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## CHAPTER XI.

### MIGRATION STATISTICS OF DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN.<sup>1</sup>

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Laws restricting emigration such as were common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in most European countries were found also in Scandinavia. But during the first half of the nineteenth century under the influence of economic liberalism practically all these restrictive laws were repealed.

After the principle of freedom to emigrate had won recognition legislation aiming to protect the emigrant during the voyage and modelled on English laws began to take shape. Scandinavian legislation like the English provided for emigration commissioners whose legal relations with the emigrant were defined by written transportation contracts. These statements are true of the laws passed in Norway in 1863, in Sweden in 1864, and in Denmark in 1868, the main provisions of which are binding to this day.<sup>2</sup>

Emigration legislation in the three Scandinavian countries thus has the character of police regulation of emigration. But the governments of these countries do not intervene actively to guide the stream of emigration into certain channels. The emigration legislation of Scandinavia has no tendency towards any policy regarding population.

The principle of freedom to emigrate, which was completely realized in the '70's by the repeal of the passport restrictions, has been abandoned to some extent as a consequence of the World War. Not only have passport restrictions been reintroduced but stricter rules are being enforced with regard to granting foreigners permission to stay.

#### *Sources of the Immigration and Emigration Statistics*

*Denmark.* There is no direct information on immigration to Denmark from foreign countries, and available foreign figures on the emigration of Danes or others from non-European countries to

<sup>1</sup>[See *International Migrations*, Volume I, pp. 131, 199 ff, 666-71, 747-62.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[See Volume I, pages 666, 747, and 755.—Ed.]

Denmark are so incomplete that very little value attaches to them.<sup>1</sup> There is a similar lack of direct information as to the total emigration, but annual statistics beginning in 1869 throw a fairly good light upon Danish emigration overseas since that year. Prior to 1869 the American immigration statistics make possible a more or less reliable estimate of the overseas emigration from Denmark, as we know that in those days the great majority of emigrants went to the United States. The statistics of the overseas emigration for 1869 and later are based upon the transportation contracts drawn up between the emigrants and the authorized emigration agents. Duplicate contracts sent to the police superintendents are passed on to the Department of Statistics where the emigration statistics are compiled.

*Norway.* About immigration to Norway from foreign countries prior to 1901, the only information is that deduced by calculation from the census returns regarding birthplace. The Act of May 4, 1901 required all aliens taking up permanent residence in Norway to register; this law did not apply to Norwegians who had emigrated and returned without having acquired foreign citizenship. The Act of June 24, 1915 extended this requirement to all immigrants, so that from 1916 on Norway has a fairly satisfactory immigration record.<sup>2</sup>

About emigration, Norway has practically no other information than that regarding emigrants who have gone overseas.<sup>3</sup> For 1821-66 the information came from more or less incidental sources, such as reports by the Norwegian consulates in American ports. From 1867, however, the transportation of emigrants was controlled; a written contract with each emigrant was required as in Denmark and the recorded contracts form the basis of the annual emigration statistics.

*Sweden.* From early times Sweden has had a peculiar and—for the earlier years at any rate—a valuable source of information concerning the movement of the population in the register kept by the minister of each congregation.<sup>4</sup> This source, however, was used as a basis for emigration statistics only for the years 1861 and following. On the other hand, statistics of emigration were drawn up even in the period 1851-60 from the information contained in

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, pp. 472 f, 545, 666 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>[*Ibidem*, p. 753f.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[*Ibidem*, pp. 747-52.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[*Ibidem*, pp. 755-59.—Ed.]

the passport records. When passport restrictions were removed in 1860 these statistics ceased and were replaced by annual reports based upon the ecclesiastical registers. At first these reports concerned themselves with emigration only; but from 1875 immigration was included.<sup>1</sup> In distinction from the Danish and Norwegian statistics those of Sweden cover the whole movement of population across her frontiers. After 1882 there is another source for Swedish emigration statistics, viz., official reports regarding emigrants from Swedish seaports to lands outside Europe. These reports which are drawn up from the transportation contracts, are amplified by Danish and Norwegian statistics about Swedish emigrants sailing from Danish and Norwegian ports.

#### *Completeness and Accuracy of the Information*

It is evident that the immigration and emigration statistics of the three Scandinavian countries cannot claim to be very accurate. This is particularly true of the meager information about immigration. For all three countries emigration overseas comprises by far the greater part of the total emigration and the statistics of this are the most accurate and complete.

*Norwegian statistics.* The Norwegian emigration statistics for the period prior to 1867 were incomplete since they practically included only emigrants who embarked with America as their destination; but it is probable that in those days emigration to other overseas countries was comparatively small.

The Danish and Norwegian emigration statistics, based after 1869 and 1867, respectively, upon the transportation contracts were particularly accurate formerly but this is perhaps less true nowadays. The great majority of those who travelled to overseas countries used to be *bona fide* emigrants, whereas today, when communication with foreign parts of the world is much quicker and easier, an increasing number are persons who cross the seas for other purposes than to settle abroad. Theoretically Danish and Norwegian statistics enumerate only those residents who go away with the intention of remaining in foreign countries, but a strict holding to this definition is often difficult. The figures in consequence are a little too large; but this is offset by the fact that those who emigrate overseas via another European country and do not make an emigration contract, are not included in the statistics.

<sup>1</sup>[See Volume I, p. 760 ff.—Ed.]

One more source of error, of particular importance to a seafaring nation like the Norwegian, arises from the desertion of seamen in foreign ports. Very incomplete information is available concerning this factor.

*Swedish statistics.* Swedish emigration statistics are eminently accurate in such particulars as sex, age, and occupation, but their completeness leaves much to be desired. In the latter respect, however, the various periods differ greatly. Investigations have shown a probability that the emigration figures for the '50's ought to be increased by at least two-thirds and for the last years of that decade by even more. For the '60's the official figures should be increased by about 20 per cent; but later the errors diminish steadily, so that for 1880-84 an addition of only about 10 per cent is needed. The subsequent statistics are regarded as practically complete, although many liable to military service emigrated without permission and thereby often evaded enumeration.

*Foreign statistics as checks.* The indirect statistics or those published by other countries about immigrants from Norway, furnish no check of value upon the errors just pointed out. One reason for this lies in the varying definition of "immigrant" and "emigrant."

As most of the emigration from Scandinavia hitherto has proceeded towards the United States the immigration statistics of that country might be used to check the emigration figures from Scandinavia. In earlier years, however, the American statistics did not classify immigrants carefully according to the country of birth and in the course of time the American definition of "immigrant" has changed. The American figures for immigrants from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden usually are higher than the corresponding Scandinavian figure for emigrants to the United States. For the period 1881-1925 the mean difference is 11 per cent for all three countries together; it is greatest for Sweden (17 per cent) and only 8 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively, for Denmark and Norway. The following discussion is based on direct statistics only.

#### *The Balance of Population*

If Ireland is left out of consideration, there is hardly any country in Europe where the migration of the population in and out across the frontiers through a long period of time, has been so large relative to population as in the two countries on the Scandinavian

peninsula. Denmark also has experienced at times important migrations, but nothing like so great as those of Norway and Sweden.

Even if at times there has been an immigration into the two northern countries by no means insignificant, yet on the whole the movement has been outward and therefore the net result has been a loss of population. The actual and relative magnitude of this loss can be seen in the following summarized review of the development of the populations during the 125 years between 1801 and 1925.

In 1801, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had a total population of 4,153,000. In the course of the 125 years there were 26,793,000 living births and 16,812,000 deaths, so that there was a birth surplus of 9,981,000. Changes in the boundaries of Denmark brought an increase of 172,000 people. How many have emigrated and immigrated can not be ascertained but, as the population of the three countries in 1925 was 12,260,000 there was a net loss by migration of 2,046,000 persons.

A corresponding balance has been drawn up in Table 101 for each of the three countries.

TABLE 101.  
BALANCE OF POPULATION, 1801-1925.  
(In Thousands)

	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
Population in the year 1801,	926	880	2,347
1801-1925:			
Births,	6,583	6,003	14,207
Deaths,	4,017	3,480	9,315
Increase by excess of births,	2,566	2,523	4,892
Increase by enlargement of territory,	172		
Decrease by migration,	3,664	3,403	7,239
	229	632	1,185
Population in the year 1925	3,435	2,771	6,054

For Denmark the loss of population by migration amounted to almost one-tenth of the birth surplus, but for Norway and Sweden the loss was about one-fourth.

A more correct impression of what has taken place is secured by dividing the 125 years into three periods: 1801-60, 1861-1910, and 1911-25. Taking all three lands together we then get the following figures (to the nearest thousand):

	1801-60	1861-1910	1911-25
Excess of births over deaths,	3,002	5,380	1,599
Excess of emigration over immigration,	89	1,784	173

In the first period migration carried away only 3 per cent of the birth surplus, in the last period 11 per cent, but in the intermediate period 33 per cent.

#### EMIGRATION

In turning to a consideration of emigration, it must be remembered that while the Swedish statistics give fairly correct information regarding emigration both to European and to overseas lands, for Denmark and Norway useful data exist only about overseas emigration. For Norway the records extend back to 1821, but not until the beginning of the '40's did emigration assume importance. For Sweden, the emigration statistics begin with 1851, and for Denmark not until 1869. Table 102 gives a summary by 5-year periods. The figures for Denmark up to 1868 and for Sweden up to 1850 have been calculated by the help of the American immigration statistics. Further, the official figures for Sweden up to 1885 are corrected in conformity with what has been stated.<sup>1</sup> (The official or published figures for 1851-55 have been increased by 67 per cent, for 1856-60 by 100 per cent, for 1861-70 by 20 per cent, and for the three following quinquennia by 15, 12, and 10 per cent respectively.)

Consider first emigration to overseas countries.

The first three columns in Table 102 show that overseas emigration from Scandinavia has fluctuated greatly. In the first half of the '40's the number of emigrants was only about 10,000 from all three countries together, *i. e.* about 2,000 a year. In the next four quinquennia the annual average was between 5,000 and 10,000. Then in the last half of the '60's there was a sudden increase to almost 40,000 per annum. After some falling off in the next two quinquennia there was a new and more rapid increase in the '80's to more than 60,000 a year. In the last 5-year period of the nine-

<sup>1</sup>See page 286.

TABLE 102.

SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRANTS FOR QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1841-1925.  
(In Thousands)

Years	To non-European countries from			To European countries from Sweden
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	
1841-45	..	5	6	..
1846-50	..	12	12	..
1851-55	2	20	19	3
1856-60	3	16	7	1
1861-65	7	24	15	9
1866-70	16	74	97	26
1871-75	23	45	46	26
1876-80	15	40	68	28
1881-85	39	106	163	30
1886-90	43	81	180	22
1891-95	38	61	142	19
1896-1900	14	34	63	23
1901-05	37	103	130	18
1906-10	37	88	94	17
1911-15	35	45	63	15
1916-20	16	17	23	17
1921-25	28	45	59	13

teenth century the figure fell to just over 20,000, but rose again to 50,000-60,000 in 1901-05. After that there was a falling off and in 1916-20, influenced by the war, overseas emigration amounted to but slightly more than 10,000 a year. Finally, the figures for 1921-25 show some increase.

In considering these figures of the actual number of emigrants it must be remembered that between 1841 and 1925 the population of the three countries more than doubled. A more rational view of the changing volume of emigration is secured by expressing the annual number of emigrants to overseas countries for each 5-year period in relation to the population. This has been done in Table 103 where the last column, for purposes of comparison, shows the corresponding ratio for emigration from the whole of Europe.

The last two columns of Table 103 show that in the '40's and '50's overseas emigration from Scandinavia was less than that from Europe as a whole. But from about 1860 to the present day, the



TABLE 103.

AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION, 1841-1925.

Years	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Denmark, Norway and Sweden	Europe
1841-45	..	78	37	40	57
1846-50	..	176	71	80	134
1851-55	17	281	105	127	175
1856-60	32	204	40	76	86
1861-65	63	286	76	126	93
1866-70	150	864	464	489	144
1871-75	255	510	227	289	129
1876-80	157	432	301	296	94
1881-85	380	1,105	705	720	196
1886-90	401	819	759	686	213
1891-95	338	597	587	530	185
1896-1900	117	312	249	232	147
1901-05	292	903	496	539	271
1906-10	275	746	347	420	322
1911-15	249	364	225	262	...
1916-20	106	132	78	98	...
1921-25	167	336	204	219	(135)

northern countries have supplied larger proportions of their population to overseas emigration than Europe as a whole, and at times this difference has been marked. If the annual number of emigrants to overseas countries per 100,000 inhabitants be called "the emigration rate," that rate up to 1860 was lower for Scandinavia than for Europe, but during 1861-65 and 1906-10 it exceeded that of Europe by up to 50 per cent during 1896-1900, 1901-05, and 1921-25; by 50-100 per cent, during 1871-75 by 100-150 per cent; in 1891-95 by 150-200 per cent; in 1866-70, 1876-80 and 1886-90, by 200-250 per cent and during 1881-85 by more than 250 per cent.

When we consider the three northern countries separately, we observe at once that the emigration rate has always been least in Denmark and greatest in Norway, while Sweden occupies an intermediate position. In Denmark the highest rate was in 1886-90 with 401 emigrants per 100,000 population, in Sweden in the same period with 759, and in Norway in the period 1881-85 with 1,105. Thus

when emigration from Norway was at its maximum, every year more than 1 per cent of the population crossed the ocean to seek a new home. The year when emigration from Scandinavia culminated was 1882; then the emigration rate was: for Denmark 577, for Sweden 974, and for Norway 1511.

### *Emigration to European Countries*

For the emigration to European countries we have regular annual statistics from Sweden reaching back to 1851; their principal results for 5-year periods have been shown in the last column of Table 102. The annual average number of emigrants to European countries from the middle of the '60's was 4,000-6,000. These figures, however, are rather too low.

For Denmark, the emigration to European countries between 1870 and 1921 has been estimated at about 60,000. The foundation for this estimate, however, is very uncertain and the figure must be regarded as a minimum.

Norway has had, at times, considerable emigration to other European countries, especially to Sweden, although it is impossible to give even approximate figures. The extent of the desertion of Norwegian seamen is indicated by an estimate that during the decennium 1871-80 about 11,200 such seamen deserted; while the number returning home after a previous desertion was estimated at about 5,200.

### *Causes of Emigration*

The causes of emigration cannot be satisfactorily examined by means of statistics because that problem has to do not with facts which can be measured, counted, and recorded, but rather with a judgment about the many different motives which might have led people to abandon their native country and try their luck abroad. One can only weigh these motives against one another, and the results one arrives at can have but a limited value.

If it has seemed desirable, however, in this survey to express opinions about the causes of emigration from the Scandinavian countries, it is because the rate of emigration at times has been so great that one involuntarily looks for an explanation. For more than half a century overseas emigration from Ireland was rarely less than 1 per cent of the population a year, often it was above 2 per cent and in some years even 3 per cent. This enormous outflow

was the result of grave economic causes, and something of the same kind must be said about emigration from Italy at certain periods.<sup>1</sup> The question to be answered is whether the heavy emigration from the Scandinavian countries was of a similar character, a flight from poverty, or whether it has another explanation.

It does not seem reasonable to assume that the great emigration from the Scandinavian countries was an economic necessity. In all three countries the density of population was not so high that there was overcrowding or overpopulation in the proper sense. In addition, wealth was more evenly distributed than in most countries and the social conditions on the whole were comparatively satisfactory. There are many districts, to be sure, especially perhaps in Sweden, where part of the rural population have had to struggle hard at times to make a living; but that deep, abject poverty which has created a proletariat in many other countries, happily has not visited the Scandinavian populations. The standards of living and of health are so satisfactory that Denmark, Norway and Sweden have long enjoyed a lower mortality than most other countries.

While emigration from these countries is not apparently due to economic necessity, this does not mean that the causes are not economic. Norway has statistics, dating from 1905, upon the motives of the emigrants for emigrating; these are derived from statements by the emigrants. For 1905-25 these statistics cover a total of 215,100 emigrants, distributed according to the assigned motives as follows:

<i>Motive</i>	<i>Number</i>
Lack of access to profitable occupation	170,000
Hired or seeking hire	6,200
Travelling to join family	36,800
Other motives	2,100
	215,100

Nearly four-fifths of the emigrants stated that the motive for emigrating was "lack of access to profitable occupation." Among males before the World War 80-90 per cent assigned this reason; in the prosperous times during that war the percentage fell to 60-70, to rise again during the last few years.

The cause "Travelling to join family" is also represented by a high number, and in this connection it is of interest to note how

<sup>1</sup>[This volume, pp. 447 and 450.—Ed.]

large a number of the emigrants had their tickets or fares sent them by relatives in the country to which they journeyed. Before the war and during its first years this was true of about one-third of the emigrants, but of late years of only about one-eighth. All in all, it seems that the persuasions of those who had previously emigrated play a greater part than the statistics indicate. When more than 80 per cent state that the reason for their leaving home is "lack of access to profitable occupation," it is scarcely reasonable to assume that actual distress drove many abroad. "Profitable occupation" in many cases must undoubtedly be interpreted as meaning that the emigrant expects to earn more abroad than at home. "Travelling to join family" is assigned by so many because many Scandinavian emigrants settle abroad in colonies. The Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish settlements of farmers in the United States illustrate this in a striking manner.

These Norwegian statistics of motives of the emigrants have perhaps no great value as evidence, but they are interesting because they point in the same direction as the general considerations stated before. The following conclusion seems to be warranted:

The great emigration from the Scandinavian countries is due to a craving for social betterment rather than to any physical need. When the Northman emigrates, it is not because his own country has no use for him or because it denies him food, but because he finds it difficult at home to realize his desire and get into the strong upward current in society. In many cases also he is encouraged to try his luck in foreign lands by knowledge that he can live his life among his countrymen—often in close touch with relatives—can speak his own tongue, have his children taught in Scandinavian schools, attach himself to a Scandinavian church, and so on.

In the following discussion what has been indicated about the causes and character of the Scandinavian emigration is supported by comparing the amount of emigration at various times with contemporary economic conditions.

#### *Emigration and Economic Cycles.*

In a previous section the fluctuations of the quinquennial emigration figures were examined, and a general impression gained of the varying volume of emigration. In order to study the relation between the emigration rate and the cycles of good and bad times, the annual figures must be used. These show that grouping in 5-year periods has somewhat smoothed the fluctuations. For

present purposes it is sufficient to indicate the periods of most marked rise and fall.

During the years of noteworthy emigration from Scandinavia there were four periods of comparatively heavy emigration. The first of these began with 1866 for Denmark and Norway; for Sweden two years later; for all three countries it lasted until 1873 with the culminating point in 1869. The second period began in Norway and Sweden in 1879, and in Denmark a year later; it culminated in 1882 but even in 1883 emigration from all three countries was fairly high. Then followed three years of much lower figures. With 1887, however, a new and higher rise commenced, and up to 1893 there was a large number of emigrants from all three countries. From 1894 to the end of the century there was a trough in the wave of emigration. After that the fourth period commenced; it reached its peak in 1903 and lasted, with only a short interruption in 1908, until the outbreak of the Great War. That war brought emigration down to a low level, and even after the conclusion of peace it has remained at moderate figures, although in this respect 1923 is an exception for all three countries.

The wave movement of the fluctuations in economic conditions cannot be traced with the same accuracy as the rhythm in emigration. It is simple enough to point to some years in which there was a decided boom, and to others which just as clearly were years of depression; but it is difficult to draw the line between good and bad times, indeed an exact indication of the turning points is impossible. These difficulties applicable to a study of any one country, are increased where—as in the present case—three countries are examined together: countries which geographically indeed form a natural group, but whose national economy is by no means similar. In Denmark the state of agriculture mainly determines the economic character of the various years; in Sweden manufacturing also plays a great part; in Norway, shipping and fisheries are so important that they exercise no small influence upon business conditions.

In spite of these differences, however, the three countries have more or less moved together in the fluctuations between good and bad times. The turning point may have had its appearance in one of the countries a year before or after it did in another; the rise or the depression may have been of longer or shorter duration; but as a rule these differences are not more than six months or a year.

After some good years in the first half of the '60's (disturbed in Denmark by the war of 1864) there followed a period of depression

which may be said to have begun for Norway in 1866 but for Sweden not until the following year. The turning point after the depression appeared in 1870-71 (first in Norway, last in Denmark), and then all three countries enjoyed several good years until 1874-76. The next depression lasted only two or three years from 1877-79. The recovery in Denmark began as early as 1879, in Sweden and Norway in the following year, and in all three countries it lasted until 1883. The following period of depression, 1884-87, ran more or less concurrently in the three countries and was succeeded by a boom which, in Denmark and Norway, lasted until 1890, in Sweden perhaps until 1891. After that there were bad times until 1894, a rise until 1899 (for Sweden until 1900), again a decline until 1902-3, and a rise until 1906-7. A new period of depression began in Sweden as early as 1907 (in Norway the year after) and it lasted until 1909 after which trade was good from 1910 until in 1914 the Great War disturbed the economic conditions of all countries. The time during and after the war is not suitable for testing the connection between emigration and business conditions.

A comparison between these economic fluctuations and the fluctuations of the emigration rate gives the impression that the latter tends to increase when times are bad and decrease when times are good. Thus the wave of emigration of 1866-73 was almost coincident with the period of depression that ended in 1871, and a great emigration commenced with the appearance of bad times in 1900. On the other hand there are several periods in which there is no such parallelism. In 1872-73 the emigration figures were comparatively high although trade was good, whereas during the depression of 1877-78 there were few emigrants. The same was the case in the bad years of 1884-86, while 1888-90 which were good years had heavy emigration; something similar occurred in 1904-6 and 1910-13.

This would seem to establish the conclusion that, even if economic cycles in the home country do influence emigration, they do not control it.<sup>1</sup> Nor would one be justified in expecting this. To begin with, the conditions in the countries of destination also exert an influence, and especially where—as in Denmark, Norway and Sweden—there is constant communication between those who have emigrated and those who have remained at home.

If business conditions in the countries of emigration and immigration fluctuated together that would decrease the fluctuations in

<sup>1</sup>[In this connection see also Jerome's *Migration and Business Cycles* (1926), pages 153-208.—Ed.]

the emigration figures. But though there is some connection between business cycles in all countries, certain countries may show fluctuations peculiar to themselves, and the general wave movement may be transmitted to the various parts of the world with varying speeds.

As overseas emigration from the Scandinavian countries has been directed principally to the United States, it is worthwhile to compare that emigration with business fluctuations in the United States. In Table 104 the first column shows the period during which emigration from Denmark, Norway and Sweden was especially heavy; the second column shows the periods of depression in the home country, and the third, the periods of good business conditions in the United States.

TABLE 104.  
SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Heavy Emigration from Scandinavia	Economic Depression in Scandinavia	Good Business Conditions in the United States
1866-73	1866-71 1877-79	1869-73
1879-83	1884-87 1891-94	1879-84
1887-93	1900-1903	1887-93 1898-1902
1900-1907	1907-9	1905-6
1909-13		1908-

A glance at these dates gives the impression that the parallelism between the first and third columns is closer than that between the first and second columns. This indicates that the amount of emigration from Scandinavia has depended on the economic cycles in America more than on those in the home country.

This seems to confirm the previous results about the causes of emigration. If it were poverty and need that drove the emigrants from home, the figures would scarcely have shown such agreement with American economic cycles as here appears. People do not emigrate from Scandinavia because they must leave home; they are able to wait for the satisfaction of their roving spirit until the

economic conditions in the foreign country seem promising. That many—very many—have been disappointed in their anticipations is another matter.

*Emigrations by Countries of Destination*

Overseas emigration from Scandinavia has gone chiefly to the United States. Of 1,898,000 emigrants about whose country of destination information is available 1,807,000 or more than 95 per cent went to the United States.

That country has not been preferred equally, however, by Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish emigrants; and there have been periods when other countries have taken more than the normal portion of the stream of emigrants. The figures in Table 105 give an idea of these variations.

TABLE 105.

EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES EXPRESSED IN PER CENT OF  
TOTAL EMIGRATION TO NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Years	From		
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1871-75	81.4	96.7	....
1876-80	86.7	98.3	....
1881-85	98.0	99.9	98.1
1886-90	90.0	99.6	98.8
1891-95	93.3	99.2	97.9
1896-1900	89.4	97.8	98.5
1901-5	91.6	94.2	98.8
1906-10	86.0	93.0	96.6
1911-15	78.6	88.0	94.4
1916-20	89.3	93.7	95.4
1921-25	68.8	87.0	91.6

Sweden is the country whose emigrants have most preferred the United States; almost 98 per cent of its emigrants, between 1881 and 1925, had that country as their destination. Then follows Norway with about 96 per cent between 1871 and 1925, whereas only 88 per cent of the Danish emigrants travelled thither.

In the quinquennium 1921-25 the proportion of emigrants from Scandinavia who went to the United States was considerably



less than in the earlier years because of the limitation upon immigration which was introduced by the American Acts of 1921 and 1924. American immigration statistics are given in Table 106 for immigrant Danes, Norwegians and Swedes in the fiscal years 1921-22 to 1925-26, which are compared with the annual quota allowed by the immigration laws.

TABLE 106.

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS INTO UNITED STATES AND QUOTAS FOR EACH COUNTRY, 1922-1926.

Fiscal Year ending:	Denmark		Norway		Sweden	
	Quota	Immigrants	Quota	Immigrants	Quota	Immigrants
June 30, 1922	5,694	2,444	12,202	5,975	20,042	6,624
June 30, 1923	5,694	5,281	12,202	11,986	20,042	17,916
June 30, 1924	5,694	4,523	12,202	11,745	20,042	18,310
June 30, 1925	2,789	2,709	6,453	5,292	9,561	8,391
June 30, 1926	2,789	2,712	6,453	6,095	9,561	9,166

In the year 1921-22 emigration from Scandinavia was small and the legal limit set was by no means reached. For some of the subsequent years also the difference between the quota and the number of immigrants was so great as to show that the restrictions have not always been effective. Furthermore the legal limitation refers to the number of permits to enter the country (immigration visas) which are issued by the United States consulates in the countries from which the emigration proceeds. As there are always a number of people who secure a visa without making use of it, or who are rejected on landing, the actual number of immigrants will normally be rather below the quota allowed by the Act.

The country which has taken the next largest number of emigrants from the Scandinavian countries is British North America (Canada); to Central and South America, however, there has been at times a considerable emigration, especially from Denmark, as the percentages of Table 107 show.

Emigration from Scandinavia to Canada was particularly large in 1902-3 (gold discovered at Klondyke) and after 1923. In 1923-25 no less than 12 per cent of the overseas emigration from Scandinavian

TABLE 107.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES.

Destination	From Denmark 1871-1925	From Norway 1871-1925	From Sweden 1881-1925
United States.....	87.9	95.6	97.6
Canada.....	5.4	3.8	1.2
Rest of the Americas.....	3.8	...	0.6
Australia.....	2.2	0.4	...
Africa.....	0.5	0.2	0.6
Asia.....	0.2	...	...

countries had Canada as its goal (25 per cent of the Danish, 17 per cent of the Norwegian, 6 per cent of the Swedish emigrants) and the information at hand for 1926 and 1927 indicates that this emigration to Canada has continued with increased intensity. While emigration to Central and South America from Norway and Sweden has never been of much importance, a number of Danes have gone to those lands, especially to Argentina. Scandinavian emigration to Australia has consisted mostly of Danes, and was concentrated mainly within the period from 1870 to 1878.

Sweden is the only one of the Scandinavian countries which has statistics of emigration to European countries. A summarized review of the extent of this emigration is given in Table 102, page 289. The greater part of this European emigration from Sweden goes to the neighboring countries Denmark, Norway and Finland. In the 45 years from 1881 to 1925 there were 173,000 emigrants to European countries, and 135,000 of these, or 78 per cent, went to the three neighboring countries (38 per cent to Denmark, 32 to Norway, and 8 to Finland). Emigration to European countries is, however, offset by an almost equally heavy immigration.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Distribution of Emigrants According to Sex*

Despite the fact that in Scandinavia as in most other European countries, there is an excess of women, men are in the majority among overseas emigrants. There were practically no exceptions to this rule in all the quinquennial periods for which information is available (see Table 108).

<sup>1</sup>[See page 307.—Ed.]

TABLE 108.

PER CENT OF MALE EMIGRANTS IN TOTAL EMIGRATION, 1871-1925.

Years	From			
	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
	To non-European countries			To European countries
1871-75	61.5	54.2	53.6	55.0
1876-80	62.2	59.1	59.0	51.0
1881-85	59.8	55.9	55.3	48.3
1886-90	60.8	58.6	56.9	45.6
1891-95	57.4	58.0	53.9	42.4
1896-1900	57.8	61.0	49.0	42.9
1901-5	63.1	63.6	57.7	43.5
1906-10	62.9	62.1	63.0	46.0
1911-15	61.2	57.7	56.5	45.1
1916-20	59.7	49.5	48.8	37.8
1921-25	65.0	66.0	65.7	34.8

The excess of males has fluctuated considerably from one period to another, and the three countries differ somewhat in this respect. The excess of males among overseas emigrants has generally been greatest in Denmark and least in Sweden. Regarding this latter point, however, it must be observed that the omissions from the Swedish emigration statistics for earlier periods were probably greater among males than among females, and therefore it is probable that in Table 108 the percentages for Sweden before 1885 are a little too low. The difference between the countries seems to indicate a typical difference in the emigration, the Norwegians and Swedes emigrating more in families than do the Danes.

The fact that the excess of males among the emigrants varies from period to period is undoubtedly connected with the fluctuations in the emigration rate. If we consider the ratio of male to female emigrants from year to year, it will be seen that the preponderance of males is greatest in the years when the stream of emigration begins to grow. The probable explanation of this is that when an emigration period begins the males take the initiative in emigrating. It is also probable that the causes of emigration (whether difficult economic conditions at home or prosperous times abroad) act first of all upon young men without permanent employment. When the

stream of emigration has been running strongly for some time more women join it, partly urged by husbands and relatives who have already emigrated and partly because the movement assumes more the character of family emigration. The rule here indicated may be formulated thus: female emigration is more constant than male emigration, in that the relative number of females rises in periods of small emigration and declines when emigration increases. The rule applies to all three countries, but is most marked in Norway. As an example it may be observed that when, in the first years of the Great War, emigration declined to the minimum the percentage of males among the Norwegian emigrants dropped from 63 to 44, whereas the corresponding decline for Danes was from 64 to 54 and for Swedes from 59 to 53. When in 1923 a sudden wave of emigration set in, the percentage of males from Denmark rose to 68, from Norway to 72, and from Sweden to 73.

Regarding the sex of emigrants to European countries, we have information only about Sweden. The last column in Table 108 shows that while in bygone years males were in the majority, the proportion has gradually changed until in the last quinquennium almost twice as many women as men emigrated from Sweden to European countries.

#### *Distribution of Emigrants According to Age*

The information regarding the distribution of the emigrants according to age, is so varied for the three countries that we can point out only certain prominent and characteristic features. The emigration of old people plays a very subordinate part. In all the years for which age statistics are available the group aged over 60 years has rarely exceeded 2 per cent, and the proportion seems to have declined.

Children up to 15 years of age as a rule amount to about 10 per cent of all emigrants to overseas countries. The percentage, however, has changed considerably. Fifty or sixty years ago, when emigration began to assume large dimensions, one-fourth or more of all emigrants were children under 15 years. The subsequent regular decline is illustrated by the percentages for Denmark and Norway given in Table 109.

In the course of time, apparently, there has been a change in the type of emigration, from family to individual emigration. This supposition is strengthened by examining the detailed tables of age distribution. They give the impression that emigration to overseas

TABLE 109.

PER CENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS AMONG OVERSEAS  
EMIGRANTS, 1866-1925.

Periods	From Denmark	From Norway
1866-70	....	31.7
1871-75	....	28.3
1876-80	23.4	22.7
1881-85	24.0	25.3
1886-90	18.9	18.2
1891-95	19.3	15.7
1896-1900	13.6	11.7
1901-5	11.6	14.0
1906-10	12.7	11.2
1911-15	11.5	9.5
1916-20	11.3	13.7
1921-25	10.6	9.2

countries has more and more concentrated in the younger-adult age groups, from 15 to 30 years. This was most marked in the disturbed period 1911-15 preceding the outbreak of the World War. As an illustration Table 110 gives a summary of the Norwegian statistics.

TABLE 110.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY AGE AND SEX, OF EMIGRANTS FROM  
NORWAY TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES.

Age-class (years)	Males			Females		
	1866-70	1896- 1900	1911-15	1866-70	1896- 1900	1911-15
0-14	29	10	8	34	15	11
15-29	40	72	78	34	64	70
30-44	22	13	10	20	14	14
45-59	7	4	3	9	5	4
60 and over	2	1	1	3	2	1
All ages	100	100	100	100	100	100

During the war this movement ceased, the percentages for the age-groups 15-29 and 30-44 having declined somewhat in favor of

the older groups. This is particularly true of the males and is presumably connected with the fact that it was difficult for young men of conscription age to obtain permission to emigrate. After the end of the war the proportionate number in the groups 15-29 years increased again.

Besides this movement in the age distribution of emigrants, a study of the figures for single years reveals a certain connection between the age distribution and the intensity of emigration. At the beginning of a period of heavy emigration the younger-adult age groups are particularly well represented; but as the emigration rate again diminishes, the proportionate share of these age groups gradually declines. This phenomenon is similar to that previously referred to with regard to the proportions between males and females, and presumably the cause is the same. The economic cycle which brings about a wave of emigration exerts its greatest influence upon young adults.

#### *Distribution of Emigrants according to Marital Condition*

For Norway and Sweden there is information covering a great many years about the number of emigrants who were married. In investigating the influence of emigration upon the structure of the population,<sup>1</sup> this information gives useful hints. For the sake of brevity, however, we shall simply give summary data to throw more light upon the proportions between family emigration and individual emigration.

If the emigrants are divided into three groups the first of which comprises married men and women and children under 15 years of age, and the two other groups single men and single women over 15 years, we find a percentage distribution such as that presented in Table 111 on page 304.

The figures illustrate the changes in time between family emigration and individual emigration. They cannot, however, be a true picture of this fluctuation both because always there will naturally be some unmarried persons more than 15 years of age who emigrate with their parents and brothers and sisters (and who thus ought to be grouped under family emigration); and also because a number of the emigrant husbands undoubtedly should be classed as individual emigrants. For always more married men emigrate than married women, and at times this difference is considerable. For instance, among the Norwegian emigrants overseas during

<sup>1</sup>See page 310.

TABLE 111.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS FROM NORWAY AND SWEDEN  
BY MARITAL CONDITION.

Country and Period	Married people and children	Unmarried adults	
		Men	Women
<i>Sweden</i> (All emigrants)			
1851-60	60	27	13
1861-70	45	35	20
1871-80	37	37	26
1881-90	36	36	28
1891-1900	30	35	35
1901-10	28	42	30
1911-20	32	35	33
1921-25	32	44	24
<i>Norway</i> (Emigrants Overseas)			
1891-1900	32	42	26
1901-10	31	45	24
1911-20	26	42	32
1921-25	35	43	22

1891-1925 there were 45,000 married men, but only 29,000 married women. Thus a large number of married men emigrate without their wives, presumably because they wish to see whether they can obtain satisfactory occupation in the foreign country before they let their wives and children follow them. As the difference in the figures is repeated (with varying strength) from year to year and decennium to decennium, it appears that many are disappointed in their anticipations; how many of those who are disappointed return and how many disappear abroad cannot be estimated from the material. Perhaps a truer picture of the strength of family emigration is obtained by subtracting a number corresponding to the difference between married male and married female emigrants. As regards Norway this correction yields the following percentages for family emigration: 29 per cent for 1890-1900; 26 per cent for 1901-10; 26 per cent for 1911-20; 24 per cent for 1921-25.

We have already seen that the number of children below 15 years has formed, on the whole, a diminishing proportion of the emigrants. If we compare the number of emigrant children with the number of emigrant married women, the phenomenon is placed

in a new light. We thus find that for every 100 emigrant wives there have been the following number of emigrant children (Table 112):

TABLE 112.

NUMBER OF EMIGRANT CHILDREN PER HUNDRED EMIGRANT MARRIED WOMEN, 1851-1925.

Decade	Sweden (all emigrants)	Norway (emigrants overseas)
1851-60	229	...
1861-70	217	...
1871-80	204	...
1881-90	211	...
1891-1900	208	182
1901-10	191	176
1911-20	176	137
1921-25	120	122

The decline may be explained in part by the declining birthrate. A complete unravelling of this question would demand a minute investigation into the distribution of emigrants by marital condition and age.

#### *Distribution of Emigrants According to Occupations*

Emigrants have been classified according to occupations for many years by all three Scandinavian countries, and figures are available. This information, however, and especially that for earlier times, is of doubtful and varying value, partly because the principles on which the classification has been based were changed from time to time so that the continuity of the figures has been broken. It is with all possible reserve, therefore, that we give in Table 113 the percentage distributions for Sweden and Denmark during 1891-1925.

As the figures for Denmark refer to adult male emigrants to overseas countries, while those for Sweden include both males and females of all ages and to all countries, a comparison between the two sets of figures is impracticable. On the other hand, the percentages permit us to form a rough idea of the changes that have taken place in the composition of the emigrants from each of the two countries. It must, however, be observed that here also



TABLE 113.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS BY OCCUPATION, 1891-1925.

Occupation	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
<i>Denmark (Males over 15 yrs. to overseas)</i>				
Agriculture.....	10	13	21	27
Industry.....	27	29	23	23
Commerce and Shipping.	8	10	14	16
General laborers.....	45	41	33	26
Others or unknown.....	10	7	9	8
All.....	100	100	100	100
<i>Sweden (All emigrants)</i>				
Agriculture.....	23	31	31	31
Industry.....	15	24	33	32
Commerce and Shipping.	4	4	7	9
Domestic service.....	22	12	12	9
General laborers.....	26	22	9	7
Other or unknown.....	10	7	8	12
All.....	100	100	100	100

caution is advisable. For example, if the percentage of emigrant agriculturists in Denmark has greatly increased while that of general laborers has diminished, the probable reason is—in part at least—an altered practice with regard to the declaration of occupation for young men who normally have been occupied in agriculture (farm laborers and sons of peasants).

As regards Norway, the rules for the classification of emigrants according to occupations were altered so much in 1919 that it is hardly possible to draw correct comparisons with the past. Furthermore, since 1919 there have been considerable changes in the distribution of Norwegian emigrants by occupations. Of males over 15 years of age who emigrated to overseas countries, only 16 per cent were agriculturists in 1919, but the proportion rose rapidly from year to year until in 1925 it reached 48 per cent. At the same time the group "Shipping" fell off from 34 to 7 per cent.

## IMMIGRATION

Sweden is the one of the three Scandinavian countries for which the most complete information is obtainable regarding immigration.

It is possible to follow the movement of immigrants, both from overseas and from European countries year by year right back to the middle of the '70's. In Norway since 1901 all immigrants have been required to report themselves, but until 1916 this requirement was not so generally heeded that it furnished a significant basis for immigration statistics. For Denmark there are no immigration statistics at all. In Table 114 the information about immigration into Norway and Sweden is summarized.

TABLE 114.

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS, BY QUINQUENNA: 1876-1925.  
(In Thousands)

Years	From Europe to		From extra- European countries to	
	Norway	Sweden	Norway	Sweden
1876-80	..	12	..	3
1881-85	..	14	..	7
1886-90	..	14	..	12
1891-95	..	14	..	25
1896-1900	..	17	..	23
1901-5	..	20	..	19
1906-10	..	19	..	26
1911-15	..	17	..	23
1916-20	51	20	5	16
1921-25	13	17	2	15

Most of the immigration to Norway and Sweden is from the neighboring Scandinavian countries.

Immigration from overseas countries is of the greatest interest. For Sweden this immigration is considerable; at times it has been as high as 7000-8000 a year. The greater part of this immigration is composed of repatriates. The figures for Norway are too low, for the regulations regarding the reporting of those who come into the country to remain are not yet effectively enforced.

The census statistics given in Table 115 regarding the number of foreign-born inhabitants are of some interest as a supplement to the immigration statistics proper.

For Denmark, an attempt has been made to connect the census information about the number of foreign born with the information

TABLE 115.

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN INHABITANTS OF SCANDINAVIA, 1865-1921.  
(In Thousands)

Census Year	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1865	..	21	..
1870	53	..	12
1875	..	37	..
1880	63	..	19
1890	72	48	25
1900	..	65	36
1901	82	..	..
1910	..	56	48
1911	85	..	..
1920	..	75	58
1921	107 <sup>a</sup>	..	..

<sup>a</sup>19,000 of these are of southern Jutland (Schleswig) awarded Denmark in 1920.

about emigrants to overseas countries, in order to calculate the number of immigrants from and the number of emigrants to European countries during the periods between censuses. As these calculations are based upon uncertain assumptions as to the mortality in the foreign-born population, the results are only approximate. Accordingly we give the following figures of immigration to Denmark with all reserve:

*Immigration to Denmark*

1870-80	20,000
1880-90	21,000
1890-1901	24,000
1901-11	19,000
1911-21	52,000

Of these latter 52,000, about 18,000 were probably persons born in the South Jutland provinces 1911-20 who had entered Denmark before the incorporation of these provinces.

Of those who immigrate into Denmark, Norway and Sweden from overseas countries, the greater number have previously emigrated and are returning. There are no complete or accurate statistics of returning emigrants; but for Sweden one can form an idea of the magnitude of this repatriation by comparing the immigration from the United States with the emigration to that country.

During the 45 years from 1881 to 1925 there emigrated from Sweden to the United States 881,000 persons; the immigration to Sweden from the United States in the same period amounted to 161,000. The distribution by periods is given in Table 116.

TABLE 116.

IMMIGRATION INTO SWEDEN FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND EMIGRATION THERETO, 1881-1925.

(In Thousands)

Decades	Emigrants Sweden to United States	Immigrants to Sweden from United States
1881-90	324	19
1891-1900	201	47
1901-10	219	44
1911-20	82	37
1921-25	55	14
Totals,	881	161

Not all the 161,000 people who came to Sweden from the United States, however, were returning emigrants. Apart from a small number of Americans proper who immigrated, some of the returning emigrants bring with them children born in America. Note that in Sweden the numbers of persons born in the United States were: In 1890, 1500; in 1900, 5100; in 1910, 7300; in 1920, 6700. By far the greater number of these persons, no doubt, were children born to Swedish parents during their sojourn in America. It is not to be doubted, however, that the greater part of the 161,000 are returning emigrants.

If the figures are examined year by year it will be found that the stream of repatriates flows much more regularly than the stream of emigrants. The violent fluctuations in emigrants related to business cycles are not paralleled by the figures of repatriates. Yet these figures also have a typical rhythm, usually there is a perceptible rise in the number of repatriates in the years when the number of emigrants is small. The average annual emigration to the United States in 45 years was 19,600, the average annual immigration from the United States was 3,600. In 27 of the 45

years the number of emigrants was less than 20,000, and in 17 of these 27 years the number of repatriations was over 4,000. It may be said that repatriation tends to vary inversely with emigration.

Much detailed information about returned Norwegian-Americans residing in Norway was obtained by the censuses of 1910 and 1920, but the information for these two years is difficult to compare because the definitions were different, and therefore only the main result will be considered.

In 1920 the population of Norway was 2,695,000 of whom 49,800, or about 2 per cent, were repatriated Norwegian-Americans who had lived in America at least two years or who were children of such persons. Of these 7,600 were born in America, so that of returned emigrants 42,200 had lived in Norway. On comparing American census statistics about the number of Norwegian-born in the United States in 1920, we find that about 10 per cent of living Norwegian emigrants to the United States are now resident in Norway. It must be remembered, however, that this investigation does not consider those who have come home after a sojourn of less than two years in the United States.

The average time spent in America by the returned men was about 8 years, by the women about 7 years.

#### MIGRATION AND POPULATION

Scandinavian emigration greatly exceeds immigration so that the net result of migration has been a considerable loss of population. The figures of Table 117 indicate the average annual net emigration (emigrants minus immigrants) per 100,000 inhabitants from the countries concerned.

TABLE 117.  
AVERAGE ANNUAL EMIGRATION BALANCE PER 100,000 INHABITANTS,  
1861-1925.

Decade	Denmark	Norway	Sweden
1861-70	75	509	368
1871-80	221	395	316
1881-90	369	971	753
1891-1900	127	272	365
1901-10	249	689	363
1911-20	-16	49	115
1921-25	84	214	136

The loss of population through migration has been very different in the three countries; in the 65 years 1861-1925 the annual average loss per 100,000 inhabitants in Denmark was 164, in Sweden 360, and in Norway 460. The annual average for all three countries together was 334.

As migration has carried away more men than women, the natural proportion between the sexes has been disturbed. On the population as a whole, however, the influence of migration in this respect is less than might have been expected (at the time of writing<sup>1</sup> the number of women per 1000 men in Denmark was 1051, in Norway 1053, and in Sweden 1036). It is considered demonstrated that after emigration began to increase, the number of both births and deaths has distributed itself more favorably than before for the maintenance of the relative figure of the male sex.

Of much more importance is the influence of migration upon the distribution of the population according to age. To show this in detail would demand more space than is available, and we shall therefore limit ourselves to the following as an illustration.

For many years the Swedish immigration and emigration statistics have maintained a minute classification of all immigrants and emigrants into one-year age-groups. The late Gustave Sundbärg, the Swedish statistician, used these materials to calculate a combined life-and-migration table for the population of Sweden. This table covers the period 1891-1900, when the average annual net emigration from Sweden was 365 per 100,000 inhabitants, so that the decennium chosen, 1891-1900, is fairly typical as Table 117 shows.

On the basis of Sundbärg's Swedish life-and-migration table, it has been calculated that of 100,000 children born alive, 22,000 emigrated. How many returned can not be accurately stated, but a special investigation has shown that 78 per cent of the immigrants were of Swedish birth (98 per cent of the immigrants from overseas countries and 55 per cent of those from European countries). It may be assumed that approximately 7,000 of the 22,000 returned home. Accordingly, of the 100,000 live-born children 85,000 died in Sweden and 15,000 in foreign countries.

The main interest, however, attaches to his tabulated details showing the extent to which migration affects certain age-groups. Of 100,000 children about 78,300 survived at the age of 15 years; during the next 5 years 1,800 died, while the loss by migration was

<sup>1</sup>[This chapter was completed in 1926.—Ed.]

4,300. In Table 118 we reproduce a section of his table for those age-groups which are most affected by migration. This shows what a great reduction in the population resulted from the emigration of young adults.

TABLE 118.  
SWEDISH MORTALITY AND MIGRATION AT CERTAIN AGES  
(PER 100,000)

Age	Surviving	Dead	Emigrated	Immigrated
15	78,349	1,797	4,677	414
20	72,289	2,140	6,042	1,156
25	65,263	2,018	3,336	1,400
30	61,309	1,988	1,860	1,156
35	58,617	.....	.....	.....

Such a thinning has far-reaching secondary effects; the numbers of marriages and of births are lower than they would have been had there been no emigration. There can be no doubt that the low birth-rate in Sweden and in Norway must be ascribed partly to emigration; but to prove this conclusively would lead us too far.