**Nordic Migration to the New World**

**Introduction**

The statistics on nineteenth and early-twentieth century migration from the Nordic countries to the USA are dramatic. In 1800 the population of Norway was under 883,000.[[1]](#endnote-1) A century later around the same number of Norwegians had migrated to the USA, meaning that a greater percentage of the population of Norway went west than from any European country except Ireland. The population of Sweden in 1800 was larger (2.35 million);[[2]](#endnote-2) Sweden was an independent European power, while Norway was part of the kingdom of Denmark and would enter into union with Sweden from 1814. Nonetheless, by 1914 over a million Swedes had departed for America, making Sweden the largest net exporter of its citizens of all the Nordic countries, which together had provided nearly three million American immigrants by 1920.[[3]](#endnote-3)

These striking top-level figures conceal a much more complex set of realities. For example, the pace of migration was not uniform, gradually growing in intensity until the 1880s, which witnessed the greatest concentration of transatlantic migration. While the migration process from Norway began in 1825, significant emigration from Finland had its heyday at the start of the twentieth century and was more urban in nature than the typically rural/agricultural immigration pattern adopted by the Norwegians. This essay is entitled *Nordic Migration*, but it is important to note that, just as it was not uniform across time, it was not uniform across the region either. Each country had its own economic, cultural and religious history in the period in question, and indeed Norwegian emigration and immigration patterns were highly local, meaning that even generalising for that one country is problematic, and we are dealing not just with the peninsular countries of Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway and Sweden), but the whole Nordic region, including Finland and Iceland.

Nordic migration to America predates the nineteenth century, and accounts from that century like to link the mass movement back to the arrival of Nordic citizens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Writing in 1914, K. C. Babcock maintained that “*the Swede of the seventeenth century and the Swede of the nineteenth century are essentially one in character*”.[[4]](#endnote-4) Swedish speculators first arrived on the Delaware River in 1638, but ‘New Sweden’ was short lived, being taken by the Dutch in 1655.[[5]](#endnote-5) The first migration accounts tend to be hagiographical in style, focusing on the lives and experiences of individual pioneers. This is not surprising, given the enormity of what they did and the sense that the link with this pioneer past was becoming tenuous. H. R. Holand, writing in 1909, notes that his “*sources are not so much books and writings as old pioneers who are now rapidly going to their graves*”,[[6]](#endnote-6) and 14 years earlier R. B. Anderson regretted that the pioneers “*kept no journals or records … and the memories of old men are sometimes treacherous*”.[[7]](#endnote-7)

**Why Did People Leave?**

Each individual migrant had his or her own reasons for wanting to leave, but there are several general factors which motivated migration from the Nordic countries, and these may be divided into *push factors* – reasons for going – and *pull factors* – reasons for coming. The first Norwegian migrants were the 53 ‘sloopers’ who set sail from Stavanger on or around 4 July 1825 – their names, background and subsequent histories are given in R. B. Anderson’s 1895 account of Norwegian immigration.[[8]](#endnote-8) They were led by one of the Romantic figures of Nordic pioneer migration, Cleng Peerson (1783-1865), and the principal push factor for this pioneer group was the need for religious freedom. Many of them were either Quakers or followers of the non-conformist preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), neither of which movements was tolerated by the state Lutheran church. Their iconic vessel, the sloop *Restauration*, finally reached New York on 9 October after three months crossing the Atlantic, and the party continued its journey to Kendall in New York State. The first party of Swedish immigrants arrived in 1841 and consisted of business speculators, attracted by the opportunities offered in America, so these pioneers, led by Gustaf Unonius (1810-1902), law graduate and later priest, scarcely typify the traditional view of the impoverished labourer clearing the land to eke out a living. These Swedish pioneers settled at Pine Lake in Wisconsin, between Milwaukee and Madison. They were soon joined by “*a variegated assortment of characters … noblemen, ex-army officers, merchants and adventurers*”,[[9]](#endnote-9) unsuited to the practical challenges of agricultural work in a harsh climate.

One of the primary push factors for much of the region was the lack of good quality arable land, exacerbated by an explosion in the population in the course of the nineteenth century. The most dramatic population growth in the course of the century was 219% in Finland, but the population of Norway and Denmark also grew by over 150%,[[10]](#endnote-10) and in Norway the practice of primogeniture, whereby the eldest son inherited the farm in its entirety, made the pull of the seemingly endless supply of land in the American Midwest hard to resist. Of Denmark, on the other hand, it was said that “*no nation, except the United States and Canada, has in recent times had such agricultural prosperity*”.[[11]](#endnote-11) Before 1850 Danish emigrants were typically well-educated opportunists, and Christian Rasmussen in his 1907 survey of Danes in America lists all the artists, merchants, doctors and so on, who capitalized on the long-standing bridge to America provided by the Danish West Indies.[[12]](#endnote-12) In the period 1841 to 1850 only 539 Danes emigrated, compared with around 14,000 each of Norwegians and Swedes. The principal factor in early Danish migration was concerted evangelization by the Mormons which began in earnest in Denmark in 1850, resulting in the emigration of around 2,500 Danish Mormons in the course of the next decade.[[13]](#endnote-13) Over 24,000 Scandinavian Mormons migrated to Utah between 1852 and 1894, making them the “*second largest ethnic group of Saints gathering to Zion*”.[[14]](#endnote-14) Mormonism was also a key driver for some emigration from Iceland in the 1850s, but significant numbers did not leave until after the first emigration agency was established in Iceland in 1873. Between 1871 and 1925, 85% of Icelandic emigrants went to Canada.[[15]](#endnote-15)

Before moving on, it is important to mention one of the key pull factors, the so-called *America Letters*. The pioneers quickly began to send home accounts of the opportunities offered by life in America, and these were typically read out loud to crowds of awestruck listeners and frequently copied and carried from place to place. One contemporary commentator summarised the principal reasons for the mass departure from rural Norway thus:

*“… in part the innate propensity for travel and for restlessness, in part and above all the hope of coming into possession of great and easily won possessions, a hope nourished and strengthened to a great extent by a considerable number of letters from those who had previously emigrated*.”[[16]](#endnote-16)

**Who Were They?**

Modern descendants of the pioneers tend to identify closely with the individual region from which their ancestors came, even the specific farm. For example, Norwegian expatriate organisations, often with a strong emphasis on family history, are structured around *bygdelag* (village associations) of which there are currently 29 ([www.fellesraad.com](http://www.fellesraad.com)). However, a century ago migration historians were keen to emphasise the common features of the Nordic immigrants and to underline the shared strength of character of “the right kind of people”.[[17]](#endnote-17) O. N. Nelson, writing in 1893, observed that, “*it is partly on account of their great love and fitness for farming that the Scandinavians have been considered by nearly every American political economist to be the best immigrants which the country receives*”.[[18]](#endnote-18) He goes on to state that their qualities are so uniform that “*very often not even among the emigrants on board of the ship that brings them here, no distinction of the separate Northern people can be detected* [sic]”.[[19]](#endnote-19) There is a powerful whiff of romanticization to this. In reality the backgrounds of immigrants from across the Nordic countries were very various, and settlements tended to co-locate like with like. The languages and dialects would not have been mutually comprehensible, and the expatriate communities became concentrated. The largest Norwegian settlement in America (Lake Park, Minnesota) at the turn of the twentieth century was one where “*no less than 100,000 Norwegians have cleared farms and built themselves homes*”.[[20]](#endnote-20)

As the appetite for migration grew in Norway and Sweden, the migrants tended to depart in waves. The next groups of emigrants after the sloopers were also from the South-West of Norway, but news of the opportunities which lay on the other side of the Atlantic began to spread to the mountain valleys of Telemark to the East and to the coastal and inland communities up the West coast. Ingrid Semmingsen identifies 1866 as the year when the “mass migration” [masseutvandring] from Norway began. In that year 15,500 Norwegians left, and the period 1866 to 1873 witnessed the departure of 110,896 people or “*63.42% of the country’s excess of births [over deaths] in the same years*”.[[21]](#endnote-21) Ships left from all the country’s major ports and carried emigrants from all over the country. Between 1866 and 1875 over 2,000 people even emigrated from the sparsely populated northernmost region of Finnmark, so America fever was everywhere.

In the early decades the typical emigrant demographic was family groups, a pattern established by the passenger list of the *Restauration*. The 1880s, however, witnessed the “*first big wave of single-person emigration*”.[[22]](#endnote-22) Between 1866 and 1870, 30.6% of male emigrants were in the age group 15 to 30, but by the 1911 to 1915 period, 78% of emigrants were in that category, and family emigration was almost unknown. So once again we see that Nordic migration was far from uniform. It ebbed and flowed with the local challenges and fashions of the passing decades and was also influenced by conditions in America. Despite the massive year-by-year variation, it has been suggested that the “*cumulative cohort net migration rate*” for birth cohorts from 1846 to 1886 was, however, surprisingly stable (circa 30% for men and 20% for women), even though different cohorts might have emigrated at different ages.[[23]](#endnote-23)

**How Did They Travel?**

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Scandinavian emigrants used a variety of ports of departure. In Norway emigrants made their way to all the main ports (Kristiania (Oslo), Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim, and others besides), and Semmingsen writes evocatively of the gradual concentration of the streams of ‘Americans’ as they approached the sea ports.[[24]](#endnote-24) Gothenburg was the principal port of departure in Sweden, but migrants made their way to international ports as far afield as Hamburg in Germany and Le Havre in France. Until the 1860s, crossings were generally direct to North America on board sailing vessels. The journeys were long and conditions on board often cramped and insanitary, with measles, cholera and dysentery the principal health hazards. However, in the 1860s the transatlantic journey changed in two key ways. Firstly, steam replaced sail as the means of propulsion. In 1855 the Cunard Line advertised that it could make the crossing between New York and Liverpool in just 12 days, while a decade later sailing vessels still took more than 44 days.[[25]](#endnote-25) The benefits for ship owners and passengers alike in cutting the journey time by nearly three quarters were overwhelming. Secondly, and as a function of the move to steam, powerful British firms operating out of British ports gained complete dominance of the transatlantic route. [INSERT IMAGE OF SS KRISTANIAFJORD – MMM\_MCROB\_VOL\_27A\_11 WHICH, ALONG WITH ITS SISTER SHIPS, BERGENSFJORD AND STAVANGERFJORD WAS FROM 1913 ONE OF THE FIRST VESSELS TO CARRY PASSENGERS DIRECT FROM NORWAY TO NEW YORK]

Operating initially out of Gothenburg, the Hull-based Wilson Line soon developed a monopoly on the transportation of Scandinavian emigrants to Hull on the East coast of England, by train across the North of England to Liverpool and from there, via collaboration with the Atlantic companies, to North America. The Wilson Line became in its day the largest private shipping line in the world.[[26]](#endnote-26) Wilson’s primary collaborators on the provision of a ‘through ticket’ from Scandinavia to America were the North Eastern Railway Company, operating out of Hull’s Paragon railway station (with a purpose-built emigrant waiting room from 1871), and the Liverpool-based Inman Line (for the Atlantic route), who were together able to trade at a rate so competitive that other operators were priced out of the market. It is estimated that around 2.2 million European ‘transmigrants’ passed through the port of Hull between 1836 and 1914 en-route from the countries of northern Europe to America.[[27]](#endnote-27) The journey from Scandinavia to America via this route is depicted in a virtual world at [www.olanordmann.co.uk](http://www.olanordmann.co.uk), where more information about the ‘transmigration’ experience can be found.

Ships typically arrived in Hull on Sunday evening and the ‘emigrant special’ trains would leave early on Monday morning taking (by the 1880s) less than five hours to reach Liverpool. The impression of the rolling countryside and the industrial towns made an impact on some of the Nordic travellers. For example, Theodor Truvé (1838-1910), a Swedish Baptist minister, wrote in an 1865 letter of the long tunnels and the dark smoky towns which gave the English a dark grey complexion.[[28]](#endnote-28) While the Hull stage of the journey was tightly controlled by the agents, meaning that the migrants made little impact on the town or vice versa, the Liverpool stage was less strictly policed and the emigrants had greater freedom to see the City before embarking on the Atlantic ship. Despite the anticipation of all the opportunity that lay ahead, contemporary reports do also note the feelings of melancholy which accompanied the departure from home:

*“For most immigrant Norwegians the day of departure from Norway will stand for them as the most bitter day of their lives. Many of them had not until that day know what love for the fatherland meant*.”[[29]](#endnote-29)

**Where Did They Go?**

The great Nordic migration is a classic example of the westward pioneer journey. The descendants of the immigrants are spread across the whole of the United States such that there are Sons of Norway lodges from Florida to Alaska. One of the reasons for the surge in migration in the 1860s was the signing in 1862 of the Homestead Act by Abraham Lincoln. This entitled anyone who was in good standing to free or very cheap land, which was an extraordinary opportunity for Scandinavians used to limited and inadequate agricultural land at home. The majority of Nordic immigrants settled in the Midwest, and ‘*the prairie*’ came to epitomise the Promised Land. The word has entered into the modern Nordic languages, albeit with different spellings (*prærie* in Norwegian, *präri* in Swedish, *preeria* in Finnish) with all its resonances of opportunity, hope, punishing work, and more recently of rural deprivation (the population of Bergen, North Dakota dropped from 11 to 7 in the 2010 census, all of whom were over the age of 45[[30]](#endnote-30)). While the *America Letters* made much of the abundance of the Midwest, and more measured guides to life in America, like the voraciously-read and influential 1838 *True Account of America* by Ole Rynning (1807-1886),[[31]](#endnote-31) also enthused about the riches that prairie land could yield, later commentators would chart the toll that life on the prairies could take:

*“Thousands of our compatriots on the prairie – a worryingly large percent – have given in to the prairie’s heavy, deafening pressure and now fill the local mental institutions … It is the punishment of the prairie.”*[[32]](#endnote-32)

Norwegian immigrants tended to settle in Minnesota, Wisconsin and North Dakota, indeed by the beginning of the twentieth century “*no less than 400,000 Norwegians, who constitute a third of all Norwegians in America, live in Minnesota*”.[[33]](#endnote-33) Danish settlers also concentrated on Minnesota and Wisconsin but also Iowa, Illinois and Kansas. Swedish-Americans constituted 12% of the population of Minnesota in 1910, when over 100,000 Swedes also lived in Chicago, which was described as the “*second largest Swedish city in the world*” after Stockholm.[[34]](#endnote-34) Michigan with more marked industrial opportunities “*was the heartland of Finnish America*”.[[35]](#endnote-35)

One of the reasons for the mass migration from the Nordic countries was the fact that the rural populations had always been highly mobile in pursuit of work. The seasons were short and both agricultural and fish yield unpredictable which meant that if work was scarce locally, it needed to be sought elsewhere. Seasonal labour migration was particularly well established in Finland and in Iceland, but by the nineteenth century movement throughout the region in search of seasonal work was the norm.[[36]](#endnote-36) America was overwhelmingly the destination of choice for overseas migrants, but other destinations also drew Nordic citizens in search of new opportunity. In 1910, 90% of expatriate Norwegians were living in the USA or Canada, but there were around 4,000 in Australia and New Zealand, 500 or so in China and Asia as well as others who had followed work to South America, Africa and the Middle East.[[37]](#endnote-37)

**What Happened When They Got There?**

Nordic emigration to the USA is a success story, and the pages of immigration accounts are covered with tales of immigrants who became pillars of their communities, rising to the top of society. [INSERT IMAGE OF ‘AMERICANS OF SWEDISH LINEAGE’ HERE: HSP\_PG015\_00008] These are invariably accompanied by unsmiling Victorian photographs of those great men and (sometimes) women. An extensive account of “successful Scandinavians” even includes a lengthy and scholarly study of “*criminal and insane persons in the United States*” and concludes, unsurprisingly, that:

*“… in regard to crimes the Scandinavians had not only the best record in 1880, but that they improved nearly fifty per cent in ten or fifteen years, while, virtually, all the other nationalities deteriorated*”.[[38]](#endnote-38)

Integration with Americans was usually not problematic. In his 1838 guide for immigrants, Ole Rynning advised would-be settlers that “*ignorance of the language, is to be sure, a handicap … but by daily association with Americans one will learn enough in two or three months to get along well*”.[[39]](#endnote-39) This is of course the rhetoric of the market in language-teaching materials which bubbled up as one of the entrepreneurial appendages to the mass migration phenomenon and gave rise to self-help manuals like *The Little American: A Simple Guide for Emigrants and Others who want to Learn to Understand and Make Themselves Understood in the English Language in a Short Time*.[[40]](#endnote-40) Many immigrants had received little education before leaving and not everyone found it so easy. The first generation would typically have used a mixed language to get by, and this even emerges in print:

“*Endnu finds det i* ***County****et 1000* ***Acres*** *af* ***Homestead Land****, som ingen vil have*”.[[41]](#endnote-41)

On the other hand, the pioneer life was hard, especially in the early years, and there are also tales of crop failure, of disease and other disasters striking those who embarked on the precarious journey west. The story of the *Bloodbath at Spirit Lake* is just one of the most gruesome.[[42]](#endnote-42) Many immigrants returned to Europe,[[43]](#endnote-43) and even one of the original sloop folk went back to Norway before returning to America.[[44]](#endnote-44) By the 1880s there was a strong reverse current, with as many as one quarter to one third of Norwegian immigrants in the period 1880-1930 returning home.[[45]](#endnote-45) This wasn’t necessarily a once-and-for-all process, as 10% of Finnish remigrants, for example, made the journey across the Atlantic more than twice.[[46]](#endnote-46)

According to the most recent US census data,[[47]](#endnote-47) 11,077,948 US citizens declare themselves to be of Nordic origin and break down as follows:

* Norwegian 4,602,337
* Swedish 4,293,208
* Danish 1,453,897
* Finnish 677,272
* Icelandic 51,234.

The largest concentrations of US citizens with Scandinavian ancestry are in North Dakota (36.1% of the population) and Minnesota (32.1% of the population).

1. www.populstat.info/Europe/norwayc.htm [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. www.populstat.info/Europe/swedenc.htm [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Norman, H. & H. Runblom 1988. *Transatlantic Connections: Nordic Migration to the New World after 1800*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press, p.4 [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Babcock, K. C. 1914. *The Scandinavian Element in the United States.* Urbana: University of Illinois, p. 12 AAS\_83203\_015] [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Clay, J. C. 1835. *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*. Philadelphia: J. C. Pechin [AAS\_227134] [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Holand, H. R. 1909. *De norske Settlementers Historie*. 3rd edn. Ephraim, Wis: Forfatterens forlag, Forord [ AAS\_92127\_009] [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Anderson, R. B. 1895. *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840), its Causes and Results*. Madison, WI: the author, p. v [ AAS\_68608\_008] [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Anderson 1895, pp. 91-93 [ AAS\_68608\_117-120] [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Babcock 1914, p. 51 [ AAS\_83203\_054] [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Norman & Runblom 1988, p. 38 [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Babcock 1914, p. 63 [ AAS\_83203\_066] [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Rasmussen, C. 1907. *Danske i Amerika*. Minneapolis & Chicago: C. Rasmussen Publishing Company, pp. 163-200 [AAS\_492521\_168-205] [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Rasmussen 1907, p. 284 [AAS\_492521\_289] [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Woods, F. E. & N. J. Evans. 2002. Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852-1894. *BYU Studies* 41:4, 75-102. p. 75 [byustudies.byu.edu/showTitle.aspx?title=6807] [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
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16. Aasen, I. 1960. *Brev og dagbøker III: Dagbøker 1830-1896*. Ed. Reidar Djupedal. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, p. 89 [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Mattson, H. 1888. *Souvenir of the 250th Anniversary of the First Swedish Settlement in America*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Hans Mattson, p. 4 [ AAS\_76955\_012] [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Nelson, O. N. 1893. *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*. Vol. 1. Minneapolis, Minn.: O. N. Nelson, p. 46 [ AAS\_74509-vol-1\_066] [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Nelson 1893, p. 52 [ AAS\_74509-vol-1\_072] [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Holand 1909, p. 533 [ AAS\_92127\_557] [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Semmingsen, I. 1950. *Veien mot vest II: Utvandringen fra Norge 1865-1915*. Oslo: Aschehoug, p. 45 [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Semmingsen, I. 1971. Family emigration from Bergen 1874-92. Some preliminary results of a statistical study. *Americana Norvegica* 3, 38-63, p. 40 [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Bævre, K., C. Riis, & T. Thonstad. 2001. Norwegian cohort emigration. *Journal of Population Economics* 14:3, pp. 473-489 [download.springer.com/static/pdf/468/art%253A10.1007%252Fs001480000044.pdf?auth66=1414057551\_fedc6d264c989de4564e8ec3bfbf2747&ext=.pdf] [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Semmingsen 1950, pp. 46-47 [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Lovoll, O. S. 1993. ”For people who are not in a hurry”: The Danish Thingvalla Line and the transportation of Scandinavian emigrants. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13:1, 48-67, pp. 49-50 [www.jstor.org/stable/27501114] [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
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27. Evans 2001, p. 77 [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Lext, G. 1977. *Studier rörande svensk emigration till nordamerika 1850-1880. Registrering, propaganda, agenter, transporter och resväger*. Göteborg: Landsarkivet i Göteborg, pp. 247-248 [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Holand 1909, p. 55 [ AAS\_92127\_079] [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. www.ghostsofnorthdakota.com [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
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32. Holand 1909, p. 504 [ AAS\_92127\_528] [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Holand 1909, p. 320 [ AAS\_92127\_344] [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. www.augustana.edu/general-information/swenson-center-/swedish-american-immigration-history [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. [ocp.hul.harvard.edu/immigration/scandinavian.html](file:///D:\Users\eg1arl\Downloads\ocp.hul.harvard.edu\immigration\scandinavian.html) [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Norman & Runblom 1988, pp.17-23 [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Semmingsen 1950, pp. 291-295 [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Nelson, O. N. 1897. *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*. Vol. 2. Minneapolis, Minn.: O. N. Nelson and Company, p. 18 [ AAS\_74509-vol-2\_040] [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Blegen 1926, p. 90 [archive.org/stream/olerynningstruea00rynn#page/90/mode/2up] [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Günther, F. W. 1853. *The Little American. Den lille Amerikaner*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Holand 1909, p. 256 [ AAS\_92127\_280] [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Holand 1909, Ch. 51 [ AAS\_92127\_466-469] [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. See Wyman, M. 1993. *Round-Trip to America. The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. Blegen, T. C. 1931. *Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860*. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, p. 60 [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Wyman, *Round-Trip to America*, 6; Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, 39 [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. Norman and Runblom, *Transatlantic Connections*, 108 [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\_10\_5YR\_B04003&prodType=table [↑](#endnote-ref-47)