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## Emigration through Trondheim

A gendered perspective on people emigrating  
through Trondheim, 1905-1907

Master's thesis in Department of History

Supervisor: Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia

May 2019



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## Preface

It is almost five years since I started my joint Bachelors in UCD, Ireland and almost two years since I got accepted to do my masters at NTNU, Trondheim. It has truly been five eventful years. My interest in emigration history as well as gendered research stems from my three years at UCD. I would, therefore, like to start by thanking the School of History, with an emphasis on the Irish History professors, which were truly passionate, well-educated, and able to deliver knowledge in an excellent matter. I aim to provide new insight into the Norwegian field of emigration, as well as further build on what I have learned by writing this thesis. Hopefully, the information found here will contribute to further interest in the field

Working on this thesis has been a steep learning curve, and I have found it interesting and rewarding to work on this type of project. Writing this thesis has been challenging and in this regard, I have to thank my supervisor Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia who has provided me with feedback and constructive criticism along the way. Especially towards the end when I was sending multiple drafts at all hours and he still took the time to get back to me as soon as possible.

I am incredibly grateful for the new friendships I have made along the way. This process would have been much more difficult without them.

I would further like to thank my in-laws for putting up with me through assignments and exams during the three years we were able to spend with them before moving to Norway. And of course my Norwegian family for all the support and love you always show me. I would not be where I am today without you.

Most of all, I want to thank my supporting boyfriend who has cooked and cleaned, taken care of the dog and helped maintained my supply of chocolate and coffee. He has even helped me with the proofreading. Without him, this project would have been much harder to read. And also, thank you to our dog Rocky for forcing me to get out of the apartment to get some air and daylight. I promise we will have longer walks, from now on.

Stine Sørli Bekkos

Trondheim, 13. Mai 2019

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\* The reference style used by this thesis follows the guidelines of the Irish Historical Style



## Chapter One - Introduction

### Background

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mass emigration could be seen across Europe with a majority of these emigrants setting sail for America. In fact, during the period of 1850 to 1913, more than 40 million people emigrated from the European continent and travelled to the New World.<sup>1</sup> One of the countries contributing to this mass exodus was Norway, which had the second largest rate of emigrants per citizens. When measuring the percentage of the population emigrating, the country was only surpassed by Ireland, which was the country that experienced the largest population drain during this period of time.<sup>2</sup> Migration did not start in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the south of Norway already during the 1600's saw people immigrating to the Netherlands, although this did not have a large scale impact when looking at it from a national perspective<sup>3</sup>. This example informs us that migration was somewhat a part of life before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, inland migration, especially in relation to work, had always existed and it would continue to be a part of the Norwegian culture even after the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

The emergence of 19<sup>th</sup>-century emigration from Norway tends to be correlated with the departure of Kleng Person from Rogaland County in 1821. He was sent by Quakers, a religious group to see if America was viable for them.<sup>5</sup> Following Persons return, the ship known as Restauration departed for America in 1825, which brought a group of Quakers with it.<sup>6</sup> Norway had seen what would be the first of many ships leaving its shores for America. And although emigration did not have a heavy impact on society during this time, its consequences would be seen in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup>- and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Norway experienced three large-scale waves of emigration, with the first starting in

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<sup>1</sup> Timothy J. Hatton, and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 'What drove the mass migrations from Europe in the late nineteenth century?' *Population and Development Review* 20, no. 3 (1994): 533-59.

<sup>2</sup> Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A history* (London, 2000), p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Sølvi Sogner, *Ung i Europa, Norsk ungdom over Nordsjøen til Nederland i tidlig nytid*. (Drammen, 1994) pp. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> Nils Olav Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, (Fagernes, 2006), pp. 22-28.

<sup>5</sup> SSB, 'Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk.' VII 25. Utgitt av departementet for sociale saker, Kristiania, (1921) p. 5 [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf) accessed 05.09.18

<sup>6</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 110.

1866 and ending in 1873. The second wave lasted from 1880 to 1893 and the third and final wave lasted from 1900 to 1911.<sup>7</sup> It is this last wave that will be the focus of this paper. The process of large-scale emigration started with families, and as time went on, the proportion of men compared to women, young to old, and single to married persons increased.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, Norway had seen about 38 per cent of the population leave through its ports.<sup>9</sup>

Overall, it can be seen that more men than women had emigrated. A report covering data regarding emigration from 1866 to 1915 of which men and women who were registered in the same statistics shows that 398 570 men left the country compared to 278 116 women.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the same report shows that during the four year period of 1906 to 1910, only a third of the emigrants from rural areas were female, whereas just under half of the emigrants from urban areas were women. While seeing an increase in wages from the 1880s, women were still struggling to make the ends meet on their own, with the gendered pay gap being the highest in the northern parts of Norway.<sup>11</sup> With this in mind, it could be questioned if women needed financial assistance where they to emigrate. This will be further examined throughout this paper.

Ingrid Semmingsen argued that women often travelled together.<sup>12</sup> This could be as maybe they were more likely to be single and working when leaving from an urban area, this study will discuss civil status in chapter one and the patterns of people travelling together in chapter three. She has further argued that emigrants from the start of large-scale emigration in 1866 and up until the end of 1911 were becoming younger. As a result, the number of unmarried emigrants was rising where ‘sixty per cent of the women emigrating from Christiania in 1880 were unmarried, but almost 75% were in 1907.’<sup>13</sup> However, in 1907 the number was even higher on a national scale. By using the numbers provided by the Statistical service bureau to calculate the percentage of unmarried women who emigrated it can be seen that 80.4 per cent

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<sup>7</sup> Sverre Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, Utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. (2009, Oslo), p. 444.

<sup>8</sup> Ingrid Semmingsen, ‘Norwegian emigration in the nineteenth century’, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 8:2, Published online: (20 Dec. 2011). pp. 150-160.

<sup>9</sup> Anne Beck Knudsen, ‘Those who stayed: Individualism, self-selection and cultural change during the age of mass migration.’ *IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc*, (2019), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> SSB, *Utvandringsstatistikk*, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Pål Thonstad Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940* (Bergen, 2018) p. 138

<sup>12</sup> Ingrid Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, in J. R. Christianson, ed. *Scandinavians In America Literary Life*, (Iowa, 1985), pp. 79-80.

<sup>13</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 78.

were not married at the time of departure.<sup>14</sup> This trend will be discussed further in chapter two. Semmingsen further points out how patterns of emigration changed, and that ‘finally, there was an important new development since 1880: the appearance of white-collar women working in retail trade, offices and hospitals.’<sup>15</sup>

Compared to most other countries in Europe the Norwegian ratio of men emigrating compared to women was smaller. Which could be explained by the predominant pattern of family migration.<sup>16</sup> There were exceptions to the rule which can be seen in table 1.2. When looking at emigration from Norwegian cities, it can be seen that emigration rates of women was higher from 1891 to 1895 at a ratio of 51.8 per cent to 48.6 per cent. Whilst from 1911 to 1915 it was at a ratio of 52.8 to 47.2 per cent.<sup>17</sup> It is also evident that mass emigration was largely dominated by people between the ages of 15-30. This was applicable to both sexes, but here, men had a higher emigration rate. However, when looking at the older age groups, women were the majority in four out seven age groups between 30- over 75, had a slight majority of women, the exceptions being the groups within the ages of 35-50 where there was a surplus of men. It could be questioned whether this was a consequence of if more widows were emigrating over widowed men. This will be discussed further in chapter one. It must still be noted that the difference was rather small.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian Emigration*, p. 79.

<sup>16</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 40 .

<sup>18</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 43.

Period	Total number of emigrants		%	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1866 – 1870	41 969	32 379	56.4	43.6
1871 – 1875	24 546	20 596	54.2	45.8
1876 – 1880	23 785	16 459	59.1	40.9
1881 – 1885	59 122	46 582	55.9	44.1
1886 – 1890	47 417	33 567	58.6	41.4
1891 – 1895	35 370	25 647	58.0	42.0
1896 – 1900	20 643	13 194	61.0	39.0
1901 – 1905	65 599	37 596	63.6	36.4
1906 – 1910	54 403	33 260	62.1	37.9
1911 – 1915	25 716	18 836	57.7	42.3
<b>Total</b>				
1866 – 1915	398 570	286 116	58.9	41.1

Table 1. 1 Number of emigrants divided on men and women

[https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf) SSB, p. 40<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Accessed 05.09.18

	Total percentage of emigrants from rural areas		Total percentage of emigrants from urban areas	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1876-1880	59.7	40.3	57.2	42.8
1881-1885	57.5	42.5	51.9	48.1
1886-1890	61.5	38.5	52.8	47.2
1891-1895	62.1	37.9	48.6	51.4
1896-1900	64.4	35.6	51.8	48.2
1901-1905	65.7	34.3	59.2	40.8
1907-1910	66.2	33.8	53.8	46.2
1911-1915	62.8	37.2	47.2	52.8
1876-1915	62.4	37.6	53.3	46.7

Table 1. 2 Gendered overview over rural and urban areas

Source: [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf\\_p.40](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf_p.40)<sup>20</sup>

## Trondheim

Due to the focus on emigrants who relocated through Trondheim, it is natural to offer some background. Trondheim was not the most populous city in Norway, and in the year 1900 it contained 39 000 citizens<sup>21</sup>, compared to Christiania where 227 735 people were registered that same year.<sup>22</sup> Norway as a country was in 1900 a mediocre industrial society, and while some mechanical industries had been established in Trondheim, half of these types of workplaces were centred in Christiania.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, one of the three shipyards that were built in the country at the time, where it was possible to repair and build steam ships was placed in Trondheim.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, this thesis would argue that it was natural that the more

<sup>20</sup> Accessed 05.09.18

<sup>21</sup> Ingar Kaldal, and Trøndelag Folkemuseum. *Veit og gate : Daglegliv i midtbyen i Trondheim 1880-1950*. (Trondheim, 1997). p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Population in Oslo at the end of the year <https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/aarbok/tab-2000-12-12-02.html> accessed 07.05.2019

<sup>23</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 116.

<sup>24</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 108.

northern emigrants, were travelling through Trondheim, as it was more natural for the steamships agencies to travel to and from a port where they could if needed repair their ships. It was becoming progressively easier to travel during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to improvements in infrastructure, commuting inland as well as beyond Norway had become quicker and more convenient. The period saw an increase in possibilities for transport to and from Trondheim as new steamships and railroad routes were established. A ship called *Hurtigruta* made regular commutes north and southbound and, and the railroad was now running to Sweden over Meråker.<sup>25</sup> This increase in transport opened new possibilities for people north, further inland and from Sweden to migrate to Trondheim or emigrate elsewhere by ship. After 1867, Trondheim had become the second largest emigration port in Norway, where most people from Trøndelag and northern Norway departed from, as well as the city seeing a considerable amount of Swedes passing through.<sup>26</sup>

It is worth noting that foreigners, Swedes, in particular, amounted to a significant number when it came to emigration out of Trondheim. Nationwide 13.55 per cent of the total volume leaving Norway from 1876-1915 were from Sweden.<sup>27</sup> In fact, Trondheim had the highest number of foreigners leaving from its ports in Norway. This, combined with Norwegian nationals leaving from 1911 to 1915 made it the second largest emigration port in Norway. Excluding foreign emigrants made Trondheim third behind Bergen.<sup>28</sup> This could partly be explained by the extended railroad connections from Sweden, such as the rail road route running over Meråker, which increased the lumber trade between the two countries from 1885.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kaldal, *Veit Og Gate : Daglegliv I Midtbyen I Trondheim 1880-1950*. p. 36.

<sup>26</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, Utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. p. 187.

<sup>27</sup> SSB, *Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk* p. 71.

<sup>28</sup> SSB, *Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk* pp. 72-73.

<sup>29</sup> Henry Røsoch, *Trondheims historie 1894-50*. (Trondheim, 1939), pp 198-99.

## Causes

### Push-factors

Norway's first large wave of emigration started in 1866 partly due to earlier emigration<sup>30</sup>, and overpopulation, which was a consequence of declining death rates.<sup>31</sup> A surplus in the population has been one of the most common explanation for emigration during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Europe experienced a strong population growth and in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In total, the number of Europe citizens had grown from 187 to 401 million people.<sup>32</sup> Norway also contributed to the increase as the population grew with almost a million in the space of the 60 years between 1815 and 1875.<sup>33</sup> More children surviving into adulthood due to better healthcare<sup>34</sup> led to more people looking for property to settle down in a society where farms were becoming smaller and less profitable. Farms were more and more divided into smaller units, and what previously had been land that cottagers lived and farmed on, were now being turned into independent smallholdings, which often meant that income from other industries was necessary to acquire capital.<sup>35</sup>

The 1870s started with a boom and ended with a financial downturn which lasted well into the 1880s. The stagnation of Norway's three largest exports, fishing, woodworking and the shipping industry, echoed into the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where Norway's economic growth was far lower than other European countries such as Sweden, Denmark or Britain.<sup>36</sup> This thesis would argue that this not only helps explain the last wave of emigration but also to some extent why more men than women left Norway. The majority of the professions that suffered from the stagnation were male occupations. Chapter four will further discuss labour and work migration.

Emigration as previously stated began largely as a rural phenomenon, and the majority of Norwegian emigrants continued to be from less urban areas.<sup>37</sup> This can largely be explained by the fact that Norway was predominantly a farming society, where people were more likely to be living in the countryside than in the cities. Comparatively speaking, however, higher

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<sup>30</sup> Ingrid Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest. Annen del, Utvandringen fra Norge 1865-1915*. (Oslo, 1950), p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. pp. 22-24.

<sup>32</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. p. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 60.

<sup>34</sup> Ståle Dyrvik, *Den demografiske overgangen* (Oslo, 2004), p. 34.

<sup>35</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 106.

<sup>36</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 101.

<sup>37</sup> SSB, *Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk* p. 36.

emigration rates in urban areas can be seen when looking at yearly emigrant per. 1000 citizens, which is demonstrated in table 1.3. From 1866-1915, 28.53 per cent of emigrants were registered as being from the cities of Norway, Statistics also show that emigration rates from cities grew rapidly up until the end of 1890.<sup>38</sup> During the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century more people were migrating into cities, therefore, there was also an upsurge in urban emigrants.<sup>39</sup> Some of these were possibly stage-migrants, who had come to try their luck in the city, before deciding on making what could be their last stage of migration.

Period	Population living in		Yearly emigration		Yearly emigration per. 1000 inhabitant	
	Cities	Rural areas	Cities	Rural areas	Cities	Rural areas
1866 – 1870	281 026	1 439 773	1 952	12 928	6.9	9.0
1871 – 1875	314 079	1 462 554	2 193	6 835	7.0	4.7
1876 – 1880	373 352	1 495 002	1 783	6 266	4.8	4.2
1881 – 1885	423 356	1 512 034	6 083	15 057	14.4	10.0
1886 – 1890	453 267	1 520 940	5 559	10 637	12.3	7.0
1891 – 1895	505 628	1 543 495	3 712	8 491	7.3	5.5
1896 – 1900	592 659	1 587 089	1 835	4 933	3.1	3.1
1901 – 1905	642 348	1 636 268	6 747	13 892	10.5	8.5
1906 – 1910	673 121	1 681 365	5 847	11 685	8.7	6.9
1911 – 1915	722 944	1 730 052	2 889	6 022	4.0	3.5
<b>Total</b>						
1866 – 1915	511 211	1 595 700	3 860	9675	7.6	6.1

Table 1. 3 How many people emigrated per 1000, using the average of population at the beginning and the end of the year.

Source: [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf) p. 36<sup>40</sup>

## Pull-factors

In the last section it was seen that push-factors, or factors that would make it harder for people to keep a sustainable living in the home country, such as population growth or stagnation in industries, could impact peoples decision to emigrate. However, it was also briefly mentioned that it could be a consequence of previous migration. This is an example of

<sup>38</sup> SSB, Utvandringstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> SSB, Utvandringstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 36.

<sup>40</sup> accessed 09.05.2019

conditions in the country of destination that attracts migrants. Networks of previous migrants were growing and became self-sustainable. People sent letters home with tales of good fortune and better conditions, and some of these contained a ticket or money. Letters became one of the strongest pull-factors of them all.<sup>41</sup> Letters will not be a large topic of this thesis, but migration networks and their impacts will be discussed in chapter three.

The famous Homestead Act of 1862 was one of the reasons that had pulled people to America for half a century by the time our period starts. People that wanted to become American citizens were given 160 acres of land, and Nils Olav Østrem argues that this emphasised America as the ‘promised land’.<sup>42</sup> New and different opportunities made it liberating for women to immigrate to America, as this allowed them to pursue new careers, they could even become doctors.<sup>43</sup> Chapter four will discuss this further by introducing an example of an, at the time, unusual career choice for women. America, like the rest of the western world, experienced a remarkable change where a new form of labour industry was growing. The country was in great demand for timber and mine workers, as well as construction, the same industries that Norwegians knew so well from home.<sup>44</sup>

Both push- and pull factors will be discussed in greater detail throughout the text.

## Migration research and theoretical approaches

### Theoretical approaches

Migration research is a complicated and immense field, which demands different approaches to different time-periods and scenarios. However, the field is now seeing an acceptance that neither one tool nor one discipline can achieve enlightenment.<sup>45</sup> In this segment, this chapter will aim to discuss some methods which have been used in regard to emigration history.

Neoclassical economics is divided into macro- and micro theory, where macro-theory focuses on the ‘differentials in wages and employment conditions’ in the sending and receiving country. Micro-theory, on the other hand, has a larger focus on the choices made by

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<sup>41</sup> Ole O. Moen, ‘Hundre år i oppbrudd. Utvandringa fra Lillehammer og Fåberg’, 1837-1937. in Odd S. Lovoll. Ed. Migrasjon og tilpasning. Ingrid Semmingsen. Et minneseminar. *Tid og Tanke* Nr. 3. (1998) p. 88.

<sup>42</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 62.

<sup>43</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 72.

<sup>44</sup> Moen, ‘Hundre år i oppbrudd. Utvandringa fra Lillehammer og Fåberg, 1837-1937’. p. 89.

<sup>45</sup> Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. ‘Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal.’ *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 431-66.

individuals.<sup>46</sup> This thesis implements macro theory in order to find the larger developments while using micro theory when it is needed to find specific details. Such as when looking at two case studies in chapter four.

The approaches above can be flawed, as they ignore factors which must also be considered. The New economics of migration theory considers the want to surpass failure in markets, to overcome 'capital restraints on local production' and the choice to lower the risk to family income.<sup>47</sup> This theory is useful when discussing temporary or work migration.

Dual labour market theory as world systems theory, and unlike the Neoclassical, normally ignores the micro aspects and instead focusses on the modern industrial society. While Dual labour market theory favours pull-factors as the major reason for migration, World system theory investigates the world market and its structures.<sup>48</sup>

Network theory, or what will also be referred to in this thesis as chain migration, can be defined as human relationships that 'connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants' in such a way that the risks and cost of leaving the country of origin decrease. Earlier experience with migration is argued to be 'the most important variable explaining participation in migration activities.'<sup>49</sup> From the moment someone chooses to follow another in the migration process, the process becomes self-sustainable to such extent, that it will reach wider areas of the society where the first migrant travelled from.<sup>50</sup> Network theory will be important, especially in chapter three when discussing chain migration.

Lee S. Everett, has from a sociological perspective, divided factors that impact emigration into four points, where he added personal factors to the well-established pull and push model. He acknowledges that one reason alone cannot explain why emigration takes place, while also accounting for personal factors. In order to do so, he estimates positive and negative impacts from both area of origin as well as the destination, while also accounting for restrictions and limitations on its journey such as cost of transportation, immigration laws, or

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<sup>46</sup> Massey, 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal.' pp. 431-66.

<sup>47</sup> Taylor, J. Edward, Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Douglas S. Massey, and Adela Pellegrino. "International Migration and Community Development." *Population Index* 62, no. 3 (1996): 397-418.

<sup>48</sup> Massey, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." pp. 431-66.

<sup>49</sup> J. Edward. Taylor and Antonio yúnes-naude. *Education, migration and productivity. An analytic Approach and Evidence from Rural Mexico.* (1999) p. 72.

<https://books.google.no/books?id=MMwDlpmMWN4C&pg=PA97&dq=Migration+Theory,+Human+Capital+and+Developm&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj0mIXv4fThAhXpoosKHXsuAQUQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=Network&f=false>

<sup>50</sup> Massey, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." pp. 431-66.

even physical obstacles such as the Berlin War.<sup>51</sup> Everett acknowledges the important factor that one shoe does not fit all, as ‘many exceptions will be found’<sup>52</sup> during the process of migration research.

### Historiography on migration

When looking at the history of Norwegian emigration, one cannot ignore the significant impact that Semmingsen has had on the field of research.<sup>53</sup> Not only was Semmingsen the first female professor of history in Norway, but she is, also to this day, recognised internationally as one of the leading researchers on Norwegian emigration to America. Einar Niemi suggests in a memorial tribute piece, that one could refer to a School of Semmingsen ‘Man kan godt tale om en Semmingsen-Skole’, this because she largely shaped the approach of later Scandinavian historians attempting to research on the topic of emigration from Norway.<sup>54</sup> She, on the other hand, stated her gratitude to Theodore C. Blegen and his two books under the title Norwegian Emigration to America. This as Blegen created the foundation for modern scholarly research on the topic of Norwegian emigration and settlement abroad.<sup>55</sup> The approach of these historians has largely been local case-studies with weight on demographical and economical situations, which, in turn, developed into a strong focus on the push-factor – what pushed people out of the country – as the main reason for Norwegians emigrating.<sup>56</sup>

By focusing on push-factors such as poor wages or an increase in population, rather than looking at the more social features such as Network theory, the earlier research has somewhat ignored the more personal aspects of emigration, although, there has been a growing interest in organising America-letters into their context.<sup>57</sup> The latest work done on letters from America, commonly known in Norway as Amerikabrev, is Linda Stewart’s Amerikabrev from 2017 which focusses on the correspondence belonging to Randi Pedersdatter Holtseteren from Gausdal. Works like these allows for a micro perspective, however, one must be aware of the bigger picture to find these useful, as one does not necessarily reflect

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<sup>51</sup> Everett Lee S., ‘A theory of migration’, *Demography* (1966) vol. 3, issue 1. pp. 47-57

<sup>52</sup> Lee, A theory of migration, pp. 47-57

<sup>53</sup> Odd S. Lovoll, ed. Migrasjon og tilpasning, Ingrid Semmingsen, et minneseminar. *Tid og tanke* Nr. 3 (Oslo, 1998) p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Einar Niemi, ‘Norsk emigrasjonsforskning siden Ingrid Semmingsen’. *Veien videre. i Tid og Tanke* nr. 3 (Oslo, 1998), pp 9-28.

<sup>55</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. p. 10.

<sup>56</sup> Niemi, *Norsk emigrasjonsforskning siden Ingrid Semmingsen*. p. 15.

<sup>57</sup> Niemi, *Norsk emigrasjonsforskning siden Ingrid Semmingsen* p. 23.

the many. There has been a growing focus on letters and on their impact on the emigration rate, as they contain information about how the living conditions were in the country of destination. And as mentioned above, if the person was doing well enough, the letter would often contain money or even a pre-paid ticket. Thorvald Moe saw chain migration as an important factor to large-scale emigration.<sup>58</sup> In Scandinavian research, as well as in other countries, it has been debated what impact the cost of travel had on the scale of emigration.<sup>59</sup> This puts emphasis on the argument that emigration was not for the poorest, at least not until there was a developed network in place that could send money or tickets home.

While the School of Semmingsen has largely focused on the push-factor – what drove people out of their home country – such as low salaries, population growth and lack of jobs, Østrem argues that it was pull-factors that drew the migrants. He has found that it was causes such as the economic situation in the receiving country, or family, friends and acquaintances already settled there that caused the emigration out of Norway to surge the way it did.<sup>60</sup> Here it can be seen how the field has been developing to acknowledge that it was not necessarily the situation in the home-country that drove people to emigrate.

When the second part of the book *Veien mot Vest*, which covers emigration from 1865-1915 by Semmingsen, was published in 1950, She argued that there was no need to look at the Norwegian-American settlements in the United States, as Blegen along with others had already covered the topic.<sup>61</sup> There has been significant research done on the settlements, and one of the more acknowledged would be American historian Jon Gjerde who has covered the emigration from Balestrand to the settlement in the Upper Middle West. It has also been looked at with a focus on women in *Norwegian American Women. Migration, Communities, and Identities* edited by Betty A. Bergland and Lori Ann Lahlum.

Østrem has created an overview of the bigger works on Norwegian emigration history. This proves that emigration history can be portrayed in a short and efficient manner. It has proven valuable throughout the text, both in regard to context as well as historical methods and theoretical approaches. He describes ‘the Semmingsen School’ as being more focused on the mass departure of emigrants rather than looking at the ties between the countries sending and

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<sup>58</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 43.

<sup>59</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> Nils Olav Østrem, «Suget frå Amerika». <http://www.norgeshistorie.no/industrialisering-og-demokrati/artikler/1546-suget-fra-amerika.html>. Accessed 11.12.2017

<sup>61</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. p. 12.

receiving them.<sup>62</sup> This would mean the exclusion of chain-migration, and instead, emphasising the demographical and economical situations and structures, which, again, led to a strong focus on the push factor as the main reason for Norwegians emigrating.<sup>63</sup>

The debate about pull- and push-factors as the cause of migration is a long-lasting debate in migration history with the theory behind it being developed in the 1920s.<sup>64</sup> Olav Magnussen and Gunnar Siqveland's economic studies from 1978 focusing on the emigration between 1866 and 1914 concluded that the variation in Norwegian salary had a greater influence than the variation in the American market.<sup>65</sup> While in 1977, Moe came to the conclusion that pull-factors such as higher wages in America, were the strongest as good times in America drew emigrants to the country while bad times caused fewer people to settle there.<sup>66</sup> This study would put forward the argument that both pull and push factors were interlinked as reasons for emigration, this because the combination of the strong economic growth in America, combined with the stagnation in primary industries in Norway, would have made the decision easier than if only one of the factors were in place.

When introducing push-factors, it was mentioned that population growth has been an important aspect discussed by migration researchers. In Norway and other countries the rapid growth of population has by historians such as Semmingsen<sup>67</sup> been considered to be one of the main factors. Supplementary, Jan Oldervoll suggested in 1978 that people went to America for a new and better living, while in 1980 Stein Tveite challenged the population theory and criticised Semmingsen for focusing too much on causes rooted in economic explanations, while also acknowledging that she had towards the end of her career become more hesitant in this regard.<sup>68</sup> Østrem further points out the lack of studies on what

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<sup>62</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 39.

<sup>63</sup> Niemi, *Norsk emigrasjonsforskning siden Ingrid Semmingsen*. p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> Olav Tysdal, 'Demografiske konsekvenser etter kollapsen i vårsildfisket i 1870' i *Heimen Lokal og regional historie*, bind 50, nr. 1-2013 (Trondheim, 2013), s. 14.

<sup>65</sup> Olav, Magnussen, and Gunnar Siqveland. 'Migration from Norway to the USA, 1866-1914. The use of econometric methods in analyzing historical data.' *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 80, no. 1 (1978): pp. 34-52.

<sup>66</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> Niemi, *Norsk emigrasjonsforskning siden Ingrid Semmingsen*. p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Stein Tveite 'Overbefolkning, befolkningspress og vandring' in Francis Sejersted, and Sivert Langholm. Eds. *Vandringer : Festskrift Til Ingrid Semmingsen På 70-årsdagen* (Oslo, 1980), p. 49.

consequences emigration had on the local community, and that this is despite the large focus on local case studies that have largely dominated the field of study in Norway.<sup>69</sup>

For economical background, and a larger understanding of how push-factors might have impacted men and women, this research paper has largely used Pål Thonstad Sandvik's book *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. Its coverage of the weakened growth from 1875-1905 has provided a valuable context to the situation in Norway.

Supplementary, the focus on Norway's three largest industries at the time, as well as on emigration and women's growing participation in the labour market has been particularly useful. This book has been particularly important when discussing professions in regard to both men and women, as well as women's political and economic position.

The question of who the Norwegian emigrants were has been widely debated amongst scholars. Kåre Bevre, a Norwegian economist, has investigated how the groups of emigrants were as a collective. In other terms, he wanted to know if Norway was losing the strongest or the smartest, the poorest or the rich the old or the young<sup>70</sup> to other countries. Østrem comments on the groupings that left Norway when he states that maybe the migration out of Norway was more a 'health drain than a brain drain, or even maybe hand drain'.<sup>71</sup> With this he means that the people that left were often skilled in practical work, as the country saw young healthy men and women leave, while the old and the sick often stayed at home.

	Unmarried	Married	Widowed/Divorced	Total	%
<b>1905</b>					
Men	10 331	2 498	126	12 935	79.87
Women	6 291	1 576	257	8 124	77.44
<b>1906</b>					
Men	11 232	2537	102	13 871	80.97
Women	6 367	1 467	203	8 090	78.64
<b>1907</b>					
Men	11 289	2451	132	13872	81.38
Women	6 614	1 446	203	8 263	80.04

Table 1. 4 Emigrants from the entire country, calculated by gender and civil status.

Source: [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 43.

<sup>70</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 45.

<sup>71</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 45.

Semmingsen has, in her chapter on women in Norwegian emigration, asked an important question regarding emigrants leaving Norway: ‘How many of these were women?’ This chapter manages to emphasise the importance of looking at women as a group as well as men, and by doing so, she has provided historians who aim to investigate Norwegian emigration with a valuable insight which is still relevant today. For example, she states that family emigration had dropped significantly in 1907, and also explains how there were a few unmarried mothers leaving<sup>72</sup>. This was clearly a pattern that indicated changes within the Norwegian society. As this chapter was published in 1958 it needs to be supported by with other relevant literature when it is available. This, for the reason that, although the statistics may largely be the same, new research will to some extent, have discovered new aspects and questions. However, as already discussed, the field has relied heavily on Semmingsen and largely based its examinations on her theories. Therefore, it is still highly relevant to rely on her research. Semmingsen’s focus throughout is as the title states, women in Norwegian emigration, this research paper will use the background that Semmingsen provides regarding Norwegian women, to compare in more detail the emigrating women to the emigrating men.

Semmingsen briefly mentioned how there was an existing concern for the safety and moral of women travelling alone, and she references how Janet Rasmussen drew her attention to a pamphlet called *Guide for Young Girls*, published in 1887.<sup>73</sup> Rasmussen has collected oral history of Scandinavian immigrants since 1979.<sup>74</sup> This book has been consulted to achieve a further understanding of the statistics provided in the protocols. Semmingsen also expressed gratefulness to Rasmussen, as she found that the feminist movements in both Norway and America had common interests and influences went ‘back and forth across the Atlantic in the feminist movement from the 1880s onwards.’<sup>75</sup> Another author who has looked at the views on women travelling alone is James Bryce who has written about the promotion of moral, and philanthropic causes and how women in America were freer and more unrestrained.<sup>76</sup> It is no secret that history has, for the most of its existence as a professional field, been controlled by men, and that women have been excluded in many parts of history. It is only in the last 40-50 years that their role has become more emphasised.<sup>77</sup> And it is only in the last ten, that

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<sup>72</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian Emigration*, p. 77.

<sup>73</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 81.

<sup>74</sup> David M Reimers, ‘New Views about Immigrants: Black and White.’ *Reviews in American History* 23, no. 2 (1995): pp. 260-65 .

<sup>75</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 87.

<sup>76</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 83.

<sup>77</sup> John Tosh, *The pursuit of history, aims, methods and new directions in the study of history*. 6th ed. (New York, 2015), p. 229.

historians have started to realise that one needs to compare both genders to achieve a more realistic picture. Today one is seeing a move from focusing on female history to a more gendered view. One example is the book edited by Ida Blom and Sølvi Sogner, *Med kjønnspektiv på Norsk historie* published in 2005, which covers the Norwegian history from a gendered perspective. This book has provided valuable context to the female side of emigration.

The book *Norwegian American Women. Migration, Communities, and Identities*, has been valuable to this thesis, and in particular, it has been important in regard to the sections regarding labour. The book aims to bring the female emigrant into the light as more than just playing a background role to their husbands, as it focuses on both married and unmarried women in the process of emigration. It also criticises the narrow story that has largely been presented by ‘prominent men’ and it discredits the stereotypical portrayal of women. The volume grew out of a lack of works focusing on the Norwegian American woman. The book is represented by both men and women as well as that the authors have different nationalities, this provides different interpretations which are valuable in gathering a full portrayal of the emigration process. The works in this book, shows how the field of Norwegian emigration largely has attracted more curiosity from the American side than the Norwegian. The chapters used by this thesis have been written by Elisabeth Lønnå, Odd S. Lovoll and Lori Ann Lahlum, and they all provide a good representation of the gendered context which is valuable in understanding the background to the reasons for why men and women left Norway. Lønnå looks at gender roles and ‘changes in the status of women in Norway’ from when the American Civil War ended in 1865 until after the first world war.<sup>78</sup> She here provides a good context to the changes Norway went through as it emerged into an industrial society. Lovoll uses previous research to dismiss the misconception that emigration was a ‘male phenomenon’ and to explain the complexity of the choices that were made by women deciding to emigrate.<sup>79</sup> While Lahlum has focused on female labour and community in rural Norwegian America<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> Elisabeth Lønnå, ‘Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration’, in Betty A. Bergland & Lori Ann Lahlum, eds. *Norwegian American women. Migration, communities, and identities*. (St. Paul, 2011.), p. 23.

<sup>79</sup> Odd. S. Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, in Bergland & Lahlum, eds. *Norwegian American women*. p. 51.

<sup>80</sup> Lori Ann Lahlum, ‘Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920’, in Bergland & Lahlum, eds. *Norwegian American women*. p. 79.

Kari Ellen Lindbekk has written a PhD about the lives of people from Trøndelag. She has by consulting church registers, censuses and emigration protocols, been able to create her own database in an SPSS-format.<sup>81</sup> By doing so she was able to investigate the lives of the people that were born in 1855, as well as men and women born in the same year that moved to the area. Moreover, she has also included the parents and spouses of these men and women, to create a full and detailed analysis of their lives. This work is important to this master thesis due to the focus on people from Trøndelag, as well as information she has provided in regard to Trondheim as an emigration port. Lindbekk's focus on the lives of these "Trøndere"<sup>82</sup> is important as it provides a context to how their lives were in Norway, and also, how emigration sometimes became an important trend in their communities. It highlights the importance of emigration in this region of Norway, which makes it highly relevant for the purpose of this thesis.

Jostein Molde has, in *Trondhjemske samlinger* from 2006, written about how Trondheim was the second largest emigration port in Norway, where his focus was on gold diggers leaving Trondheim in 1850, the development of steamships, local railroads and to some extent he discussed how people from rural areas waiting to emigrate impacted Trondheim. This thesis has not been able to find any other works that looks at Trondheim as an emigration port in this way. Molde here points out how there are many possibilities for migration studies that have not yet been exploited.<sup>83</sup>

### Purpose of the study and Research questions – its significance to the field and the current day situation.

The purpose of this study is to identify gendered differences by analysing the emigration protocols covering overseas emigration from Trondheim, through focusing on the period of 1905-1907. There will be a focus on the choices made by the emigrants, were they more or less looking for employment and financial security, or were they curious and adventurous? Perhaps they wanted to see their family again, or maybe it was a combination of multiple reasons. The study of Norwegian history has largely been using local case studies to find

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<sup>81</sup> Kari Ellen Lindbekk, and Universitetet i Oslo Institutt for Arkeologi, Konservering Og Historie. *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød : Livsløpene til trønderne født i 1855 og foreldrene deres : 1815-1910*, (2017), p. 18.

<sup>82</sup> People from the county Trøndelag in Norway

<sup>83</sup> Jostein Molde, 'Trondheim som utvandringssby. Forutsetninger-forløp-omfang.' *Trondhjemske samlinger* (Orkanger, 2006), p. 47.

causes for emigration<sup>84</sup>. This thesis will, by using Trondheim as an emigration port, gather information from a wide group of people, registered in the emigration protocols, while comparing it to the emigration-flow from Christiania, the capital of Norway at the time, when needed. By doing so this research paper hopes to find answers as to why Norwegians chose to leave. Furthermore, it will compare male and female emigrants in order to identify if they were likely to make different choices, and to discover what developments were impacting them. The overall thesis question is: What distinctions and similarities can we find between Norwegian men and women emigrating out of Trondheim? This will, in turn, help discover what the emigration protocols from Trondheim during the years 1905-1907 can tell us about people's choices to emigrate?

This thesis is relevant to the field of emigration history in many ways. First and foremost, the comparative gendered approach to why men and women left Trondheim, has not been mentioned in earlier research that women often left either with their husbands or to join them<sup>85</sup>. In order to understand why there was mass emigration from Norway during this period, it is not sufficient to say that men left to gain employment and/or land, and that women first left with their husbands, then, as time went on, to join them, and that in the later years, they left to gain employment.<sup>86</sup> It must be looked at in more detail to truly reveal why women and men chose to leave Norway, and if the reasons were largely the same. This thesis is important in this regard as it will provide new insight on emigration from a gendered perspective, and, in turn, this will bring more context to the emigration debate.

This thesis will further contribute to the culturally based research on migration, as focusing on motive can be an appeal for more focus on the human factor, and a move away from the larger structures of society.<sup>87</sup> The question of Norwegian emigration has, on the Norwegian side particularly, largely been represented from an economical and demographically perspective, this thesis would argue that this is largely due to the great impact of Semmingsen and what Østrem refers to as the Semmingsen-School.<sup>88</sup> He further argues that the Norwegian field of emigration history needs to direct its focus more on women, children and the youth and that the gendered perspective has been partly neglected in this regard.<sup>89</sup> It is, therefore,

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<sup>84</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p. 58.

<sup>85</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian Emigration*, p. 76.

<sup>86</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian Emigration*, p. 76.

<sup>87</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 111.

<sup>88</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 44.

<sup>89</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*. p. 113.

important that more works attempt to focus on the social-historical aspect as well. This will provide the field with a more thorough understanding of why Norwegian emigrants decided to leave.

This thesis also provides analytic information about people travelling together with someone, both children and adults, and I would argue that this has not been done in the way that it will be documented in chapter three. This project considers emigrants travelling in groups to be an important factor in relation to why there was emigration, as there can be no doubt that during this period of time, it was safer to travel in groups than to trek the unknown alone.

Furthermore, this information can further help us determine the similarities and differences between the two genders.

By choosing to compare the protocols and one of the local newspaper, this thesis provides a more varied approach which as far as this thesis is concerned, has not yet been done for Trondheim. This study would argue that Trondheim, as an emigration port, although mentioned in larger works done by scholars such as Semmingsen and Østrem, has been somewhat neglected. Molde can be counted as one of the few, if not, the only historian that has focused specifically on Trondheim in this regard. He has largely focused on the transport aspect from Trondheim, while this thesis aims to provide an insight from a social and cultural historical perspective. By looking at emigration from Trondheim in particular, this thesis aims to find and compare national differences.

Finally, the term return migration is in need of an update as it has become somewhat of an umbrella term for everyone that was coming back to their country of origin. This excludes this thesis would suggest, the major differences that can be found by distinguishing what will be referred to in the text as: visiting home, circular migration and returning home to settle. These three categories can help to discover trends that has not yet been addressed in other research. By comparing different motives behind returning it might be possible to understand how a visiting previous emigrant impacted people at home compared to a circular emigrant. In the context of this study the focus will be on the difference between men and women in this regard.

## Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters and has been structured thematically while also progressing somewhat chronological. This way of arranging the research data, has been considered the most efficient way of drawing comparisons between the years considered, and,

to determine if there were trending factors and to decide if they tended to differ between the genders, and if so how they were dissimilar.

Chapter one introduces the historical background relevant to the thesis and presents some of the most common causes of emigration. Then it familiarises itself with the theoretical approaches to the field of migration before discussing some of the vast research previously written. Thereafter it presents the purpose of the study as well as the research questions, before now building the disposition, introducing the source material and methods used to analyse them, as well as explaining some definitions important to the thesis.

Chapter two analyses how many people emigrated out of Trondheim. It discusses the gendered differences in numbers, as well as the patterns related to civil status. It briefly discusses arrival destinations before addressing the situation in regard to emigration from the city of Trondheim. Thereafter it introduces the local newspaper and its importance in regard to emigration. Chapter two while being the shortest chapter of the thesis, is important as it introduces statistics and information which chapter three and four will be depending on to develop arguments and to answer the research question.

Chapter three will by considering reasons unrelated to work, attempt to find if men or women were more or less inclined to travel due to wanderlust or chain migration. It will attempt to provide a detailed analysis into people's choices as stated in the protocols, as well as, study how many people were travelling on an American ticket compared to a travel document purchased in Trondheim in order to discover different patterns. Thereafter it will discover the trends in people deciding to travel with someone, and subsequently, this thesis discusses return migrants that were again travelling back to America. By analysing these aspects, gendered contrasts should become clearer and with this information, this thesis intends to discover more about emigrants in regard to how gender distinguished emigrants travelling out of Trondheim.

Chapter four seeks to discover patterns regarding professions. In order to do so, it considers the question of unemployment as a reason for emigration, before looking into three of the most common professions taken on by the emigrants in America, as according to the protocols. Subsequently, it discusses if the people leaving had stated that they were changing professions and if so, what changes they were likely to make. This chapter will further discuss work migration or temporary migration, and then finally introduced one male and one female case study by focusing on unusual career choices.

Chapter five is the final and concluding chapter of this thesis. Therefore, this chapter will aim to bring the research together and conclude on what the emigration protocols from Trondheim during the years 1905-1907 can tell us about people's choices to emigrate? And what distinctions and similarities can be found when researching Norwegian men and women emigrating out of Trondheim?

### Sources and methods

The primary source material considered for this thesis is the emigration protocols from 1904-1907 and 1907-1911 from Trondheim, with the focus being on the years 1905-1907. It has taken the advantage of the transcribed version published online by the Digital Archive and it has therefore been natural to use the transcribed version. This means that it has to be considered that human errors might not only have been made by the emigration officer but also by the persons transcribing the sources. Therefore, when in doubt, this thesis has consulted the scanned documents in order to rule out any errors made by the transcribers. The protocols provides information on the company emigrants travelled with, what type of employment they had in Norway and the type of profession they were taking on in their country of destination. Further they also inform us on the emigrants' civil status, their age, where they were from and their arrival destination. These protocols also mention what ship they were travelling with, where the ticket was bought, as well as their reasons for leaving Norway.

This thesis has systematically examined the police protocols and based its empirical research on the findings from this investigation. Due to the primary sources chosen for this thesis, it has become natural to use quantitative methods and descriptive statistics, to create an overview over the material and, further, to be able to analyse the statistics. However, it must be acknowledged, that by choosing to do so, different answers will be achieved, depending on what information is prioritised.<sup>90</sup> For instance, this thesis has chosen to ignore foreigners travelling through Trondheim. If they had been included in the calculations of this research, different results would have been achieved than what this thesis will discover.

The thesis has knowingly decided to exclude people who provided other countries as their home. This is due to two reasons. The first being that few foreigners were registered with a reason for emigrating, and the second is that the thesis question focuses on the differences

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<sup>90</sup> Knut Kjelstadli, *Fortida er ikke hva den en gang var – en innføring i historiefaget*. (Oslo, 1999) p. 232.

and similarities between Norwegian men and women. And what differences than can be discovered from the protocols as to their reasons for emigrating. It is therefore not relevant to the questions set by this thesis to include other nationalities.

In 1867 a legislation came into effect, making it mandatory that every person that was emigrating out of Norway were to be registered and logged into the police protocols.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, the officers were not obliged to record the reasons for emigrating, as this did not become a requirement until 1905.<sup>92</sup> This thesis has therefore restricted itself to Norwegian emigrants leaving Trondheim during the years 1905-1907, which was a part of the last wave of emigration that lasted from 1900-1911. This means that it cannot provide a representative picture of why people decided to leave in the first two large-scale waves. But that it will acknowledge the earlier waves importance while focusing on these three years.

The thesis has as also consulted the local newspaper Trondhjems Adresseavis as a supporting primary source that today, is now commonly known as Adresseavisen. The newspaper has been scanned and made available online through the national library and is therefore easily accessible for research. Newspapers from the period can be used to help provide an understanding as to what agendas were being reported on and their contents can provide an informative picture as to what was considered to be important. The larger part of the Norwegian population was literate due to the great efforts made to make school compulsory during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, the information delivered by the newspapers would have been able to reach all classes of the population. Here this thesis have therefore used qualitative hermeneutics by attempting to find meaning through text analysis.<sup>94</sup> When looking at only one newspaper the researcher must be aware that it provides information from one particular view. In this instance, the paper, although publicly being an independent newspaper, had taken a conservative stance.<sup>95</sup>

This research has also consulted some letters from a collection in the archives put together by local historian Arnold Bakken<sup>96</sup>, although they have mostly been used to support an

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<sup>91</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825 – 1975*. p. 325.

<sup>92</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, 80.

<sup>93</sup> Ida Blom & Sølvi sogner eds. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*. (Oslo, 2005), p. 225.

<sup>94</sup> Søren Kjørup, *Menneskevidenskaberne humanistiske forskningstraditioner 2* (Frederiksberg, 2008), s. 67.

<sup>95</sup> Wilhelm K. Støren, and Adresseavisen. *Adresseavisen to hundre år : Fra postrytternes Til telesatellitenes tidsalder*. (Trondheim, 1967), p. 193.

<sup>96</sup> Brevsamling av Arnold Bakken, Arkiv PH-0691. Serie: G- Kopier av "Amerikabrev" G – L0001, Arkivverket Trondheim

argument, rather than to provide new information. Here text analysis has again been implemented.

As this thesis discusses the choices made by the emigrants, it will consider the age groups from 10 years and upwards, this, as children more often than not would have been reliant on their parents or guardians to make the choice for them.<sup>97</sup> Normally, previous research has limited itself to classifying adults from the age of 15 years and upwards. However, as this thesis have recorded evidence stating that some children as young as 10 years were travelling over alone to work<sup>98</sup>, it has therefore been decided to lower the age limit. Furthermore, this thesis main focus is not on demographical factors other than Trondheim as a port of emigration. As a consequence, any patterns of settlement, or where emigrants were from will not be addressed in greater detail, unless it is important to the reason as to why they left.

The data from the protocols were collected by focusing on the categories; civil status, gender, their reason for leaving, and the profession they were planning on entering when settled in their country of destination. Furthermore, it has also focussed on the tickets that emigrants were travelling on. This thesis has gathered and thoroughly gone through all emigrants from the start of 1905 to the end of 1907 so that it would be possible to compare the similarities and differences between men and women. Underlying this has also been important in revealing, what they did before getting on the emigration ship, which professions they would undertake in America, where their tickets were bought, if they were travelling over to reunite with someone or if they had other reasons for making the journey. However, the reasons for leaving were not written down for all the emigrants. Whether this was because they did not provide one, or if the police agents found it to insignificant to take down, is hard to tell. While not all names have been matched with a reason, it provides us with enough material to determine the reasons given for leaving, and if they were different depending on gender roles, where they were from and age.

One must take into account that the demographical reasons for leaving were to some degree different and that therefore, the protocols from Trondheim can only aim to provide an accurate picture for the areas where people left by using Trondheim as an emigration port. This thesis has therefore chosen to not go into detail about the different locations people stated they were emigrating from, but rather focus on all as one group emigrating out of

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<sup>97</sup> Lee, A theory of migration, pp. 47-57.

<sup>98</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, Nr. 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12, 1904-1907 Emigrant 1785, <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og0000000163121> accessed 24.04.19

Trondheim. Another limitation is that many still did not provide a reason for leaving, or it was not taken down by the emigration officers. Furthermore, when conducting research by using written material one has to account for human errors. As for example, on page 101 of the protocol, it is seen that a woman has been put down as being a widow (enke), but her reason for leaving Norway was registered as travelling to her husband (reiser til manden).<sup>99</sup> Maybe the most important limitation lies within the information itself, as one can imagine that upon stating to the officer why one was leaving the country, the more personal reasons would have been left out. Therefore, it is difficult to discover what the actual reason people had for emigrating by using the protocols. Nonetheless, by using the information found in the protocols and Trondhjems Adresseavis, this thesis aims to find the gendered differences between men and women.

This thesis will also depend on a report from the Statistic central bureau in Norway that covers the emigration statistics of Norway, which was published in 1921. This report covers the history of the emigration, statistics regarding gender, age, geographic movement, employment and position, ports, places of destination, return migrants and so forth. This report will, therefore, provide useful information when placing the emigration patterns of Trondheim into a national context. Additionally, the 1900 census has been consulted when it has been appropriate.

There is no appendix attached to this thesis, as the information available within the text. However, if questions should arise, it will be available upon request.

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<sup>99</sup> SAT, Trondheim politikammer, 32/L0013: Emigrantprotokoll XII 14.09-10.10, 1904-1907, s. 101. <https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43740/101?indexing=> accessed 26.11.18

Figure 1 Picture of the emigration protocol from 1904-1907 Source: <https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43740/22?indexing=> accessed 01.11.2019



Figure 2 Picture of Trondhjems Adresseavis, Tirsdag 22. Mai 1906

Source: <https://www.nb.no/items/49f8be1e8f284dd8f4934da1758a8439?page=0&searchText=> accessed 03.05.19

## Definitions and explanations

Migration is when one moves from one place to another. In order to separate people moving in and out of a country they are referred to as immigrants and emigrants respectively, and as this thesis is looking at people travelling through Trondheim and out of the country, the term emigrant will be more used than immigrant.

Chain Migration is a terminology used to explain when a migrant is influenced by a former to emigrate. Letters are the most common source of reference when discussing this type of migration.

When referring to Stage Migration it signifies people who have moved at least once before moving to their final destination.<sup>100</sup>

A Return Migrant is someone who has returned to their original homestead or at least country of origin.

Temporary or Work Migrant refers to someone that is planning to move for a shorter and often set period of time, to earn money. They might do this on multiple occasions, but the goal is not to move for good, but often to bring home money either to a household or to be able to build one.

During the time period that is covered by this thesis, Trondheim was originally spelt as Trondhjem, for the purpose of this study it has been decided to write Trondheim as we write it today.

Christiania was the old name for Norway's capital Oslo, and as it is referred to as Christiania in the statistics it will be referred to as such throughout the text.

When in the text, unless otherwise specified, emigrants from Trondheim will be the equivalent of emigrants using Trondheim as an emigration port, and not necessarily citizens of Trondheim.

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<sup>100</sup> Østrem, Norsk utvandringshistorie, pp. 89-91.

## Chapter Two - Foundation

This chapter will analyse and set up the statistics which will be referred to throughout the text. It will aim to discuss the differences and similarities from 1905 to 1907 while also providing a gendered approach to the trends discovered. By doing so it will be able to identify different aspects of male and female emigration. In order to do so it investigates the significance of civil status and arrival destination, as well as introducing the city Trondheim and the statistics relevant to the city. And, also analyse the content found in Trondhjems Adresseavis that is related to the topic of emigration in order to provide qualitative evidence to compare with the quantitative evidence regarding the migratory process.

Norway was, by experiencing an increasing growth of Emigrants, different to most other countries in Europe that had previously been impacted by large-scale emigration during this period. This, the Statistical central bureau explained, was a consequence of the economic setbacks Norway saw at the start of the century, combined with the financial growth experienced in The United States.<sup>101</sup> These arguments long dominated the field of historical emigration research, and although these would have been contributing factors, this thesis suggests that it cannot be strictly stated that these were the only causes. Furthermore, more personal aspects and chain migration must be considered. Even if economic factors had been the only reasons, they would have impacted men and women differently due to the differences in how society was structured around gender norms. Therefore, throughout the next chapters, this thesis will aim to find and discuss the reasons provided by the emigrants themselves in the protocols, by asking what the emigration protocols tell us about people's choices to emigrate.

Between the years of 1901 to 1910, 155 297 people left Norway.<sup>102</sup> From the start of 1905 to the end of 1907, the emigration protocols show that 10 807 Norwegian adults registered to emigrated from Trondheim. This was the equivalent of 6.95 per cent of the nation's total emigrating population during the ten years in total. When comparing Trondheim to other national cities, it can be witnessed that Christiania from 1901-1910, experienced 8.7 per cent

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<sup>101</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 23.

of its citizenz emigrating, in comparison, Bergen saw a 9.3 per cent departure of its population, and from Trondheim, 7.2 per cent of the citizens did the same.<sup>103</sup> When looking at the statistics from table 2.1 it is possible to see how many people left from the counties where emigrants that emigrated out of Trondheim were most likely to be emigrating from. From the numbers provided here it is discovered that a total of 32 297 people left from these counties from 1901 to 1910. This further tells us that the number of people leaving from Trondheim in the period 1905-1907 amounted to about one-third of these counties emigration flow combined from 1901 to 1910.

Counties	Emigrants leaving 1901-1910	Emigrants leaving Trondheim 1905-1907	%
Sør-Trøndelag	10 625		
Nord-Trøndelag	6 677		
Nordland	10 317		
Troms	3 571		
Finnmark	1 107		
<b>Total</b>	<b>32 297</b>	<b>10 807</b>	<b>33.46 %</b>

Table 2. 1 People leaving out of Trøndelag and the northern counties. Source:

[https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_025.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf) p. 29<sup>104</sup>

## 1905

The police protocol from 1905 registered 5256 people leaving Trondheim.<sup>105</sup> When looking at the numbers in greater detail, 3028 of these were written down as being from Norway. This means that a total of 42.38 per cent of the emigrants from Trondheim in 1905 has been excluded from the calculations of this thesis. The excluded emigrants who took advantage of the emigration ships leaving from Trondheim that year were: 1259 Swedes, 37 Finns, a Russian and a person from Holland. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that people registered as living in America could have been from countries other than Norway, they could even have been born in America. In 1905 the difference between men and women travelling were as it can be seen in table 2.2 similar to the following years, with 34.47 per

<sup>103</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 38

<sup>104</sup> Accessed 03.05.19

<sup>105</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr. 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12, 1904, 5256 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000166593> accessed 25.03.19

cent of the population leaving being female. This means that 930 children under the age of ten were also emigrating during the year of 1905.

## 1906

According to the police protocols, 5580 people boarded on a ship leaving Trondheim in 1906.<sup>106</sup> Amongst these, there were 1169 adults registered as Swedes. This thesis has found from the protocol of 1906 that 121 who were registered as living in America were from countries other than Norway. They have, therefore, been excluded from the calculations of this thesis when it has been obvious from the protocols that they were not Norwegian.

Further, there was one person from Riga (which was a part of Russia at the time), and one registered as living in Russia. There were 37 people from Finland, five from Denmark, and one from Africa. When comparing the numbers of foreign emigrants with the numbers in table 2.2 it is found that 23.92 per cent of the people travelling out of Norway were foreign. When going through the protocol it was discovered that 3545 men and women from Norway at the age of ten or higher left the country in 1906. This indicates that the rest which remains uncounted for in this thesis were children younger than ten years old. This means that the male to female ratio leaving this year was almost identical with the following year, as 65.56 per cent of the men were written down at the emigration office.

## 1907

The emigrants of 1907 are mostly written down in emigration protocol nr.13 which covers the years from 1904 and up until the middle of October 1907.<sup>107</sup> The rest of the year then carry over into protocol nr. 14, where emigrants from 1907-1911 were recorded.<sup>108</sup> In total, Trondheim saw 6286 people leaving its shore in 1907. These numbers contained 1319 adults who were not registered as being Norwegian. There were 1247 Swedes, 1 Dane, 37 Finns, 4 Russians and 30 people registered with their homestead as being American, but with Swedish surnames. Furthermore, 4234 Norwegians at the age of ten or older was found to have left Trondheim the same year. This means that there were 733 children at the age of ten or younger of both Norwegian and other nationalities that were emigrating. When breaking it down into gender as seen in table 2.2, it was discovered that 1329 women and 2905 men

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<sup>106</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr. 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12, 1904, 5580, <https://media.digitalarkivet.no/view/43740/281> accessed 25.03.19

<sup>107</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr. 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12, 1904-1907 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000178101> accessed 22.04.19

<sup>108</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr. 14: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 13, 1907-1911, Protocol <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000178539> accessed 22.04.19

emigrated that same year. Here it has been calculated that women had the lowest emigration rate compared to men, as, of a total number of Norwegians leaving in 1907, 31.38 per cent were women and 68.61 were men.

Gender	People leaving during the 3 respective years.			Total	Increase from 1905-1907	Increase in %
	1905	1906	1907			
Women	1044	1221	1329	3594	285	27.29
Men	1984	2324	2905	7213	1046	52.72
<b>Total</b>	3028	3545	4234	10 807	1331	43.95

Table 2.2 Men and women migrating from Trondheim 1905 -1907

### 1905-1907

In order to achieve a more comprehensive overview of the developments depicted above. This section will now look at the three years simultaneously. By doing so, it is found that people had become less likely to travel with children, which this study argues was connected to the countries dropping fertility rates.<sup>109</sup> There were more emigrants amongst both genders from 1905 to 1907, and emigrants out of Trondheim had during this period increased with almost 44 per cent in total. From table 2.2 this thesis further discovered that the number of male emigrants had increased almost twice as much for the women with the number of men rising with 52.73 per cent compared to female emigrants who only had an overall growth of 27.29 per cent. With a 66.74 per cent male majority emigrating from Trondheim, the gendered difference correlates with the national development. In fact, from 1906-1910 on a nationwide level, male emigration was at 62.1 per cent.<sup>110</sup> This means that male emigration comparatively was slightly larger from Trondheim than from the nation overall. This could have been a consequence of more work-migrants travelling through Trondheim than other areas, which will be further discussed by an example in chapter four. The difference could have been caused by better conditions in the capital for female workers and the differences in male and female wages. In addition this thesis would suggest that the more delayed emigration<sup>111</sup> from parts of northern Norway, also impacted the ratio between men and women emigrating. This as chain migration was not as established from these regions as from Christiania and the surrounding areas. Throughout next chapters these aspects will be

<sup>109</sup> Lønnå, 'Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration', p. 39.

<sup>110</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 42.

<sup>111</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. pp. 370-71.

discussed in greater detail in order to answer what the protocols can tell us about people migrating, and what gendered differences and similarities existed.

### Civil status

This thesis has found that 414 men and women were not registered with a civil status. Likewise, these people were either registered as children travelling with their parents, even though they were adults, or not given a civil status at all. One of the emigrants registered as a child was Bergliot Hauan from Trondheim,<sup>112</sup> who was emigrating with her parents and brothers in 1905. She was born in 1883 but was registered as being an adolescent. She might have been registered as a child because she did not provide a profession to the emigration officers, or maybe she was unemployed. Her father was a dock-worker, and her mother was noted down as being a housewife. This was according to the national trend where more women were becoming more likely to be housewives<sup>113</sup>. And although her two brothers, born in 1891 and 1894 were also registered as children, she was the only one of the children that would have been seen as an adult according to the views of the time, as her brothers were under the age of 15. Furthermore, it is likely that if Bergliot was not working, it was part of a larger trend, as the number of unmarried women living at home was increasing. In fact, by 1930, this number had reached a new high.<sup>114</sup> The family might even have wanted and needed the additional income that Bergliot could have provided if employed. The topic of unemployment will be further discussed in chapter four.

The people emigrating out of Trondheim during the time period considered for this thesis were most likely to be unmarried and this was applicable to both men and women. Men were even more likely to be unattached than their female equivalents, as while 69.44 per cent of their female counterparts considered for this thesis were single, only 18.15 per cent of the men were recorded as being married. Semmingsen stated that the group of unmarried women that were emigrating from Christiania in 1880 had risen from 60 per cent women emigrating to almost 75 per cent in 1907<sup>115</sup>. When comparing this to Trondheim, it was discovered that 64.55 per cent emigrating women were unmarried that same year. This confirms that emigrants from Trondheim were similar to the rest of the nation in regard to civil status, as

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<sup>112</sup> Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr. 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12, 1904-1907, <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000162048> accessed 25.04.2019

<sup>113</sup> Blom & sogner eds, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*. pp. 262-263.

<sup>114</sup> Blom & Sogner eds. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, p. 307.

<sup>115</sup> Semmingsen in *Women in Norwegian emigration*, 78.

most people arriving in America were unmarried.<sup>116</sup> Then again Trondheim was a little less likely to send women to America than the capital was. This was probably, as discussed in chapter one, linked with the gendered wage-differences being higher further north. This thesis would argue that this made it more difficult for women to make the journey, as they were more reliant on support. This will be discussed further in chapter three. While there was an increase in both unmarried and married men and women, both genders had a stronger relative increase amongst the married people emigrating. It can, from the numbers in table 2.3 be seen that the unmarried proportion of emigrants was decreasing. As in 1905, 69.4 per cent of the women and 80.09 per cent of the men, were unmarried, whilst in 1907 64.55 per cent women and 74.66 per cent men were the same. It is likely that this development was connected to the fact that Norway was seeing more women becoming housewives.<sup>117</sup> Especially from the cities, this thesis would argue that this impacted the patterns as there was no farm to maintain while the husband left for America. It is likely that rural emigrants, if it was possible, waited with selling the farm at home until it was certain that they could make a better living abroad. Likewise, from Trondheim, it seems that this development was, to some degree, impacting the way people were emigrating.

	1905	1906	1907	Total
<b>Men</b>				
Married	360	480	522	1 362
Unmarried	1 589	1 741	2 169	5 499
Widowed	19	40	40	99
No info	16	63	174	253
<b>Women</b>				
Married	270	339	362	871
Unmarried	725	752	858	2 335
Widowed	40	52	35	127
No info	9	78	74	161

Table 2. 3 Civil status

From table 2.3 it is evident that very few travelled over as a widow or a widower, but that in this category, there were in fact twice as many women as there were men. 40 women were registered as being widowed compared to only 19 men being in the same situation. Women might have found that the higher wages would more easily provide for them and their

<sup>116</sup> Lovoll, 'Norwegian immigration and women', p. 54.

<sup>117</sup> Blom & Sogner eds. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*. p. 306.

children, or maybe they already had family members established in America who could help them after they were left widowed. Married women were less likely to be working than men. In fact, the number of women registered as engaged in paid employment reached 33 per cent in 1910<sup>118</sup>. This, throughout the century, would develop into a ‘cultural phenomenon’ where marriage and work did not belong.<sup>119</sup> From the book *New Land New Lives*, a project of oral history put together by Rasmussen, it was found that a mother with children emigrated out from Trondheim and to America as ‘being she was alone, she thought we’ll do better over here.’ And it was further discovered from the interview that the mother had lived in America with relatives for a few years when younger.<sup>120</sup> She is, for that reason, also an example of a return migrant, and people that had already emigrated once, were more likely to do so on another occasion.<sup>121</sup> By looking at the findings from the protocols that is revealed in table 2.4, it is plausible that there were other widows with children that saw America as a better possibility for her and their children. Lovise M. Andersen, born in 1863, was registered in the protocols as the widow of a fisherman.<sup>122</sup> She was travelling with one child and her ticket was bought in America. It is likely that either family or relatives of her or her late husband, had paid for her ticket. She might have felt that her daughter would have better prospects and more possibilities in America. This thesis would put forward the argument that widows were sometimes, if not forced, then in more need of emigration than a man in the same situation. This as a widower was likely to already have an income that had not been taken away upon the departure of his spouse and would therefore be more able to support himself and any children they might have had together.

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<sup>118</sup> Lønnå, ‘Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration’, p. 38.

<sup>119</sup> Blom & Sogner eds, *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, pp. 306-308.

<sup>120</sup> Janet E. Rasmussen, Odd S. Lovoll, and Norwegian-American Historical Association. *New Land, New Lives : Scandinavian Immigrants to the Pacific Northwest*. Northfield, (Seattle, 1993.) pp. 61-68.

<sup>121</sup> Massey, "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." pp. 431-66.

<sup>122</sup> Lovise M. Andersen, Trondheim politikammer, 1/32 Emigrantprotokoller, nr 13: Emigrantprotokoll nr. 12 1904-1907 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000175326> accessed 03.05.19

<b>Tickets with more than one person</b>	Tickets 1905	1906	1907	Total
Widower with one child			1	1 adult
Widower with 2 or more children		1	3	4 adults
Widow with one child	5	11	8	24 adults
Widow with two or more children	4	17	3	24 adults
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>53</b>

Table 2. 4 Widows/Widowers on tickets with more than one person

Both women and men were more likely to be single than married, while women were far more likely to be travelling with children than men. During the three years, a small proportion of the total emigrating population was married and travelled alone, and out of the 317 that did so, only 32 were men. Semmingsen argued that the women had become the ‘head of the family in the actual process of emigration.’<sup>123</sup> If the numbers from table 2.5 are compared with table 2.3 however, this thesis would have to disagree with Semmingsen, as the proportion of women travelling on their own with one or more children were rather small. They were in fact, more likely to be married without children and more expected to be unmarried than travelling with an offspring. Nonetheless, both genders had become more likely to be travelling with children by the end of 1907 than they had been at the end of 1905. Men, on the other hand, were less likely to be widowed, and more women than men did not have a civil status registered in the protocol, such as Bergliot who was mentioned above. Therefore, it is natural to assume that these were likely to be unmarried as well. Nevertheless, even without these, it is possible to conclude that the majority of both men and women were unmarried upon leaving Trondheim.

<sup>123</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 80.

<b>Tickets with more than one person</b>	1905	1906	1907	<b>Total</b>
Married women with one child	26	36	46	<b>108 adults</b>
Married women with two or more children	43	63	71	<b>177 adults</b>
Married men with one child	1	8	16	<b>25</b>
Married men with two or more children			7	<b>7 adult</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>317</b>

Table 2. 5 Married and travelling alone with children

## Arrival destination

This thesis focus is not only on the demographic factors, and so it will, therefore, briefly summarise the countries of arrival found in the protocols, so that it is clear to the reader where the emigrants were most expected to travel to. The majority that left Trondheim from 1905 to 1907 left for America or Canada. However, in 1905 two people stated that they were travelling to South Africa. Where one woman travelled with her child to reunite with her husband,<sup>124</sup> and one man was going to work as an engineer. In 1906, two people were moving to Africa, where one man was travelling over to work as a miner, and one was working with trade.<sup>125</sup> According to the protocols from 1907, this was the only year where the only destination for emigration was either America or Canada. Which means that during the three years only four people in total was registered as travelling to another country, and they were all going to Africa. This correlates with findings made by emigration researchers such as Østrem, who has focused on Norway emigration history. Norwegians largely left for America and they were settling more and more in Canada. Although, it was not until regulations on emigration quotas came in to place in America that Norwegians started to widely choose

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<sup>124</sup>

[https://www.digitalarkivet.no/search/3/43740?fornavn=&etternavn=&kjonn=&bosted=&fodestad=&fodselsdato=&fodselsaar=&alder=&stilling\\_stand=&familiestilling=&utreisedato=&reisemal=Africa&ankomstdato=&linje=&skip=&agent=&pass=&nytt\\_yrke=&aarsak=&utreisehavn=&ekspdato=&kontraktdato=&herred=&fogderi=&prgjeld=](https://www.digitalarkivet.no/search/3/43740?fornavn=&etternavn=&kjonn=&bosted=&fodestad=&fodselsdato=&fodselsaar=&alder=&stilling_stand=&familiestilling=&utreisedato=&reisemal=Africa&ankomstdato=&linje=&skip=&agent=&pass=&nytt_yrke=&aarsak=&utreisehavn=&ekspdato=&kontraktdato=&herred=&fogderi=&prgjeld=) accessed 25.03.2019

<sup>125</sup>

[https://www.digitalarkivet.no/search/3/43740?fornavn=&etternavn=&kjonn=&bosted=&fodestad=&fodselsdato=&fodselsaar=&alder=&stilling\\_stand=&familiestilling=&utreisedato=&reisemal=Africa&ankomstdato=&linje=&skip=&agent=&pass=&nytt\\_yrke=&aarsak=&utreisehavn=&ekspdato=&kontraktdato=&herred=&fogderi=&prgjeld=](https://www.digitalarkivet.no/search/3/43740?fornavn=&etternavn=&kjonn=&bosted=&fodestad=&fodselsdato=&fodselsaar=&alder=&stilling_stand=&familiestilling=&utreisedato=&reisemal=Africa&ankomstdato=&linje=&skip=&agent=&pass=&nytt_yrke=&aarsak=&utreisehavn=&ekspdato=&kontraktdato=&herred=&fogderi=&prgjeld=) accessed 25.03.2019

Canada over America.<sup>126</sup> This study would suggest that America had become the standard of choice, due to the large and numerous networks that had been created since the Kleng Peterson left Norway for America in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## Trondheim

Trondheim in the period considered for this thesis, consisted of two parts, Søndre and Nordre Trondhjem, as it was then called. And from table 2.6 which contains information discovered in the census conducted in 1900 it can be seen that there were 38 651 adults living in the city. Semmingsen stated that the cities which were the largest and growing the fastest had the ‘largest surplus of women in their population’<sup>127</sup> and this was the case for Trondheim as well. In fact, from the numbers in table 2.2 and 2.6, it is found that the surplus of women was almost identical to Christiania.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, in Trondheim 55.10 per cent of the total population at the age of 15 and higher were women, while in Christiania the same group amounted to 56 per cent. Although the real numbers were of course much higher in Christiania. However, unlike Christiania, wherein 1907, emigrating women were slightly outnumbering men. A quarter of the total emigrating population were, in the same year women choosing to emigrate from Trondheim. We would argue that this difference in women emigrating was a symptom of women being more likely to work in the Capital. This, as there were more options for women, with a larger industry than Trondheim, where women could acquire work in sectors other than domestic work. Sections such as public sector or positions which were still related to traditional female labour such as the textile industry.<sup>129</sup> Therefore, when also considering, as mentioned in chapter one, that women further north were paid less compared to what men were, women were more likely to afford their own tickets in the capital than women from Trondheim.

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<sup>126</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 32.

<sup>127</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 78.

<sup>128</sup> The name of Oslo

<sup>129</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p.137.

	Menn			Kvinner		
	Under 15 år	Fra 15 år og oppover	Uopgitt	Under 15 år	Fra 15 år og oppover	Uopgitt
Søndre Trondhjem	5 682	12 089	52	5 679	15 144	5
Nordre Trondhjem	907	2 129	2	893	2 308	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6 589</b>	<b>14 218</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>6572</b>	<b>17 452</b>	<b>6</b>
Kristiania	35 726	67 896	363	35 681	89 130	305

Table 2.6 Population in Trondheim as registered by the 1900 census. Census 1900

[https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_iv\\_073.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_iv_073.pdf) p. 2 <sup>130</sup>

On a national basis, women were more likely to migrate to cities, both on a national and international basis.<sup>131</sup> When dividing the number of men and women who stated they were from Trondheim in the emigration protocol, on the total population registered in the 1900 census stating the same, it was discovered that a larger number of women than men left in 1905. While in the following years, men outnumbered women. Nonetheless, during the three years combined, the relative number of men was in fact, higher.

From the numbers registered in table 2.7, it can be suggested that women were less likely to move to Trondheim, due to there being more men than women who, in the protocols, had stated that they were from both the city as well as an additional place. Nevertheless, it is not possible to make that estimate without doing further research into people moving into Trondheim. And as Molde has stated, that is a complicated matter<sup>132</sup> which will not be undertaken during the process of writing this thesis. However, Molde further found that 53 per cent of Trondheims population was people that had moved to the city, and it can therefore be assumed that more people than what has been registered in table 2.7, were likely to be stage migrants. If solely basing our estimates on the protocol, this study would conclude that 19 men and 6 women had moved to Trondheim before deciding to make the journey out of the country. Lindbekk, in her PhD *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, found similar results as she also stated that there were few people that chose to migrate in stages.<sup>133</sup> Whether these people

<sup>130</sup> Accessed 02.05.19

<sup>131</sup> Lovoll, 'Norwegian immigration and women', pp. 65-67.

<sup>132</sup> Molde, 'Trondheim som utvandringsby', p. 44.

<sup>133</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, pp. 190-91.

had planned to emigrate all along or if the decision had been made in Trondheim, cannot be decided by analysing the protocols. Stage migration will be further discussed both in chapter three in relation to female migration out of the cities and in chapter four when looking at recruitment made after the earthquake and fires in San Fransisco in 1905. Considering it is frequently stated in the literature that women were more likely to migrate in stages,<sup>134</sup> it is interesting to see that the emigration protocols indicate otherwise when talking about emigration out of Trondheim.

Year	Men from Trondheim	%	Women from Trondheim	%	Men from Trondheim and another place	Women from Trondheim and another place	<b>Total:</b>
1905	113	0.79	140	0.8	7	1	<b>261</b>
1906	121	0.85	94	0.53	8	4	<b>227</b>
1907	196	1.37	133	0.76	4	1	<b>334</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>2.10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>822</b>

Table 2. 7 Men and women stating they were from Trondheim

## Trondhjems Adresseavis

In order to provide complementary evidence on the emigration process from Trondheim, this thesis will now turn to the analysis of news and ads from Trondhjems Adresseavis, a local newspaper in Trondheim. As mentioned in chapter 1, this was a conservative newspaper that covered both regional, national and foreign news. The papers relation with conservative politics was even publicly stated in the paper on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1905.<sup>135</sup> During our period, some of the news dominating the national news picture was the focus on the dissolvent of the union, the coronation of the king, the election for Norway's first government after the union in 1906, while in 1907 the debate about New-Norwegian as a written language was on the agenda.<sup>136</sup> Foreign news largely focused on the situation with Russia and Japan, as well as the Russian revolution of 1905. The paper published the local censuses, and it was filled with ads and notices. From time to time it also published letters.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1906, the newspaper had printed an America letter, called impressions from New York. The letter covered how the woman writing it had spoken English and not been understood, been given help by a police officer, and had witnessed a crime, which she

<sup>134</sup> Blom & Sogner eds. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*. p. 170.

<sup>135</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 1 Feb. 1905.

<sup>136</sup> Støren, *Adresseavisen to hundre år*, pp. 249-259.

explained was not out of the ordinary, she gave an insight into the fashion women wore and provided a description of how men and women bathed together, and how the bathing suits they used amazed her. She further described what she saw as ‘erotic’ behaviour on the bus.<sup>137</sup> This letter contained both information that would frighten people considering emigration, such as issues with language and crimes. However, not understanding the language was probably not that frightening if they were to travel over to join someone who was already settled. In addition, while the referral to a crime must have seemed frightening, the intriguing parts of the letter such as the fashion and the bathing would also have made people more curious

Every edition read for this thesis consisted of one or more ads and information for steamships leaving for America and other destinations as well, such as Hull in England.<sup>138</sup> Hull was the stop of the Wilson line from Norway, before the emigrants were to get on a 6-8 hours long train ride to Liverpool, the largest port in England, where their next ship would take them to their next destination.<sup>139</sup>

Furthermore, there were frequent emigration updates in the newspaper. Sometimes it was just a short notice, stating how many people had registered at the police office, such as Wednesday 1<sup>st</sup> February 1905, when 30 people emigrated<sup>140</sup>, or Friday 20<sup>th</sup> September when it stated that 176 emigrated during the last week had registered at the emigrations office and that 100 people left on this day through Hull.<sup>141</sup> Other short notices provided updates on the boats arriving at their destinations. People would from these be able to see that the ship had arrived safely to, in this case, New York on the Saturday morning, and that everything was well. ‘American Linjens Ekspressfamer Luisiania ankom til New York Lørdags morgen. – Alt vel.’<sup>142</sup> Statements such as these, did not only let people at home know that their loved ones had arrived safely, but it is likely that they also made the case for emigration stronger for the people considering to follow, when seeing that time and time again the ships made it to their destination safe and sound. However, if there was a change that was considered as big enough, this was also published, such as when the correspondent in Kristiansund in the south

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<sup>137</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 18 Oct. 1906.

<sup>138</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 17 Apr. 1906.

<sup>139</sup> Semmingsen, veien mot vest, p. 162.

<sup>140</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 1 Feb. 1905.

<sup>141</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 20 Sep. 1907.

<sup>142</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 9 Dec. 1907.

of Norway, stated that they had had an increase in their numbers of emigrants from 88 to 142<sup>143</sup>

The Newspaper shows us how people could take advantage of the large flow of emigrants leaving Trondheim. There was by this thesis discovered, in multiple editions, an ad for money exchange services, where it was possible to exchange currency that would be allowed to cash in in most cities in America and Canada. It was further stated that they had the cheapest rates,<sup>144</sup> nonetheless, it is not known how much competition they had. There was also one ad which advertised for gifts that would be suited for Christmas presents to ship abroad, which were promoting works of pictures and folders. As these are the two only examples of ads targeting emigrants or their families and friend, if excluding the many related to steamships, it cannot be argued that it was common to target people either travelling from Norway or people with family abroad, however this thesis would argue that it indicates the normality that emigration had become.

The newspaper also provided us with reasons for leaving which we cannot find in the protocols. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1906 it reported that an unfaithful accountant had, in Fredrikstad, stolen money belonging to the lumberjack society and was presumed to have fled to America.<sup>145</sup>

There was also one example found about recruitment and possible jobs in San Francisco, which will be discuss in greater detail in chapter four. Nevertheless, as this was the only example discovered, it cannot be said that this was a large impacting factor on the readers of the newspaper.

This thesis has found the Newspaper to provide a vivid imagery of how normal emigration had become, it contained updates about the day to the events such as arrivals and departures, while from time to time publishing letters. The adds published in relation to the departures of ships, as well as the adds advertising services related to migration, not only shows us the commercial value of the steamship industry, but also that in some cases, people staying behind saw the potential for economic gain based on emigration, although it cannot be argued that this was commonly shown in the paper. Letters published would have provided people with an insight from abroad, which might have been dissimilar to the letters people had

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<sup>143</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 21 Apr. 1907.

<sup>144</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 17 Apr. 1906.

<sup>145</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 22 May 1906.

received from friends and family, or they might have confirmed the messages received. Here it is discovered how the newspaper provides valuable context for any researcher looking at emigration. Furthermore, this thesis will, when appropriate, implement examples from the newspaper throughout the next two chapters.

### Summary

The purpose of this chapter has largely been to discover the fundamental details which the next two next chapters will rely on. By using the findings from this chapter, the next two will be able to further answer the question as to what can the emigration protocols from Trondheim during the years 1905-1907, tell us about people's choices to emigrate. And what distinctions and similarities there can be found between Norwegian men and women emigrating out of Trondheim. It was here discovered that nearly 11 000 people were registered in the emigration protocols from Trondheim from the start of 1905 to the end of 1907 and that this amounted to about one-third of the total emigration from 1901-1910, from what is today referred to as Trøndelag and the northern counties. In our opinion, this confirms the argument made when looking at Trondhjems Adresseavis, that emigration was a normal phenomenon. It was further discovered that the numbers of emigrants increased and that this was applicable to both genders, although, the male increase was almost twice as high as amongst the women. Here it was found that both men and women were more likely to be unmarried. This chapter also discussed how women were more inclined to be married than men and that they were also more likely to be widowed upon emigrating. These factors can to some extent be explained as a cultural phenomenon, as work and marriage did not belong together according to popular opinion. People were, as we will see in chapter three, sometimes travelling over with the help provided by someone already living in America, and it was found that widows were more likely to do so than widowers. If women were not in work when their husbands died, as society expected, emigration might have been the answer to a difficult situation. It was also found that the number of unmarried emigrants was slightly lower in 1907 than the two previous years. Furthermore, this thesis only found four people that had stated they were travelling to countries other than Canada or America, which was explained due to the large networks of chain migration already established in America. Subsequently, the city of Trondheim was discussed and compared with Christiania before looking at the information discovered in Trondhjems Adresseavis. The figures and information put forward in this chapter will, throughout the text, be used to compare

information, and create context, which, in turn, will make it possible for this thesis to develop further arguments, and answer the thesis question.

## Chapter three – People left for a reason

This chapter will be relying on the information found in chapter two, while discovering new information, in order to find and discuss patterns in regard to if men and women were more inclined to travel due to chain migration and also wanderlust. In chapter two it was discussed if men and women were likely to be travelling with children, here it will deliberate on the patterns of people travelling with other adults. And finally, it will investigate return migration and aim to find new approaches to discuss the topic. By doing so, this chapter is hoping to discover trending factors that were either similar or different between the groups of genders. And by doing so, see if people migrating out of Trondheim were likely to travel due to reasons that were non-work related. And what options they were likely to provide to the emigration officer.

### Why did people leave

In the emigration protocols from 1905-1907, there were listed no less than 198 different professions, reasons and combinations for why people from Norway chose to immigrate to America and Canada. The reason for migrating was registered in one column, and the profession in the next. Although in 1907 the people who in 1905 and 1906 would have been registered with a profession were only marked with an A for arbeid which signifies work in Norwegian. Sometimes emigrants provided a more personal reason unrelated to work as well as a position. It must furthermore be acknowledge that some of these reasons and positions were written down under synonyms, or written down in both Norwegian and English. Finally, it must be considered that not all emigrants from Trondheim were registered with a reason or profession. Nonetheless, this thesis would argue that the details discovered are sufficient to be able to find what the most normal causes provided by the emigrants were. 2396 of 3028 people in 1905 were by the emigration police registered with a profession or a reason for leaving. When investigating it from a gendered perspective we can see that 1596 men and 800 women provided a motive. This amounted to a majority of 79.12 per cent that was written down in the protocol with a reason for leaving Norway. In 1906 2690 people out of the 3345 emigrants provided a reason, which is a total of 80.41 per cent, and in 1907, although lacking detailed information about their professions, there were in total 3396 people

or 80.20 per cent that stated if they were travelling over for more personal reasons or if they had been noted down as performing some sort of labour.

Year	Provided reason/profession	Total emigrating population	%
1905	2396	3028	79.12
1906	2690	3545	80.41
1907	3396	4234	80.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>8482</b>	<b>10 807</b>	<b>78.48</b>

Table 3. 1 Total numbers of how many people provided a reason for leaving

From Table 3.3 this thesis has been able to gather information from the protocol as to why people left, and what they were doing in America from 78.48 per cent of the emigrants from Trondheim. However, this thesis would argue that that it is possible to still analyse the numbers by looking at the people that were registered on a ticket purchased in Trondheim or America, and to arrive at a plausible conclusion in the end, as long as it is taken into consideration that almost a quarter of the people leaving did not provide a reason or profession.

## Wanderlust

Wanderlust has been defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as ‘an eager desire or fondness for wandering or travelling’, and it was in 1902 used in a sentence describing travelling as ‘the goading restlessness which has driven single tribes or groups of tribes into aimless roving.’<sup>146</sup> This thesis would suggest that in the context of emigrants leaving Trondheim, wanderlust was the eagerness to go somewhere where they thought they could seek good fortune, and it was rarely the only reason for leaving. Semmingsen argues that young people were tempted by the wish to travel and was lured by their sense of adventure.<sup>147</sup>

In all the three years combined, 130 people had expressed that they were emigrating due to wanderlust, this consisted of only 10 of them that had stated wanderlust as the only reason, while 116 were working, two were studying and two had stated that they were visiting someone. Nevertheless, most of the people travelling in the 20<sup>th</sup> century would to some degree have had a desire to travel as well as a want for a better economic future. Norway was

<sup>146</sup> Wanderlust, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/225444?redirectedFrom=wanderlust#eid> accessed 08.02.2019

<sup>147</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, p. 219.

at the time not of the poorest countries in Europe, and while there was a relative decline in the economy for some, wages were rising for the people that were the largest group of migrants from Trondheim in our period, the workers.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, people were not forced to travel, but rather they chose to do so. However, it can be argued that the want for travel was not represented in the protocols. During the three years the total of 130 people found in table 3.2 below, amounted to just above 1 per cent out of the total emigrating population stating wanderlust as a reason for travelling. It was also discovered that women were in majority in 1905 and 1906 while in 1907 men who had stated wanderlust as their reason for travelling outnumbered women by one.

It is possible that women were more inclined to state wanderlust as an option as it was more difficult for them to emigrate due to economic conditions, this, because, working women were paid less than men, and therefore it would have been harder for them to pay for their tickets. Furthermore, when looking at the protocols it was found that the majority were workers, where the women were mostly domestic servants and the men working in fishing, farming and similar low-paid professions. Furthermore, the migrants stating they had emigrated due to wanderlust were unmarried, did not have children and were likely to be born in the 1870s and 80s, with one person born in 1841, one in 1857, a few in the 1860s and two people born at the start of the 1890s. In addition, there were no larger geographical trends found. And while some travelled in groups others travelled alone and most of them were registered as working when they left and working when they arrived. This indicates that wanderlust was largely individual rather than connected to some wider trend or development. The most likely reason for this falling numbers stating wanderlust as a reason was the growth in married women and men exiting from Trondheim. As it was discovered in chapter two, the number of married men and women emigrating had a larger relative increase from 1905 to 1907, than the unmarried emigrants.

However, this thesis would also put forward the argument that it might have depended on the officer taking down the information on how many people were registered with wanderlust, as the number of people travelling due to wanderlust decreased from 130 in 1905 to 7 in 1907. And as the financial situation was improving both in Norway and in America at the time,<sup>149</sup> and that the migration networks were only growing larger, it would have expected that these

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<sup>148</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p.101.

<sup>149</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p. 141.

numbers should have increased rather than decreased over these the years. Although the numbers had been cut in half from 1905 to 1906 as well, It could, therefore, also be explained by a change in the mind-sets of the Norwegian emigrants. Maybe the novelty of emigration had grown old as more people were emigrating their second or third time as the number of temporary migrants was increasing<sup>150</sup>. Temporary migration will be discussed further in chapter four.

	1905	1906	1907	<b>Total</b>
Women travelling due to wanderlust	3	1	1	<b>5</b>
Men travelling due to wanderlust	2		3	<b>5</b>
Women travelling due to wanderlust and profession	49	23	2	<b>74</b>
Men travelling due to wanderlust and profession	25	16	1	<b>42</b>
Women travelling due to wanderlust and education	1			<b>1</b>
Men travelling due to wanderlust and education	1			<b>1</b>
Women travelling due to wanderlust and visiting	1			<b>1</b>
Men travelling due to wanderlust and visiting	1			<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>130</b>

Table 3. 2 Wanderlust

## Chain migration

While more men emigrated from Trondheim during our period, a larger number of women provided a reason other than work for leaving. 3.99 per cent men and 18.41 per cent of the female emigrants stated another reason for migrating than a profession. When looking at why the women chose to leave it can be gathered that the majority within this group was travelling to someone. It was also discovered by looking at table 3.3 that out of the people making the journey to reunite with family and friends, women were more expected to do so than their male counterparts, and this was largely a consequence of the women reuniting with their husbands. Which confirms Semmingsen argument as this was a similar development through all of Norway's emigration ports.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Rolf, Danielsen, *Grunntrekk i Norsk historie : Fra vikingtid til våre dager*. (Oslo, 1991) p. 228.

<sup>151</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration* p. 76.

Explanation	1905		1906		1907		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Wanderlust	29	54	16	24	4	3	130
Visiting	4	8	4	2	4		22
Returnmigrants	41	10	2		17	8	78
Travelling with someone	1	12	15	55	3	29	115
Travelling to someone	34	166	38	161	23	127	549
Finding work	12						12
Anything	36	1					37
Education			3				3
Unknown	1						1
Marrige				2			2
Missionary work	1						1
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>950</b>

Table 3. 3 Reasons unrelated to work

There are no doubts that economic factors impacted Norwegians making the choice to emigrate. However, the financial reasons were, on their own not enough to trigger emigration, as the elements of personal, self-decided, and independent choices were far stronger than purely the cause of pull- and push-factors on its own.<sup>152</sup> Lovoll also argues that while economic reasons were most important to men, unification was to women, as, if not more, important.<sup>153</sup> From the numbers introduced in the tables above it can with no doubt be confirmed that women were more inclined to state that they would be re-joining family and friends. This, because, out of the total amount of people who stated that they were reuniting with someone from 1905 to 1907, 82.69 per cent were women. This is not to state that men were not impacted by chain migration, but rather that they were less likely to be written down as such in the protocols as they might have been more likely to have acquired work upon leaving. This thesis will further discuss this in chapter four.

Eirik J Tósnes wrote home in a letter in 1876 that he was planning on purchasing a ticket for his brother if nothing were to happen to him. ‘Det er min mening at vis ikke noget tilfaler mig

<sup>152</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 58.

<sup>153</sup> Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, p. 52.

at jeg vil sende Bileth til John saa han kan faa komme hit'<sup>154</sup> And it is evident when investigating the statistics, that this happened relatively often, also in the 20th century.

Year	Men with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Women with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Men with tickets purchased in America	Women with tickets purchased in America	<b>Total</b>
1905	1251	501	720	537	<b>3009</b>
1906	1481	626	814	608	<b>3529</b>
1907	1485	1072	959	636	<b>4152</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4217</b>	<b>2199</b>	<b>2493</b>	<b>1781</b>	<b>10 690</b>

Table 3. 4 Tickets bought in America and Trondheim

According to the calculations made, this thesis is missing information as to where 117 tickets were purchased. Which means that there will be a discrepancy of 1.1 per cent. Semmingsen found that economic reasons impacted male and female migration and that it might have been more advantageous to pay for a young man's passage, than a young woman, as the man could help clear the land.<sup>155</sup> When looking at the information it can be gathered from whether the tickets were bought in America or Trondheim that both genders were more likely to be travelling on a ticket purchased in Trondheim. However, in 1905 more women travelled on an American ticket than a ticket purchased in the emigration port. This could possibly be explained by women earning lesser wages which could not pay for a ticket,<sup>156</sup> although it would not explain why it was only the case in 1905. Men were all in all more likely to be making the journey on a ticket purchased in Trondheim than women. Nonetheless, it cannot be concluded that this meant that the people travelling on a ticket purchased in Trondheim, were not impacted by chain migration. According to Sandvik, the newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1906 had discovered that money sent home in letters to people living in Norway amounted to 20 million kroner.<sup>157</sup> It is, therefore, highly plausible that many of these tickets were purchased with money sent home from Norwegians who had previously embarked on the same journey as they were about to set out on. Further evidence for this is found when investigating the local newspaper *Trondhjems Adresseavis* from 18<sup>th</sup> September 1906<sup>158</sup>,

<sup>154</sup> Brevsamling av Arnold Bakken, Arkiv PH-0691. Serie: G- Kopier av "Amerikabrev" G – L0001

<sup>155</sup> Semmingsen, *women in Norwegian emigration*, p.76.

<sup>156</sup> Lovoll, 'Norwegian immigration and women', p. 65.

<sup>157</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p. 134.

<sup>158</sup> <https://www.nb.no/items/f5bf18649b357140096719d39c7e23b9?page=1&searchText=> accessed 06.05.19

where it stated that 1,000,000 would by the end of December be registered as sent home to Norway through letters and from an ad reoccurring in the newspaper such as on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 1907, which stated that both American and Canadian currency could be exchanged at M. H. Lundgreens Widow.<sup>159</sup> Here it is evident how normal it was that money was sent home, and it can, therefore, be assumed that many of the emigrants used this to seek their own fortune, after all, what promised success more than people being able to spare some of their money in order to send it home?

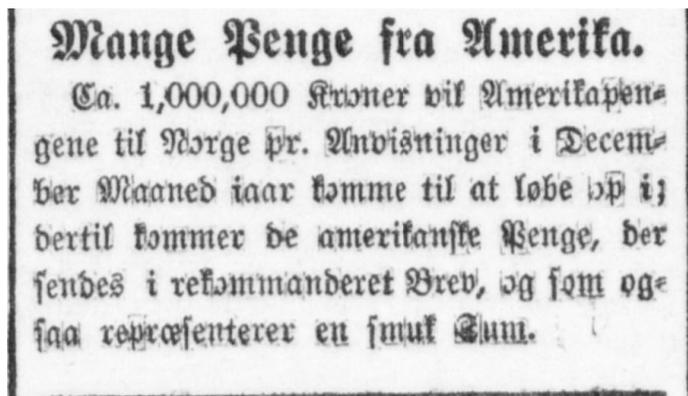


Figure 3 Money sent home from America



Figure 4 Exchange of currency

However, to be able to decide whether men or women were more impacted by chain migration it also has to be taken into consideration what reasons the migrants had for leaving Norway. In this part, the people who provided reasons linked to chain migration will be investigated. By doing so, this thesis will aim to discover the emigrants were impacted to

<sup>159</sup> <https://www.nb.no/items/2fc72f2893c6c59a0d1d6c9897af8a8a?page=1&searchText=> accessed 28.04.19

follow others to a new country. And, furthermore, this will help answer what the emigration protocols from Trondheim during the years 1905-1907 can us about people's choices to emigrate? And what distinctions and similarities can we find between Norwegian men and women emigrating out of Trondheim?

Semmingsen found that a third of all women emigrating between the years of 1905 to 1916 was going to relatives in America.<sup>160</sup> For Trondheim, during the years considered for this thesis less than 15 per cent of the women had stated in the protocols that they were doing so. Was this due to fewer migrants already settled abroad from the areas that had people emigrate from Trondheim? This thesis would argue that this could be one explanation, as emigration from parts of Northern Norway accelerated after 1900<sup>161</sup> and therefore the networks might not have been as established abroad from these areas. However, Lindebekk, on the other hand, argues how she considers it surprising how quick there were established connections between county Trøndelag and America.<sup>162</sup> Nonetheless, Christiania still experienced a greater amount of people leaving through its port than Trondheim from an early stage,<sup>163</sup> which therefore suggests that lesser developed emigration networks impacted the emigrants considered for this thesis in such regard that they were more unlikely to be travelling over to someone.

From the numbers in Table 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 further below it is found that men were less likely to be travelling over to someone than their female counterparts. And that out of the people stating they were making the travel over to somebody on an American ticket, women were in the majority. In fact, men were not dominating in any of the relating categories, unless the one man that stated he was migrating to his foster father in 1907 is counted. Nearly 70 per cent of the female migrants that the tables consider were, in fact, travelling on an American ticket. However, men in this category were also less likely to be travelling on a ticket acquired in Trondheim as 55.42 per cent of the men were travelling on an American ticket. The relative difference was of course, as there were more men emigrating than women, even higher. Semmingsen argued that without the chain of letters to and from America, Norway would not have seen such high numbers choosing to emigrate.<sup>164</sup> And here the importance of

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<sup>160</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*. p. 80.

<sup>161</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. pp. 370-71.

<sup>162</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, p. 189.

<sup>163</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. p. 48.

<sup>164</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*. p. 54.

family and friends seems to have been of significant importance for people emigrating out of Trondheim, although it was not as substantial as out of Christiania.

When imagining a woman travelling over to be with a fiancé, it is easy to imagine a Hollywood moment, where the two lovers reunite and live happily ever after. Nonetheless, Lovoll has stated that women also travelled over as “mail-order brides”<sup>165</sup>, which again carries its own connotations. As historians, it is necessary to try and to put aside the prejudices from our own time and look at it from a neutral perspective. 40 Women were registered in the protocols as travelling over to a fiancé between the years of 1905 to 1907. And it is possible that even more were doing so without stating it in the protocols, it just might have been that a prospective husband had bought the ticket for what could potentially be his future wife.<sup>166</sup> Multiple reasons might have affected these women. They might have wanted to travel to America all along, and therefore accepted a marriage from someone they necessarily did not know. Men newly settled were often living in an area where there was a shortage of women and in the need and want for a wife, they sometimes sent a letter home.<sup>167</sup> Women’s financial situation was as mentioned previously not the greatest, and they often relied on financial help to be able to emigrate. She might already have been engaged to her fiancé before he left, maybe they had planned how they were going to emigrate since they first met. There might also have been that some of the women written down as travelling with their husbands, were just married to someone that had returned home to find a wife.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, p. 61.

<sup>166</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration* p. 80.

<sup>167</sup> Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, p. 62.

<sup>168</sup> Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, p. 62.

1905						
To be with	Men On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Men On American ticket	Women On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Women On American ticket		<b>Total</b>
Spouse	1		23	53		<b>77</b>
Fiancé			3	2		<b>5</b>
Children	4	7	9	14		<b>34</b>
Parent(s)	5	3	3	10		<b>21</b>
Relatives	5	3	12	9		<b>29</b>
Acquaintances				2		<b>2</b>
Sibling(s)		3	3	13		<b>19</b>
<b>Tot:</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>103</b>		<b>187</b>

Table 3. 5 Who travelled to who? In 1905

1906						
To be with	Men On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Men On American ticket	Women On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Women On American ticket		<b>Total</b>
Spouse			32	58		<b>90</b>
Fiancé			11	22		<b>33</b>
Children	6	3	6	18		<b>33</b>
Parent(s)	6	12	2	11		<b>31</b>
Relatives	2	3	4	7		<b>16</b>
Acquaintances						
Sibling(s)	1	1	3	8		<b>13</b>
Grandfather				1		<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>125</b>		<b>217</b>

Table 3. 6 Who travelled to who in 1906

1907						
To be with	Men On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Men On American ticket	Women On ticket purchased in Trondheim	Women On American ticket		<b>Total</b>
Spouse			10	57		67
Fiancé			1	1		2
Children	6	3	1	7		17
Parent(s)	1	5	5	3		14
Relatives		1		5		6
Acquaintances			1			1
Sibling(s)		1	3	4		8
Foster father		1				1
<b>Tot:</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>77</b>		<b>116</b>

Table 3. 7 Who travelled to who 1907

### Travelling with someone

To embark on the journey to a new country would probably have felt safer if sharing the experience with someone else. In this section the thesis has examined in what capacity people were likely to have been travelling together and will here discuss some of the patterns uncovered in this regard. The numbers in Table 3.8 tells us that married couples without children were within this group in the slight majority and it is clear that that this was also the fastest growing group, while married couples with more than one child were decreasing. People were as in relation to civil status more likely to be married, and here it is also understood that people were becoming less likely to have more than one child upon migrating. As mentioned in chapter two this was likely due to falling fertility rates. The group with one child were also increasing in numbers, which this thesis would suggest was related to the emigrants becoming younger and the fact that the general rate of children being born was lower.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Lønnå, 'Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration', p. 39.

<b>Tickets with more than one person</b>	Tickets 1905	Tickets 1906	Tickets 1907	<b>Total adults</b>
Married couple	50	57	81	<b>376</b>
Married couple with one child	19	36	40	<b>190 adults</b>
Married couple with two or more children	50	46	41	<b>127 adults</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>639</b>

Table 3. 8 People stating they were travelling together

Semmingsen found that in 1907, 162 families were led by a married mother while 77 married couples with or without children were travelling together.<sup>170</sup> When looking at table 3.8, we discover from Trondheim that same year, 81 couples were travelling together without children and that the identical amount of couples were travelling with children. For the emigrants out of Trondheim, it was, therefore, as normal for married couples to be travelling with children as without, while in Christiania it was more common for mothers to be travelling with their kids. It can also be seen from the table 3.9 that 117 married women travelled with one child or more. Relatively speaking this thesis can as a result conclude that couples with or without children, as well as married women travelling with children from Trondheim more likely than the same groups in Christiania to be emigrating in 1907. Couples without children were maybe planning to start a family in America, while the women with children were going to settle down with their husbands who most likely by then would have made sufficient money to create a home that could sustain for his family.

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<sup>170</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in America* p. 77.

	Total emigrants 1906-1910 Trondheim = 15 085 <sup>171</sup>	percentage	Total emigrants 1906-1910 Christiania = 35 304 <sup>172</sup>	<b>Total</b>
Couples with or without children in 1907	162	1.07	77	<b>0.21</b>
Married women with children in 1907	117	0.77	162	<b>0.45</b>

Table 3. 9 Couples travelling with or without children compared to married women with children

Semningsen argues that two or three women ‘often travelled together’<sup>173</sup> This thesis would argue that while 152 women emigrating from Trondheim seemed to be doing so from 1905-1907, they were more to be expected to be travelling with a husband or with one or more children. In fact, they were more inclined to be travelling alone, or at least on one ticket, than being registered as travelling with others. However, here the probability that people were travelling together although not written down as doing so must be acknowledged. In the protocols, examples of how people were travelling together although not written down as such, were discovered. A woman was registered on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1907,<sup>174</sup> travelling from Tromsø to Seattle with her two children to reunite with her husband. The following person written down in the protocol was a man who had the same last name Nordbostad, and he was also going to Seattle on the same date.<sup>175</sup> He could have been her brother deciding to travel with her to work with his sister’s husband, as she was registered as being married to a fisher and he was registered as working as a fisherman upon emigrating, or maybe the family felt that it was safer if she had a brother with her on the travel over as well as in the new country. Nonetheless, this cannot be certain as there are no reasons written down as to why he emigrated and no profession registered for when he arrived in Seattle.

From table 3.10 it can be seen that more unmarried people left together every year, and this thesis would argue that there were three major factors that created this development. First, it was linked with Christiania offering more differentiated workplaces<sup>176</sup> for both men and

<sup>171</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 72.

<sup>172</sup> SSB, Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk p. 72.

<sup>173</sup> Semningsen, *women in Norwegian emigration*, p. 79.

<sup>174</sup> <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000175434> accessed 26.04.19

<sup>175</sup> <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000175437> accessed 26.04.19

<sup>176</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p. 137.

women than Trondheim, and therefore they were more inclined to be single and working than married with or without children. Second, Trondheim as other cities saw an increase in migrants coming in from the countryside, but it was Christiania that saw the highest number of migrants arriving and settling from rural areas in Norway.<sup>177</sup> This could also, have been a factor, as a stage migrator who only lived in Oslo for a few years, and then emigrated might not have been so quick to settle down and get married. In addition, Molde has found that people that had similar backgrounds in Trondheim, were not as likely to have lived there for more than 10 years.<sup>178</sup> And the question therefore is, if they would have married beforehand. Third, as mentioned several times already, women would also have been better paid in Christiania than further north, which would have made it easier for single women to afford the ticket to America. However, the category of two unmarried women increased by ten tickets from 1905 to 1906, but then decreased from 1906 to 1907 from 27 to 20 tickets with two women travelling together.

	1905	1906	1907	<b>Total Tickets</b>
Unmarried Man and woman	16	27	27	<b>70</b>
2 unmarried men	21	24	50	<b>95</b>
2 unmarried women	17	27	20	<b>64</b>
3 unmarried men	1	2		<b>3</b>
3 unmarried women	2	3	3	<b>8</b>
<b>Total Tickets</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>240</b>

Table 3. 10 Unmarried men and women travelling together.

### Return migrants returning to America

The decision to emigrate was a break with familiar surroundings and most of the people emigrating out of Norway did not return.<sup>179</sup> From 1890 onwards, Norway saw an increase in people returning home<sup>180</sup>, this can largely be explained due to, travelling becoming, quicker and more comfortable.<sup>181</sup> And, therefore, it became easier for people to return home for a visit, whether it was for business or pleasure, and the country saw from 1906-1910, 22 000 return migrants travelling back to America.<sup>182</sup> However, this section will focus on people that were visiting home, that were either written down as being return migrants or American in

<sup>177</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjones velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*. p. 133.

<sup>178</sup> Molde, 'Trondheim som utvandringsby'. p. 43.

<sup>179</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, p. 193.

<sup>180</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. p. 461.

<sup>181</sup> Molde 'Trondheim Som utvandringsby' pp. 31-48.

<sup>182</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. p. 471.

the protocols. This thesis has gathered information about whom that was noted down as being returning migrants, or people that stated that their home was in America. The issue here is that for these groups no other reasons were provided in the protocols, and therefore the information they conveyed can be seen to be slightly less informative. Because there were no reasons written down in the earlier protocols the reasons they had when they embarked on their first journey made over the Atlantic cannot be found. With these numbers, this thesis here aims to see if men and women were more inclined to return to the homeland for so to be travelling back to America.

Year	Men registered as return migrants	Women registered as return migrants	<b>Total</b>
1905	41	10	<b>51</b>
1906	2	0	<b>2</b>
1907	18	8	<b>26</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>79</b>

Table 3. 11 Men and women registered as return migrants

The numbers found in Table 3.11, are not high numbers, in fact, Return migrants which here were visiting Norwegians returning to America, were according to the table above almost non-existing in 1906, with only two people listed as being so. And, according to Molde who wrote about Trondheim as an emigration port, from 1867-1930, 10 per cent of the total emigration from Trondheim port were people visiting home.<sup>183</sup>

According to the protocols from Trondheim, there were from the start of 1905 to the end of 1907, 79 people who had been written down as being return migrants. Which amounts to 0.72 per cent men and women out of the total emigrating population from Trondheim. These numbers are, by looking at Molde's estimates, extremely low, and, therefore, these numbers need to be seen in relation to the number of people stating that they were living in America. Furthermore, from table 3.11, it can be gathered that men were more likely to be written down as return migrants and travelling back to America, although the differences varied greatly throughout the three years, as 1905 saw four times as many men than women stating this as a reason, while in 1907 only ten more men than women were doing the same. And, as mentioned above 1906 only was two men in total stating this as a reason. Whether this meant that fewer women were returning migrants in the sense that they moved home, is unsure just by looking at the protocols for this period only, and one would need to investigate further

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<sup>183</sup>. Molde 'Trondheim Som utvandringsby' pp. 31-48.

protocols to find if this was the case. Therefore, return migrant in this context is actually the equivalent of returning home to visit.

It is highly plausible that people registered with their homestead in America, although not written down as return migrants, still were in fact that, as they were now identifying as Americans. From the numbers provided in table 3.12, it is evident that a much greater number had been registered with America as their place of home, compared to people written down as being returning migrants. There were 566 more men than women written down as having their home in America and it has been argued by researchers such as Østrem, that return migration was a male phenomenon.<sup>184</sup> Nonetheless, when looking at the relative numbers out of the people emigrating during these years it is discovered that in 1907 the percentage of women was actually larger than men. However, it also has to be considered that we do not know how many people emigrated during the years that these people first left from Norway, and therefore we cannot state if this was the case for sure as we have here compared the returning emigrants with the numbers of people exiting Norway. From the numbers discovered by this thesis, however, it does not seem that there were large relative differences between men and women returning, as 2.73 per cent more men than women out of the almost 11 000 that left during this period, were registered with America as their homestead when leaving with the emigration ships between the years of 1905-1907. Nevertheless, due to there, in general, being a surplus of male emigrants, there were more men registered in the protocols as living in America. Here, while the numbers stated that almost three times more men than women returned home to visit, the relative difference was smaller. Although it has to be considered as stated that the calculations are not based on annual emigration of the year they travelled, but on the years 1905-1907.

Lovoll claims that while many women also intended to return home, women were more likely to settle down in America permanently.<sup>185</sup> This would often be related to that men were tied to obligations back home, in at a larger capacity than women. Such as Oliver A Frøseth, who received a letter from his father in Soknedalen in Trøndelag, where the father expressed a strong wish for the son to return back to Norway and fulfil his obligations at home.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 42.

<sup>185</sup> Lovoll, 'Norwegian immigration and women', p. 53.

<sup>186</sup> Mikael Solberg (Sørli) til sønn i Brevsamling av Arnold Bakken, Arkiv PH-0691. Serie: G- Kopier av "Amerikabrev" G – L0001

However, from the numbers that was found in the emigration protocol, it cannot be said that this was accurate when it came to the people returning and leaving again from Trondheim as the relative difference was not much larger. And as this thesis considers people who were leaving for America again, it cannot be argued in relations as to the people that moved back to Norway. Nonetheless, it can be suggested that some of the returning migrants were returning home to settle affairs after their parents or close relatives had passed away. Likewise that some were returning only to bring more with them. This could have been the case with emigrant number 290 in the year 1906 Ingebrigt Sjule.<sup>187</sup> His homestead was stated to be America in the protocol. Seven adults from Snåsa in Trøndelag were written down in the protocol directly after him, where four of them were travelling to the same area as him and they also stated that they were travelling to perform farm work while also emigrating due to wanderlust. This suggests that he might by coming home, have impacted at least four people to travel with him.

It was seen that the numbers above in regards to visiting return migrants only tells us so much, and it can, therefore, be argued that it is necessary to elaborate on the term return migrant and create more visible distinctions between the ones that were returning to visit, the once being part of stage migration, and the people that left with the intention of staying but decided to come back. These three categories need to be investigated separately as to what impacts they had on the Norwegian society, as well as the future patterns of migration. This thesis here agrees with Østrem when he states that the ‘America-migration is underestimated as a source of knowledge to modern migration’<sup>188</sup> and further argue that if the term return-migrant is divided into three sub-categories, visiting, circular and returning to settle, this can help find answers which can be useful to further research. Return migration must be acknowledged to have had an impact on whether people at home decided to emigrate, and it was stated by Torvald Opsal:

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<sup>187</sup> Ingebrigt Sjule, emigrantprotokoll 1906. <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/9/og00000000166883>

<sup>188</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 42.

'I grew up with people that had been in this country...My gosh, you could go down to the stores and they would sit there and talk English, and even talk Norwegian, about the old logging days out here and fishing and farming in the Midwest. They all liked it out here.'<sup>189</sup>

And it is likely that the impact would depend on the reason for why people returned.

Lindbekk argues that Norwegian Newspapers in America covered the political development in Norway with conviction.<sup>190</sup> And it can be assumed that if the attention to the matter was in any way near the coverage Trondhjems Adresseavis provided, this would have impacted some of the migrants to return home for the coronation ceremony of the new king which took place in Trondheim in June 1906.<sup>191</sup>

Year	Men registered with homestead being America	% out of emigrating population	Women registered with homestead being America	% out of emigrating population	Men registered with homestead being America and another	Women registered with homestead being America and another	<b>Total:</b>
1905	252	12.70	88	8.42	47	5	<b>392</b>
1906	385	16.56	135	11.05	16	2	<b>538</b>
1907	296	10.18	144	10.83	28	4	<b>472</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>933</b>	<b>12.93</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>10.21</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1402</b>

Table 3. 12 Homestead registered as being America

It is known that it was in male-dominated professions that circular migration was most common.<sup>192</sup> However, if only looking at the numbers found in the protocols, which are stated in table 3.11 and 3.12, this cannot be confirmed. Nonetheless, this thesis would suggest that circular migrants were more likely to be registered with their homestead in Norway, and their reason for emigrating would not be returning home, or return migrant, but rather mine-work or gold-digger, which this thesis will discuss further in chapter four. Østrem has concluded that circular migrants left their families often on a clearly defined work assignment, while

<sup>189</sup> Janet E. Rasmussen, Odd S. Lovoll, and Norwegian-American Historical Association. *New Land, New Lives: Scandinavian Immigrants to the Pacific Northwest*. Northfield, (Seattle, 1993.) p. 55

<sup>190</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, p. 188.

<sup>191</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavisen 26 Apr. 1906.

<sup>192</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 24.

Semningsen has argued that they were like migrating birds.<sup>193</sup> Circular migration will be looked at in further detail in chapter four when discussing the case of a male gold-digger, as well as the earthquake of 1905 in San Francisco. However, it was still a form of return migration which would have impacted both the local society at home as well as the American industry. And this is a field which should be more thoroughly investigated in relation to Norwegian emigration history and its impact on Norwegian communities, and also so, on the changes in society as a whole. From the information found in the emigration protocols used for this thesis we cannot state if women were more or less likely to participate in this kind of migration, although it would be less likely as while it was normal for women in Norway to go into service in neighbouring areas, men had always had more opportunities to migrate as there were more positions available to men at the time, and before large scale emigration emerged.<sup>194</sup> Therefore, the trends of circular migration had a stronger foundation within male-dominated professions.

Furthermore, the question of identity has to be addressed in this regard, it is interesting to see, that 1402 persons were now identifying as having their home in America, and that 102 people out of these had been written down with a Norwegian home as well as an American. This study would suggest that the people stating this had established less positive relations with their new homestead than the people only stating America. It could also be that these people were work migrants, travelling back and forward on a regular basis, and therefore considered both places as equal. Here Jan Eivind Myhre and his questions in regard to what moving or migration really is, needs to be considered. He asks the question of what it is to move, what classifies moving 'hva er flytting', does it involve a permanent move, is work migration included and he states that if one is excluded, one might risk not finding important and informative sources and aspects.<sup>195</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, temporary work-migration is here included as emigration. If it was so that they were temporary migrants, it can be discovered from table 3.12 that women were far less likely to be working migrants. Table 3.12 reveals that people were likely to have different perspectives themselves on what moving was, and us as historians must consider this as well when attempting to put people into categories which suits our own perception of what a word or a concept means.

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<sup>193</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 48.

<sup>194</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 22.

<sup>195</sup> Jan E. Myhre 'Historiske perspektiver på flytting', in Odd S. Lovoll, ed. *Migrasjon og tilpasning*. Ingrid Semningsen. Et minneseminar. *Tid og Tanke* Nr 3. (Oslo, 1998), p. 56.

## Summary

Here the impact tickets bought in America had on the emigrants was discussed as well as if people were emigrating because they were struck by wanderlust. It was found that both men and women were on average more likely to travel on a ticket purchased in Trondheim than in America and that they more frequently stated they wanted to travel due to wanderlust. To be able to determine if women or men were more or less likely to travel due to chain migration and wanderlust the tickets and the reasons provided had to be considered. It was further found that women were more likely to provide a reason which was not related to work, then what men were inclined to do, and that many of these women were travelling over either to reunite with their husbands or with their husbands. However, it was also discovered that the proportion of women travelling over to family or friends, were significantly lower than for Christiania. Which this thesis considers having been a consequence of earlier migration and already established networks. Thereafter, this thesis discussed the development in the trends of travelling with someone, in order to see if women or men were more likely to travel alone. This chapter has discovered that men and women relatively speaking was almost as likely to return to visit, although there was a slight majority of men. Further, it also covered the term return migration and argued for a wider research into the different categories within this group. Second, it mapped out the reasons men and women provided to the emigration officers that were not related to work. Return migration will be further discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter Four - Professions

### Unemployment

In 1906 Trondhjems Adresseavis stated that there was too much unemployment in the city.<sup>196</sup> It could, therefore, if only relying on this source, assume that being without a job, or the fear of it, was one of the reasons for emigrating. And, Lindbekk has come to the conclusion that people emigrating from Trondheim were not fleeing great poverty, but rather that they resorted to emigration as a way of avoiding it.<sup>197</sup> The newspaper then again commented on the matter when it in 1907 published the numbers of the 1906 census for Trondheim. It was even stated that most of the unemployed body was eager to work and that the numbers should be received with reservation 'Dette tal maa dog modtages med adskillig reservation.'<sup>198</sup> The census, according to the newspaper revealed that Trondheim, while having counted 4300 more women than men, 260 men and 30 women were unemployed.<sup>199</sup> Which made the percentage of idleness amongst men higher and it was found in chapter two that the relative number of men emigrating from 1905 to 1907 was higher than their female counterparts. Nonetheless, this thesis would argue that redundancy was not what caused citizens living in Trondheim to emigrate. This due to the fact that the unemployment rate was under one per cent if using the population numbers from the 1900 census. Østrem refers to the debate regarding population growth as a cause of emigration and Kåre Bævre's argument that it was not poverty that drove people out but that the possibilities in America were many.<sup>200</sup> This thesis would agree with Tveite and his argument made, that there is good reason to show scepticism to how much impact population growth had on emigration.<sup>201</sup> This as it does not have seemed to have impacted the unemployment rates in Trondheim. However, one could also make the argument that unemployment was so low, due to large scale emigration. When looking at the national rates, in comparison, 9.7 per cent<sup>202</sup> men were, as the statistics

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<sup>196</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis, 26 Apr. 1906.

<sup>197</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, p. 291.

<sup>198</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis 7 Jun. 1907.

<sup>199</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis 7 Jun. 1907.

<sup>200</sup> Kåre Bævre in Nils Olav Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 46.

<sup>201</sup> Stein Tveite 'Overbefolkning, befolkningspress og vandring' p. 49.

<sup>202</sup> Males 15 years and over, by economic activity and industry. Per cent <https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/tabeller/9-3-en.html> accessed 07.05.19

classified them, not financially active, compared to a total of 64.5 per cent<sup>203</sup> of the women. Additional, it must be taken into consideration that women were less likely to be working than men, as they normally did not remain in their positions after marriage.<sup>204</sup> Only about a third of the Norwegian female population older than 15 were engaged in paid employment. Furthermore, it is possible that Bergliot Hauan who was introduced in chapter two as registered as a child upon migrating, was an example of a growing trend of unemployed capable young women not able to find a job. Due to gender norms, the numbers registered at the time might not reflect unemployment rates correctly. Although there are no registers from this time regarding part-time work,<sup>205</sup> Sissel V. Moum, has stated that it is known that many married women of the working class worked part-time to make ends meet. Married women's income was for instance registered as a supplementary addition to the household economics rather than being acknowledged as laboured income.<sup>206</sup> And women's unemployment has according to Blom & Sogner not been a prioritised topic of research.<sup>207</sup> This might be a consequence of the sources not providing the information needed for this type of investigation. With the sources excluding information regarding married women performing any type of labour and all part-time work, it to some extent explains why women's unemployment has been as argued neglected as a field of study. This as one is reliant on finding different sources to the ones consulted in regard to male idleness.

### What most people did

Out of the Norwegians that emigrated from Trondheim in 1907 the majority were registered as working once arrived at their new homestead, 12.9 per cent more men than women were likely to be going over to work, while women more often stated that they were reuniting or travelling with someone. In fact, only 8.79 per cent of the emigrants leaving from Trondheim were written down with reasons unrelated to work.

### Farm work

Farm work was the profession most commonly listed as the line of work that men would be performing once arriving in their new country. This thesis would argue that this not only emphasises the importance of farm work in Norway, but also that most men emigrating were

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<sup>203</sup> Females 15 years and over, by economic activity and industry. Per cent <https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/tabeller/9-4-en.html> accessed 07.05.19

<sup>204</sup> Danielsen, *Grunntrekk i norsk historie : Fra vikingtid til våre dager*. p. 241.

<sup>205</sup> Lønnå, 'Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration', p. 40.

<sup>206</sup> Sidsel Vogt. Moum, *Kvinnfolkarbeid : Kvinners Kår Og Status I Norge 1875-1910*. (Oslo, 1981). p. 51

<sup>207</sup> Blom & Sogner eds. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie*, p. 306.

content enough with this type of labour, as to continue with it once settled abroad. When looking at the Irish in comparison who were also from a largely rural but more class-divided society, they more often settled in urban areas, working in other professions.<sup>208</sup> Our argument here concurs with Østrem as he states that Norwegian immigrants in America wished to maintain their way of living ‘Norske innvandrarene hadde eit sterkt ønske om å ta vare på den livsforma dei var vande med.’<sup>209</sup> Many of the emigrants going into farming were the son of a farmer, but not the heir to the farm.<sup>210</sup> Therefore, men were often raised with the knowledge needed to work in agriculture, but had no land to farm. It could further also be an indication that Norwegians might have had enough money to acquire land and what was needed to build their own home.

The people written down in the protocols as going into farm-related professions were represented under four different labels: *farmarbeid*, *farming*, *jordarbeid* and *jordbruk*. From table 4.1 further below it is discovered that in 1905 and 1906 combined, no less than 1 721 men and women had stated that they were entering some sort of farm-related labour. In fact, 39.94 per cent had been registered with one of the categories mentioned above by the emigration officers. In these groups, the male proportion of emigrants was more likely to be travelling on tickets from Trondheim. Nonetheless, there was also 45.72 per cent of the men that travelled on American tickets as well. Which bears the witness of the large networks of previous migrants, sending for people to join them. Norwegians already in the new land needed help with building and establishing their new homes. Unfortunately, there are no statistics from 1907 as to what professions the emigrants that left Trondheim were planning to take on. Therefore, this thesis is not able to calculate the total percentage for the three years investigated by this thesis. However, it is arguable that by looking at the two first years there is no uncertainty as to how important farm work was to the Norwegians leaving from Trondheim, and to men in particular. Later in this chapter, the importance of farm work will be discussed even further, by looking at the numbers of people that were planning to change to and from this line of work once in America.

It was discovered that thirteen women were written down in the protocols under farm-related categories. This is not to say that there were no other women that intended to perform this kind of labour. In fact, in the Norwegian Agrarian society women were acknowledged as

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<sup>208</sup> Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland a history* (Cambridge, 2010) p. 292.

<sup>209</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 65.

<sup>210</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 133.

being as important as men.<sup>211</sup> The emigration protocols from our period does not reflect this view. This as women travelling with husbands that were registered to perform such work were most often either written down as following their husbands or not written down with a reason at all. One could, therefore, discuss whether it came down to the women not providing an actual reason, or if it could be that the emigration officers did not consider it to be relevant to write down. Which could have been due to the fact that married women were largely seen to be a part of the household.<sup>212</sup> Lahlum argues that while women carried important roles on their family farms in America they are ‘rarely credited...except to acknowledge that they married a farmer.’<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Lønnå, ‘Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration’, p. 29.

<sup>212</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, pp. 135-36.

<sup>213</sup> Lahlum, ‘Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920’, p. 89.

<b>1905</b>						
Profession	Men with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Men with tickets purchased in America	Men lacking information about ticket	Women with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Women with tickets purchased in America	<b>Total</b>
Wanderlust + farmwork	1	2		1		<b>4</b>
Farmarbeid (Farmwork)	339	299	2	2	4	<b>646</b>
Farming	41	26				<b>67</b>
Jordbrug (Farmwork)	5	3				<b>8</b>
Jordarb (Farmwork)	18	18		1		<b>37</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>762</b>
<b>1906</b>						
Farmarbeid (Farmwork)	463	408		4	1	<b>876</b>
Farming	4	2		0	0	<b>6</b>
Jordbrug (Farmwork)	6	3		0	0	<b>9</b>
Jordarbeid (Farmwork)	37	24		3	0	<b>64</b>
Gaardsarbeide (Farmwork)		2		2		<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>439</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>959</b>

Table 4. 1 People entering farm-related work

## Domestic service

While farming was the most commonly stated profession for the men leaving Norway, women were most likely to go into some form of domestic service. In 1900 64 per cent of Norwegian-American first generation women worked the domestic services.<sup>214</sup> And, this thesis has discovered that nearly half the women emigrating out from Trondheim were aiming to join them. In American farming communities, it was difficult finding domestic servants, as the women often preferred to take on work in the cities,<sup>215</sup> which probably made

<sup>214</sup> Lahlum, 'Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920', p. 90.

<sup>215</sup> Lahlum, 'Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920', p. 89.

Norwegian domestic servants a popular force of labour. Norwegian domestic workers sometimes wrote home stating that they earned much more money in their new position than they would have at home. Olline Sundt wrote home in 1893 where she stated that the pay was greater in America than in Norway ‘større betaling end det er i norge’<sup>216</sup>, and in 1884 she followed up by stating that she had a new job where she received 8 daler a week, and, also in which she was off when the work was done, in other words, it was not like in Norway.<sup>217</sup>

Letters like these probably encouraged more people to emigrate, especially, the women that had moved to the cities from the countryside to work in domestic service. The contrasts between service in the cities and the rural areas were increasing, the relationship between the women of the house and the maid in the city was based on rank. And whilst on the countryside the domestic servants were, at least on the smaller farms, treated like equals, domestic servants in the cities were in most cases not to be seen and to use the back stairs.<sup>218</sup> Frustrations regarding these conditions were expressed by the first leader of the Maid-Servants’ Association in Kristiania, Petra Ystnes, who in 1914 stated that life had become worse, and not better for the Norwegian female servant.<sup>219</sup> It might, for that reason, not surprise us that so many domestic workers left to try their luck elsewhere. The argument Ystnes made was that a maidservant had earlier been considered to be a part of the family, while now she was being suppressed by the lady of the household and lacked the knowledge and togetherness which was needed to improve their position.<sup>220</sup> Alienation combined with the letters sent home informing about better wages and lighter work<sup>221</sup> would, combined have led many women to seek better fortune abroad. When Ystnes made this statement in 1914, women had just one year earlier accomplished universal suffrage. While women of the higher and middle classes had been allowed to vote since a proposal of limited suffrage was presented in 1901 by the Conservatives.<sup>222</sup> The proposal had been an attempt to try and outweigh the votes of what they saw as radical working men. The fact that all women were still not permitted to vote might have further alienated the working class, and therefore it can be argued that political reasons must be considered as a factor encouraging women in

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<sup>216</sup> Olline Sundt, 1883. Brevsamling av Arnold Bakken, Arkiv PH-0691. Serie: G- Kopier av “Amerikabrev” G – L0001, Arkivverket Trondheim

<sup>217</sup> Olline Sundt, 1884. Brevsamling av Arnold Bakken, Arkiv PH-0691. Serie: G- Kopier av “Amerikabrev” G – L0001 Arkivverket Trondheim

<sup>218</sup> Sølvi Sogner & Kari Telste, *Ut å søkje teneste. Historia om tenestejentene.* (Oslo, 2005). p. 40.

<sup>219</sup> Sogner. *Ut å søkje teneste.* p. 86.

<sup>220</sup> Sogner. *Ut å søkje teneste.* p. 26.

<sup>221</sup> Lovoll, ‘Norwegian immigration and women’, p. 64.

<sup>222</sup> Sogner. *Ut å søkje teneste.* p. 27.

domestic professions to leave Norway for what they might have seen as a freer America or a more liberal Canada.

In total 527 people travelled over to work in domestic service during 1905. Whilst 590 stated the same in 1906. It is apparent from table 4.2 that during the two years nine men provided this as a reason upon registration at the emigration office, where six of them were registered in an American ticket. Clearly, this was not a career path that male emigrants were likely to follow. Out of the women entering domestic service, there was one woman that was not registered with any ticket information, and, in total, 22 of these women, as well as stating that they were working in service, had also specified that they were migrating due to wanderlust. Here it is apparent that when comparing men going over to perform farm work, with women going into service professions, women were more inclined to go over because they wanted to travel or move out of Norway. Or at least, they were more likely to state that to the emigration officer.

The information provided above confirms the arguments made in chapter three which covered wanderlust, as women were in total more probable to state wanderlust as a reason for travel. There were only two women who specified domestic service by stating that they were going to work as a housekeeper. This is not to say that there were not more who took on higher positions in the households they were working in, but that they were registered by the emigration officer as a domestic worker. However, it is likely that many of the women had to work their way up. This thesis has here discovered that almost 50 per cent of the women emigrating out of Trondheim were entering domestic service positions upon arriving in their country of destination. Semmingsen argued that women were in the protocols out of Christiania stating that they wanted to earn better wages.<sup>223</sup> This study will discuss this further when looking at a woman emigrating out of Norway from Trondheim through Oslo at the end of this chapter. This is however not information that was written down in the protocols from Trondheim, and it can therefore not be confirmed if this was a common statement made by the emigrants considered for this thesis.

In addition, a total of 642 of the women going into domestic work abroad, were travelling on a ticket purchased in America. So while less than half of the people aiming to work with farm-related work were travelling on tickets from America, 58.10 per cent of the women going over to work in service, did the same. These findings are interesting as in the literature

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<sup>223</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*. p. 80

the argument is often made that it might have been more tempting to pay for male than female help to come over.<sup>224</sup> While here the numbers might indicate witnessing the opposite. However, one cannot know by reading the protocols who had paid for the tickets, and therefore it is not discovered what the underlying motives for buying the tickets were. As it could have been a family member as much as a future employer that had sent the ticket. Nonetheless, it is known that Scandinavian girls became a popular workforce to hire<sup>225</sup> and it might not in this regard be unlikely that employers paid for the tickets if someone had recommended a girl from Norway.

Profession	Men with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Men with tickets purchased in America	Women with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Women with tickets purchased in America	Women with no information about the ticket	Total
Wanderlust + service			12	9	1	<b>22</b>
Wanderlust + housework			1			<b>1</b>
Domestic service		3	202	295		<b>500</b>
Housekeeper				1		<b>1</b>
Housemaid				1		<b>1</b>
Housework			2			<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>527</b>

Table 4. 2 People stating they were entering domestic service in 1905

1906					
Profession	Men with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Men with tickets purchased in America	Women with tickets purchased in Trondheim	Women with tickets purchased in America	<b>Total</b>
Domestic service	2	4	248	334	<b>588</b>
Housekeeper				1	<b>1</b>
Housemaid				1	<b>1</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>590</b>

Table 4. 3 People stating they were entering domestic service in 1906

<sup>224</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*. p. 76

<sup>225</sup> Sogner. *Ut å søke tjeneste*. p. 99

## Fishermen

Fishing was as well as farming and timber, an important part of Norwegian life and industry. Many men worked as fishermen or in other industries to subsidise their income from their small farms. Especially in the coastal parts of Northern Norway, it had become common for the men to go out fishing while the women stayed at home and took care of the farm and the family.<sup>226</sup> This reflects the importance Norwegian women had in agriculture stated earlier in this chapter. In the 1870s over 100,000 men on a national level were registered as working with commercial fishing.<sup>227</sup> The industry had experienced a growth in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but then towards the end of the century, the Norwegian fishing industry along with agriculture was stagnating.<sup>228</sup> This development, was found by this thesis to have consequences for a longer period of time. In fact, from 1901-1905, 1,800 fishermen migrated on a national scale, whilst from 1906-1910, 4,137 men did the same.<sup>229</sup>

Time period	Emigrating men at the age of 15 or higher that were registered as working in the fishing industry	Percentage out of the emigrating male population
1876-80	139	0.73
1881-85	451	1.00
1886-90	226	0.57
1891-95	280	0.92
1896-00	269	1.44
1901-05	1 800	3.08
1906-10	4 137	8.32
1911-15	1 759	7.45
<sup>230</sup> <a href="https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf">https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_025.pdf</a> p. 54		

Table 4. 4 Men emigrating out of Norway registered as working in the fishing industry in Norway

This thesis has recognised a similar development when investigating the number of fishermen emigrating through Trondheim. From table 4.4 it is clear that there were more fishermen that emigrated from the city in 1906 than in 1905, the number had in fact almost doubled. Semmingsen argues that particularly in the north this was due to social discontent. The differences between fishermen on the one side and higher classes on the other had sparked a fire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This led to over 4000 fishermen leaving for America in the

<sup>226</sup> Lønnå, 'Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration', p. 34.

<sup>227</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 107.

<sup>228</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 107.

<sup>229</sup> SSB, *Utvandringsstatistikk, Norges offisielle statistikk* p. 54.

<sup>230</sup> Accessed 29.03.19

years 1906-1910.<sup>231</sup> Which meant that in the years 1905-1906, 17.65 per cent out of the nation's total amount of fishermen emigrating during this four year period came through Trondheim.

	Ticket bought in America	Ticket bought in Trondheim	Unknown where ticket was bought	Total
1905	226	180	1	244
1906	239	222	1	462
<b>Total</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>706</b>

Table 4. 5 Fishermen emigrating out of Trondheim in 1905 and 1906

New possibilities for fishermen were at the same time opening up along the coast of British Columbia and northwards.<sup>232</sup> However, this thesis would argue that at this time, these opportunities did not have a large impact on the emigrants leaving from Trondheim. This, because, during the two years 163 men had stated that they would be working as fishermen when they were settled. While in comparison 706 men working in the industry in Norway were emigrating. This thesis can, therefore, argue that while many fishermen left the country, only a few of them arrived as fishermen in their country of destination. They were therefore not being pulled to America by the possibilities opening in fishing. This thesis will address how fishermen changed their profession further when looking into how and if people were likely to change their occupations when emigrating.

<b>1905</b>	<b>Tickets purchased in Trondheim</b>	<b>Tickets purchased in Amerika</b>	<b>Total</b>
Fishermen	29	32	61
Salmon fishers			
Wanderlust + fishermen		1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>1906</b>	<b>Tickets purchased in Trondheim</b>	<b>Tickets purchased in Amerika</b>	<b>Total</b>
Fishermen	36	32	68
Salmon fishers	25	6	31
Wanderlust + fishermen	2		2
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>101</b>

Table 4. 6 People stating they were working as fishermen upon arrival 1905-1906

<sup>231</sup> Semmingsen, Veien mot vest, p. 371.

<sup>232</sup> Semmingsen, Veien mot vest pp. 377-379.

## Professions 1907

As mentioned earlier, for the year of 1907, there was no information about what types of professions the emigrants were working in when arriving in their country of destination. Therefore, less information can be gathered about their choices to leave Norway than between 1905 and 1906. And it is due to this not possible to argue if the same trends were existing for specific positions by using the protocols. However, as was presented in chapter two, the emigration officers wrote down other reasons such as travelling to be with family, and they registered if people were going to work by putting an A for arbeid down in the column, which translates to labour or work in Norwegian. Consequently, from the numbers in table 4.7, it can be confirmed that people in 1907 were more likely state to the emigration officer that they were working than providing other reasons for emigrating.

People stating they were working		Percentage of Norwegians emigrating
Men	2263	77.9%
Women	864	65%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>3127</b>	<b>73.85%</b>

Table 4. 7 People stating they would be working upon their arrival in 1907

## Changing profession

So far in this chapter, the focus has been on what professions the emigrants were most likely to work in when they arrived at their destination. In this section, the aim will be to discuss if emigrants from Trondheim were likely to change professions and if so, to deliberate what patterns existed. And finally, if trends are discovered it will be analysed if they were different for the two groups of gender. The men that went from Norway during the two years of 1905 and 1906 usually stayed in the same professions that they held whilst in Norway. However, table 4.8 discloses that in total 763 people changed from other professions to farm-related work during this period. The professions in this table has been divided into groups to provide a comprehensive overview. This thesis would argue that the importance of fishing for Norwegian farmers can here be confirmed by looking at the people who were changing their professions once they had arrived at their new home, as people registered as fishermen were the group most likely to enter some sort of agricultural work after emigrating. This confirms that the fishers were often skilled in farm labour, in fact, the years 1905 and 1906 saw that out of the emigrants from Trondheim, 418 fishermen were entering some sort of farm-work.

People changing profession to farm-related work					
	1905		1906		<b>Total</b>
Occupational groupings	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Clerical & related workers	5		11		<b>16</b>
Salesmen, Shop assistants & related workers	13		12		<b>25</b>
Domestic Service workers	4	2	8	1	<b>15</b>
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	226		193		<b>419</b>
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	146		139		<b>286</b>
Medical staff				1	<b>1</b>
Firefighters	1				<b>1</b>
Other			3		
<b>Total</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>763</b>

Table 4. 8 People changing profession to farm-related work

The table above only takes into consideration the people that were changing their profession to farm-related occupations, and therefore it excludes many of the women. In fact, only three women are represented. In 1905 two domestic workers were registered as going into farm-work and in 1906 one nurse and one domestic worker was written down as doing the same. This thesis would argue, that this was a consequence of the women being written down as following husbands and registered as being wives, rather than being registered as working with farm work like their husbands so often were. However, it can from the protocols be gathered that the majority of people stating that they were changing professions upon leaving were men. This study would argue that although women also had more professional options

in America than in Norway,<sup>233</sup> men had even more professions to choose from,<sup>234</sup> and therefore it was more likely that men would change their profession than women. Lindbekk also came to the same conclusion, as she stated that men having more opportunities to choose from must have had an impact on the numbers of emigration being larger amongst men.<sup>235</sup> When looking at who changed from working in farm-related jobs to others we see that very few chose to become fishermen. This further confirms the argument made above that fishermen were not emigrating to continue working in this industry, but rather wanted to go into farming or other professions. The majority that changed from farm-related work chose to work in sawmills or with forestry. This we would argue was due to the same reasons as many of the fishermen entered into agriculture, timber and woodwork. These were known trades that many Norwegians worked in, and similar to the fishing industry, many had before emigrating, combined it with farm work.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Lahlum, 'Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920', p. 81.

<sup>234</sup> Lønnå, 'Gender in Norway in the period of mass emigration', p. 36.

<sup>235</sup> Lindbekk, *Fast og tilstrekkelig levebrød*, p. 193.

<sup>236</sup> Sandvik, *Nasjonens velstand, Norges økonomiske historie 1800-1940*, p. 105.

1905	1906	
Number of people changing from farm-related work to a new profession	Number of people changing from farm-related work to a new profession	Profession in America
2	4	Salmon fishing
8	2	Fishing
29	28	saw mill
13	18	Carpenter
1	5	Female domestic service
0	1	Baker
0	1	Domestic service male
6	5	Mine
0	1	Forest work/fishing
0	1	Dock worker
2	1	Railroad worker
0	1	Shoemaker
36	6	Forest worker
2	1	Woodwork
1	1	Shop/Trade
0	1	Sailor
1	0	Factory
1	0	Agent
9	0	Anything
1	0	Tram driver
1	0	Smith
1	0	Gold digging
1	0	Construction
1	0	Tømand
2	0	Stonework
1	0	Office work
1	0	Painting
120	77	

Table 4. 9 Emigrants changing from farm-related work to another type of position.

Far more went from farm work and into other jobs in 1905 than 1906. This might indicate a changing development as emigrants had up until now arrived from a life in Norway working in farm labour with the plans to clear their own land and settle down. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century Norwegians became more urban and were more attracted to the growing labour markets in the cities. According to table 4.10 women were the smaller group as that only six women

were registered as working in farming and changing professions, and they all went into domestic service. However, women were more inclined to be written down as transferring from farm-related professions to a new profession, than to farm work from another occupation.

This is not to say that Norwegian women did not sometimes change their profession. Female emigrants were more often than not entering domestic service as their first job abroad,<sup>237</sup> which was also the case for the women leaving from Trondheim. Hundred and six women were registered as changing their professions during the years 1905-1906. Here, unlike the men, it was not the same group of workers that were the majority both years. From table 4.10 and 4.11 it is clear that in 1905, it was the seamstresses that were the dominant group, whilst in 1906 it was shop maids. This research has not been able to find a reason as to why this happened, and would suggest after reading through the newspaper that the difference was not related to any major events occurring. It is not, however, surprising that seamstresses were one of the larger groups taking on a new occupation, as it was a low-status profession with poor pay.<sup>238</sup> Here it is plausible that the women were impacted by pull-factors such as better pay and ability to find work as well as networks abroad that encouraged these women to leave Norway combined with the push of low wages at home. While most men that were changing professions entered farm-work, most women entered into domestic service. It can, therefore, be maintained that the likability of the Scandinavian and in this case, the Norwegian housemaid was of grand nature, as the norm of changing profession would suggest that there were enough positions available. Furthermore, Women were less likely to have changed from domestic service to another profession than the other way around. Which further confirms that positions such as these were available.

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<sup>237</sup> Lovoll, 'Norwegian immigration and women', p. 64

<sup>238</sup> Kaldal, *veit og gate : Daglegliv i midtbyen i Trondheim 1880-1950*. p. 350

1905	Domestic service	Housekeeper	Seamstress	Factory worker	Farm work	Nurse	Restaurant worker	Education	<b>Total</b>
Dairy worker	2	1	2						<b>5</b>
Domestic service			3		2	1			<b>6</b>
Housekeeper	4								<b>4</b>
Shopmaid	9								<b>9</b>
Saleswoman	2								<b>2</b>
Seamstress	21					1			<b>22</b>
Factory worker	1								<b>1</b>
Farmwork	3			1					<b>4</b>
Midwife						1			<b>1</b>
Nurse	3								<b>3</b>
Knitting	1								<b>1</b>
Ironer	2								<b>2</b>
Bookbinder	2								<b>2</b>
Storage worker							1		<b>1</b>
Sætterske <sup>239</sup>	1								<b>1</b>
Office lady	4								<b>4</b>
Faccionista								1	<b>1</b>
Hotelworker	1								<b>1</b>
Café lady	1								<b>1</b>
Restaurant worker	1								<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>72</b>

Table 4. 10 People changing profession 1905

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<sup>239</sup> Woman working with the printing machine at a Newspaper

1906	Domestic service	Seamstress	farmer	Sowing factory	Business	Nurse	<b>Total</b>
Dairy worker	1						<b>1</b>
Domestic service		3	1		1	1	<b>6</b>
Office worker	2						<b>2</b>
Shopmaid	11						<b>11</b>
Seamstress	6						<b>6</b>
Phone operator	1						<b>1</b>
Tooth technician	1						<b>1</b>
Shoemaker				1			<b>1</b>
Farm owner	1						<b>1</b>
Farmworker	1						<b>1</b>
Restauratrice	1						<b>1</b>
Teacher	1						<b>1</b>
Hotel owner	1						<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>34</b>

Table 4. 11 People changing profession 1906

One of the long-lasting debates in migration history is whether people emigrated due to the vast population growth that Europe saw in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This thesis would argue that according to the numbers found so far in this chapter, it was not the major factor for the period discussed in this project. This, as less than 10 per cent of the emigrants were changing profession, and if people had been desperate in a desperate need of work, more people would have been changing their occupations. Combined with the numbers of unemployment points being low it could indicate that this push-factor was not of any large importance during our period.

### Contracted work

It cannot be decided by looking at the protocols if people were planning on staying or if the emigrants were, in fact, part of a trend of circular migration.<sup>240</sup> This form of migration was already common within Norway, and had existed long before the time of mass emigration. This was especially the case for men working in fishing, and handymen needing to travel in order to be able to offer their services, as well as, for women seeking posts as domestic

<sup>240</sup> When people ended up home after migrating

servants.<sup>241</sup> And, therefore, the foundation was already existing which made it natural that it would further develop with emigration increasingly becoming a part of Norwegian society. Which was seen in chapter two when analysing the content of Trondhjems Adresseavis. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it became more common that people were pursuing work abroad as temporary migrants.<sup>242</sup> These people emigrated with the intention of only working for a set amount of time and, if someone had once decided to migrate, they were likelier to repeat the move.<sup>243</sup> This will be further discussed in the next section of this chapter when deliberating on the more uncommon choices some emigrants made.

In 1906 there was a large earthquake in San Francisco. Phillip L. Fradkin, who has written about the earthquake and fires after and the consequences in this regard, refers to as a 'northern Californian disaster' that commercially impacted the entire west.<sup>244</sup> This might have been why it was so important to get the city back up and running again that in 1906, according to Trondhjems Adresseavis, an America commission arrived in Trondheim. The commission was going to travel all through Europe's cities to find labourers to rebuild the city. The people being chosen for the job were to be offered what the newspaper referred to as 'gratis Returbillett og høie Lønninger', free return tickets and high wages.<sup>245</sup> It is not known if there were anyone that migrated from Trondheim who decided to take this offer. Nonetheless, it was in the protocols found that two people that met the requirements emigrated in 1906 and another nine different people in 1907 immigrated to San Francisco.

### What most people did not do

People choosing to emigrate from Norway, and from Trondheim, were largely people working with physical labour. However, exceptions existed. Some of the more uncommon professions that were found in the protocols were: a Bank Manager, two photographers, a pharmacist, a musician, and a singer. There were further 11 gold-diggers where 10 left together, and the 11<sup>th</sup> was related to some of them although travelling later. Further, there was also a female architect, one preacher, four typographers and two drawers. Now, these are highly outnumbered by the people that Østrem has referred to as being part of the Hand-drain.<sup>246</sup> It is nonetheless interesting to see that some people also chose other paths. The 4

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<sup>241</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>242</sup> Danielsen, *Grunntrekk i Norsk historie : Fra vikingtid til våre dager*. p. 228.

<sup>243</sup> Massey, "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." pp. 431-66.

<sup>244</sup> Phillip L. Fradkin, *The great earthquake and firestorms of 1906. How San Francisco nearly destroyed itself*. (London, 2005), p. 4.

<sup>245</sup> Trondhjems Adresseavis 22 Mai 1906.

<sup>246</sup> See chapter one, historiography on migration.

typographers might have been going to work in a Norwegian-American Newspaper such as one of the “Big-Three” – The Decorah-Posten, Minneapolis Tidende and the Scandinaven.<sup>247</sup>

Drawers could also be referring to architectural work, and both the musician and the singer could very well have been travelling over to perform as much as to settle for good.

Norwegian emigration research has when looking into the professions focused largely on the occupations that were the most common, such as farm and domestic work. This thesis has also discussed the patterns of these. In addition, this chapter has below included two cases of more uncommon choices of labour, this to demonstrate that it is needed to further expand the field of migration history, and start looking at what was not normal to find more answers and provide new depths to the research. It will become clear that some of the answers found in regard to these cases were different to what studies have found to be the norm so far, and that there were also similarities.

## Two cases

### The Gold digger

An interesting group, as stated above, is the 10 gold-diggers that left for America on the 5<sup>th</sup> May 1905<sup>248</sup>. Sverre Mørkhagen argued in relations to the gold rush in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that Norwegian cases of people emigrating to try their luck in this regard were few.<sup>249</sup>

While Semmingsen wrote that Sunmøre was struck by what she referred to as the Alaskan fever ‘Alaskafeberen’<sup>250</sup>, this does not seem to have been the case for people emigrating from Trondheim. From 1905-1907 people stating gold digging as a reason for emigrating only occurred in 1905. This was considerably later than the findings of gold in Bonanza Creek by the river Klondike by George Carmanach in 1896, which would be the start of a new gold-fever. This was not the first time Norwegians left to try their fortune as gold diggers. Almost 65 years previous, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1850, a boat had left with 106 gold-diggers on board. Molde argues that this form of movement could not be classed as emigration, because the aim was not to settle for good.<sup>251</sup> Myhre as mentioned earlier questions our perspectives

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<sup>247</sup> Ingeborg R. Kongslie, ‘Norwegian newspapers in America: Connecting Norway and the new land’ by Odd S. Lovoll, And: Norske Aviser I Amerika (review).” *Scandinavian Studies* 85, no. 2 (2013): pp. 247-51.

<sup>248</sup> John Emil Kaasen, protocol 13 Protocol 12 1905, <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000162571> accessed 30.04.19

<sup>249</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. pp. 256.

<sup>250</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, del 2. pp. 382-383.

<sup>251</sup> Molde, Jostein. ‘Trondheim Som utvandringsby’ pp. 31-48.

on what is considered to be the process of moving.<sup>252</sup> This chapter would claim that to leave for America in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially to become a gold digger, was so risky that the move could become permanent. Also, it has been stated in the literature, as put forward in the section covering return migrants, that people not necessarily meant to remain in America, but still never came home. The news about the findings would later spike interest in the Scandinavian settlements in America, with the Norwegians in lead.<sup>253</sup> However, Mørkhagen argues that this does not seem to have been a major factor as to why emigrants left.<sup>254</sup> This statement can by looking at the information provided in the protocols be confirmed by this thesis in regard to Trondheim as an emigration port. The ten gold-diggers were all men and out of them, seven shared the same last name Kaasen as well as that they were from the same place of origin. There were also another three that travelled from Talvik, on the same date, which, lies about 63 kilometres further north in the county Finmark. For the purpose of this thesis, one of these men will here be looked at in greater detail.

When investigating further it was found that gold digger John Emil Kaasen already had emigrated for the first time in 1901. That year he was registered as being from Skjærvøy in Troms county.<sup>255</sup> Then the emigration officers still did not register reasons for migrating and it is therefore not known if he was leaving to try his luck as a gold digger. Being from Troms and emigrating Kaasen was an exception to the rule as the county sent ‘relatively fewer emigrants overseas than any other province’<sup>256</sup> However, it can be seen that he was registered as being an unmarried worker in 1901, while in 1905, he was written down as an unmarried farmworker with the intentions of going over to find gold. When he again travelled to America in 1909, it was discovered that there was no reason registered but that his civil status was now listed as being a married gold-digger.<sup>257</sup> The fact that he was registered as a gold digger indicates that he was now identifying as a stage emigrant. This thesis found that Kaasen had a child that had been born and baptised in 1907.<sup>258</sup> Likewise, Semmingsen, although regarding seamen and fishermen has argued that sometimes they had earned enough money to get married and settle down, but that to make ends temporary migrants often had to

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<sup>252</sup> Myhre ‘Historiske perspektiver på flyttinh’. p. 56.

<sup>253</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. pp. 435-442.

<sup>254</sup> Mørkhagen, *Farvel Norge, utvandringen til Amerika 1825-1975*. pp. 435-442.

<sup>255</sup> John Emil Kaasen, protocol 11 1901 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000137665>

<sup>256</sup> Gunnar. Thorvaldsen, "A constant flow of people? Migration in Northern Norway 1865–1900." *History and Computing* 11, no. 1-2 (1999): pp 45-59.

<sup>257</sup> John Emil Kaasen, protocol 13 1909 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000182855>

<sup>258</sup> Ministerialbok for Skjærvøy prestegjeld, Kvænangen sokn, 1892-1908. <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/255/pd00000012253465>

make another journey.<sup>259</sup> This means that he must have returned home after 1905. Maybe he had on his journey in 1905 found enough gold for him to propose to his wife? Furthermore, it was found that he returned back to Norway again in 1910 from his last place of living being in Nome, Alaska.<sup>260</sup> After 1909 he was not registered as emigrating again. He probably did not become rich in America, as he was in 1910 registered as a crofter. Here it is evident as argued earlier, that the women in Norwegian agriculture were important. Kaasen's wife would have been left alone with taking care of the land they lived on. This gold digger from county Troms is an example of how people sometimes emigrated in order to earn money, with the plan of returning home. His situation describes how emigration was, like the offer of employment in San Francisco, not always permanent. This case has made it clear that emigration could be a calculated decision to leave for a while in order to earn extra money. By coming back and settling back home, Kaasen was an example of a trend in development, as from 1891 to 1940, over a third of the Norwegian emigrants are thought to have returned.<sup>261</sup> Earlier this thesis discussed, how people that had once emigrated and returned, were more likely to do it again. This was particularly the case of coastal Norway. To seamen and fishermen, it had become common to migrate more than once. It became a way to secure the finances for when inheriting a farm, and also as a solution if their family grew too fast.<sup>262</sup> While people from Troms were one of the counties to experience low emigration rates, the neighbouring county Finnmark sent a considerable amount of people over to Alaska.<sup>263</sup> It just so happened to be that the three men also stating gold digging as their profession that were travelling at the same time, were from this very county, and it is highly likely that the gold-fever had spread over the county borders. It is interesting that while the profession was unusual, the patterns presented in relation to his choices were sometimes a confirmation of patterns and sometimes the exception to the rule.

### The Female architect

Previously, in this chapter, it has been stated that if women had been registered with a profession in the protocols, the occupation most commonly listed was domestic service. Here, on the other, hand this thesis will look at a woman who chose a different career. In fact, she was the only women during our period that had stated architect as a profession. Gudrund

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<sup>259</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, del 2. p. 377.

<sup>260</sup> John Emil Kaasen, *Folketelling 1910 for 1943 Kvænangen Herred*.  
<https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/person/pf01036970000743> accessed 30.04.10

<sup>261</sup> Østrem, *Norsk utvandringshistorie*, p. 47.

<sup>262</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, del 2. pp. 367-369 .

<sup>263</sup> Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest*, del 2. p 384.

Holst-Grubbe according to the emigration protocol was born in 1882, her home was listed as Trondheim and she was an unmarried architect.<sup>264</sup> This thesis discovered details about Gudrund attending Trondhjems Tekniske Lærestanstalt, which, educated, amongst others, architects. The registration of her admittance stated that she was born in 1884,<sup>265</sup> and it is a reminder that errors were made when writing down details, and that historians always have to be aware of this when analysing sources. Gudrund was signed in to the school in 1902 and graduated on the 21st June 1906, where she obtained good results<sup>266</sup>. There were no female permanent students registered at the school before her, she was the only female student registered in 1902, and there would not be women registered there until 1906.<sup>267</sup> Gudrund by being a young unmarried woman emigrating, was part of a development where this group were emigrating on a larger scale. And while she sometimes confirms arguments made in relations to other women by this thesis it will here be argued that she was in many ways a new sort of emigrant from Trondheim. She was as Semmingsen has stated ‘a type of emigrant who was more significant at the end of the period of mass emigration than at the beginning.’<sup>268</sup> A woman with an education, who on her own set out to work in New York. It was further found that she was registered in the protocols for emigrants travelling through Christiania and there she had stated that she was going over in order to earn better wages ‘bedre fortjeneste’ as well as working as an architect.<sup>269</sup> Gudrund’s father was a painter from Kristiansund and her mother was from Trondheim. Together her parents in 1900 had nine children registered as living with them as well as a maid.<sup>270</sup> And one can imagine that the situation might have been a bit overcrowded. It is not, as a result, unlikely that Gudrund left at the end of September 1906, only three months after graduating, to achieve not only a better income but also some independence. Furthermore, whilst in Norway, work was still related to the times view on gender, where a woman’s position was within the home, in America, Lahlum demonstrates how, in regard to rural work, there was no shame in being a working

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<sup>264</sup> Gudrund Holst-Grubbe emigrant protocol nr. 13 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe0000000170809> accessed 30.04.09

<sup>265</sup> Gudrund Holst-Grubbe Karakterprotokoller for Trondhjems tekniske anstalt <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/47/pl00000000029650> accessed 30.04.09

<sup>266</sup> Gudrund Holst-Grubbe <http://da2.uib.no/cgi-win/WebBok.exe?slag=lesside&bokid=t103&sideid=104&storleik=>

<sup>267</sup> Alstad, O., and Trondhjems Tekniske Lærestanstalt. *Trondhjemsteknikernes matrikel : Biografiske meddelelser om samtlige faste og hospiterende elever av Trondhjems tekniske lærestanstalt 1870-1915 : Med Ca. 1300 ungdomsportrætter*. (Trondhjem, 1916) pp. 271-276.

<sup>268</sup> Semmingsen, *Women in Norwegian emigration*. p. 81.

<sup>269</sup> Gudrund Holst-Grubbe emigranter ove Kristiania 1871-1930

<https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000001085496>

<sup>270</sup> Census 1900 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/apartment/lf01037426000227> accessed 30.04.19

woman.<sup>271</sup> And this thesis would suggest that this view had also at least to some extent, affected how women were working in cities such as New York. Gudrunds brother Trygve would follow her on the 27<sup>th</sup> November that same year<sup>272</sup> and their sister Ingeborg left a year after him.<sup>273</sup> Their sister Ågot<sup>274</sup> and their brother Peter<sup>275</sup> was found as emigrating in the 1909 protocol. The oldest brother Bjarne then followed in 1914<sup>276</sup> and finally the sister Louise was the last member of the family to emigrating in 1921.<sup>277</sup> Only two sisters out of nine children did not as far as this study could discover, emigrate out of Trondheim. All of the siblings had as Gudrund, stated they were going to New York, although Louise had been more specific and been registered as going to Brooklyn. Further, it was found that Bjarne married a girl from Harlem, Holland in 1916 and that their father attended their wedding.<sup>278</sup> It is not identified if Gudrund knew someone in America when she decided to leave, but it was discovered that she worked as an architect from the year she arrived in New York.<sup>279</sup> We cannot say for sure that it was Gudrund that impacted them all to do become emigrants, maybe it had been decided already when she left that her siblings were to arrive after her. Nevertheless, it is likely that she was the instigator and this thesis would argue that the likelihood of this being a classic example of chain migration, is almost certain.

## Summary

This chapter discussed whether unemployment constituted an important driver of migration and looked at some of the most common professions that the emigrants were likely to work in once they had arrived in their country of destination. It was not surprisingly discovered that farming and domestic service were the two most common professions entered in the protocol, both as a profession before leaving as well as abroad. Furthermore, this chapter has investigated the way people changed professions. Here it was found that men who changed professions to farm work were most likely to be fishermen, sawmill workers, and forest workers. On the other hand, there were amongst the women no explainable patterns to be found in relation to what professions they had before changing their professions upon emigrating. The women were most likely to enter domestic service, while the men above

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<sup>271</sup> Lahlum, 'Women, work, and community in Rural Norwegian America, 1840-1920', p. 84.

<sup>272</sup> Trygve Holst-Grubbe, Emigrantprotokol nr. 13 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000172093>

<sup>273</sup> Ingeborg Holst- Grubbe migrantprotokol nr. 14. <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000178433>

<sup>274</sup> Aagot Holst-Grubbe Emigrantprotokol nr. 14 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000185671>

<sup>275</sup> Peter Holst-Grubbe Emigrantprotokol nr. 14 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000182346>

<sup>276</sup> Bjarne Holst-Grubbe Emigrantprotokol nr.15 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000206291>

<sup>277</sup> Louise Holst-Grubbe Emigrantprotokol nr. 16 <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/8/pe00000000216572>

<sup>278</sup> Ministerialbok for den norske sjømannsmisjonen i New York 1915-1923

<https://www.digitalarkivet.no/view/327/pv000000001109312>

<sup>279</sup> Alstad, *Trondhjemsteknikernes matrikel* p. 231.

were most likely to be entering farm work. However, this chapter also looked into the men changing their profession from farm work to something different, and this thesis revealed that amongst these men were most likely to enter into sawmill labour or carpentry. It was discovered that a significant number of people decided to change their professions, but that upon doing so both genders were more likely to have changed to another similar and/or familiar trade. From these three years, it is evident that the majority of emigrants, both men and women, were more likely to be entering a profession rather than to be travelling over to someone. This due to the fact that while men were more inclined to state that they were entering a profession rather than travelling over to reunite with someone. Women were more prone to travel on an American ticket rather than a ticket purchased in Trondheim. Finally, the chapter investigated professions and choices which were uncommon amongst the majority of the emigrants leaving both Norway and Trondheim during this period

## Chapter five – Conclusion

During the last three chapters, this thesis has attempted to investigate what the emigration protocols covering the years from 1905 to 1911, can tell us about people using Trondheim as an emigration port. The focus has been on the time period from the start of 1905 to the end of 1907. In addition, the approach has been to investigate emigration from a gendered perspective in order to find what distinctions and similarities there were between Norwegian men and women emigrating, and by doing so, this thesis has also compared how emigration out of Trondheim fitted in the national context. First and foremost, this thesis found that the emigration picture was complex, and to argue that one cause, such as population growth, or chain migration alone, would have set off large scale emigration, is to exclude important information. This thesis has, therefore, included both push- and pull-factors, as well as that it has acknowledged that emigrants' own opinions and choices, must also be taken into consideration. From the research conducted for this thesis, it is evident that the decision to emigrate had not one, but several reasons where sometimes there could have been factors that outweighed others.

The average emigrant leaving Norway was not driven by war and/or starvation, but rather by the dream of a better economic future for themselves, and often also for their families. Some might have been driven by love, and some travelled abroad with a sense of wanderlust. This chapter will provide an overview of the topics that this thesis has covered, and it will bring the arguments made in this study together, in order to answer the questions of what the protocols tell us, and what gendered differences or similarities this thesis has discovered. By doing so it hopes to contribute to the field of Norwegian emigration history, and to show that men and women, who chose to emigrate, were both similar and different. This, in turn, has emphasized how a gendered perspective can further develop arguments, as well as, bring forward new topics of interest to the field

From chapter two, it was learned that, between 1905 and 1907, almost 11 000 people emigrated out of Trondheim and that the city with Christiania and Bergen, was one of Norway's largest emigration ports. The period saw an increase in both unmarried and married people emigrating, as well as a decrease in children travelling along with their parents, which was largely linked to the nation experiencing decreasing fertility rates. Men were more likely

to be unmarried than women and this was discovered to be a part of a wider national trend. In total, more single people were leaving through Trondheim than married. However, there was a higher increase in the percentage of married people leaving than the growth of unmarried emigrants, and it was suggested when discussing civil status, that this was related to the increasing numbers women becoming housewives. The argument was made that this trend also impacted the difference in widows and widowers emigrating. Men were less prone to emigrate if becoming widowed compared to a woman in the same situation. Widows were more likely to be dependent on emigration than widowers, this due to married women being unlikely to work full-time, as gender norms at the time suggested that it was somewhat shameful to work.<sup>280</sup> Married women were supposed to take care of the household. Men on the other hand, while experiencing the loss of their spouses, were still able to provide for their families with the position they already had. Women were more vulnerable financially if they lost a spouse and, in this regard, more so than men, forced to emigrate if they did not have a support system at home.

Furthermore, while Semmingsen has stated that women had become the head of the family, it was seen that this was not the case for Trondheim, as the proportion of women emigrating with children was smaller than compared to unmarried women and married women travelling without children. Nonetheless, both the numbers of men as well as women travelling with children was increasing during the period, and therefore one could argue that women emigrating from Trondheim were becoming the head of the family to a greater extent than what they had been.

By comparing Trondheim to Christiania, this thesis discovered that the ratio of male to female who emigrated was higher in Trondheim than in the Capital. In addition, it was argued in chapter two that women from Christiania could more easily afford the tickets to America due to gendered differences in wages being lower further south as well as that there were fewer positions available for women in Trondheim due to the greater industrial development in Christiania. This argument could indicate that women were not pushed out of the country due to bad living conditions, but rather pulled by more enticing opportunities abroad. It could also be that women were more likely to emigrate from Christiania due to the larger network of emigrants from this area already living in America. This was a consequence of emigration starting later in the northern part of Norway.

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<sup>280</sup> Moum, *Kvinnfolkarbeid : Kvinners Kår Og Status I Norge 1875-1910*. p. 51.

By only looking at the emigration protocols, the numbers indicated that women were less likely to migrate in stages than men, which is in contrast with previous research done by Historians such as Blom and Sogner. However, when looking at the examination done by Molde in 2006 in regard to stage migrants in Trondheim, it is evident that the numbers found in table 2.7 are too small. Further research is needed to be able to answer the questions raised in this project in regards to stage migration. Nevertheless, Lindbekk also discovered that stage migration was not a large phenomenon when it came to emigrants leaving from Trondheim.

The evidence provided by Adresseavisen contributed in a way that shed further light on the reasons behind emigration, as well as providing valuable details on the general context of this period. It was demonstrated that the newspaper published letters, which could both inspire as well as discourage emigration, and we found other reasons for emigration such as crimes committed. However, what was most interesting to this thesis was how normal emigration was portrayed. There were ads informing people about departures and arrivals of the steamships, as well as short notices revealing that ships had arrived safely at their destination. Furthermore, this thesis also pointed out how some ads were specifically targeting either emigrants or their families left behind, where it was possible to exchange foreign currency, or purchasing Christmas presents that were suited to send to America. Therefore, from the perspective of the newspaper, emigration was a relatively normal part of the agenda. That, in some situations, drew more attention, such as during periods when an increase in emigration rates had occurred.

Chapter three investigated reasons found which were not related to work. Here, it became clear that women were more likely to state such reasons than men. They were more expected to emigrate due to wanderlust as well as stating other reasons than work for emigrating. Wanderlust was more common amongst women, and one argument that this thesis put forward is that purchasing the ticket was easier for men than what it was for women, due to gendered wage differences. Therefore, when travel was possible, women felt wanderlust. According to the protocols people driven by wanderlust were young and unmarried with no children. There were no larger geographical trends other than people sometimes travelling in groups, such as one case used as an example in regard to the impact made by returning emigrants. In this example, a group from Snåsa in Trøndelag, was found to be travelling with a man that had stated he was living in America. It seems to have been an individual rather than a wider reason for travelling. The numbers people who expressed that they were

travelling due to wanderlust dropping also made us consider if this was due to the emigrant officers not writing it down as a reason, with emigrants all in all being okay financially, as well as, the rates of emigrants leaving and the networks in America growing. It would have been expected to see more people travelling with wanderlust rather than less.

In addition, chapter three saw more tickets from America being used by women than by men. And it was suggested, that this disagrees with the argument that men were more likely to be sent for than women. Nonetheless, it is not known how many had received money sent home in letters. Therefore, this thesis cannot be sure that these numbers expose the true scale of assisted emigration by people already settled abroad. Furthermore, it was discovered that people emigrating to someone were less likely to travel on a ticket from Trondheim than a ticket purchased in America. And therefore, people stating they were moving over to someone, were all less likely to have paid for their own ticket in Norway. It was also interesting to discover that only 15 per cent of the total population of women emigrating through Trondheim had provided going over to friends or family as a reason compared to the findings for Christiania presented by Semmingsen, that one-third of the women were doing the same from 1905-1911. And although the time period was slightly different, this is likely to have been a consequence of lesser developed networks, as the emigration out of some areas in Northern Norway did not pick up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It would have felt safer to travel to someone, and it was probably even more reassuring to travel with someone. Although Semmingsen argued that women were likely to travel with one or more women, It was discovered that by comparing numbers of women travelling together, women were, in fact, more likely to travel alone or with a husband rather than with another of the same sex. Only 4.2 per cent of the women emigrating from Trondheim from 1905-1907 had stated that they were, in fact, doing so.

Finally, the chapter discussed the term return migration and focused on previous emigrants visiting Norway from America. By comparing the numbers of men and women returning with the numbers of people emigrating in the same years, this thesis found that the percentage of women returning to visit was larger than the male proportion. Here it must be stated that these numbers do not reflect the return percentage of the years that they first emigrated, but rather indicates the proportion of people travelling back to America after a visit. By using an example from Snåsa, the impact of chain migrants was briefly discussed, and the concept of circular migration was introduced. In relations to people stating that they were living in

America, the chapter also quickly introduced the question of identity and argued that people who had stated that they had two homes, could be an example of temporary migrants living both in Norway and America. If this was the case, it was a male phenomenon.

Chapter four discussed unemployment as a reason for emigration, as Trondhjems Adresseavis expressed concern regarding the number of idleness in Trondheim. However, the numbers were low, with under one per cent registered as not economically active. And while male unemployment was considerably higher than female idleness, this might not have been accurately depicted due to women's income, if married, being counted as an extra income to the household instead of a salary the women had earned. Only one-third of the national population of women were registered as employed, and these statistics did not include people who were involved in any part-time work. Nevertheless, unemployment was not a trigger for the population of Trondheim to emigrate as the numbers of unemployment provided in the newspaper amounted to under one per cent of the population. On the other hand, the growing unemployment in general amongst unmarried women, might have caused them to follow their parents upon emigrating. This might have been the case with Bergliot introduced in chapter two, who was registered as a child in the protocols. Although being born in 1883, she might have been one of the unemployed women not being able to obtain gainful employment. Gender norms affected the way people worked and therefore also how people emigrated.

Women and men emigrating out of Trondheim were often seeking to work in the same types of professions abroad as they had been working within Norway. For men, farm-work was the most common whilst for women it was domestic service. Men were likely to continue with farm work in their country of destination, as almost 40 per cent stated that they were doing so. Almost 46 per cent of these men were travelling on American tickets. This was likely to be as people who already were settled abroad, were in the need of help to set up their already acquired land and farms. The argument that was introduced in relation to this was the lack of importance women have been shown in agriculture. Rarely in the protocols is it written that women were entering farm work although emigrating with a husband that had stated some sort of farm work to the emigration officer. It is nonetheless probable that the women also contributed on the farm. Nearly half the women were written down in the protocols as working in domestic service. An example of this was provided in two letters from Olline Sundt, writing home about the better conditions she was facing in America than what she would have done at home. Women from this category were also more likely to state wanderlust than men in the farming sector, which again indicates that women once able to

emigrate had a greater sense of adventure upon travelling due to the financial obstacles being higher for women than men. Almost 60 per cent out of women emigrating travelled on American tickets. This might indicate that while it is argued that men were more often sent tickets as they were seen to be more useful as a workforce, it was not the case for the emigrants from Trondheim in the period 1905-1907. However, it cannot be known by looking at the protocols who sent the tickets, we cannot be certain if this was the case, and this thesis is not able to state how many of the tickets were purchased with money sent home from America. Therefore, it is likely that chain migration of this sort had an even larger impact than shown in this thesis.

Some groups were more likely to emigrate than others and it is recognised in chapter four that one-quarter of the male emigrants from Trondheim were fishermen. Furthermore, they were also the largest proportion to state that they were changing professions. Likewise, they were more likely to be working in farming, which was explained by the many fishermen also having worked with agricultural work at home.

Nonetheless, people were most likely to stay in the same professions, and if they did not, they largely chose something similar. The movement of Fishermen choosing to enter farm work was founded in old patterns of temporary migration, existing long before the waves of emigration that started in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It became evident that agriculture was important to Norwegian men as this was the profession men were most likely to enter in America. If they changed professions, it was mostly into some occupation related to farm work. Women also changed their positions, and they were most likely to start working in domestic service.

There was also throughout the period, an increase in work migration. This kind of movement was not uncommon in Norway before large-scale emigration set in. However, to go abroad to work and return home was an increasing development during our period. Nonetheless, the example in chapter four was a more unusual one, as the local newspaper informed that there would be a commission from San Francisco looking for able working men with skills in contracting and other handy professions. From the protocols, 11 people were discovered that fitted the requirements between 1906 and 1907 went to San Francisco. Nevertheless, the protocols do not tell us if emigrants from the area went to work on this project, and further research would be needed to discover if this was the case. Still, it points out that temporary migration existed.

Not everyone entered the most common professions upon emigrating, and the chapter presented two examples regarding this. One male gold digger became this thesis example on temporary migration, as it was discovered that he had left the country more than once. The first time he was unmarried and it was found that when he emigrated again in 1909 he had a wife and son at home. On the third time of emigrating, he was identifying as a gold digger, while earlier he had been a worker or farm worker. He was also from county Troms, which at the time had a lower emigration rate than many other counties. His case discloses not only how emigration could be a non-permanent event, but also that the impact of migration was likely to spread across the borders. As the neighbouring county was experiencing larger emigration, his group was also travelling together with men from this region. It is also important to notice that while the profession was unusual, the patterns presented in relation to his choices were sometimes a confirmation of larger developments and sometimes the exception to the rule.

Moreover, in chapter four this thesis looked at the case of a female architect. She was like the gold digger, an exception in various aspects. She was the only woman to be educated at Trondhjems Tekniske Læreanstalt up until her year of graduation in 1906 when more women were registered. This thesis found that she in the protocols had stated that she was looking to earn greater money. Although it has been suggested by this thesis that it was easier for a woman to be hired in this line of work in America, as according to Lahlum, there were in rural areas, no shame in working. And it has by this thesis been suggested that this was also somewhat relevant to the women in the cities. However, Gudrund also confirmed patterns discovered during this thesis. She was young and unmarried, and by becoming an architect, she was part of a growing national development, where women were slowly becoming more likely to work in other areas than domestic service. Furthermore, she was also an example of chain migration as seven out of her siblings followed her to New York.

This conclusion chapter has so far gone through the topics presented in the chapters in order to summarise the findings and arguments made by this thesis. Here I will now try to answer the thesis questions raised in chapter one. What can the emigration protocols from Trondheim during the years 1905-1907 tell us about people's choices to emigrate? And what distinctions and similarities can we find between Norwegian men and women emigrating out of Trondheim?

The findings discovered by this thesis has made it evident that several aspects of gendered differences in the emigration process can be looked at in greater detail. Return migration is a topic that deserves attention as it potentially made more people emigrate. The differences in returning migrants were by this thesis divided into visiting, temporary and returning. It was discovered that when comparing people who stated that they were returning to America with the total amount of migrants, that men were more numerous, while when looking at the percentage, more women were likely to visit home during our period. This thesis looked at recruitment from San Francisco as well as the case of one gold digger, and found that work migration was existing, we did however, not see examples of women doing the same, although further research is needed to examine if women took part in overseas work migration. This thesis did not cover permanent return migration as this information is not found in the sources that have been consulted.

In order to discover how return migration impacted more people to emigrate, as well as, how this impacted women and men differently, further research is required. It could both be useful to see if and how it impacted more people to emigrate, or in the case of work migration, what consequences it had for the spouse or family left behind. By using the protocols it could be found if people travelled back and forth multiple times, and also investigate the results obtained in school by their children, and compare it to children of parents who did not migrate. It would also be interesting to discover if children of returning migrants, were when reached adolescence likely to emigrate themselves. It could, however, be difficult to discover if this was the case for women due to them often taking the name of their spouse upon marrying.

Another interesting topic would be further research into people who tried their hand in working as gold miners after 1896. It would be interesting, and could potentially be a focus that would address some of the questions raised above in regards to return migration. In his book, *Farvel Norge*, Mørkhagen has briefly discussed gold diggers during the gold rush in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It could be beneficial to look at the periods where gold-fever was at its high points, and see what similarities and differences there were in the number of Norwegian participants and consequently how their lives had changed.

In the introductory chapter, Semmingsen's argument was introduced where she stated that there was no need to look at the Norwegian-American settlements in the United States, as Blegen along with others had already covered the topic. However, it was discovered during

this research that while rural settlements have been looked at in greater detail, the faiths of people failing to settle could benefit from further research. In relation to this, it would be interesting to look further into is emigration and its connection to criminal activity. In chapter two it was briefly introduced that emigration could have been an option of escaping after committing a crime when discussing the newspaper in chapter two. It would also be highly interesting although time-consuming to find crimes committed by Norwegians in America. Court protocols and prison registers would be useful in this kind of research. It could also be interesting to see if there was anything to be found in this regard in the newspapers.

And also, as this thesis found children travelling on their own, it would be beneficial to the field of emigration history to investigate this further, as this is a largely uncovered topic in Norwegian emigration history. The sources available might be few. However we would suggest that the protocols would be a good place to start.

It has during the research done for this thesis been discovered that the protocols, although containing a lot of information, can be lacking. During the year of 1907, professions were not written into the protocols unlike the years previous to this. Therefore, this thesis was able to analyse other reasons for leaving, and discover that people were more likely to work than emigrating to someone. It could, however, not analyse what professions the emigrants were entering upon arrival at their country of destination. In this regard, it was therefore not possible to confirm that the trends were the same for 1907 as 1905 and 1906. Furthermore, when discussing wanderlust it was argued that information related to this might reflect the way the officers in 1907 kept the protocols, as a large reduction of the numbers stating that they were travelling due to this reason was discovered. The protocols are also limited in that they only cover people travelling out of Trondheim, and therefore it has been beneficial to consult other sources such as censuses and the local newspaper, to confirm the data discovered in the protocols.

In conclusion, the emigration protocols used for this thesis contains information which emigration history is reliant on. And combined with other sources, they provide a great insight into the emigration process. I have also presented evidence that the emigration protocols can also be flawed or lacking information. Therefore emigration protocols as a source should be supplemented in order to achieve a wider understanding of the human factor in emigration. The Newspaper Trondhjems Adresseavis, has been useful in this regard. By combining both quantitative and qualitative methods, it has been discovered that there were

both differences and similarities between the two genders that impacted their reasons and decisions to emigrate. Furthermore, it has also become evident that both men and women had multiple reasons for leaving, and that the individual aspects were also important in their decision. Emigration numbers were increasing in males and females. Women were more likely than men to be pulled abroad by family and relatives abroad, while men were more expected to have stated that they were going over to work. Nonetheless, both men and women were largely travelling on their own, and the majority of both genders had provided a work-related reason to the emigration officers. The protocols do not provide us with any personal information as to why the emigrants were leaving. They do, however, provide an insight into gendered differences and similarities amongst women. By using a gendered approach to analyse emigration out of Trondheim this thesis has confirmed national trends, as well as discovered discrepancies. Furthermore, this thesis by has provided a new focus to the emigration port Trondheim by investigating what the emigration protocols covering the years from 1905 to 1911, can tell us about people using Trondheim as an emigration port. With the focus being on the difference and similarities between the genders.

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