close ties with the Governor of Svalbard, Håkon Balstad, his family and network in both Longyearbyen and the Russian settlements. The more than 5000 photographs he left behind testify that he too had an eye for everyday life in the Arctic, not least for the lives of children.⁶ Early in the 1950s, Herta Grøndal became his assistant, doing darkroom work. After the birth of their first daughter in 1954, she moved to the mainland and lived in Drammen, her husband's hometown, where

she worked part time in a photographic laboratory while commuting regularly to Vienna. It must have been a stormy decade, with three daughters born in 1954, 1956 and 1959, a lot of travelling, and a broken marriage at the end. During the early 1960s, she stayed in Svalbard for short periods, and by the mid-1960s she had again settled in Longyearbyen, without her children. She lived there for nine years.

Even though Herta Grøndal was not trained as a photographer, but as a musician, she worked, was treated and behaved like a professional photographer.⁷ Signs of professionalism included her top-notch technical equipment,⁸ her use of a 6 x 6 medium format, and parallel shooting in black-and-white and colour even as early as the 1950s.⁹ She continued taking black-and-white pictures even after colour film became cheaper – in part probably for aesthetic reasons, but also because she could develop the pictures herself rather than having to send them away. Even the fact that she put a stamp on the back of her prints, “Copyright Herta Grøndal Spitsbergen”, shows her confidence as a photographer. During the period 1965 to 1974, when she was settled in Svalbard, Herta Grøndal was the local contact for the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK). She worked both as a film photographer and as a reporter, and produced 16 mm films for television. She was hired by SNSK as well as by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry as a photographer and film maker (*Hagevik* 1992), and regularly delivered photographs to the mainland newspaper *Nordlys* as well as to the local paper, *Svalbardposten*. Moreover, she had many private commissions as a portrait photographer. During the period 1974 to 1985, she did not visit Svalbard at all,¹⁰ but over the following years she visited regularly until 2008, normally for a month in the summertime and some weeks in the winter. While there, she was always taking pictures.

Although it is difficult to provide an overview of Herta Grøndal's photographic production in Svalbard, it may be categorized into three topics: nature (landscapes, wildlife and plants), cultural artefacts (houses, huts, industrial constructions and ruins) and people (work and leisure, and portraits). It is obvious that the latter category was more important during the first few decades, when she was more settled and integrated into Svalbard society, than in later years.

Herta Grøndal's photographic archive is split into two, the previously mentioned Herta Lampert collection at Tromsø University Museum (TMU), and a rather large collection managed by two of her daughters in Longyearbyen, Grøndal Photo, which also includes Leif Grøndal's photographs. Herta Grøndal also sold a larger amount of photocopies to

SNSK. Both the Grøndal pictures and SNSK's collection are deposited at Svalbard Museum.¹¹

The collection at TMU, which is the primary source for this article, contains more than 12 000 diapositives and negatives in different formats. This large number of pictures was given to TMU in the autumn of 2014 and is now part of their digital photo collection. Several of Herta Grøndal's images are familiar to those connected with or interested in Svalbard; they have been used in magazines, news reports and books, they are reproduced on postcards and posters, and one of her famous polar-bear pictures is even used as a motif for hand-knotted rugs, the making of which was a popular hobby among Svalbard's inhabitants, men as well as women.¹² However, most of the pictures now being digitized and published in the Unimus system¹³ have not been previously available. These digitized images still lack all kinds of metadata, and Herta Grøndal's envelopes and boxes only provide a very limited amount of information on time, places and persons.

At the present stage, this lack of information gives us an opportunity to look at the pictures themselves, exploring pictorial qualities such as composition, light, close up, perspective, the choice of motifs and the depicted people's gestures, gaze and relations – in an attempt to delay the search for the identification of historical persons, places and events. The images used in this article were chosen primarily because of their visual potential, as well as their capacity to provoke discussions about everyday life in the Arctic during the mid-twentieth century. Thus, it is not my intention to represent the full scope of the Herta Lampert collection.

Constructed rituals

A picture taken at Skjæringa, just below the governor's estate, shows a spatial structure of elements characteristic of Longyearbyen in the post-war period: the bell tower, the flagpole, the war memorial and not least the cableway trestles. These are all solid, human installations, framed by the unending landscape of barren tundra and mountains (Figure 3). The dynamic and temporal elements of this structure – the colourful Norwegian flag, the hanging polar bear skin, the shadow of the fence, the moving coal wagon, a child running and two women carrying a tub presumably full of laundry – are recorded by the photographic eye. It is springtime in the 1950s or early 1960s. The picture raises questions about the relation between this permanent spatial landscape and the different people who at various times have inhabited, used and exploited it.



Fig 3: This photo from Skjæringa includes the main motif groups of Herta Grøndal's photographic production: landscapes and animal life, constructions and artefacts, and people at work and leisure. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41903

The Arctic society that Herta experienced for the first time in 1952 was quite different from the one she visited in 2008, the date stamped on her last photographs. In the early 1950s, the Norwegian settlements were expanding. The oldest mining town, Longyearbyen, was under reconstruction after the devastation inflicted during the Second World War, a development led by SNKS. In Ny-Ålesund as well, mining operations resumed after the war, directed by another company, the Kings Bay Coal Company. This company and the small community suffered great losses due to several major mining accidents in 1948, 1952 and 1953, in which a total of 43 people lost their lives, and more was to come. In Ny-Ålesund, mining

operations ceased in 1962, after the deaths of 21 miners in a final accident, and only a small number of residents remained. In Longyearbyen, the mining industry survived the 1950s, and both the industry and the population were still increasing. It stabilized at around 1000 in the 1960s. By comparison, there were a total of 2000 inhabitants in the Russian settlements of Grumant, Barentsburg and Pyramiden.¹⁴

In this context, the most important change during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s was the increasing number of families living in Longyearbyen (Evjen 2006, 64). Only the engineers and officials working for SNSK were allowed to bring their spouses, more for the purposes of recruitment than with the establishment of a family community in mind (Evjen 1995, 74; Arlov and Holm 2001, 33). Longyearbyen was a company town from 1916, when SNSK was founded, until 1989. This means that SNSK operated schools, hospitals and telephone installations, built roads and airfields, and decided everything, from working conditions to the curtains in the barracks and the price of beer (Arlov and Holm 2001). During the 1970s, there was a shift from company town into a government corporation, and the beginnings of a developing infrastructure and services that were more welcoming to families (St.meld. no. 9 1999–2000, 3.5). But the transformation of this small town from an all-male society to a family community was not completed until the 1980s.¹⁵ Herta Grøndal's photographs are of course historical sources that illuminate the beginning of this social change, mediating new aspects of people's everyday lives during the post-war years – for women and children as well as for the men.

Her pictures of children from this period take an insider's perspective. One of the photographs in her archive, probably from the mid-1950s, depicts a score of children sitting on a pile of parcels (Figure 4). The narrative is quite simple. A ship is in town and the mail has been delivered – a big event for this small settlement, and the children have got a ride with the wagon on which the parcels are being transported from the harbour. The children sit waiting, forming a triangular composition that points above the railings and on to the picture's dynamic moment, where two men are unloading mail bags to the person on the quay. The children have turned their backs on this activity, and the photographer has chosen the children's viewpoint, their rituals, their patience and excitement, which is underscored by the photographic angle and focal range.

Although it is a tight group, the children's pale faces profiled against the black shipboard, with their gazes in different directions, show individuality.¹⁶ One girl is looking straight into the lens, thus fixing the very centre of the picture and confirming an awareness of the photographer, who is viewing her at her own eye-level. It is probable that this photograph

was shot by Leif Grøndal, or his brother Harald, and Herta Grøndal may have developed it in the darkroom.¹⁷ In any case, the Grøndal photographers' motifs and perspectives reveal a set of seemingly insignificant, yet important, rituals constituting everyday life at 78 degrees north.



Fig 4: A Grøndal photo from the mid-1950s showing children of Longyearbyen taking part in the mail arrival event. This ship is most probably “Ingerfire” on one of her first trips in May 1954. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf56170

Mail delivery was an important event. During the winter, after the return of the sun, mail was carried to Longyearbyen by aeroplane.¹⁸ “Soon the mail plane came to be the slender thread that connected us with the outside world through the long winter months,” Liv Balstad, the governor’s wife, writes in her book *North of the Desolate Sea* (1955). “It was the mail plane we waited for. It became a sort of measure of time” (Balstad 1958, 187).¹⁹ The large number of pictures of these aeroplanes delivering mail, taken by

the inhabitants of Longyearbyen during the 1950s and 1960s, indicates the importance of this event.

Mail is not the focus of a photograph shot by Herta Grøndal a decade later (even though we can spot a parcel on the ground under the fuselage), but the picture represents the tenuous connection with the world outside the Arctic (Figure 5). The photographer's position is now more that of an observer than an insider, positioned at a significant distance from the scene and the motif. At the very centre of the picture, in the intersection of perspective lines, is another photographer, a man with a camera. It is hard to tell if he is an inhabitant or a visitor, but his function in this photograph is clearly to reflect the photographer's own activity, or this Arctic destination as a photographic motif as such.



Fig 5: The airstrip in the Advent Valley, which was in use during the war and between 1959 and 1974 Herta must have shot this picture in the spring (March – May). Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41008

However, what really attracts attention in this picture is the colour stain: a child dressed in turquoise faux fur and red trousers, sitting on a sledge pulled by shaggy dogs. Together with two other children wearing fur hats, the little group forms a contrast to the lightly dressed flight crew. Entering from the bottom left corner, traditionally a significant placement of figures in western pictorial culture, this group of children and dogs is established as the real representatives of the residents of Longyearbyen.

The arrivals and departures of ships and planes – bringing mail, goods and people – embody time in Longyearbyen. Not following exact dates, but depending on weather conditions, and announced over national radio, these events represent longing, expectations and feelings, while structuring time and thought. When they occurred, these events triggered certain behaviours in the inhabitants, and seem to have served like rituals for both adults and children, as a lot of the Grøndal pictures illustrate. Expectations, feelings and actions obviously changed between the 1950s and the 1970s, but the ritual patterns connected to these arrivals and departures were nonetheless maintained.

Some of these habits or rituals were determined by external conditions, like the seasons, with periods of total darkness alternating with midnight sun, with ice on the fjords or melting ground in the summertime. Other repetitive patterns and rituals were regulated by the mining industry and work shifts, which were mainly controlled by the clock. Such culturally constructed rituals seem to be of immense importance in Arctic settlements. Traditions brought from the Norwegian mainland are maintained, representing “a little piece of Norway” (*Dagen* 1989), such as the National Day on 17 May with a children's parade, the midsummer celebration with bonfires, the “Christmas tree” party, or children's skiing races. Other cultural rituals have emerged specifically within the Svalbard social setting, such as the cultural and sporting exchanges with the Russians, and the sun party to celebrate the first rays in March after three months of darkness, or parties just for pleasure, like the so-called Shang-Po-Lar festive evenings in Sverdrupbyen, featuring music and dance. Herta Grøndal's archive is a valuable source of information about these different kinds of traditions and cultural rituals which defined the year's cycle for the inhabitants of Longyearbyen.

According to Felski, “repetition, understood as ritual, provides a connection to ancestry and tradition; it situates the individual in an imagined community that spans historical time” (Felski 1999/2000, 20). Because Svalbard has no permanent population, ancestry is hardly a relevant category there, and this makes the significance of an imagined community even greater. The rituals are constructed to “survive”, to quote

Felski, who sees “the pragmatic need for repetition, familiarity and taken-for-grantedness in everyday life, as a necessary precondition for human survival” (Felski 1999/2000, 31). Repetition throughout the year seems to be of immense importance as a way of establishing Longyearbyen as a thriving, sustainable and normal society, with its own traditions and history. Some annual rituals contribute to the naturalization of this community as Norwegian, other routines and temporal repetitions are signs of modern civilization.

On the one hand, annual events and regular festivities may not fit the concept of the everyday. On the other hand, neither postal deliveries nor even shopping were everyday events in Svalbard. Furthermore, the photographs shot on anniversaries reveal the ordinariness of the life of the people. Herta Grøndal’s photographs of common celebrations like the National Day offer some good examples. Shot outside Stormessa in the workers’ housing area in Nybyen, at the monument outside “the House”, or at the governor’s estate at Skjæringa, Herta Grøndal’s pictures display how the inhabitants took part in these annual rituals at the socially differentiated places in this Arctic town.

Even though she acted as a professional, Herta Grøndal’s photographic practice has much in common with the amateur photographer’s, which may be considered a *ritual* practice. The amateur photographer uses her camera in private or socio-cultural contexts that she expects to be memorable, thus confirming and reinforcing the meaning of those rituals (Bourdieu [1965] 1990, 31). The quotidian in such pictures is revealed in details, gestures, interactions between people, as it appears in singular motifs, or in the picture’s background. However, Herta Grøndal also studied everyday life in the settlements of Svalbard in a more systematic and documentary way, as can be seen in her photographic series of the major workplaces, of the school, the regular leisure activities, and from everyday life in the Russian settlements.

Gendered places

Herta Grøndal’s pictures of miners, smiling at the photographer despite their hard and dirty work digging deep into the mountains, have become iconic of Svalbard in modern times.²⁰ One of these pictures shows six men on the slope-train heading for a shift in the mine named 2b (Figure 6). Our gaze is drawn from their smiles to the mouth of the mine high up on the steep mountainside. They are rough workers equipped with headlamps and coffee in bottles for a shift in the dark mine.²¹



Fig 6: Women's work at Stormessa in Nybyen, probably late in the 1960s. Herta Grøndal's photographic series from Stormessa as a working place also shows men at the kitchen preparing the meals. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41455

During the whole of the twentieth century, the major workplace in Svalbard was the mine. It was a highly gendered space that women were usually not allowed to enter. Yet Herta Grøndal obtained access on a commission from SNSK to document life and work in the mines, and she produced a large number of pictures of technical installations, of the miners' working processes and also many portraits of coal-black miners in straight photography style. Grøndal seems to be both open and objective in her photographic practice, recording rather than judging, but she is also affected by a gendered view. An example is her colour photograph of the lunch room in Mine 6, taken during the early 1970s. It may be accused of

being a stereotypical example of gendered space, but it nevertheless show how the miners made their “home” inside the mountain and decorated the bare, steel-panelled walls with posters of half-naked female bodies (Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd42119).

Not until the 1980s did women work “underground”, most of them employed to clean and keep in order lunch rooms like this and other enclosures in the mine (Evjen 2006, 99–100). The majority of women were employed as cooks, servers and cleaners in the mess barracks, at least until the 1960s.²² Herta Grøndal’s photographs from the women’s workplace are less spectacular and exotic than those of coal-black miners in narrow mine shafts, but even if the motifs seem at first sight to be of minor interest, they reveal details of everyday life that we might hardly notice.

One instance is a picture of women doing the dishes after a meal in Stormessa, the major mess hall for workers in Nybyen (Figure 7). In this well-lit room with white wall panels, there are three women and the hand of a fourth coming in with stacks of dirty plates. One woman is depicted from behind in full figure, wearing a blue work dress and black rubbers. She is mirrored in the frontally posed woman behind the rack, while the third is stretching over the conveyor belt.

The central element is the dishwasher, apparently a new device in this kitchen, compared to the rickety trolleys and chipped red-painted concrete floor.²³ The shiny dishwasher is indeed a sign of modern times, of work efficiency, routine, a new standard of hygiene – and also a sign of the upgrading of women’s work in an Arctic context.

Photographs like this snapshot from the kitchen in Stormessa give the impression of being authentic glimpses into everyday realities. Close up, cropped and candid, the photograph conveys a snapshot aesthetic in which we can hardly insist on either the photographer’s intentionality or the picture’s sign quality. We read the picture as a glimpse, ignoring the study of details; for instance, how well the three women have done their hair, or the small pieces of jewellery they are wearing. However, the hand with ring finger and bracelet in the blurred lower right corner, pushing the trolley with dirty plates, is more than just a pictorial phenomenon which “happened” to be snapped. Seen through the lenses of everyday life and gender these details may be read as signs of femininity and of women’s multiple roles in Svalbard society.



Fig 7: Porcelain painting in the Svalbard church around 1970. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41555

Women are depicted in a variety of spatial contexts in Herta Grøndal's photographs during the period 1950–70, thus showing how everyday life involves spaces for different functions related to work, family, eating and resting, to recreation and socialization. In Longyearbyen, space is differentiated and restricted socially by gender as well as by class. Some social spaces are obviously privileged for men, others for women. Porcelain painting, for instance, comes across as a women's leisure activity (Figure 8). Other sources tell us that these painting courses were organized in Svalbard's church.²⁴ The church was a multifunctional place that was as important as a social meeting place as a

religious house, and it has been described as a common home to the inhabitants of Longyearbyen over several decades.



Fig 8: Porcelain painting in Svalbard church in the years around 1970. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41555

On this occasion, Herta Grøndal's picture shows women relaxing, as though they were at home. They are totally concentrated on the painting of plates and cups, forgetting themselves and their surroundings, not even distracted by the photographer's presence. The hard flash lights up space far beyond the women's attention, such as their legs underneath the table, thus betraying intriguing details of their absorption, like the slipped-off shoe.

The women in Herta Grøndal's motifs are not only seen indoors; her photographs depict women's outdoor life as well, either together with children or simply alone in nature. Some of her pictures taken outside the settlements were shot from sites that are not easily accessible, like glaciers and mountain peaks. They depict moments of female solitude in a magnificent landscape. Herta Grøndal often used wide-angle lenses to exaggerate depth, or placed a person in the foreground overlooking great Svalbard panoramas. Even without people, her panoramas bear witness to her own moments of solitude in nature. However, most of her photographs of everyday life show people interacting and socializing, whether at work or at leisure. Moreover, several motifs explore the social spaces that were available for interaction between the sexes. Explicit examples are photographs taken at parties in "the House" or on other premises in the workers' districts of Nybyen and Svedrupbyen. The seeming overrepresentation of people partying in Herta Grøndal's archive is explained by the photographer herself as a result of people's direct requests: "Take a picture of us, Herta!" (Moe 1999).

It is difficult to tell whether Herta Grøndal had been invited to photograph an informal group portrait of eight men and two women shot in the basement storage area in Stormessa (Figure 9). Everyone is lined up and looking straight into the camera lens, smiling, except the man in the middle with two female waitresses on his lap, who is being "served" a drink.

An almost identical picture was published in a feature article on Herta in 2006 with a caption calling this a bachelor party, which may explain the scene (Svarstad 2006). Additionally, the collection contains a colour photo from the same occasion, shot a bit before or after the women's presence. This colour photo displays a more chaotic situation, and reveals a telephone on the table in the background, thus telling us that this is not just a storage area, but a social space for men and women to hang out and to meet during or after work in the kitchen. Herta Grøndal's documentation of the bachelor party in the basement at Stormessa does not seem haphazard. She brought with her a medium-format camera and changed its film backs from black-and-white to colour.

Of course this kind of motif reflects the photographer's own gender, age, interests, social status and class affiliation. But Herta Grøndal's pictures also illustrate negotiations of gender, of masculinity and femininity, which can be considered in a more general discourse on gender and modernity. For example, her portrait of two men smiling and smoking in their narrow twin room, sitting neatly knee to knee on their made-up beds, with large-flowered curtains and artificial sprigs of flowers on the

wall, displays a more vulnerable masculinity than her picture series from the mine.²⁵ Even some of her photographs capturing two rough hunters in a cabin in the wilderness are intimate close-ups, playing humorously with the hard and primitive conditions as well as masculine stereotypes (Figure 10).

According to an interview, Herta Grøndal lived with these men for a period of nearly six weeks. She depicted them inside the cabin and outdoors engaged in hunting-related work. They all came to know each other well (Moe 1999).²⁶



Fig 9: Bachelor Party in the storage in Stormessa, c. 1970. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf57713



Fig 10: Hunters in their cabin in Hornsund in 1969. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd59341

Another intimate double portrait of two women sitting on a divan in a dorm borders on the intrusive (Figure 11). Dressed almost identically, portrayed half facing, with one hand on their laps, the other holding a long drink in a non-familiar way, they mirror each other, yet do not seem very close.



Fig 11: Women with drinks, probably in the women's barracks in Nybyen, Longyearbyen. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf57683

In this shallow pictorial space, the women are cropped at the knees and pushed towards the spectator. Personal details like the purse hanging in the upper corner, and the bedspread betraying the sleeping place and the pillow underneath, brings us even closer. The tapestry, however, is a liberating piece of kitsch which allows the gaze to escape. Representing a more fertile landscape than the Arctic tundra outside their barracks, such romantic motifs were popular in workers' homes during this period.²⁷ The digitized photograph allows us to zoom in on the tapestry, and we can see how the owner of the room has hung her wristwatch on this textile fabric, at the head end of her bed. She has arranged her belongings in the space, as an extension of her bodily habits, and created support for her routines, to paraphrase parts of Iris Marion Young's definition of *home* (Young

2000, 62). Herta Grøndal's digitized image reveals details embedded in everyday life that are not meant to be noticed in a photographic representation.

Home must be understood as far more than a private enclosure preserved for the conjugal family. To make a home in the Arctic, in a kind of exile, or at least with an awareness of this home's temporality, seems to demand flexibility, adaptability and willingness to use, inhabit and be satisfied with those varied spaces that are actually offered. Home is not a given entity, but is rather to be understood as the "production of place", according to Felski and others, not a "fixed point in space, a firm position from which we 'proceed' [...] and to which we return in due course" (Felski 1999/2000, 22).²⁸ The woman in the spotted dress may represent our culture's inherent image of *home*, and the governor's wife, Liv Balstad, also writes in her memoirs of how her dreams of such a "real home" came true around 1950 when their new residence was completed (Balstad 1958, 29 and passim). But, to most people in Longyearbyen during the 1950s and 1960s, this kind of domicile was not achievable. Most of the men and women working in Longyearbyen lived packed together in barracks with at least one other roommate. Their homes were not private.

Herta Grøndal's photographs encourage questions about living conditions as well as social mobility between areas in Longyearbyen, on the basis of class and gender. She herself seems to have had access to both male-dominated places and women's spaces, as a participant and as an observer using her camera to document everyday life. It is interesting to compare her motifs with other photographs from the same period, particularly those taken by Erling J. Nødtvedt, pastor of Svalbard during the period 1951–60. His high-quality photographs are now part of Svalbard Museum's collections, and they serve as an important historical source of knowledge about Svalbard society during this decade. The motifs in Nødtvedt's collection are quite similar to those of both Grøndals: Leif and later Herta. They depict annual rituals and everyday life, the mining industry and its modern constructions. But Nødtvedt's own family, his workplace and home, are obviously powerful forces in his photographing practice. Herta Grøndal does not seem attached to home and family life in the same way. Her motifs demonstrate a wide radius and entry into a diversity of social spaces.

Herta Grøndal had access to the mine, to Stormessa, to the workers' barracks in Sverdrupbyen and Nybyen, and to the town's nightlife. Her short period as an employee of the governor's family during the 1950s, later on as organist in the church, and as a teacher at the school,

provided her with a wide range of contacts and social contexts. She was given access to the Russian settlements and was allowed to take pictures there during the cold-war period, although under strictly controlled conditions. In addition, she joined hunters, scientists and groups of tourists travelling around Svalbard (Grøndal 2008). Moreover, her official photographic missions from the 1960s onwards granted her entry into places and occasions usually reserved for officials. Her immense collection of photographs reveals that she possessed the freedom to move between different social, gendered and geographical spaces.

Photography of habit

During the 1950s, life and work in Longyearbyen were quite well documented by SNSK's photographers, first and foremost the Grøndals, but also by a number of amateur photographers. "I bought a Christmas gift for myself, a camera, Kodak Retina 1B," a former employee of SNSK recorded as an important memory from 1955. The price was 465 crowns, he remembered, "a lot of money at that time when my salary was around 1900 crowns a month" (Østlund 2016)²⁹. The affordability of new cameras and their small size made them a natural part of people's equipment on trips and vacations, and from the 1960s onwards the practice grew in accordance with the increasing number of individuals owning a camera, whether they were temporary settlers in Svalbard or people travelling there as tourists. Pictures were taken on special occasions to show friends and family what life in the Arctic was like, and to create memories that would last a lifetime. There is quite an extensive collection of these historical photographs in Svalbard Museum documenting the 1950s and the following two decades. In addition, there are clearly a great number of pictures in private albums, to judge from the large amount of sharing on social media.³⁰

Although the imagery changes somewhat from the 1950s to the 1970s, the resemblances in the choices of photographic subjects are striking. Those equipped with cameras obviously participated in the same rituals and inhabited the same places; their pictures confirm a common grounding in time and space. Worth mentioning again is Pastor Nødtvedt's photographs recorded during the 1950s. Even though a lot of his photographs are of his own family, he also depicted public life, the miners and their workplaces.³¹ Another example is the Norwegian miner Roald Amundsen, who took a number of photographs of everyday life during the first half of the 1950s. These seem very much like Herta Grøndal's on the basis of their motifs, as well as the relation they show between photographer

and his/her subject. Both depict ordinary people – either dressed up for portraits, as parts of documentary series, or as faces in snapshots – and the habitual life of the Norwegian settlements in Svalbard during the mid-twentieth century.³²

Obviously, both the Grøndals and the amateur photographers play a part in revealing and making explicit unconscious and unrecognized aspects of everyday life in these Arctic settlements. They direct our attention towards unnoticed phenomena, thus making them significant both for the contemporary spectator and for posterity. These pictures of everyday life expose *habitus*, which may be understood as the deeply embedded sets of largely unconscious dispositions that Pierre Bourdieu tells us “cannot be touched by voluntary deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit” (Bourdieu 1977, 94). Bourdieu nonetheless recognizes the potential in photography and photographic practice to uncover and illuminate aspects of habitus (Sweetman 2009, 491 and *passim*). And Felski reminds us that habitus is not simply understood as actions, but also as attitudes, as a “way of experiencing the world” (1999/2000, 26, 31), thus determining certain practices and informing even the smallest of actions and gestures.

Many of Herta Grøndal's photographs of everyday life are so ordinary, and some of their details so close to life, that they are hardly noticeable. However, none of the photographs should be mistaken for being pictures of “the ‘really real’” (Felski 2002, 607). Bourdieu's sociological perspective usefully reminds us of the necessity not only of detecting the meanings which the photograph *claims* (the photographer's intentions included), but also of interpreting the redundancy of meanings which it *reveals* by being part of the visual culture at a certain time (Bourdieu [1965] 1990, 7). Thus, both snapshots and, in particular, composed and arranged motifs stand out as redundant and complex objects of analysis.

The picture of a woman cultivating flowers in a cold frame (Figure 12) may illustrate such complexity. She has probably been asked by the photographer to squat beside her home-made frame, both to show ownership and to fit into the composition. Her colourful apron matches the hardy pansies, and her knitted cardigan harmonizes with the snow-flecked mountain backdrop, thus contrasting with the plastic sheet and muddy foreground.



Fig 12: The wife of the Mining Inspector Johnsen challenges climatic conditions with her pansies. The photograph is shot in Longyearbyen sometime between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Photo: Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnd41968

The woman's pose, gesture and smile present us with a kind of holy shrine in the cold Arctic summer, a strong will towards growth, against all the odds, and the human devotion to beauty.³³ This motif may seem ordinary, but in its Arctic context, where sprawling flowers are sparse, it is exceptional.

First and foremost, this picture seems to confirm Felski's view of the concept of everyday life as vital and innovative, rather than something negative. Felski is critical of analyses that see women as representatives and "victims" of everyday life, as suggested in Henri Lefebvre's influential analysis in *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (1968). According to Lefebvre's understanding, women are tied to their homes, to repetitive tasks and natural cycles, to the unreflected routines of daily life – that is to say, to "the realm of the insignificant, invisible, yet indispensable" (cf. Felski 1999/2000, 17). The photographs of Herta Grøndal provide us with a different way of seeing and thinking about everyday life in the Arctic settlement. Several of her pictures illuminate the necessity to really *invent* everyday life in the Arctic during the post-war years and thus they demonstrate the vitality of the everyday. However, we may ask whether motifs like this should be recognized as everyday, or as occasional – also because the pictures reveal the possibility of women's "aesthetic" activity, which is the privilege of only a few. The woman who cultivates flowers in the Arctic summer is neither insignificant nor invisible, but her activity goes beyond necessity. So does Herta Grøndal's photograph of her.

Memory machine

The photographs taken by Leif and, later, Herta Grøndal occupy a dominant position within the visual culture of Longyearbyen during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Looking into Herta Grøndal's archives, the large quantity of never-published pictures reinforce the position she worked so hard to occupy, as the visual documentarian of Svalbard throughout these decades. Several of her pictures were disseminated to and by her contemporaries, they were bought as portraits, framed to hang on walls, or used as postcards. The inhabitants of this small settlement in the Arctic were at the beginning of a new visual era in which they were able to see themselves through photographs. A literal example is a postcard from the Norwegian Polar Institute's picture archive, showing Herta Grøndal's prospect of Longyearbyen seen from the mountain Sarkofagen. The sender has marked his home with an X and written: "Here we live on the other side of the card."³⁴ Such pictures helped to form the inhabitants' self-awareness and self-understanding, thus giving them the potential not just to confirm, but also to critique, their own rituals, homes and habits (cf. Sweetman 2009, 494–498 and *passim*). Herta Grøndal's photographs, especially her postcards, have also played a pivotal role in shaping our

general image of Svalbard, and as such they have contributed to Arctic iconography.

However, most of the photographs of Svalbard's everyday life have never been seen prior to this digitized collection, and the large number of pictures of people, both formal portraits and snapshots, that have now been published, make the digitized Grøndal archive and the Lampert collection a "memory machine". Even photographs of seemingly lesser importance are becoming part of the visual culture of Svalbard. In combination with photo sharing on social media, these images have the potential to function as reinforcements of a collective identity: not as milestones in a diachronic history, but rather as an episodic recollection of the past. This is partly due to how Herta Grøndal saved her photographs, in a very haphazard fashion. Many strips of negatives were cut apart and placed in different envelopes and folders.³⁵ In addition, photographs that obviously belong in the same series are located in various different photographic collections or archives. This makes it a challenge to interpret individual images. The subsidiary images contained on the same strip of negatives might offer another angle or display elements that were hidden in the main image chosen. Accepting, however, that the focus on a singular image removed from its sequence may very easily lead to interpretational error, we can nevertheless explore each photograph as an image *per se*, overriding representation, cultural knowledge and official narratives. This requires visual analyses that are tentatively blind to historical facts, and do not seek simply to confirm already-established truths.

The burning question in studying documentary photographs such as Herta Grøndal's, is to what degree the photograph's real meaning is connected to time, place and memory; for example, in the picture of the woman in the spotted dress. Might today's viewers claim that these photographic images carry meaning even without historical and local knowledge of "there and then"; that is, of Svalbard during the decades between 1950 and 1980? This question is highlighted in different ways in theories about photography's dual nature of being an imprint of historical realities and at the same time constructions of worlds, and it is highly relevant when it comes to the study of large collections, such as Herta Grøndal's.

The basic hypothesis of this article – that a female photographer taking pictures of women and children contributes to altering the dominant view of Svalbard life as harsh and masculine – becomes far more complex after surveying Herta Grøndal's thousands of images. It is obvious that the negotiation of gender implies the involvement of both sexes, and her images seem in many cases to get closer to the men's lives than the

women's. Herta Grøndal's images of both men and women display a diversity of habits and manners, as well as a multitude of possible roles and identities. Her photographs reflect the dialogue taking place not only between the photographer and the captured subject, but also between the society and the social systems represented by it. "In this dialogic confrontation by means of gaze, gesture, and cameras there is room for agency," as Elizabeth Edwards puts it (2004, 12), thus actualizing the picture as more than mere representation or documentation of historical situations. Herta Grøndal's mediation of the repetition, homes and habits of Longyearbyen leaves the photographic image, not as a neutral medium, documenting "facts", but as a contested and often paradoxical site of gender, identity and modernity.

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Other Sources

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- The photo collection at Svalbard Museum
- Archives of Biography and of Pictures at the Norwegian Polar Institute
- Interview with Eva Grøndal, daughter of Herta and Leif Grøndal and owner (with Nora Grøndal) of Grøndal Photo, Apr. 29, 2015; correspondence Feb. 13, 2017
- Interview with Sveinulf Hegstad, photo archivist at Tromsø University Museum, Aug. 31, 2015

E-mail correspondence with Herdis Lien, curator of Svalbard Museum, Nov. 16, 2015

Correspondence with Tone Nødtvedt, digitizer of Nødtvedt collection, Dec. 21, 2016; Feb. 13, 2017

Facebook, "Gamle Svalbard" ["Old Svalbard"] (public group, 5634 members as of Dec. 22, 2016)

Notes

¹ There are at least three more pictures of the woman in the spotted dress, one in the opposite corner of the living room, playing her guitar, another a classic posed family portrait with an infant on her lap and a well-dressed boy on the rocking horse. These pictures have no metadata. It will perhaps be possible to identify time, place and person, but that is not my intention in this article. However, some of the information that I have come across is included in the body text, captions and notes.

² One of these pictures (Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf56210) was reproduced in a feature article on Herta Grøndal in the women's magazine *Kvinner og klær* in 1965 (Lokvam 1965).

³ According to the Norwegian Polar Institute's biographical archive: *Lokvam* 1965; *Dagen* 1989; *Hagevik* 1992; *Svarstad* 2006; "Fotograf Herta Grøndals reiser til Svalbard – En kvinnelig pioner" 2006; *Gustad* 2008.

⁴ The photographs from the Russian settlements seem to be divided between at least two archives. My main focus in this article is on the pictures from Longyearbyen.

⁵ This picture was taken with a Hasselblad or Rolleiflex, and it is quite similar to the iconic picture taken with a Linhof Technika 13x18 diapositiv in 1966 (Grøndal collection). The vantage point is the tip of Mine 1b, which is exactly the same place from which Leif Grøndal shot his prospects of Longyearbyen some years earlier. It is sometimes difficult to identify the photographer (according to an interview with Eva Grøndal). Herta Grøndal herself, however, seems to have been very careful and concerned about the ownership of the motifs.

⁶ Leif Grøndal probably gained his first assignment as a photographer in 1949 to cover the crown prince's visit to Svalbard. Leif also worked together with his brother Harald. Leif left Svalbard in 1961. His photographs are deposited at the Svalbard Museum.

⁷ Female photographers were not uncommon, and photography was seen as a suitable profession for women. By 1910 there were 118 female photographers registered in Norway (Larsen and Lien 2007, 49).

⁸ During the 1950s, Herta Grøndal used a Voigtländer Vito, a Zorki (a Russian camera), and later on a more expensive Rolleiflex camera, medium format 6x6 cm. She also borrowed a large format Linoftecnica 13x18 cm from her husband for shooting diapositives. From the end of the 1970s she used 135 format (Contax camera). Additionally, she used Hasselblad 6x6 during the 1960s and 70s (and

actually until 2008) as well as colour positive film. In later years, she used a digital Nikon camera, and the last time she was visiting Svalbard she brought with her "a Leica-camera, a Contaflex, and the Hasselblad." (Amundsen 2008). Some images were printed as postcards, see https://www.grondalfoto.no/postkort_s_h/index.htm. Interview Sveinulf Hegstad, TMU, Aug. 31, 2015, correspondence with Eva Grøndal Mar. 13, 2017, and various sources.

⁹ Information from Hegstad 2015.

¹⁰ Herta Grøndal moved back to Vienna, remarried and gave birth to a son.

¹¹ The Grøndal collection contains approximately 11 000 negatives, the pictures in the SNSK archive run to about 15 000 digitized images, plus some still not digitized. These collections contain contributions from various photographers, including Herta Grøndal (information from Herdis Lien, curator at Svalbard Museum, Nov. 16, 2015).

¹² Her panorama hung on the walls at SNSK's offices and other private and public institutions in Longyearbyen, in the church as well as on the pub, and in private homes, cf. Svalbard Museum's photo collection SVF 06549.jpg. Today Herta's pictures are blown up on walls in both *Huset* and the recent opened restaurant *Gruvelageret*.

¹³ <http://www.unimus.no/foto/#/search?q=lampert>

¹⁴ In the period from the 1950s to the end of the 1980s, the ratio between Russian and Norwegian citizens was quite stable at approximately 2:1, according to Statistics Norway, available at <http://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/svalbard/tab3.html>. The biggest Russian settlement after the war was Grumant, but this mining town was abandoned in 1961–1962.

¹⁵ The sociologist Ferdinand Tönnie's distinctions between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (1887), generally translated as *community* and *society*, is highly relevant to Svalbard society of this period.

¹⁶ Two people have identified themselves in this picture, and dated the photograph to 1953/54. Facebook group "Gamle Svalbard", posted by the author Jan. 6, 2016.

¹⁷ There are more pictures shot by Leif Grøndal, most likely during the same mail delivery (cf. Grøndal Photo Collection and information from Eva Grøndal; cf. Svalbard Museum, SVF 08059.tif).

¹⁸ The first postal flight to Svalbard was in the late 1940s. The small Catalina aircraft owned by the Norwegian Air Force did not land, but dropped its parcels on the tundra in the Advent valley, near Longyearbyen. In 1954 Leif Grøndal took a picture of this moment, and Herta was on it, amongst the crowd of curious settlers, cf. Svalbard Museum SVF 03125. On its way home, this plane crashed at Bear Island and two postmen were killed in the accident. The air strip in the Advent Valley was built by the Germans during World War II, but was not used after the war. The first Catalina aircraft landed in 1958. The first aircraft with passenger landed on Apr. 2, 1959. Erling J. Nødtvedt depicted the event, Svalbard Museum, SVF 11937b. During the 1950s, the arrivals of post to Svalbard were announced on national radio.

¹⁹ The Norwegian original, *Nord for the øde hav*, was published in 1955. Cf. Anka Ryall's chapter in this book.

²⁰ There exist more, and older, photos of miners on slope-trains. A photograph from the Svalbard Museum Collection, SVF 00180, shows 15 men with coal-black faces getting off a shift in Advent Bay, taken some time before an explosion in 1920. The picture is used in Svalbard Museum's exhibition to illustrate the region's coal mining.

²¹ This picture was posted by the author on the Facebook group "Gamle Svalbard" Apr. 11, 2016; it received 172 likes, but nobody recognized the people in it. However, another picture from the very same point of view was taken about the same time by Erling J. Nødtvedt, pastor of Svalbard 1951–60. Nødtvedt's picture shows his wife and children, together with another family, on the slope-train heading for the mine. According to the caption, this is a leisure-time activity: "It was apparently the first time there was a stroller up the mine" (See Svalbard Museum's Photo Collection, SV 08176, among several). The smiling family members on the trolley somewhat disturb Grøndal's photograph of the men and miners as a representation of everyday life in Svalbard.

²² During the 1960s, the variety of workplaces for women increased, but all within care and service. "From 1965 women were also employed as a hairdresser and photographer," Evjen writes (Evjen 2006, 64; my translation), probably referring directly to Herta Grøndal.

²³ Stormessa was renovated in 1961.

²⁴ Pastor Samson Vik held classes in traditional decorative painting and his spouse Berit Vik held classes in porcelain painting in the sitting room of Svalbard Church during the years between 1963 and 1973. Facebook group "Gamle Svalbard", posted by Knut Mellerud Jan. 22, 2016.

²⁵ Tromsø Museum – Herta Lampert, id: tsnf56773. From the workers' barracks probably in Longyearbyen in the 1970s.

²⁶ The men are Einar Sletbak and Terje Ovlien.

²⁷ Cf. Svalbard Museum's photo collection, for example SVF 13762.tif.

²⁸ Felski is referring to Agnes Heller.

²⁹ Translated from Norwegian: "Jeg kjøpte julegave til meg selv, et fotoapparat Kodak Retina 1B som kostet 465 kroner, mye penger på den tiden da min lønning var på cirka 1.900 kroner i måneden."

³⁰ New digitized photos and albums are constantly being published on the Facebook group "Gamle Svalbard".

³¹ Nødtvedt's collection, given to Svalbard Museum, consists of more than 3600 recordings from the 1950s, all of them digitized.

³² Amundsen's album of negatives has been donated to Svalbard museum. Another 1950s photographer was the governor's assistant, Carl A. Wendt, who is represented by 456 pictures in Svalbard Museum's photo collection. Most are landscapes, but also included are some pictures from the governor's estate and from the Russian settlement Grumant. *Svalbardposten* has published some high-quality photographs of life and work in Longyearbyen shot by Felix Eckert, a German student of mining, who worked in the mine during 1954–55. *Svalbardposten* nos. 24 and 28, 2013.

http://svalbardposten.no/index.php?page=vis_nyhet&NyhetID=3548. Several German and Austrian mining students held internships at SNSK in connection with their studies. Apart from Herta Grøndal, only a couple of women – Cathrine Bjelland and Synnøve Margrethe Hansen – are registered as photographers in the Museum’s photo collection. The photographic culture in and of the Soviet settlements during these decades remains to be explored.

³³ The picture was used as the cover illustration of the book *Hager mot nord. Nytte og nytelse gjennom tre århundrer* [Gardens towards the north: Utility and beauty through three centuries], edited by Ingebjørg Hage et al. (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk 2015). See also Pastor Nødtvedt’s photographic studies of the green and blooming window in his family’s apartment in the church during the late 1950s. Svalbard Museum’s photo collection, SVF 10651, among several. One of these pictures was printed in the Christmas issue of the magazine *Alle Kvinner* [All Women] in 1960 in an article based on a letter from Ranveig Nødtvedt, ”Mitt blomstervindu mot polarnatten” [”My flower window towards the Polar Night”].

³⁴ Norwegian Polar Institute’s archive of pictures. The post card is signed “E”.

³⁵ According to an interview with Hegstad in 2015.