

Invisible Migrants
Norwegians in Brazil, 1820-1940

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Master's Thesis in Latin American Studies
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Languages

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

May 2012

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2012

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Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

The present study focuses on Norwegian migration to Brazil from a macro-level perspective: how many migrated, when, where, how and why. The present analysis is based on data from emigration and immigration records, passenger lists, as well as other “alternative” sources such as travelogues, personal and historical accounts and letters, collected both in Norway and Brazil. Official emigration and immigration statistics on this group are often incomplete, unreliable or simply inexistent, in part due to how the categories of “emigrants” and “immigrants” were defined. Also in migration history Norwegians who migrated to South America are often portrayed as “adventurers” or “outcasts” rather than migrants. Were they just “exceptions” to the rule or can Norwegian migration to Brazil be understood in the context of the transatlantic migration system?

Preface

Throughout my entire research, whenever I told people I was investigating Norwegians immigration in Brazil before 1940, I would get a funny look and be asked the question: “Were there any?”. Yes, I would say, not many, but there were some. Although I had to explain several times that it has not been a “proper” immigration: they have not settled and formed a “little Norway” anywhere in country. Many people then start wondering why I have bothered studying them at all.

It has been very challenging to change people’s – and my own – pre-conceived ideas of what migration is about, and who “immigrants” are supposed to be. I spent a long time trying to find a way of studying them the same way other researchers have studied the Germans, Italians or Japanese in Brazil, or Norwegians in the United State. It has been really frustrating at times. Then I started thinking of my own situation in Norway. I am an “innvandrер” and at the same time I am not. I do not fit in the social stereotype of what an immigrant is. Statistically, I belong in the column “others”, just like Norwegians did back then in Brazil as well. I do not live in an ethnic ghetto, and in my everyday life I relate to both “natives” and other immigrants from different nationalities than mine. Studying these Norwegians, who they were and why they decided to move to such a different place like Brazil, I have realized that my experiences are very similar to what other migrants had and have to go through, independently of where they come from, when or why they migrate. Going back to the past and finding out more about these “frustrated adventurers” was perhaps a way of understanding a bit more about my own journey.

I would like to thank my supervisor, prof. Steinar Andreas Sæther, for all his support, patience and inspiration. I am very grateful for all the help I got from my dear vovô Damasceno, my friend Sabine, my cousin Marina and her husband Francier, who opened their homes for me in Rio, São Paulo and Santos, making my fieldwork possible. Special thanks to my friends Ana Laura, for helping me with the maps, and Anki, for reading through, making comments and encouraging me always. Also thanks to Bete, who helped me in so many ways, as always. All my love and gratitude to my parents and my sister, for always being so close to me even when we have the Atlantic separating us. Last but not least, I would like to thank Fernando for going through this process with me with so much love and patience, and especially for believing in me and making me believe in myself.

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1 Introduction

Like many other phenomena studied by social scientists, migration is a familiar subject to many. In recent years it has been receiving growing attention from the European media, politicians and general public. With so many people leaving the “poor South” for the “rich North”, it may seem that in the past few decades people have been on the move as never before. This is not entirely true. Migration is not actually a new phenomenon. Although nowadays most European countries are on the receiving-end, many also have a long history as sender-countries. About 56 million Europeans emigrated from the continent between 1815 and 1930, most of them having as their destination somewhere in the Americas, North or South. The transatlantic migration system may in fact be considered one of the largest migratory movements in history, larger even than current migration streams (Moya 2003, p.10-12). The importance of that particular system comes not only from its volume, but also from its historical significance. In some of the sending and receiving countries, transatlantic migrations had profound demographic, economic, cultural and social impacts.

Brazil and Norway were significant actors in the transatlantic migration system between 1820-1940. Norway was one of the most important sending countries of the period, with one of the highest rates of emigration proportional to its population (Nugent 1992, p.55). Stories of the emigrants who went to “Amerika” are part of the popular imaginary and emigration is considered an important part of Norwegian national history (Andenæs 26.04.2006). For instance, the strong links Norway currently has with the USA are often attributed to the significant Norwegian emigration to that country, among other reasons (Fyhn 25.10.2012). Brazil, on the other hand, received over 4 million immigrants between 1886 and 1940 (Seyferth in Bailey and Míguez 2003, p.229), and figures among the main destination countries of the transatlantic system (Nugent 1992). The arrival of immigrants from many distinct origins and ethnicities had a strong impact on how Brazilian people see themselves and how their national identity is defined. It has, for instance, contributed to the myth that the Brazilian people are the result of the mix between “three races”¹: indigenous people, afro-descendants and white Europeans (Portuguese colonizers and immigrants; Oliveira 1997, p.804). This myth presents Brazil as a “racial democracy” (Guimarães 2006), a country where

¹ In Portuguese: mito das três raças.

supposedly all different kinds of people mingle, have the same opportunities, and are perceived as equals.

Without a doubt migration has been an important process in these two countries. Many studies have been carried out on the theme both in Norway and in Brazil, but almost none linking them in the context of the transatlantic migration system in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Studies on Norwegian emigration focus almost exclusively on North America as the destination country (Semningsen 1950, Østrem 2006), since an overwhelming majority of Norwegian emigrants did indeed move to the United States. Latin America is ignored completely, as if it had received no Norwegian immigrants at all (Nugent 1992, p.57, table 13). Meanwhile, immigration studies dealing with Brazil are usually about the most “noticeable” groups, like Italians (Bassanezi 2003), Portuguese (Barganha 2003), Japanese (Oliveira 1997) and Germans (Seyferth 1997, 1999, 2003). There are also some studies of smaller migration groups² that are considered to have had a significant socio-economic or cultural impact on the region they established themselves in, such as the Polish in Paraná (Oliveira 2009) or Syrian-Lebanese in São Paulo (Duon 1944, Truzzi 1997).

Has there been a Norwegian migration to Brazil? There is strong evidence of Norwegians passing through and / or living in Brazil between 1820 and 1940. On the other hand, though numbers are not exactly certain, it is known that they did not move to the country in significant numbers and there has not been a massive chain migration. There is no “Norwegian colony” in Brazil in the same sense as the German colonies in the Southern regions, where to this day people supposedly speak an early 1900’s German and are said to keep “the true” German culture alive. At first sight it does not seem like the Norwegians constitute a case of “migration” in the usual sense. In one of the few books written on Norwegians in Latin America, Kjartan Fløgstad (1999) presents the “real emigrants” as poor Norwegians who went to the other side of the *North-Atlantic* to look for work and better life conditions. They travelled in groups, with no intention of coming back. According to him, Norwegians who had a *South American* destination were different. Unlike the “true emigrants”, they were better off economically, and they travelled alone to experience something new and exciting. In several parts of the book they are described as “outcasts”, “travelers” or “adventurers”: “Many left or escaped from some unfinished business at home,

² These groups are smaller in comparison to the groups previously mentioned. Both Polish and Syrian-Lebanese migrations between 1820-1940 surpass 50,000 migrants.

from shame, guilt, or prison”³ (Fløgstad 1999, p.89-90). Once there, they found extreme, almost unbearable conditions, and did not manage to establish anything at all. The ones who stayed died of horrible diseases or usually had very unsuccessful experiences. Fløgstad (1999, p.89-90) believes that Norwegian migration to South America was essentially an individual movement. Therefore its history should be told as the narrative of single individuals who, according to him, represent the “typical” Norwegian immigrant in South America: an adventurous lone traveler, perhaps in the company of a friend, running away from adversities at home and somehow ending up somewhere south of the Equator (Fløgstad 1999). If they were in fact wealthy lone adventurers, they might not fit either with what is commonly accepted as the “ideal immigrant” in Brazil. These are usually portrayed as poor Europeans who came with their families to either work in coffee plantations or to develop family-based farms in the Southern states (Petroni 1997). Supposedly, most of these immigrants did not integrate or assimilate, creating very closed “colonies” that acted as ethnic clusters, where they held on to their own culture, traditions, values and language.

In many ways the case being studied herein differs from the groups that have been studied by migration scholars so far, starting with its size. The overall number of Norwegians who traveled to Latin America and to Brazil during the transatlantic migrations period is definitely small. Actually, they were often not even considered as migrants by emigration and immigration authorities in the respective sending and receiving countries, disappearing from official e/immigration records and statistics and thus also easily disappearing from migration history. At the same time, traces of Norwegians can be found through passenger lists, travel journals, historical accounts, photographs and other documents available in archives both in Norway and in Brazil. They were there. If they were not e/immigrants, what were they? Were these travelers really just “exceptions” to the rule, as Fløgstad seems to believe? Did their experiences diverge so much from those of others who crossed the Atlantic during the same period? To what extent can these Norwegian “adventurers” be considered migrants as well? On the other hand, why would Norwegians take the risk of migrating to a land that was so different and unknown, and where they apparently had no safety network? Or did they have one after all? Did they eventually find each other and form Norwegian communities or did they mingle with other migrants of different nationalities and identities? With whom did they

³ My own translation. In Norwegian (nynorsk): “Mange drog frå, eller rømde frå eit eller anna uoppgjort i heimlandet, frå skam, skuld, soning”

bond and how were these bonds established? These are some of the many questions that can be posed about this group and that will be discussed in this Master thesis.

Few academic studies have been carried out on Norwegians who migrated to Latin America. As one of the first academic studies to be done on Norwegians in Brazil, this research has also been quite challenging. Perhaps one of the most important issues was the fact that this migration group does not correspond to what is normally thought of as a migration group. Sources regarding this group are hard to find and many of the sources, both in Norway and in Brazil, do not treat these Norwegians as e/immigrants. Probably many of them did not see themselves as such either. Why? What defines a migrant and to what extent do the definitions usually used in migration studies fit the case being studied here? Chapter two will focus on these and other theoretical questions. It will present and discuss conventional concepts of migration and how it has been studied before, examining important references in the field. The various approaches can be very different in relation to which criteria they use to distinguish migrants from non-migrant movers. However, these approaches and this distinction itself might be problematic when applied to the study of “unconventional” groups such as the Norwegians in Brazil. Consequently, it is important to maintain a broad understanding of migration as human mobility that generates cultural encounters, exchanges and the development of networks and links.

Very little systematic research has been done on Norwegian migrants in Brazil in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Given the small size of this group they do not figure as an independent category in most Norwegian and Brazilian e/immigration statistics. In addition, many of the existing sources are incomplete. To build a macro picture of this migration group it was necessary to collect an extensive amount of micro-data from passenger lists and migrant registrations, especially from Brazil, and complement them with a number of other sources, like letters, photos, memoirs and other historical accounts. In chapter three I will present the sources and data available so far on Norwegians in Brazil, especially the ones I found during my fieldwork in that country. I have been to archives in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná and Santa Catarina in search for any trace of Norwegians, but these are not the only places where there have been Norwegian migrants. Where can sources be found, and what kind of sources are there? What can these sources tell us about these migrants?

Chapter four presents a general macro-picture of Norwegian-Brazilian migration. Based on the analysis of the data available on Norwegians this chapter will first examine the overall

size of this group, thus giving continuity to the discussion initiated by previous studies about the differences that exist between Norwegian and Latin American official migration records. The second aspect to be considered is time. When did the Norwegian migration to Brazil start? Is it possible to see variations in the migration flow over time? Was it evenly distributed throughout the time span studied or was it concentrated in certain periods of time? Thirdly, I will examine this group's geographic mobility. What routes did these migrants use from Norway to Brazil? Did they migrate directly or was Brazil their 2nd or 3rd destination? In which Brazilian regions do we find Norwegian migrants? Were there large concentrations in some places? Did they concentrate in the same locations as other migration groups or did they go to very different places? The final section will focus on these migrant's general characteristics: who were the Norwegian migrants who came to Brazil? Adopting a broad definition does not mean that all "migrants" were the same, that they moved for the same reasons or that they had the same goals and experiences. On the contrary, evidence indicates that the group of Norwegians was very varied – in the same way other migration groups probably were.. Some migrants move to look for better jobs, while others move because of their families. Some people are forced to move, while some make an autonomous decision to move. And in spite of the fact that immigrants were "desired" in Brazil, with the government actively recruiting Europeans, some migrants were certainly more welcome than others. Although transatlantic migrations are usually linked to labor migration, there were also many elite professionals moving around. These migrants did not belong to the same social level, but were they somehow connected because of their national identities? Or were other elements, like class, more decisive in the construction of networks?

I started my academic studies in Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Brasilia back in 2002. In 2006 I migrated to Norway, going in the opposite direction to the migrants I am now studying, and as a way of keeping myself close to my "home" country, in 2007 I joined the Latin American Studies program at the University of Oslo. I am not exactly a historian, but because migration is such an interdisciplinary subject my background in different social sciences, as well as my personal experiences, have helped me greatly in the realization of this project. When I started my Masters I did not think I would be researching Norwegian migration to Latin America, but over time I became profoundly involved in these migrants' stories and their lives. Although many years separate us, we have faced similar challenges: having to adapt to a different environment, a different climate, a different language and a very different culture.

This work is part of the research project *Desired immigrants - Frustrated Adventurers? Norwegians in Latin America, 1820 – 1940*, coordinated by Steinar Andreas Sæther from the University of Oslo and carried out by several researchers at Norwegian and Latin American institutions. The project aims “to explore the experiences of Norwegians during the age of mass immigration to Latin America” (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.115), but also to use the Norwegian case to achieve a better understanding of migration processes in that continent and in general. In a way, the size and the “oddness” of this group are precisely what makes them interesting and worth investigating. On one hand, it gives us a unique opportunity to combine both micro and macro perspectives in a manner that is virtually impossible with large migration groups. Unless the research is limited to a very specific micro-location, it is extremely difficult to keep very detailed records on every Norwegian who migrated to the United States, or on all German immigrants in Brazil, such as knowing their names, where they came from and what happened to them after they migrated. It is also terribly complex to keep track of all these migrant’s internal movements within the country or continent. Since the group of Norwegians who traveled or migrated to Latin America is small, these tasks are feasible. That is in fact one of the goals of the project, namely the construction of a database with information on *all* Norwegians who traveled to or were in Latin America between 1820 and 1940 (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.115). This can contribute, for example, towards unveiling certain mobility patterns that might not be uncommon among other migration groups, be they large or small. This study, and the project as a whole, also presents a more nuanced picture of Norwegian and Latin American/Brazilian migration histories. On one hand, it acknowledges that some migrants who left Norway were actually heading to a different “Amerika”, telling their stories and showing they were not that different from others who crossed the Atlantic in the same period. On the other hand, it reveals that some immigrants in Brazil were not only a minority in relation to the national host-society, but that they encountered a number of other “minorities”, from many varied cultural backgrounds, who had to relate to each other. The project is in its early stages and there are still many questions that cannot be answered yet. Hopefully the ones being addressed in this study will be useful as a starting point for other researchers in the project and others interested in migration history.

2 Migration Theory

This chapter will present and discuss common theoretical and conceptual approaches in migration studies and begin to discuss some of the issues involved when using existing theories in the analysis of statistically less representative cases. First it will present the three possible levels that a migration study can adopt (micro, meso and macro) and discuss to what extent meso and macro approaches can be applied in the analysis of small migration groups. I will then discuss different understandings of what migration is and who migrants are/were, as opposed to “non-migrants”. Finally I will present arguments to support a more “open” approach to migration patterns / streams that do not fit this distinction.

Migration is a complex phenomenon and extremely hard to define. This difficulty stems from the fact that the term “migration” can refer to a variety of movements of people, motivated by distinct factors, and leading to distinct outcomes. It also involves aspects at different levels in the lives of those who move and those who stay. A migration study can be about understanding the experiences of individuals or families when they move, analyzing the dynamics of social interaction between different ethnic groups, or alternatively, how mass migration affects a whole country economically and politically. This heterogeneity makes migration a subject of interest to several disciplines, from history, to economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, demography, law, regional studies and linguistics.

Theories and concepts from these different disciplines are useful tools for an empirical analysis of migration phenomena. However, one of the key challenges migration researchers face is how to combine the distinct theoretical perspectives from these disciplines in order to achieve a more integrated and complete view of the phenomenon. For many years scholars have approached migration from their own field’s traditions and perspective, without engaging in the interdisciplinary dialogue that this phenomenon requires (Massey et al. 1994, p.700-701). Brettel and Hollifield recognize the need for more interdisciplinarity, but argue that different fields are not always compatible: “each discipline has its preferred or acceptable list of questions, hypotheses, and variables” (2008, p.3). In other words, scholars focus on the aspects of migration that relate to their own field, and although dialogue is possible, it can only happen when the questions asked and the levels of analysis and variables are similar.

Indeed different disciplines work with theoretical paradigms and methods that are sometimes incompatible. For instance, from an economic perspective, migration can be seen as the result of an individual's cost-benefit calculations, where this individual is a rational actor, seeking to maximize benefits and minimize costs (Massey et al. 1993, p.434-435). This perspective may not appeal to many anthropologists, who probably have difficulties in accepting the transformation of cultural values and language into simple calculable variables within a cost-benefit equation. Nonetheless, if migration is to be seen as the same phenomenon and if theory is to be developed, at least some basic definitions should be common to all disciplines studying migration: “[o]ne needs a kind of generalized conceptual framework within which the experiences of groups and individuals can be structured, compared and contrasted” (Diner 2008, p.32). Brettel and Hollifield (2008, p.4) present a schemata of how different social sciences approach migration, which questions they focus on and at which levels of analysis they operate (micro, meso, macro, Attachment 1). Instead of showing a very clear separation between disciplines, this schematization reveals many converging ideas and rather fluid boundaries between fields. Although each discipline has its specific focus and methodology, the questions asked all relate to understanding “why people move, who moves, and what happens after they move” (Brettel 2003, p.1).

The study of empirical cases can be the base for developing general theories, and this has been the case in the migration field. Since the vast majority of migration studies focus on large ethnic groups moving from one place to another, theories and methods have had a strong focus on migration as a *mass* phenomenon. It is as if migration only becomes an interesting subject of study if there is very large flow of people leaving their home-place for “a foreign ‘new world’ – where, myths have assumed, everything would be better” (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.3). The migration of individuals or small groups taking “unusual” routes has not received much attention from researchers. They are seen as statistically irrelevant or not considered as migrants at all. Is it possible to use theories and methods that are based on migration as a mass phenomenon to study these “invisible” migrants? Is it possible to go beyond micro-level history when studying these migrants?

2.1 Micro, Meso and Macro Levels

Before discussing concepts and theories, it is important to explain what the three levels of analysis in migration studies are. As stated in the beginning of the chapter, migration relates

to and affects aspects of human life beyond the individual's decision to move, such as social ties, cultural elements and political-economic structures (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, p.22, note 6). It can be a very particular and a very general social phenomenon at the same time. Therefore a researcher can analyze migration from three different "distances", as if she is looking through a lens that can zoom in and out. The focus can be on the most particular (for instance, the individual's decision-making process), on middle level (for instance, the links between different individuals within a network) or on the bigger picture (for instance, changes in a country's immigration policy over time). Østrem explains that

The micro level relates to concrete, everyday settings and the local, domestic arenas in which migrants possibly moved in and on. (...) The macro level is about values, rituals, traditions, economic relations, class structures, a culture's 'styles' and ideologies. (...) The meso level links together the local practices which are the product of both micro and macro conditions (2006, p.104)⁴

One of the reasons why interdisciplinary cooperation can be so difficult is that scholars from different areas usually only focus on one of these levels (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, p.4). This choice is usually related to methodological issues as well. Some researchers prefer working with quantitative methods, which would be more appropriate for a macro-study: involving limited information about a great number of cases. Micro studies require qualitative data, and in-depth research into one or a few cases (Hellevik 2002, p.110-111). However, Østrem (2006, p.103) believes that research into migration history should have a holistic approach aiming at the understanding of migration processes from all three levels concurrently. This may be applicable to other disciplines. The table presented by Brettel and Hollifield (2008, p.4) illustrates this issue (Attachment 1). Although the authors affirm that anthropology, for example, focuses on the micro level, with individuals, households or groups as its unit of analysis, the examples given of "dominant theories" ("Relational or structuralist and transnational") or "sample hypothesis" ("Social networks help maintain cultural difference") relate to macro and meso levels respectively (Brettel and Hollifield 2008 p.4). This shows how these three levels are actually interrelated and how difficult it is to separate them completely in reality. An individual's actions influence and are influenced by their

⁴ My own translation. In Norwegian (nynorsk): "mikronivået gjelde dei konkrete, daglege settingane og dei lokale, nære arenaene som moglege utvandrarar ferdast i og på. (...) [M]akro gjeld verdiar, ritual, tradisjonar, økonomiske forhold, klassestrukturar, 'stil' og ideologiar som eksisterer i ein kultur. (...) Meso knyter altså saman dei lokale praksisane som både er produkt av forhold på mikro- og på makronivået."

social networks, cultural contexts and social structures in general (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.79).

The main focus of this thesis is to understand Norwegian migration to Brazil before 1940 at a macro-level. I will concentrate on the analysis of this group's general characteristics, the routes they used, when they migrated, where they went and the possible differences between them. However, there is very little macro data available for this group. Neither Norwegian nor Brazilian statistics are complete or reliable in relation to the overall size, and in most cases they are actually nonexistent. So in order to obtain a better view of the general characteristics of this migration, it was necessary to include as much micro-data as possible, from emigration and immigration records as well as a number of other alternative sources. The micro and meso approaches were combined to build the macro-level (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.131, 132).

2.2 Definitions

“Migration movements have a few universal elements among which is the actual situation of moving”⁵ (Devoto 2003, p.16). Migration entails mobility, since every migrant moves from one place to another. International migration also implies that while moving, the person crosses national borders. In this sense, all Europeans who crossed the Atlantic between 1820 and 1940 could be regarded as international migrants. This is not necessarily the case. Even though mobility is a determinant element in migration, it is not always a sufficient one. Migration scholars do not consider every person who travels abroad a migrant. Nowadays the line between migrants and non-migrants can be easier to define, based on the types of visas issued by the receiving country (or the lack of a visa, which characterizes illegal migration). This distinction was not as clear in the 1800's and early 1900's, both from a legal or a social point of view. There were many different categories being used to refer to those crossing the Atlantic during the so-called “age of mass migrations” (Devoto 2003, p.21). What characterizes a migrant as opposed to a “traveler”, a “foreigner” or other possible classifications? Should the distinction be based on the duration of their stay or the intentions behind their move? Was it established by laws or simply by social conventions? Should this differentiation really be made? In his study on Norwegian migration to Argentina, for

⁵ My own translation. In Spanish: “los movimientos migratorios tienen algunos elementos universales, uno de ellos es la situación misma de desplazarse”

example, Pedersen does not establish the difference between migrants and non-migrants. He believes all documents about this group are important to understand how this migration emerged and developed: “[t]he project’s definition of the word immigrant includes therefore all Norwegians who have traveled to Argentina” (Pedersen 2010, p.8). Unfortunately he does not discuss the issue any further. Does it have any consequence for the object of his study? What would make this approach the best approach to the case of Norwegian case in Latin America?

This section will discuss some conceptualizations of migration, showing which actors can be included or excluded from the category of “migrant” according to each perspective and establish the approach taken in this research. One important question to be discussed is to what extent a clear distinction between “migrants” and other movers can (or should) be made when the group being studied is already numerically small.

2.2.1 Migration as an Intended, Permanent Move

Traditionally, migration has been conceptualized as “a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or a group of people” (Oderth 2002, p.2). That is to say, migration happens when a person leaves her place of origin to settle in a different city, region or country for a certain period of time or for the rest of her life. Oderth distinguishes migration from less definitive moves, for example “*circulation*, denoting short-term, repetitive or cyclical movements without any declared intention of a long-lasting change of residence. Included in the latter category are commuters, holidaymakers and students who move back home between study terms” (Oderth 2002, p.2). Although it is quite simple to conceive of migration as a “permanent” change of residence, it can be more complicated to define the exact duration of a “semi-permanent” move. What scholars usually do is establish a numerical threshold of years or sometimes months. If the sources available present information about the intended duration, it certainly makes it easier to determine who is a migrant, as opposed to someone who is just visiting, working or studying “temporarily”. Oderth stresses the importance of the migrant’s intention of staying for a certain period of time: “It is common to define an emigrant/immigrant as a person who resides abroad for at least a year and on entering the new country also has an intention to stay for a year or more” (2002, p.2). This is the same approach taken by Willcox and Ferenczi in a comprehensive

statistical study done in the early 1930's, which later became an important reference in the field of migration (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.59-60).

Behind the duration threshold is an assumption that the experiences of long-term movers and short-term travelers are fundamentally different. Supposedly, the latter will not build the same kind of cultural relationship with the host-society as those who stay longer and need to adapt to and adopt the “new” community. The definition of emigrant given by Otte illustrates this: “An emigrant takes a deliberate decision to leave home and settle down permanently in a new country, with a change of nationality as a *natural consequence*”⁶ (Otte 1988, p.11, my italics). Otte (1988) believes that a person who works for an international company and is sent abroad is not necessarily a migrant, but becomes one from the moment he express the wish of settling in the new country and adopting a new citizenship. In this sense, here migration is directly linked to the process of assimilating the new culture and perceiving the new place as “home”. That is also why cyclical movers like the examples given by Oderth (2002) are not considered as migrants. Although a student can sometimes spend longer than a year in the new place, according to this perspective, the fact that she returns home often may be an indicator that she has stronger social bonds with her place of origin.

When considering migration as a definite one-way move, it is possible to analyze it as two separate steps: the process of leaving the home-society, referred to as emigration, and the process of joining a new one, or immigration. Re-migration refers to the reverse process, of leaving the destination to return to the place of origin, an equally definitive move. Conceptually, clear boundaries can also be established between domestic migration, when the migrant does not cross any national border, and international migration. Studies dealing with international migration normally focus exclusively on moves between the home country and the country of destination. Though some studies may have a micro/local perspective (migration from a specific region/community in the country of origin to a specific region/community in the country of destination), they do not usually take internal migration into account. Finally, most studies take a push- and pull-factors approach, usually from a nationalistic viewpoint (Nugent 1992, Diner 2008). In sending countries scholars have been primarily interested in emigration, or out-migration, trying to understand the context and causes leading to emigration from their country. Meanwhile, studies done in receiving-

⁶ My own translation. In Danish: “For emigranten er det tale om en bevidst beslutning om at forlade hjemlandet for endegyldigt at slå sig ned i et nyt land med skift af statsborgerskab som naturlig følgevirkning”

countries have focused on immigration (or in-migration), to grasp the context of the arrival of different immigrant groups and their different adaptation strategies.

In spite of establishing clear guidelines, this approach can be problematic for several reasons. First of all, migration is rarely just one definitive move from a home place A to a foreign place B, especially when it comes to international migration (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.3). Usually people move several times. Many migrants move within their country of origin, mostly from rural environments to larger urban centers, even before crossing national borders. Evidence also shows that many migrants move several times between different locations, as well as back and forth between the countries of origin and destination. In these cases it becomes more difficult to establish a clear demarcation between emigration and immigration movements. It is also important to remember that all of these moves might not be completely random, but instead depend on links and networks that might be operating between people in different places. Mobility was very high even in the 19th century, and some believe that the transatlantic migrations should be seen in the context of migrations already happening within Europe prior to the ocean crossings (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.36). These different moves are not unconnected, just as the process of emigrating and immigrating are not independent.

Another important issue with this approach is to what extent intention can be used as a determinant of migration. A migrant's intention might change during the moving process, based on their encounters with the new geographical and social environments. Someone who initially moved with the intention of staying might return shortly after or move somewhere else, while someone who did not have the intention of staying at first might do so. The journey between Europe and Latin America was very long and difficult, especially before the advent of steamships. Bearing that in mind, it is hard to believe that many people would undertake this journey simply as "a tourist", and especially not in the same sense as this category is understood nowadays. "Short trips" probably meant spending more than just a few weeks. It is also very possible that travelers had a desire to look for opportunities to pursue a life-project, short or long-term, on the other side. Another possibility is that a person traveling as a tourist takes a trip to a new country in "reconnaissance", to explore the possibilities the place has to offer her. The same idea is valid for other groups of short-term travelers, such as sailors who might desert to find new job opportunities in the new port. Also, how can a migrant's "real" intention be determined? Emigration or immigration records might not express the migrant's deliberate wish to settle in the new country forever, even when he stated

so. Sometimes that is what he knew he needed to say in order to be allowed into a country or to have access to certain advantages. One example: according to the Argentine immigration law of 1876, foreigners could only benefit from colonization and accommodation programs and free domestic transport if they acquired the status of “immigrant”, which implied stating the wish to reside permanently in the country (Devoto 2003, p.31). The same is the case for the intention of acquiring a new nationality or citizenship. Adopting the receiving-country’s nationality might be a necessary strategy for being allowed to stay, or to have better work possibilities. In 1893, a law established that every foreigner who was in Brazil on November 15th 1889⁷ had to become a Brazilian citizen and granted these foreigners six months to declare their desire to keep their nationality of origin to the Brazilian authorities (Fausto 2006, p.142). This shows that adopting a new citizenship is not always an absolute indicator of the migrant’s intentions of staying permanently. Moreover, the number of years a person spends somewhere is not necessarily a determinant of the kind of links she will have with the new society and the receiving place. Any threshold of years to define a “semi-permanent” move is ultimately arbitrary, and permanent migrants may have completely different adaptation strategies that do not necessarily correspond to the “ideal” assimilation assumed by this definition.

Finally, it seems that the idea of migration as an intended permanent move focuses on the components of “establishment”, “settling in”, whilst neglecting an essential element of migration, which is mobility itself. It assumes that people are sedentary by nature, and if people are on the move, it is because they have been almost forced to do so by invisible forces, being “pushed” and “pulled” (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.2, 62-64). Migration studies become a matter of finding out why an individual or a group of people did not want to be in place-A and what attracted them to place-B, and what made them want to stay there. Consequently, if a migrant does not accomplish a permanent, established stay, his return to the place of origin might be an indicator of “failure”. This is not necessarily the case. It is important to remember that a person’s relationship with a certain place (either origin or destination) or society, her life plan, goals and expectations, may change considerably throughout her lifetime depending on the experiences she has and are by no means definitive. Besides, in every migration system there is also significant remigration (Kjeldstadli 2008, p.32). However, information on this kind of movement was not as well documented and

⁷ Date of proclamation of the Republic.

recorded as migration was. Sending countries usually registered those who were leaving, but not those returning. This creates the impression that, for example, all Norwegians who left for the United States settled there – when this is far from being the truth (Kjeldstadli 2008, p.32, Østrem 2006, p.95).

Perceiving migration as a finite process with a start and an end might be useful for quantitative studies, such as in the fields of demography or statistics, since it establishes a clear line between those who are and those who are not migrants. From a qualitative perspective, though, it becomes too reductionist. It does not account for the complexities involved in the process of migration, which are particularly relevant to a micro-level analysis. Seasonal workers, for example, move temporarily, and therefore do not fall under the category of migrants according to this perspective. Nonetheless, in some cases they play an important role in building linkages between different places, which can be a trigger to more “permanent” migration. It also fails to consider individuals or small groups who do not belong to massive flows, like the one being studied here, because they become statistically irrelevant. Yet their experiences can still be very enlightening and useful to the development of a more comprehensive migration theory.

Before moving to a different approach, it is important to make an observation about the terminology. Despite recognizing the limitations of studying migration as two separate processes of emigration and immigration, these terms are still useful as a way of stressing an analytical point of reference. The term “emigration” will be used from now on to emphasize the migrant’s position in relation to his place and society of *origin*. For example, a Norwegian traveler, from the perspective of those who stayed behind in Norway and the Norwegian authorities, is an emigrant. “Immigration” indicates the perspective of the receiving-place and the authorities in the country where this person arrives.

2.2.2 Contemporaries’ perspective

Fernando Devoto (2003) is a Latin-American historian and an important reference in the field of migration in the continent, particularly in Argentina. In one of his major works, *Historia de la Inmigración en la Argentina*, he dedicates part of the introduction to discussing who the actors of the migration history in that country are. Similarly to the perspective presented in the previous section, he believes that the distinction between “foreigner” and “migrant” should be made, but based on aspects other than the duration of someone’s stay in the new country or

their intention to stay permanently. His approach, and that of many other historians, is to consider as immigrants those who were perceived as such by their contemporaries (Devoto 2003, p.32): “[T]he immigrant category is ambiguous (...) it changes throughout the lifetime of individuals and in the images and self-images of successive generations (...) and historians should take such variations into account”⁸ (Devoto 2003, p.27). According to his perspective, the researcher should examine how the host society saw immigrants, both legally and socially, but should also include how immigrants identified themselves. This approach is more dynamic than the definition of migration as an intended, permanent move. Devoto’s focus is not on the type of movement or on the process of mobility. To him migration always refers to the movement of free labor (Devoto 2003, p.26). What distinguishes an immigrant from other types of movers are his relationship with and his position in relation to natives, “foreigners” and other immigrants. A foreign worker, depending on his social position, may not be seen as an immigrant, even if he establishes himself in the new country permanently. The concept of immigrant is seen as form of identity, which is understood here as “the human capacity – rooted in language – to know ‘who’s who’ (and hence, ‘what’s what’). (...) [A] multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectivities” (Jenkins 2008, p.5). The same could be applied to the sending-end and the identification of emigrants. Not all those who left were emigrants, only those who fit in the emigrant’s social “image” of the time.

During the mass migration period, the image of immigrants in Argentina corresponded to “more or less poor Europeans, farmers, males, mostly illiterate, who arrived in our country to ‘make America’, seen from their own perspective, and to populate deserted areas, seen from the perspective of Argentine elites”⁹ (Devoto 2003, p.21). There was a strong association between immigration and *low-skilled* labor. Immigrants were “brazos” – arms. High skilled and prestigious Europeans, like engineers or businessmen who had a closer relation to the local elites, were not referred to as immigrants but as foreigners (Devoto 2003, p.28). These correlations between migration and position in a class structure, or between migrants and rural

⁸ My own translation. In Spanish: “la categoría inmigrante es ambigua, (...) cambia a lo largo del tiempo de vida de las personas y en las imágenes y autoimágenes de las sucesivas generaciones y (...) el historiador tiene que tomar nota de esas variantes”

⁹ My own translation. In Spanish: “europeos más o menos pobres, campesinos, varones, mayoritariamente analfabetos, que arriban a nuestro país para ‘hacer la América’, en su propia perspectiva, y para poblar el desierto, en la perspectiva de las elites argentinas”.

or urban workers, were also common in many sending and receiving countries of the transatlantic system during the same period. Several nations' legislation defined migrants on the basis of which class accommodation they were traveling in, creating a correlation between migration and economical condition. Similarly to Uruguay and Brazil, in the United States only those arriving in 3rd class were considered immigrants (Devoto 2003, p.20-21). Similar criteria were applied to emigration legislation in European countries, like Spain, Italy and France (Devoto 2003, p.20). This could mean that people travelling in first class, for example, were not considered as migrants by migration authorities in either sending or receiving countries. Similarities are also found between the social identity of immigrants in Brazil and that observed by Devoto in Argentina. They were also referred to by Brazilian elites as "braços" on the coffee plantations, or farmers – "colonos" – who would occupy and develop the unpopulated southern regions (Carneiro 1950, p.9). The tendency to associate immigrants with certain ethnic groups, usually in terms of nationality, is noteworthy. When Carneiro (1950) divides Brazilian migration history in three different periods, he affirms that each of them is characterized by the arrival of a "dominant ethnic group": Germans, Italians and Japanese (Carneiro 1950, p.10). As mentioned before, nationality and ethnicity are categories commonly used in migration history, and hardly questioned (Devoto 2003, p.18, Diner 2008, p.42). Nevertheless the immigrant identity is not necessarily linked to a specific ethnicity. In spite of having the same nationality, a worker on a coffee plantation and an engineer were likely to be perceived differently both by the national society and by themselves. This shows that it is not certain that ethnicity mattered at all times. Perhaps other kinds of bonds were more important depending on the circumstances – like class, religion, political affiliation or even the migrant-identity itself.

It seems logical that a historical study of migration takes into account the social contexts of the period being studied, and the social images of those who lived at the time. This is an important aspect of migration, since cultural and identity boundaries arise from the contact between members of different groups (national or ethnic) with different cultures (Eriksen 2002, p.79). Nevertheless it is problematic to limit the scope of a study to include only those subjects who were defined as migrants using legal and social criteria. Due to its basis on subjective parameters, the boundary between "migrant" and "foreigner" is very blurred, especially at the micro level. There may have been many reasons for an immigrant not wanting to identify him or herself as such. The fact that immigrant groups were primarily related to low-skilled labor, for example, might have given the term a negative connotation,

turning it into a social stigma. Wealthier foreigners probably did not want to be linked to the word “immigration”, since it was associated to a particular group that they did not see themselves as part of. This raises another issue: what happens when the image others have of an individual/group conflicts with his/their self-image? Devoto (2003) seems to attribute a very strong credit to the “elite’s” view and its role in establishing who were immigrants and who were not. It is important to remember that there are strong power relations behind the creation of identities. Categorizing can be a way of hierarchizing distinct social groups. Those who are closer to “us” (the elites) belong to a higher category and are in a higher position than the “others” (immigrants), those most distinct and different from “us” (Kjeldstadli 2008, p.33).

Another problem is that, as Devoto (2003) himself points out, images and self-images change over a person’s lifetime. It means that the same person might experience differences in his identity, or variations in the meaning of a certain identity. In Brazil in the late 1800’s and early 1900’s, immigrants were a welcomed and much needed labour force that would “colonize” the South and “whiten” the population (Fausto 2006, p.113). In the late 1930’s they are referred to officially as “aliens” who threaten the “fatherland” (Seyferth 1997). These changes may have affected not only newcomers, but also people who had been established in the country and lived through these alterations. When the social meaning of the immigrant category changes, an individual’s identification and self-identification with this category might also change. Since the period of this study is so long, there were certainly changes in the way immigrants were seen by society, and perhaps by the law as well. How should these variations be taken into account in the research? Can a person who was a migrant at a certain point “stop” being one?

Finally, in a study that is centered on an ethnic group, operationalizing “immigrant” in terms of contemporaries’ definition can be rather limiting, especially for small groups. If the group is very diverse or if it does not correspond entirely with the characteristics that are commonly assigned to immigrants, the number of people who could in fact be included in the category may be even smaller, or practically inexistent. Besides, by not including “foreigners” of same ethnicity in the group’s migration history, the researcher may overlook certain dynamics that may happen within ethnic groups, like links between countrymen from different social strata.

It is important to be aware of the creation of an “emigrant/immigrant” identity in migration processes. These words have deep subjective meanings in both sending and receiving

societies' popular imaginary. They carry with them expectations of and associations to certain characteristics, behaviors and values. For example, according to Argentinian elites in early 1900's, "refugees" and "immigrants" were qualitatively different: while the first migrated for more "noble" causes, the second were "pragmatic", "rustic" peasants (Devoto 2003, p.29-30). The way each of these was received and treated by the host society was not the same. However, by only including in a study those who correspond to the popular imaginary/identity of immigrants, the researcher might overlook certain dynamics happening between these different categories of "foreigners", or between them and the host society.

2.2.3 Migrant vs. "Non-Migrant"

All the aforementioned approaches consider migration as a particular form of mobility. The basic criteria upon which this distinction is constructed can be many: how long migrants stay in the new place, the intention behind their move or how migrants are defined socially. Any of these criteria create two categories: migrants and non-migrant "movers". This separation has consequences for data collection and analysis in migration studies. Emigration and immigration laws also establish differences between migrants and "non-migrants". These laws work as guidelines for official registration, such as port and migration records. As one of the primary sources for migration studies, especially at the macro-level, all research based on these records therefore operationalizes migration according to the laws in force during the period being studied. An example can be seen in *Imigração e Colonização no Brasil* by José Fernando Carneiro (1950), an important reference on Brazilian immigration. He presents a very detailed table with the number of immigrants entering Brazil each year between 1819 and 1947 by nationality. Comparing his figures on German immigrants with the available data from the Statistical Yearbooks issued by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), it is possible to see that Carneiro (1950, p.61) only includes in his study the foreign passengers who were registered as immigrants by port and immigration authorities in Brazil.

Table 1: Number of German passengers registered by port authorities compared to the official number of German immigrants

Data on German passengers and German immigrants entering Brazil			
Year	Statistical Yearbooks, IBGE		Carneiro (1950)
	Total of passengers entering Brazil	Declared Immigrants	Number of immigrants
1908	*	2931	2931
1909	*	5413	5413
1910	7415	3902	3902
1911	9773	4251	4251
1912	11677	5733	5733
...
1935	3946	2423	2429
1936	5733	1226	1230
1937	5482	4642**	4647

* Data not available

** Not sorted according to immigrant or non-immigrant status, but according to passenger class. Number of passengers arrived in other than 1st class.

In the period between 1908 and 1912, Carneiro's (1950, p.61) numbers are exactly the same as the number of "official immigrants" from the Statistical Yearbooks. For the first two years the data available does not discriminate between migrants and non-migrant passengers, but the following three years indicate that there were actually a high number of people arriving in Brazil who were not registered as immigrants. For the years 1935, 1936 and 1937, in spite of minor differences, Carneiro's (1950) numbers still correspond to the official immigrants. In these years there are also significant differences between the number of passengers entering the country and the number of immigrants. This discrepancy is observed for other national groups, especially among the major groups: Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, French and English. Unfortunately there are no available data for all the years before 1910 and between 1912 and 1935, but it is very likely that also in those years there were more passengers entering the country than the number of registered immigrants. Who were and what happened to the rest of the passengers who were not counted as immigrants? It is possible that those numbers indicate passengers who were just in transit in a Brazilian port and would continue their journeys to other destinations, like Argentina or Uruguay, or they were on their way from these countries to Europe. Indeed, looking at the available passenger lists it is possible to see that some passengers who entered Brazilian ports continued their journeys to other destination (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.126, HULA). Nonetheless, it is also possible that

those travelers did in fact disembark and stayed in Brazil, but for some reason they did not meet the criteria established by law. A federal decree dating from 1907 states that

[a]ll foreigners under 60 who arrive in a national port as 3rd class passenger, having been subsidized by the Union, the states or others, shall be welcomed as immigrants, given that they do not suffer from any illness, practice any illegal profession, are not considered criminals, rowdies, beggars, vagabonds, demented or disabled¹⁰. (Federal decree number 6455/1907 in Carneiro 1950, p.32)

According to this decree, passengers arriving in 3rd class were immigrants, and thus registered as such, while passengers in 1st, 2nd or any other class were not. Thus, even if those passengers stayed in Brazil and established themselves in the country, with similar experiences to the “official” immigrants, they were not included, for example, in Carneiro’s (1950) study. The notion of an immigrant as a 3rd class passenger changes in the 1930s. Another federal decree established that immigrants are “all foreigners who, coming to Brazil, wish to stay for more than thirty days with the purpose of carrying out their activity in any lawful and lucrative profession that guarantees their own livelihood and that of their dependents¹¹” (“Federal decree number 24258”, 1st session, 16.05.1934). Specifications in paragraph 3 exclude from the category all foreigners who arrive in the country with the purpose of studying, businessmen representing foreign firms (as long as they stayed for less than 6 months), artists, and others (“Federal decree number 24258”, 16.05.1934). Iotti observes that Brazilian immigration laws reflect the interests of certain social groups throughout different periods of the migration processes in the country, and what they considered as the main purpose of attracting immigrants to the country (Iotti 2003, 2). Nonetheless, these definitions suffer from the same problems discussed in previous sections.

It becomes clear from previous discussions that there are no straightforward ways of defining a “migrant”, from either legal or academic points of view. Even definitions that seem to be clear and objective have considerable limitations and may not be applicable to some particular cases. In a study of Norwegians in Argentina, Pedersen (2010) has chosen not to establish a

¹⁰ My own translation. In Portuguese: “Serão acolhidos como imigrantes os estrangeiros menores de 60 anos que, não sofrendo de doenças contagiosas, não exercendo profissão ilícita, não sendo reconhecidos como criminosos, desordeiros, mendigos, vagabundos, dementes ou inválidos chegarem aos portos nacionais como passageiros de 3a. classe, às custas da União, dos Estados ou de terceiros.”

¹¹ Own translation. In Portuguese: “todo estrangeiro que pretenda, vindo para o Brasil, nêle permanecer por mais de trinta dias com o intuito de exercer sua atividade em qualquer profissão lícita e lucrativa que lhe assegure a subsistência própria e a dos que vivam sob sua dependência.”

distinction between movers and non-movers, and considered all Norwegians as migrants. This seems to be the most appropriate approach to the study of small migration groups, such as the one being studied here. The separation of migrants and “non-migrants” might not even represent a significant problem to the study of large groups, like Germans in Brazil. The inclusion of those “non-migrants” might have some impact on the overall macro-perspective, perhaps showing that this immigration was larger than previous believed, but it probably would not have a great qualitative impact. However, to study Norwegians in Brazil, or in Latin America in general, it is extremely important to take into consideration both official immigrants as well as “non-immigrant” passengers. Quantitatively, the inclusion of “non-immigrant” passengers has a notable impact on the size of the overall group. According to the Statistical Yearbooks (IBGE) there were only 5 immigrants out of 66 Norwegian passengers who entered Brazilian ports in 1935, and in 1936 none of the 43 Norwegian passengers who arrived received the status of immigrants. If the research is limited to “official” immigrants, it becomes almost impossible to consider Norwegians as a migration group at all.

From a qualitative viewpoint, including these travelers is also very important. It is not possible to know, just by looking at the numbers, if the passengers that were not registered as immigrants were in transit or if they stayed in the country. Perhaps they just happened to be traveling 1st class, or were employees of an international company. This could indicate, for example, that most of the Norwegians who traveled to Brazil belonged to a higher class, thus not being considered as immigrants by authorities, and possibly not by society either. This was not necessarily the case. Only a more detailed analysis of passenger lists with names and other qualitative information on all types of travelers can elucidate this issue and bring to light other nuances that are hidden behind general numbers.

From a micro perspective, it is also interesting to look at these other “movers” who do not fit in the conventional definitions of migrant. It is not certain that all of their experiences were very different from those more “traditional” migrants. They too *moved* to a different country and experienced cultural encounters, and those are perhaps the core elements to all migration experiences, independently of why, how and for how long. They certainly had to develop relations and adaptation strategies, create links and networks. By comparing migrants with different characteristics it will be possible to analyze their differences and similarities and furnish explanations.

2.3 Conclusion

Understanding migration is both simple and difficult at the same time. It can refer to moves that can be very different in nature: permanent or temporary, some move because they decide freely to do so, others because they feel forced to; some do it looking for better living conditions, others move because a family member did, some do it without really knowing why. Migration can also be seen from very distinct perspectives, macro, meso and micro. This thesis will focus mainly on the macro-level, giving an overall picture of the Norwegian migration to Brazil. Nonetheless, the micro and meso levels will also be very important to complement the available macro-data.

This chapter also presented different ways of understanding what migration is, and how migrants have been traditionally defined. All migrants move from one place to another, but not all those who moved are considered as migrants. Most researchers establish a distinction between migrants and “non-migrants”, either based on the duration of the individual’s stay or based on the migrant’s social identity. These conceptualizations have their problems, and although they might be useful in the study of mass migrations, they are too limiting when the “group” being studied is so small. Considering all Norwegian movers as migrants is necessary to give a better macro perspective of this group. It is also a unique opportunity to study a migration group from a macro perspective without being constrained by the more or less arbitrary definitions used by governments at the time.

3 Sources and Data

This is one of the first academic studies ever to be done on Norwegian migration to Brazil and collecting data on these migrants has been a very challenging task for several reasons. One of the first difficulties has been the lack of supporting literature. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that most studies – especially macro-studies – focus on migration as a mass phenomenon. Second, since this is not a conventional group, they do not often appear in official statistics. Due to their small number, Norwegians rarely figure as an independent national group in Brazilian immigration statistics. Instead they are grouped together with other nationalities under the category “others”. Meanwhile, Norwegian statistics tend to ignore Brazil completely as a destination for its emigrants, or place it together with other Latin American countries. When these statistics do exist, another issue emerges: there are serious problems concerning their reliability (Stang 1976, p.296).

In order to have a proper macro-picture of this group, I needed to find and gather the largest amount possible of data on these immigrants, both quantitative and qualitative. Although the main goal of this study is not to define precisely how many Norwegians moved to Brazil, having a better idea of its size is important to evaluate how representative the data is in relation to the group as a whole. At the same time, to better understand some aspects of this migration movement, it is necessary to add qualitative data, to know who they were, their occupation, what happened to them and to try to find their voices behind the information given in the immigration and passenger registers through letters, travel accounts, pictures, newspaper notes, or any other available material that has any information on Norwegians in Brazil.

The collection of data involved not only researching in two different countries, but Brazil also had several ports of entry. Immigration documents and port records are not assembled in one single archive. Instead, they can be found in the National Archive (Rio de Janeiro and Brasília) and state or local archives. I chose to focus my research on the National Archive in Rio de Janeiro, where I spent 4 weeks, while another 4 weeks were used to collect data in São Paulo, Santos, Curitiba and Joinville. Part of the Norwegian data has been collected by other researchers involved in the project *Desired immigrants - Frustrated Adventurers? Norwegians in Latin America, 1820 – 1940*.

What sources are there on this group? What kinds of information do these sources give on these migrants, or what kind of information is missing? What are the differences between Norwegian and Brazilian sources, and why do these differences happen? These are some of the questions that are going to be introduced in this chapter. The first part will present the Norwegian sources: official records, published and unpublished sources. The Norwegian sources also served as guideline for my fieldwork in Brazil. In the second part I will present the data I collected in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Curitiba and Joinville: official statistics, passenger records, nationalization records, cemetery records, historical publications, personal accounts and pictures.

3.1 Norwegian sources

One of the principal Norwegian sources are the emigration protocols, available from Digitalarkivet (Digitalarkivet). In 1869 Norway implemented its first emigration control law, and from then on every vessel with more than 20 passengers had to register its passenger list with the local police station (Pedersen 2010, p.31, 48). These protocols contain personal information (name, gender, age, occupation, residence) in addition to travel information (intended destination, agent and line, the price of the ticket, or whether the trip was subsidized). A total of 126 entries were registered of passengers who had a Brazilian port as their destination between 1891 and 1930. Official Norwegian immigration statistics are based on the information contained in these protocols. However, these records are not very reliable in relation to the volume of Norwegian migration to Latin America (Sæther and Østrem 2011). It should be noted that small vessels did not have to register their passenger lists. This means that these migrants are not going to be found in the Norwegian emigration protocols. As Pedersen also points out, other types of migrants do not appear on these records, such as those who traveled as part of the crew (“work-your-way” travelers) and sailors who eventually deserted in Latin-American ports (Pedersen 2010).

Some Norwegian publications were also used as starting point to further investigation and as sources of qualitative data on specific groups and individuals. Kjartan Fløgstad’s *Eld og Vatn* (1999) is a book about Norwegians in Latin America, mostly Argentina and Brazil. It contains interesting information about some migration groups, like the group of aspiring gold-miners who ended up in Joinville in 1851, and a group of Rjukan workers who organized a Brazilian expedition in 1923. Apart from these two group-stories, the book approaches the Norwegian

migration to Latin America mainly from the perspective of the lives of individuals, like Alfredo Andersen, Berent Friele, and Fredrik Engelhart, focusing on narratives of personal success or tragedy, rarely connected to each other.

An article written by Havik Sveinung and published in *Levanger historielag* (1985) has considerable information about the group of Norwegians in Joinville. They left Trondheim in 1850 as members of an organized expedition to California, but had to stop their journey in Rio de Janeiro because of the bad conditions of their ship. In Rio de Janeiro colonization agents contacted these migrants and offered them the opportunity to settle in the newly formed colony of Dona Francisca, which later became the city of Joinville. This article contains the names of members of the California-expedition and some additional information about each member, but it does not specify which ones eventually migrated to Joinville. This source also contains pictures of some of the migrants, as well as the transcription of a letter sent by one of the migrants, Theodor Sørensen Støp and published in the newspaper *Nordre Trondhjems Amtstidende* April 20th 1852.

The book *Canada-feber* by Tom Nilsen (1996) focuses specifically on emigrants who left Rjukan in the 1920s. Most of them headed to North America, but one group of unionists departed to Brazil in the hopes of starting a Norwegian colony in Rio Grande do Sul. In the end, due to political instabilities in that state, they settled in Paraná instead. Nilsen's book (1996) contains substantial information on this group, how the expedition was organized, the names of the participants, as well as some information about what happened to them in Brazil and whether (and when) they returned to Norway.

Another important source found in Norway was the article *Norske Innvandrere i Brasil, 1885-1931* by Dag Retsö (1999). Retsö's article has a short list of Norwegians who arrived in the port of Rio de Janeiro during that period, containing the names of 123 migrants, the ship they were traveling in and the arrival date, as well as additional information, such as the migrant's next destination in Brazil. According to this list, 36% of the migrants left for Paraná, 30% for Rio Grande do Sul, 3% for São Paulo and 2% for Minas Gerais, while 29% stayed in Rio de Janeiro. His list was based on the registration of the "hospedaria de imigrantes", the immigrant hotel in Ilha das Flores, the equivalent to New York's Ellis Island. Not all migrants would stay in the "hospedaria", thus these registrations do not provide a complete list of all Norwegian migrants who were in Brazil (Jorge, n.d.). Although incomplete, Retsö's list has been very useful as a guideline for the research of passenger lists in Rio de Janeiro.

The Norwegian magazine *Nordmanns-forbundet* has published some articles on Norwegians in Brazil. The first, published in 1913, claims the existence of a Norwegian colony of 45,000 individuals in São Paulo, a statement that is strongly denied by the local consulate in two following articles, published in 1913 and 1914 (*Nordmanns-forbundet* årgang VI and VII). From 1919, articles mentioning Brazil are more regular, and they focus mostly on the Norwegian diplomatic milieu and the most prominent members of the Norwegian community, especially in Rio de Janeiro (*Nordmanns-forbundet* årgang XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV). A few names are mentioned and there are also some references to the migrants' activities in Brazil and possible links with other Norwegian communities in São Paulo and Buenos Aires.

I have also had access to the memoirs of a Norwegian woman, Maria Fleischer, who traveled and worked in several countries in Latin America. She lived in Brazil between 1926 and 1932, and in her work she writes about her experience as a migrant in that country. She never refers to herself as an emigrant/immigrant though. She takes several different jobs in Rio de Janeiro, Petrópolis and on a coffee farm in São Paulo, mostly as a tutor/governess for wealthy Brazilian families. According to her memoirs she often took part in the events organized by the Norwegian colony in Rio de Janeiro. In her accounts she mentions some of the same people also found in the *Nordmanns-forbundet* articles, though certain elements of her narrative show that she was not completely integrated in this elitist milieu.

Some interesting information on Norwegian sailors and Norwegian maritime activity in Santos during the yellow fever epidemics in the late 19th century is to be found in Gunnar Isachsen's *Norsk skibsfart på Brasil i feberårene 1891-1893* (1937). This book contains a list of sailors who died in Santos, based on reports from the Norwegian local vice-consulate. According to Isachsen, sailors from Norway were some of the most affected by this epidemic.

Finally, one important primary source is the travel diary written by the priest Jonas Crøger, *En Reise til Brasilien og Uruguay. Opphold i disse Lande og en Beskrivelse over dem* (1856). Having heard about a group of Norwegians living in the state of Santa Catarina, he migrated to São Francisco do Sul¹² in 1854. In his account he tells of his migration experience and that of the Norwegian pioneers who arrived in Joinville in 1851: how they lived, the difficulties they had to face because of the climate and vegetation and their relationship with other

¹² São Francisco do Sul was the port of entrance of immigrants in Santa Catarina, corresponding to what Santos is to São Paulo.

German and Swiss colonists. Crøger tries to settle in the Dona Francisca colony, but he does not stay very long. Part of his account is dedicated to presenting conditions in Brazil (natural and social environments), not only in Santa Catarina, but generally. It is not clear if those are based on readings or if he had indeed been to other regions of the country.

All these sources have been valuable not only because of the information they contain on these migrants, but also in pointing to other important sources. They have been especially useful for mapping these migrants' main destinations in Brazil, thus leading to the probable location of Brazilian sources.

3.2 Brazilian sources

The most accessible source on Norwegian immigration in Brazil is the series of historical statistics available on the website of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics¹³ (IBGE), which gives an idea on the size of this migration. These series are taken from the Statistical Yearbooks for 1908-1912, 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939-1940. They include statistics on the entrance and exit of passengers in different ports in Brazil, the number of immigrants who arrived in the country, as well as the number of residents from different nationalities who were granted Brazilian citizenship. Norwegians do figure as an independent group in immigration statistics from the late 1930's, but not in the series from 1908-1912. The opposite trend is observed in the statistics concerning naturalization, where Norwegians figure as a separate category in the Yearbooks of 1908-1912 and 1936. A total of 43 Norwegians were granted Brazilian nationality from 1889-1912, while from 1929 to 1933 there was only one. The following Yearbooks do not inform specific numbers for Norwegians. The 1936 Statistical Yearbook (IBGE) also presents the official number of Norwegian immigrants registered in the country from 1886 to 1835: 594. This figure served as base for the immigration quota the Brazilian government implemented in 1935. Compared to other Scandinavians, this is a very small number. For the same period 4783 Swedish and 2929 Danish migrants were reported. Still, this number might not correspond to the total of Norwegian migrants, an issue that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

¹³ In Portuguese: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística

Primary sources on immigration in Brazil can be found in many different locations in the country and they are not always easily accessible. The first challenge is the size of the country and the difficulties in covering such long geographical distances in the short time available. During my two months researching in Brazil I collected data from different public archives in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Santos, Curitiba and Joinville. Having data from different locations is important because generally these regions received different types of immigrants, with very different backgrounds and goals (Fausto 2006, p.137), Carneiro 1950, p.9-10). These specific places were chosen based on information available from Norwegian sources. In the emigration protocols Rio de Janeiro figures as the most important port of destination in Brazil, appearing in 24% of the entries where the destination is specified. Other declared destinies are: São Paulo/Santos (2%) and Bahia (2%). In 72% of the entries the destination is registered as “Brazil”, with the port of destination unspecified (HULA). There are no references to ports in Southern Brazil in the emigration protocols, but other sources contain evidence of Norwegians in all three Southern states (Fløgstad 1999, Retsö 1999, Nilsen 1996, Crøger 1856). Joinville seems to have received what is probably the largest group of Norwegian immigrants ever to arrive in Brazil, in 1851. In addition, other locations that appear in the sources are Paraná (Curitiba, Paranaguá and Cruz Machado), Rio Grande do Sul (Pelotas and Porto Alegre), as well as Minas Gerais (Ouro Preto and Bicalho¹⁴) (idem). Unfortunately, due to the limited time available for fieldwork it was not possible to visit archives in some of the states mentioned by the Norwegian sources (Bahia, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul). Some information on Norwegian migration in these regions, as well as in Recife, has been collected in the National Archive in Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁴ Could refer to Honório Bicalho, between Ouro Preto and Belo Horizonte

Map 1: Cities visited during fieldwork and cities mentioned in the sources on Norwegian migration to Brazil.



3.2.1 The Brazilian National Archive in Rio de Janeiro

The Brazilian National Archive in Rio de Janeiro¹⁵ probably has the most important and most varied sources about immigration in Brazil. It has an enormous collection of passenger lists from ships that arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro between 1875 and 1964, as well as a few passenger lists and registers from the ports of São Francisco do Sul (1928-1930), Recife (1920-1959), and others¹⁶ (Acervo sobre Estrangeiros, Arquivo Nacional). There is a great variation in the type of data present in these lists. The most complete registers contain name, age, gender, marital state, religion, occupation, nationality, port of origin and destination and class. Some of them have information on whether the person is traveling alone or with others,

¹⁵ Part of the documents about foreigner registration and passenger lists are placed in Brasília's headquarters, (<http://www.arquivonacional.gov.br/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?sid=88>=)

¹⁶ The lists from other ports are mostly from 1940's on, and therefore fall out of the scope of this research. Part of the passenger lists from ships that arrived in Santos are also in the National Archive, but I have chosen to focus on the material from Rio de Janeiro, and to some extent Recife.

(and their relationship), as well as observations on whether the passenger's ticket was subsidized, or the passenger's home address. Some lists contain only part of these categories; others are no more than a piece of paper with a few names on it and no additional information about the migrants. Probably registration was not as rigorous in the late 1800s as it was in the 1920s and 1930s. Gradually the lists become more formalized, following specific templates, although the person filling the lists would not always write down all required information, even in the most recent lists. Some of the data available for Recife port is in record books kept by the maritime police, copied from the information from passenger lists. These records are quite difficult to read. Although they discriminate the number of passengers by nationality, this information comes as a general observation at the end of the list, and it is extremely difficult to identify the nationality of each individual passenger (Attachment 2).

In the National Archive it is possible to find records of naturalization processes, which sometimes can contain detailed personal information, like parents' names, place of birth, marriage and children's birth certificates, statement of criminal records and employment statement. They also contain information about where in the country the person resided (state) and can contain information on how long the person had been living in the country (Attachment 3). According to the Statistical Yearbook of 1908-1912 (IBGE) a total of 43 Norwegians were naturalized Brazilian in the period between 1889 and 1912. Access to these records is more restricted though, and this data is not sorted by nationality, but by the resident's name. I have found the naturalization records of eight Norwegian men: Hans Ludvig Lorentzen (1896), Anton Richard Ludwig Ommundsen (1898), Fredrik Wilhelm Nicolay Engelhart, Albert Olsen and Gerhard Haaland (all in 1903), Ingvar Arthur Kristiansen (1935), Einar Mortensen (1940) and Reidar Ursin Knudsen (1951¹⁷). Of those, only the last three are also found in either the emigration protocols or the Brazilian passenger lists.

Some of the lists from Rio de Janeiro port are available online (SIAN), from June 1875 to August 1894. For this period alone there are about 5,200 lists. It is also possible to consult this material through a database (Base de Dados Entrada de Estrangeiros no Brasil), which allows searches by nationality, year and port of origin, among other criteria. Lists from 1894 to 1928 are available in the computers of the National Archive as digitalized microfilms. The rest of the lists are currently being digitalized, so the material from 1928 onwards is unavailable.

¹⁷ His naturalization happened outside of the research's period of interest, but his migration occurred in 1928.

Still, the amount of lists available for consultation (1875-1928) is incredibly vast, and finding Norwegian immigrants without any previous reference is almost like looking for a needle in a haystack. Therefore I have used the list found in Retsö (1999, p.50-35) as a guideline in the search for microfilms that might contain lists with Norwegian passengers. After finding (or not) the vessels listed in Retsö (1999), I checked the other passenger lists on the same microfilm. I also chose to look at passenger lists from ships arriving directly from Scandinavia, and again, checked the other lists in the same microfilm. Around fifty digital microfilms with passenger lists have been checked, each microfilm containing approximately 60 lists.

The National Archive also has a collection of microfilms with immigrant records from the Ilha das Flores and Pinheiros Immigrant Hotels, or “hospedarias”. The government created these “hospedarias” close to the main ports to lodge newly arrived immigrants and to make it easier for farmers and colonization agents to contact and recruit labor (Jorge, n.d.). As mentioned before, Retsö’s list (1999, p.50-53) is not based on passenger lists, but on the records from one of these “hospedarias”. Some differences become apparent when comparing information from these immigration records and the passenger lists. First, a few of the names given in Retsö’s list are registered as a different nationality on the passenger list. For instance, three Norwegians listed in Retsö’s article appear as Danish on the passenger lists: Hans Hallon, a 35 year old worker arrived on August 13th 1885 on board the ship *Ceará*, from Hamburg; and Elsiné and Karla Petersen, 30 years and 2 months old respectively, arrived on board the *Lissabon* on August 28th 1888. These are not the only cases. The author himself makes a remark in a footnote: “In spite of being grossly misspelled and recorded as Swedes, these names probably refer to Norwegians” (Retsö 1999, p.51, footnote 12), but he does not clarify the reason for this assumption. Second, some passenger lists were not found and might be missing from the National Archive, like the ones for the ships *Ohio* (April 22nd 1890), *GB Lavarello* (October 3rd 1890), *Desterro* (May 26th 1891), thus making it impossible to check the information given by Retsö (1999, p.50-53). Finally, the passenger lists contain many more Norwegians than those found by Retsö (1999). One possible explanation for passenger lists showing more names than the “hospedaria” register is that not all passengers lodged there after arrival, and many chose to go straight to the city of Rio de Janeiro or move on to their next destination.

3.2.2 São Paulo State Archive and the Immigration Museum

São Paulo state was one of the largest immigrant receivers in Brazil (Carneiro 1950, p.9). In the early 1890's the federal government delegated to the provincial states the responsibility of attracting immigrants and São Paulo had the country's most successful state-driven subsidization program to recruit European labor force to its coffee plantations (Petroni 1977, p.97-98). São Paulo had its own Immigrant Hotel, like the one in Ilha das Flores in Rio de Janeiro, created in 1885. The "hospedaria do imigrante" in São Paulo was transformed into the Immigration Museum in 1977, and it holds a huge collection of passenger lists and immigrant registrations, among other documents related to the topic. The Museum was under renovation throughout 2011, and all documents have been temporarily under the care of São Paulo State Archive (Memorial do Imigrante).

In the State Archive I was able to check all microfilms containing passenger lists from vessels moored in the port of Santos from 1930 to 1940. There were approximately sixty microfilms, of which forty-six contained lists with names of Norwegian passengers. The number of lists on each microfilm varies considerably, but on average there are around fifty lists per film. It is not known whether this is the totality of passenger lists for the port of Santos in this period. In the National Archive in Rio de Janeiro there are also passenger lists from the port of Santos, and it is not clear whether the lists in Rio are copies of the ones found in São Paulo Archive, or if they are complementary – which is probably the case. The reason for this material being divided between several archives might be changes in who had control over immigration policies: the federal or state government¹⁸ (Petroni 1977, p.97).

The passenger lists from Santos port usually contain detailed information about passengers: name, gender, civil status, the class the passenger was traveling in, occupation, age, port of origin and destination, name of the company operating the line, religion, last place of residence and sometimes included the passenger's address in Brazil, passport number and the place where it was issued. Some lists are only partially filled, like the lists found in the National Archive.

Besides passenger lists, Norwegians were also found in the records of the "hospedaria" (twenty-four in total), and this data has also been registered in the HULA database (HULA).

¹⁸ The first change occurred with the First Republic (1890), as previously mentioned. In the 1930's immigration went back to federal government control.

It can be challenging to “decipher” some of the names found in the Brazilian records. Names are sometimes misspelled, and often the person who was registering the passengers simply “translated” their foreign-sounding name to a Portuguese-friendly “version” of it. This can be seen in the passenger lists, but also among the names of the Norwegians registered in the Hospedaria do Imigrante in São Paulo. One of the migrants is registered as “Thorrab” Hansen¹⁹, which could refer to the name Thorvald. However, another migrant was registered as “João Mamicio”²⁰, which is nothing close to a Norwegian name. It is also possible that the migrant himself adopted a different name to make communication easier.

3.2.3 Fundação Arquivo e História de Santos

Santos was an important city in the context of Norwegian migration in Brazil, and not only as São Paulo’s port of access. Because of its role as an important commercial port, much of the Norwegian immigration in the city of Santos is linked to coffee exportation and other maritime activities that took place in Santos.

The Historical Archive in Santos has a collection of cemetery books from 1865 to 1930 in which many Norwegians appear, especially during the yellow fever epidemics of the early 1890’s. Many of the names found in those books correspond to the list given in Isachsen (1937, p.70-71). Isachsen’s list is limited to the years of 1891 and 1892, and therefore has fewer names than those found in the cemetery records. Most of the Norwegians found in the cemetery books in Santos were indeed sailors who died of yellow fever. In the Archive it is also possible to find some records from the Almeida Moraes infirmary, which was created especially to care for those affected by yellow fever during the great epidemics. There were at least 3 other cemetery books that could not be consulted due to the material’s poor conservation.

3.2.4 Paraná State Archive in Curitiba and the Alfredo Andersen Museum

Norwegian sources indicate that some migrants went to Paraná (Nilsen 1996, Retsö 1999), which was also an important immigrant-receiving state in Brazil. The State Archive in

¹⁹ Registered on November 30th 1908; Reference id. 13533, HULA.

²⁰ Registered on July 25th 1910. Reference id. 13535, HULA.

Curitiba has the passenger lists for Paranaguá port for the periods 1876-1879 and 1885-1896, as well as registers from the local “hospedaria”, and Paraná colonies’ logs. These are books where local authorities registered the immigrants who joined the colony and their assigned plot. Part of the information from these records is accessible through an online database (Registro de Imigrantes). This database is not complete, though, as informed on the webpage. At the Paraná State Archive I had access to some digitalized microfilms with immigrant registers dating between 1888 and 1892. Unfortunately, there are no names registered as Norwegians either in the online database or on the microfilms. However most of the Norwegians who supposedly migrated to Paraná arrived after 1908 and these records are not in the State Archive.

There is at least one inconsistency when comparing information given in Retsö (1999) and the local records. On Retsö’s (1999, p.50-51) list there is a group of 5 young workers who arrived in Rio de Janeiro on April 22nd 1890 in the ship *Ohio*, coming from Bremen, and who left for Curitiba a few days later. The *Ohio*’s passenger list is not in the National Archive’s collection, and the names given by Retsö are not in its database either (Base de Dados Entrada de Estrangeiros no Brasil). However, these names are found in immigrant registers in Paraná, but they are listed as Swedish. This case illustrates some recurrent issues with immigrant registrations, which make it difficult to identify Norwegians and to know exactly how many have migrated. It was actually not uncommon for people to be registered with nationalities other than their own (Seyferth 2003, p.229-230). This could be either the result of the ongoing political changes in Europe, or a simple mistake on the part of the person who registered these immigrants in Brazil. In the Archive’s database (Registro de Imigrantes) it is possible to find people with typical Scandinavian names registered as Polish, for example (Johan Andersen, who arrived in 1890 and Peter Hansen, who arrived in 1886). Besides, until 1905 Norway and Sweden were united kingdoms, which makes it even more plausible that some Norwegian migrants might actually have been registered as Swedish. However, there was more migration from Sweden to Brazil than from Norway (IBGE), so any assumption of mistaken nationality in the registers has to be carefully considered. Unfortunately the immigrant records from Paraná State Archive do not specify the city or region where these immigrants came from.

In spite of the fact that no Norwegians were found in the immigration records in Paraná, there has been at least one known case of a Norwegian migrant in Curitiba; the painter Alfredo Andersen, considered the “father of painting in Paraná” (Horn in Ferreira 2001, p.16). The

Alfredo Andersen Museum has published a book, *2001 Andersen returns to Norway*²¹, which contains some information about his migration to South America. Andersen arrived in Paranaguá, Paraná in 1892, on board of a ship “whose captain was his father” (Ferreira 2001, 60). According to information given by Solange Rocha from the Paraná State Archive²² he arrived in Brazil on a private owned boat. Migrating to Brazil was not his initial plan; his destination was actually Buenos Aires. A severe storm left the ship in bad condition and they were forced to moor in Paranaguá (Ferreira 2001, p.60). In the end Andersen settled in the city. He lived there until 1902, when he moved to Paraná’s capital Curitiba. According to the book Andersen had been to other Latin American countries before, Brazil included, in 1891.

3.2.5 Joinville Historical Archive

Considering all the sources available so far, it becomes clear that Joinville received the first and largest group of Norwegian migrants. They arrived in 1851 at the Dona Francisca colony, together with large groups of German and Swiss colonists. The local Historical Archive holds many documents related to the colonization of and immigration in that region. Unfortunately, several important primary sources were not accessible. Passenger lists and colony records were in a very delicate condition and it was not possible to consult this material directly. The Archive also has a large collection of the newspaper *Kolonie Zeitung*, written by and for the immigrant community in Joinville and Blumenau, but part of this material is currently unavailable to the public due to contamination with DDT²³. Finally, this material is almost exclusively in German, which would have made it difficult for me to read.

Luckily the data is available through secondary sources, mainly the publication *Joinville, os Pioneiros. Documento e História* (Böbel and Thiago 2001 and 2005). These volumes are the result of an extensive study of the Joinville Historical Archive’s material, conducted by its former translator, Maria Thereza Böbel. She has compiled and transcribed all the passenger lists from vessels arriving in São Francisco do Sul²⁴ between 1851 and 1881. The lists usually contain the name, age, occupation, city and country of origin and religion of each passenger.

²¹ A copy of the book was kindly given to me by the museum’s director, mr. Roland Simon.

²² Personal email

²³ Personal email from Mateus Carle, employee at Joinville Historical Archive.

²⁴ São Francisco do Sul was the nearest port to the colony Dona Francisca.

Böbel has added other information about certain passengers, like who they married, the date and place of death, or the date on which they left the colony. These pieces of information were taken from other primary sources, like the Immigration log (*Einwanderungs-Journal*) kept by the director of the colony, the immigrant's newspaper *Kolonie Zeitung*, as well as the German emigration journal *Allgemeine Auswanderung-Zeitung* (2001, p.13-14). She has also included some translated articles from the *Kolonie Zeitung* that, according to her, illustrate life in the colony well. Part of the data from these volumes, notably the passenger lists between 1851 and 1902, are also available online (Acervos, Arquivo Histórico de Joinville).

A total of sixty-nine Norwegians were found by Böbel and Thiago (2001 and 2005). The first group of Norwegians, sixty immigrants, arrived in March 1851 (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.57-59). A few years later, in 1854, the priest Jonas Crøger arrived on board the vessel *Florentin* (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.172). Another seven Norwegians arrived in the colony in 1868 on the ship *Victoria*, a family of five and a single 26 year-old woman. There are some dubious registrations that could possibly be of Norwegian immigrants. A family of four who arrived in 1860, on board the *Louise Frederike* (p.316) are registered with the city and country of origin as "Norwegia, North America" respectively. Unfortunately there is no additional information to confirm these immigrants' origin, and a more careful analysis is needed to find out whether these are actually Norwegian immigrants. Another unclear case is that of Peter Gustav Pettersen, one of the members of the pioneer group. According to the immigration records he came from Norway, but an observation added by the authors indicate that he might have been Swedish (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.58). It is possible that, since he migrated with other Norwegians, he was registered as Norwegian upon arrival.

The book *A Colônia Dona Francisca no Sul do Brasil*²⁵ (1999), written in 1853 by a Prussian military who came to the colony a few months after the first Norwegians, is a good source on Joinville's history in general. It has a lot of information about conditions in the Colony in its first years, including some information on the Norwegians specifically, how the pioneer groups lived and organized themselves and includes some illustrations. It adds to Crøger's (1856) reports and it is useful not only to have a general idea of the environment in the Colony, but also the Norwegians' roles in that community and their relationship with other immigrants from different nationalities.

²⁵ Original title: *Die Colonie Dona Francisca in Süd Brasilien. Beiträge zur Cronik derselben, in Verbindung mit anderen Notizen und mehr als funfzig gravirten Abbildungen von Pflanzen, Maschinen, Ansiedelungen u.*

A primary source available in the Joinville Historical Archive is the deceased-register from the Evangelical cemetery, which has some complementary information to that found in Böbel and Thiago (2001, 2005), like cause of death, the town where the person was born, address, names of the deceased's parents, spouse and children. Some observations should be made about some differences between data found in Böbel and Thiago (2001, 2005) and in the burial records. According to Böbel and Thiago (2001, p.57-59), fourteen out of the sixty-one men from the pioneer group died in Joinville, but only five of them are also found in the cemetery records. It is possible that some of them were only registered in the Immigration log because the cemetery's own registries had not started yet. Burial records start in December 1851, and six of the Norwegian pioneers had actually died before October of the same year. There are still three names that are not found in the cemetery books in spite of Böbel and Thiago's (2001) information: Lauretz Flotten, deceased 10.02.1852; Cornelius Kraaböl, deceased 06.10.1883 and Hans Peter Hansen, deceased in 1911. It is not clear if this information is also taken from the Immigration log or if it comes from another source. One name is found in the burial records but not on any passenger list in Böbel and Thiago (2001, 2005): August Carotens Wickström Görresen, deceased in 1867 at the age of 24. He was actually the brother of one of the pioneers and arrived around 1860²⁶.

Some pictures and illustrations were collected in the Historical Archive, especially images of the colony in its first years, and showing among others the house of one of the Norwegian colonists (Attachment 4). Finally, the Archive holds some personal material donated by the families of the migrants, like a personal account written by Rodolpho J. Olsen, and a collection of 46 pictures belonging to the family of Ulrik Ulriksen (Attachment 5). Rodolpho Olsen was the grandson of one of the Norwegian colonists who stayed in Joinville, Gjert Olsen, and this account is based on stories told by the author's father, Bernardo Olsen, and uncle, Adolfo Olsen. It contains some information about the Norwegians' journey from Norway to the colony, stories of how they lived in the colony and what happened to the family afterwards. The collection of pictures includes mostly personal portraits of Ulriksen as well as pictures that were sent to him by friends and relatives from Norway.

²⁶ Information available thanks to a list kindly provided by Jostein Molde.

3.3 Database on Norwegian Migration to Latin America - HULA

As mentioned in chapter 1, one of the goals of the project *Desired immigrants - Frustrated Adventurers? Norwegians in Latin America, 1820 – 1940* is to construct a database with as much information possible about Norwegians who migrated to that continent (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.115). Part of the data mentioned herein has already been registered in the project's database, *Historisk register over norske utvandring til Latin-Amerika* (HULA): the Norwegian emigration protocols (EMIPRO), passenger lists collected in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the Norwegian migrants registered in the Immigration hotel in São Paulo, the cemetery registries from Santos and the Norwegian migrants registered in Böbel and Thiago (2001 and 2005). Data from other sources are still being registered and will be added to the database in the near future.

Other valuable sources registered in the HULA-database also contain information about Norwegian migrants in Brazil. The records on immigration control in Argentina, from the Center of Latin American Migration Studies (CEMLA, HULA), has 318 entries of Norwegians who arrived in Buenos Aires from Rio de Janeiro from 1887 to 1940. These records can contain a variety of personal information on migrants (name, age, profession, civil status, religion, reason for migration), but also about the voyage (name of the vessel, date of arrival, class travelled in). The CEMLA lists are important sources to study the flux of migration between these two South American countries, what kind of migrants move, when and why.

From HULA it is also possible to consult lists of Norwegian sailors who signed on or off in Latin American ports. These lists are based on information from the databases “Ships and Seafarers of Atlantic Canada”, created for the research project conducted at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, the *Atlantic Canada Shipping Project* (“Maritime History Archive”). They contain a variety of information: name of the ship, date of the trip, sailor's name and rank, the port where he signed on and off, how much he was paid, as well as the reason why (ex. deserted, sick or finished contract). This is a valuable source of information on the group of fugitive sailors, although, as it concerns Norwegians in Latin America, it is far from complete.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

A great amount of data has been collected so far both in Norway and in Brazil, and we are still finding new material. The project *Desired immigrants - Frustrated Adventurers? Norwegians in Latin America, 1820 – 1940* has received several personal contributions from relatives of migrants, which enriches even further our database and will certainly be useful for future researchers interested on the theme, but unfortunately not all material could not be included in this thesis.

There is also a lot of material to be consulted, especially in Brazilian archives. The amount of passenger lists consulted from both Rio de Janeiro and Santos was very small compared to the archives' collections. The National Archive in Brasília also holds a collection of passenger records from ports in the Northern and Northeastern regions and that material needs to be consulted as well. Besides from passenger lists, it would be interesting to collect the primary sources of population censuses, especially in the regions where Norwegians were concentrated. Finally, it is extremely important to collect more qualitative data from sources such as letters, travel diaries and personal accounts that can give a more in-depth portrayal of these migrants'

4 Norwegian Migration to Brazil

The main focus of this chapter is to present a general picture of Norwegian migration to Brazil before 1940, based on the material collected and the sources available. This is only the first step towards writing the history of this migration and its actors. As it has been said, there is very limited literature on the subject, and that has been one of the biggest challenges of this research. Also, as in any migration study, there are issues related to how reliable or complete some of the sources are, and difficulties in collecting more data within the time limit of the research. However, many interesting observations can be made based on the material available, making it possible to draw a picture of the general characteristics of this group.

The first part concentrates on the overall size of this migration and the divergences observed between Norwegian and Latin American records, continuing the discussion initiated by Pedersen (2010) and Sæther and Østrem (2011). The second part focuses on the migration flow over time, looking at the periods where the migration flow increases and what factors can explain these variations. The third part deals with geographic mobility: which routes did they use on their journey south? Did they migrate directly from Norway or was Brazil their second or third destination? Were Norwegians concentrated in a specific area or were they spread across Brazil? Finally, the fourth section will present some general characteristics of these migrants, such as whether they migrated individually, with their families or even in groups, what kind of jobs they had and which class they probably belonged to. Do they really correspond to the image of the “adventurer” given by Fløgstad (1999) or were they just like any other migrant who came to Brazil during the mass migration period?

4.1 Overall Size

It is not known for sure how many Norwegians migrated to Brazil in the period from 1820 to 1940. Sæther and Østrem have estimated between 600 and 1000 Norwegians, based on the material available to the authors at the time (2011, p.126). Some of the main sources used by the researchers to calculate the migration flow to Brazil were the Norwegian emigration protocols registered on the project’s database (HULA), data from the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics, available online (IBGE), estimates of fugitive sailors that deserted in Brazilian ports, as well as a list of Norwegians registered in the Hospedaria do Imigrante in São Paulo. These are still important sources, but since then I have collected important new

data, especially from passenger lists in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The new data raise questions about Sæther and Østrem's estimated number of migrants and possible explanations for the discrepancies between official Norwegian emigration and Brazilian immigration records.

First I will discuss the estimates presented by Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.126) based on official emigration records and Brazilian official statistics. I will then introduce data from passenger lists collected in Rio de Janeiro and show how this new available information could confirm certain hypothesis or bring new perspectives to this discussion. I will focus mainly on the period that is covered by both sources, namely 1891-1928, though I will also present some numbers from the same sources, but outside of this time range. After this discussion I will present complementary numbers taken from other sources of other groups or individuals that we know for sure have migrated to Brazil but that are not included in the official counts, which can contribute to obtain a better estimate of the total of Norwegians migrants in Brazil from 1820 to 1940.

4.1.1 Norwegian and Brazilian Numbers Revised

As Sæther and Østrem point out, “[t]he emigration protocols, EMIPRO, are the easiest accessible source of information about Norwegian emigrants to Latin America” (2011, p.116), and it works as a natural starting point to discuss the total size of this migration group. This source gives some very important details behind the numbers, such as the names of the passengers, their age or date of birth, and place of residence. Norwegian emigration protocols are considered to be highly reliable (Stang 1976, p.296). Analyzing the entries of Norwegians who declared a Brazilian port as destination, and excluding the cases of double registry²⁷ and passengers that have traveled more than once²⁸, a total of 120 Norwegian emigrants are registered in the emigration protocols during the period that goes from 1891 and 1930. Previous studies indicate though that these protocols give a very low estimate of the real number of migrants to Latin America (Stang 1976, p.296 and Sæther and Østrem 2011,

²⁷ Aslaug Sigmund (id. 14140 and id. 14141); and Sven Harald Sigmund (id.14142 and id. 14143). Both registries have the same information (HULA, online).

²⁸ Berit Fretheim and Gudrun Fretheim departed first on October 8th 1921, then again on July 12th 1924; Ingeborg Thurmann Nielsen and Kaare Thurmann Nielsen departed first on February 19th 1926, and the second time on January 06th 1929.

p.126). Though the information given about passengers is largely accurate, many travelers do not appear in these emigration protocols. As mentioned previously, not all vessels were required to register their passengers, only those with more than 20. Passengers who travelled as crewmembers, “work-your-ways”, are also left out the emigration records in Norway, as well as deserted sailors (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.127). Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.122) also observe that the “1869 emigration law required only overseas migrants to register”, meaning that possibly passengers who travelled to Latin America though other European ports first were not registered in the emigration records either.

To show that the EMIPRO records are indeed defective in relation to the size of the overall Norwegian migration to Brazil, Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.126) contrasted the Norwegian source with the aggregated data published by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics. One of the figures is taken from the calculations of immigration quota for 1936, published in the Statistical Yearbook from the same year. Aiming at a more restrictive policy, the Brazilian government implemented quotas on all national groups in 1936, which were calculated based on the number of individuals from each nationality who immigrated to Brazil from 1886 to 1935. According to this source the total figure for Norwegian immigrants to this period is 594, which is almost five times the number of emigrants registered in Norwegian protocols. Sæther and Østrem observe that it is not clear whether this figure refers to all passengers registered in Brazil during this period, regardless of their condition, or if it refers to those who were officially seen as immigrants by the Brazilian authorities (2011, p.126). As mentioned in chapter 2, the number of official immigrants was sometimes much smaller than the actual number of passengers arriving in Brazil.

It is possible to clarify this issue comparing IBGE figures with those found in Carneiro (1950, p.61), which correspond to the number of official immigrants. There is indeed a strong correlation between Carneiro’s (1950) and the figures provided by the 1936 Statistical Yearbook (IBGE) as the basis for immigration quotas. Adding the numbers of German immigrants in Carneiro’s table from each year between 1886 and 1935, the result is 156,291, only 404 more than the figure in the IBGE document. The same trend is observed in the figures of other national groups, both large and small. For Swedish nationals, for example, the Statistical Yearbook shows a total of 4,783 immigrants, which is very close to the sum of the year-by-year data available (Carneiro 1950, p.61): 4,736. This clearly shows that quotas were

calculated based on the number of “official immigrants” from 1885-1935, and not the total of passengers who arrive during that period.

The available year-by-year-data for Swedish migration (IBGE and Carneiro 1950, p.61) reveal though that in some years the number of passengers and “official immigrants” do correspond. This contrasts with the trend seen in larger migration groups, as shown in chapter 2 with Germans.

Table 2: Number of Swedish Passengers Registered in Brazilian Ports Compared to the Official Number of Swedish Immigrants 1910-1912 and 1935-1939

Sources: Statistical Yearbooks 1908-1912, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939-1940 (IBGE) and Carneiro (1950)

Data on Swedish passengers and Swedish immigrants entering Brazil			
Year	Statistical Yearbooks, IBGE		Carneiro (1950)
	Total of passengers entering Brazil	Declared Immigrants	Number of immigrants
1908	*	19	19
1909	*	35	35
1910	424	424	424
1911	2,061	1,116	1,110
1912	59	59	59
...
1935	92	9	9
1936	71	3	3
1937	74	55**	55
1938	102	16	16
1939	65	20	20

* Data not available.

** Not sorted according to immigrant or non-immigrant status, but according to passenger class. Number of passengers arrived in other than 1st class.

With the exception of 1911, the number of passengers and “official immigrants” are exactly the same for the Swedish immigrants. Carneiro (1950) does not present figures for Danish immigrants, but looking at the Statistical Yearbooks (IBGE), the numbers of registered passengers and official immigrants are equivalent in 1910 (14 for both figures), 1911 (65 official immigrants and 66 registered passengers) and 1912 (56 for both figures). The same observation can be made in relation to other small groups (Belgians, Greeks, Dutch and Serbs). This shows that, in the early years, the number of “official immigrants” may refer to the total of passengers, and this is probably the case for Norwegians as well. For the years 1935-1939, on the other hand, the difference between the two figures is noteworthy.

Table 3: Numbers of Norwegian Passengers Registered in Brazilian Ports Compared to the Official Number of Norwegian Immigrants 1936-1939

Source: Statistical Yearbooks 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939-1940 (IBGE)

Year	Number of registered passengers	Number of "official immigrants"
1935	66	5
1936	43	0
1937	54	16*
1938	44	6
1939	36	15

* Not sorted according to immigrant or non-immigrant status, but according to passenger class. Number of passengers arrived in other than 1st class.

The analysis of other migration groups shows that immigration quotas were based on the number of official immigrants, and not the total of passengers arrived in the country. From 1935 onwards Brazilian immigration authorities make a distinction between passengers who are staying permanently or temporarily in the country (Federal Decree Number 24258, 1st session, May 16th 1934). Before that existing legislation stated that immigrants were all passengers who arrived in 3rd class. As discussed in chapter 2, such legislation set the framework for official registration. If we also wish to include migrants who fall out of these definitions (and therefore official registration), the figure of 594 Norwegian immigrants between 1885-1935 needs to be revised as it is also an underestimation. Given the trends observed for other Scandinavian groups and available data for Norwegians, it is possible that official numbers for the early 1900s and 1910s actually do correspond to the total number of migrants. Data from passenger lists collected in Rio de Janeiro show that no 1st or 2nd class Norwegian passengers were registered before 1915. However, from the 1920s onwards passenger records show a considerable number of 1st and 2nd class passengers arriving from Norway. These passengers are not going to be registered in official statistics, but they are also part of this migration group. This preliminary analysis shows that it is important to look at official numbers critically and carefully. It is definitely necessary to examine thoroughly the primary sources behind these numbers in order to build a more precise estimate of the total group.

4.1.2 Discrepancies Between EMIPRO and Brazilian Passenger Records

The previous section focused on aggregate numbers. Based on the information from passengers and immigrant records in Rio de Janeiro collected so far, it is possible to better understand the differences between Norwegian and Brazilian numbers, and also to put some of the explanations presented by Pedersen (2010) and Sæther and Østrem (2011) to the test.

Data discussed in this section is taken from passenger lists from 1886 to 1928. Unfortunately it was not possible to consult all the existing lists from this period. Two references were used as a starting point in data collection in Rio de Janeiro: a list of Norwegian immigrants found in Retsö (1999, p.50-53) as well as a guide provided by the National Archive with the names of the vessels, their port of origin and their microfilm reference. I have consulted the microfilms that contained the ships indicated by Retsö (1999) or vessels coming from a Scandinavian port. In spite of time gaps in the series, the number of Norwegian passengers found in the few lists that have been consulted already greatly surpasses the number of passengers registered in the Norwegian emigration protocols with a Brazilian destination. Excluding from the analysis the double entries of passengers who traveled to Brazil for the 2nd or 3rd time, a total of 329 Norwegians arrived in Rio de Janeiro in the period from 1886-1928, having this city or another place in Brazil as final destination. An additional 31 Norwegians were registered in Rio but continued their journey to Buenos Aires. This number is at least closer to the 594 given by Brazilian statistics than the 120 given by Norwegian emigration protocols.

In order to properly compare both records, only the entries recorded between 1891-1928 from both Norwegian and Brazilian sources should be taken into consideration. The result is that the number of Norwegians registered upon arrival in Rio de Janeiro, 306, is almost 3 times the number of emigrants registered in Norway for the same period, of 105 emigrants. This is a significant difference, similar to what Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.119) observed in relation to Argentine immigration records and EMIPRO. The difference is even more impressive given the fact that there are still many more passenger lists to be consulted at the National Archive both from Rio de Janeiro and from other ports.

When comparing EMIPRO and CEMLA lists for Argentina, Sæther and Østrem (2011) discuss a few hypotheses that could explain differences between the number of passengers

found in those two sources, and some of them can also be used to discuss the Brazilian case. The first hypothesis is that “many Norwegians arrived (...) after having emigrated elsewhere first”, in which case one would expect a high correlation between names found in EMIPRO and passengers registered in Brazil coming from Norwegian ports. The percentage of these passengers in Brazilian lists is higher (109, approximately 33%) than what Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.119) found for Argentina (14,14%). However, this is probably because one of the criteria for data collection in Rio was to look first for ships coming from Scandinavian ports, while checking other lists from the same microfilm. Even so the majority of Norwegian migrants declared other European ports as their port of origin (142). On the other hand, out of 109 passengers who arrived in Brazil having departed from Norway, only 2 are found in EMIPRO records as well. Another 34 passengers found in port records in Rio de Janeiro were also registered in emigrant protocols; however they come from Hamburg, Bremen, Liverpool, Southampton, Helsinki or Amsterdam. It is possible to find a small number of migrants (4) who do appear in both lists, but in very different years, which indicates that some have migrated more than once between Norway and Brazil. Also in passenger lists from Rio there are a few entries of migrants who had already been in Brazil at least once (about 15 passengers). This number is not impressive, but it is possible that many Norwegians moved more than once to Brazil during this period.

Similar to what has been observed for Argentina, it seems the discrepancy between Norwegian and Brazilian records cannot be attributed to the fact that Norwegians migrated somewhere else first (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.119). Analyzing more closely the names that appear in both lists, I have found one particular case that reveals yet another flaw in Norwegian emigration records, raising even more questions about the reliability of this source. According to passenger lists from the National Archive, a group of 35 Norwegians arrived in Rio de Janeiro on May 13th 1923 on board of the vessel Caxias, coming from Hamburg, Germany. Only a few members of this group (9) are also registered in Norwegian emigration protocols²⁹. If they traveled together, it is not clear why some migrants were registered and others not. For example, in Brazil there are entries of 12 “Abrahamsen”³⁰, a couple and twelve children, probably a family. Only the oldest male, Frithjof Abrahamsen (id.

²⁹ According to the Norwegian emigration protocol these passengers left Norway on April 7th 1923. HULA id. reference from 19674 to 19683 (HULA)

³⁰ Some of the names are spelled “Abrahausen” and “Abrahansen”, but this seems to be a case of misspelling.

19683, HULA), is registered in the emigration protocols. It is possible that passengers who do not appear in EMIPRO records did not departure directly from Norway together with those who were recorded. They could have traveled before, being in Germany prior to their journey to Brazil. It is not very likely, though. In the book *Canada-feber, utvandring fra Rjukan 1923-1927*, about Norwegian emigrants from Rjukan, Tom Nilsen (1996, p.97) gives a description of this group:

The Brazilian expedition left from Rjukan on April 4th 1923. They were 35 emigrants in total. There were 19 adults, from which 9 were single. There were 4 families with 16 children in total, but some of the children were over 16 years old. Their journey started in Hamburg on April 14th, on board of the Brazilian boat Caxias, and the emigrants arrived in Brazil 26 days later.³¹

If this group did travel together, it is odd that some of them are not registered in EMIPRO records. Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.122) say that according to Norwegian law only transatlantic migrants needed to notify authorities about their emigration, which could explain why migrants traveling with passenger liners from Germany or England are not registered in Norway. If that was the case, though, none of the passengers from the Rjukan-group should have appeared on EMIPRO records. It is also interesting to observe that some Norwegian emigration protocol records also contain additional information about the route taken by the migrant. For example, according to those records Kristian Enoksen Holden emigrated from Trondheim on June 6th 1923, but an observation indicates: “Via Hamburg”. These observations are found in other 37 entries from EMIPRO records, showing one or more possible stops (for example: “Via Bergen and England”, or “Via Sweden/Germany/England”; HULA). This contrasts again with Sæther and Østrem’s (2011) hypothesis that only passengers traveling to non-European ports were required to register.

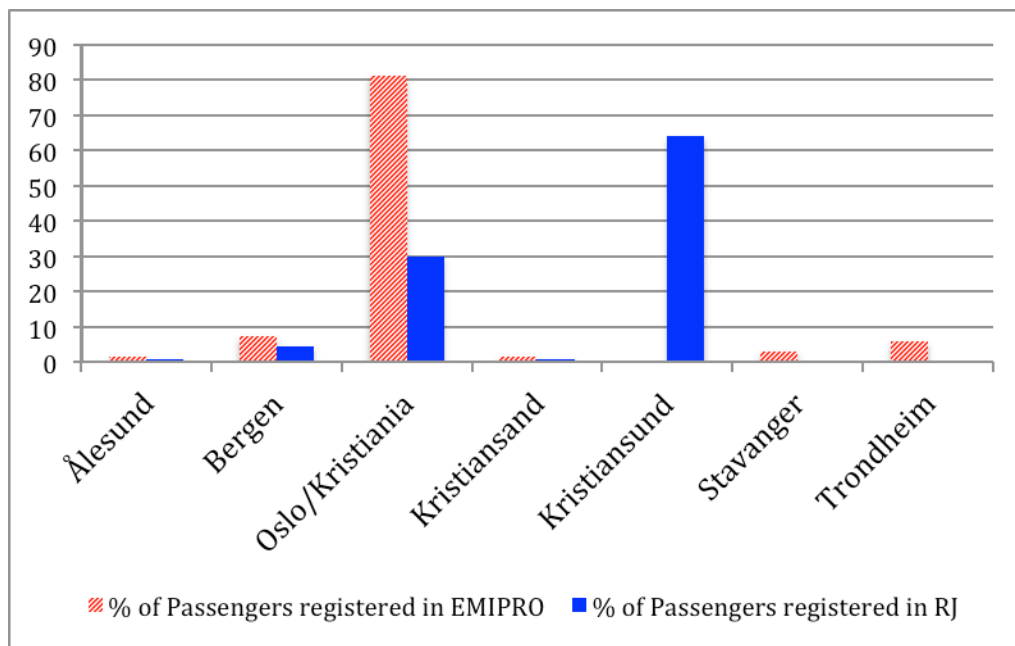
Another hypothesis discussed in previous studies (Stang 1976, Pedersen 2010 and Sæther and Østrem 2011) to explain the differences between Norwegian and Argentine records is that “many (...) of the Norwegian immigrants (...) arrived on cargo vessels with less than 20 passengers” (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.120) and therefore were not required to register in the emigration protocols. Data from passenger records from Rio de Janeiro supports this hypothesis. Analyzing only passengers who traveled directly from Norwegian ports, it is

³¹ My own translation. In Norwegian: “Brasil-ekspedisjonen reiste fra Rjukan 4. april 1923. De var i alt 35 emigranter. 19 var voksne, og av dem var ni ungarer. Det var fire familier med i alt 16 barn, men noen av barna var over 16 år. Reisa gikk fra Hamburg 14. april med den brasilianske båten Caxias, og emigrantene var framme i Brasil etter 26 dager”

possible to see significant disparity between Norwegian and Brazilian entries concerning the importance of different Norwegian ports of departure for this migration.

Graph 1: Comparative Chart of Norwegian Ports of Departure

Source: Norwegian emigration protocols (EMIPRO) (1891-1928) and passenger records in Rio de Janeiro (1891-1928)



In EMIPRO records, over 80% of Norwegians who migrated to Brazil left from Oslo/Kristiania. Oslo still figures as an important place of origin for those migrants registered in Brazil, but the majority of those arriving from a Norwegian port actually come from Kristiansund. The difference is staggering. A similar trend is observed for Norwegian migration to Argentina. While EMIPRO has only two entries of Norwegians departing from Kristiansund, 191 migrants are registered as coming from that port in immigration records in Buenos Aires (Immigrantkontroll i Buenos Aires 1882-1940, CEMLA in HULA). Of those migrants who arrive in Rio de Janeiro from Kristiansund, all come on board of one of following cargo vessels: Para, Salta, Crux, Cometa, Lista, Bayard and Estrella³² (Sæther and Østrem 2011, p.120.121). Part of the discrepancy between Brazilian and Norwegian records can be attributed to the fact that many migrants arrived in Brazil with cargo vessels, and those

³² Bayard and Estrella are not mentioned by Sæther and Østrem, but information from www.theshiplists.com indicates that they belonged to Fred Olsen Line and Bergen Steamship Company respectively.

passengers are less likely to be registered by emigration authorities in Norway. There are only two cases of passengers traveling with cargo ships (Cometa and Laura Skogland) who figure in both Brazilian passenger lists and emigration protocols. According to emigration protocols both passengers left to Brazil from Oslo. Meanwhile, on Brazilian records Alf Münther Anker Lönn³³ is registered as having departed from Oslo and Gunnar Holmsen³⁴ from Kristiansund. Holmsen's EMIPRO record shows, however, that he resided in Bærum, suggesting that he probably left from Oslo and not Kristiansund. This last case suggests that registration in Brazil refers to the last port the vessel stopped by, but not necessarily the port where the migrants embarked. That can explain why Kristiansund appears as an important port of departure in Brazilian registrations, but not in Norwegian emigration protocols. It is still possible that some migrants did depart from that port, but it was probably less important than what is shown on Graph 1. It should also be noted that at least 50 passengers from Norwegian cargo vessels are registered as 1st class passengers in Brazil. Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.127) suggest that possibly these cargo vessels had "high-quality passenger facilities" thus explaining why they are registered as 1st class, but that this denomination is not accurate. Nevertheless, those passengers were unlikely to be registered as emigrants in Norway and they were not considered immigrants by the Brazilian authorities either, thus not being included in official Brazilian statistics.

There is no doubt that Norwegian figures concerning emigration to Brazil are seriously flawed. However, in order to reach a better estimate of the total number of Norwegian migrants for the entire period of this research it is necessary to include other sources and more data. Even if the figure of 594 immigrants provided by Brazilian statistics is correct, it only includes the period from 1886-1935, and probably includes only 3rd class passengers. There are still thousands of passenger lists that should be consulted and included in the database. Careful analysis of those lists in addition to other data will help researchers to better understand emigration and immigration registrations and give an even more accurate idea of the figures behind the statistics.

³³ Id. 16979 (HULA). In EMIPRO his name is spelled Alf Munther Anker Lønn (id. 14240, HULA)

³⁴ Id 17068 (HULA). In EMIPRO, Gunnar Vilhelm Holmsen (id. 14234, HULA).

4.1.3 Additional Figures

It is also clear that, as Sæther and Østrem (2011 p.131) point out, “[n]o emigration list, list of immigrants, census, address book etc, is in itself complete”. As for Argentina, some groups who have migrated to Brazil have not been registered by official emigration and immigration records, and therefore do not appear in official statistics (Pedersen 2010, p.45). Some of them have already been mentioned, such as passengers who traveled as crewmembers and fugitive sailors. There are still too few historical accounts available with information about Norwegians traveling as crewmembers to Brazil, so it is still not possible to estimate how important this group actually was.

The HULA database contains at least 96 registers of sailors who abandoned ship on a Brazilian port during the period from 1869 and 1910, and 104 who deserted somewhere else after having joined ship in Brazil (Ships and Seafarers in Atlantic Canada, HULA). This source is by no means complete and does not show the total number of fugitive sailors for the entire period. However it is an indication of the presence of Norwegian sailors in Brazil. Another indication is the high number of Norwegian sailors found in cemetery records in Santos (HULA). In the period that goes from 1870 to 1924 there are about 300 Norwegians registered in such records. It is possible to find information about the migrant’s profession in only 166 of these registers, and the vast majority were indeed sailors (162, while four others were registered as laborers³⁵). However, according to historians at the Historical Archive in Santos, it is very likely that others who did not have a declared profession were sailors as well. Most of Norwegians buried in Santos (67%) died between 1889 and 1892 during the yellow fever epidemic. According to Isachsen (1937, p.70-71), the Norwegians were among the most affected by this epidemic, possibly because their presence was also significant in relation to sailors of other nationalities. Stang states that Scandinavia and Latin America have had regular maritime links from the 1830s onwards and such links increased substantially in the second half of the 19th century (1976, p.312). Even though the figures from sources available so far are not enough to estimate more precisely the number sailors, they show that there was an important flow of Norwegian sailors into the area. Still, this is a subject that needs further investigation.

³⁵ Two were registered as ”trabalhador” (laborer) and two as ”jornaleiro” (worker paid by the day).

There are at least two known cases of Norwegians who arrived in Brazil in their own private sailing boats. One was Edvard Sørensen, who migrated to South Brazil at some point between 1864 and 1867³⁶. Another Norwegian migrant who might have arrived in a private boat was the painter Alfredo Andersen, according to information given by the Public Archive in Paraná³⁷. Those migrants are probably not going to be found in either emigration or immigration lists. It is not known if there are more cases like the two above, but this is a possibility. Nevertheless, such cases are unlikely to represent a very large group among Norwegian migrants.

Perhaps the most important cases that should be added to the overall count are all the Norwegian migrants found in Joinville. They all arrived in Brazil before 1886 and therefore are not found on passenger lists or official statistics previously discussed. The best-documented group of Norwegian migrants in Brazil is the group of aspiring gold-diggers who arrived in 1851. According to available sources they were also the first and largest Norwegian group ever to migrate to Brazil. They were part of an expedition that left Trondheim on October 1850 heading towards California on board of the vessel *Sophie*. The ship arrived in Rio de Janeiro on January 1851 and because of its poor conditions it was not allowed to continue its journey. It is not absolutely clear how many migrants took part in this expedition, but there were between 100 and 120 passengers on board of *Sophie* (Havik 1985, p.28, Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.46). According to a few sources, some of these passengers leave Brazil shortly after and either go back to Norway or continue their journey to California on other ships, while 74 head south to the colony Dona Francisca, in Santa Catarina, together with Swiss and German migrants (Havik 1985, p.31). Out of those 74, 13 travel back to Rio de Janeiro a couple of days after their arrival in São Francisco do Sul, and therefore are not registered in passenger lists or the immigration log. Another divergence observed is that the sources list 60 names only and not 61 as they should if indeed 13 people left immediately. It is possible that this unregistered migrant was Theodor Sørensen Støp³⁸. According to a letter he sent home and that was published in *Nordre Trondhjems Amtstidende* on April 20th 1852

³⁶ According to information provided by his descendent Mercedes Sørensen by email on February 28th 2012.

³⁷ E-mail from Solange de Oliveira Rocha, head of the Division of Pemanent Documentation of Paraná's Public Archive, received on May 16th 2011.

³⁸ According to a list kindly provided by Jostein Molde, another name appears as the 61st member of this group: Holder Ludvik Jacobsen Moholt. Moholt is not registered in the immigration records transcribed by Böbel and Thiago (2001).

(in Havik 1985, p.37), he stayed in the colony for 3 weeks. If this is true, it is not clear why his name does not appear in the passenger list or immigrant registrations. There are records of at least other seven Norwegian migrants who arrived in Joinville after the first pioneer group: one in 1854, six in 1868. At least one more migrant arrived around 1860. He is not registered in any of the passenger lists or immigration log in Brazil, but his name can be found in burial records in the colony. Taking into account only the 61 migrants from the first group who were also registered in the colony, there were at least 68 Norwegians in Joinville. The Joinville migrants were not included in Sæther and Østrem's (2011) analysis of the size of the Norwegian migration to Brazil or in official statistics.

It is still not possible to determine the exact number of Norwegian migrants who were in Brazil from 1820-1940. However, data discussed in this section show that Sæther and Østrem's (2011, p.126) estimates are too low. The official number of Norwegian immigrants in Brazil from 1886 to 1935 alone approaches the 600 estimated as the minimum by the authors. Even by adding only the number of "official immigrants" for the years between 1936-1939 (42) and the 68 Norwegians registered in Joinville, the minimum already surpasses 700. The Statistical Yearbooks from 1936 onwards, as well as the passenger lists collected in Rio de Janeiro, suggest that a significant number of Norwegians were registered as 1st class passengers. Such migrants, as well as the other groups, are all unaccounted for in official registration. After the discussion in this chapter about available data, it seems reasonable to estimate the number of Norwegian migrants in Brazil to be between 1,000 and 1,200.

4.2 Migration Periods

This research project covers a very large time span, from 1820 to 1940, and there were definitely variations in the migration flow in this period. Such variations can be related to several factors and events happening in Norway, in Brazil and elsewhere. Those factors may have influenced the increase and decrease of the migration flow, but they are not decisive in and of themselves. In a way macro-level conditions (economic, political, social) set the range of possibilities within which the individual can make his choices: first whether or not to move, and second where to move. It is not that an economic crisis "pushes" migrants out, since people in similar conditions chose not to move. However an economic crisis combined with other elements (for instance, a support network, a job offer in another country or subsidized tickets) can have a strong effect on decision-making.

From very early on the Brazilian government was interested in attracting immigrants to the country, especially to occupy areas in the South that were not populated, and to develop family-based agriculture in the region (Seyferth 2003, p.227). The first colonists started coming to the country as early as the 1820s (Carneiro 1950, p.10). In spite of investments made by the Imperial government, immigration was rather low throughout most of the 19th century. It is only by the end of the 1880s that mass migration to the country begins (Carneiro, p.9, Fausto 2006, p.155). Up until then, immigrant labor coexisted with slavery, which according to Carneiro represented one of the most important hindrances to the advance of immigration in Brazil in this early phase (1950, p.14). With the end of slavery in 1888 and the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889 and the country's political stabilization, Brazil starts receiving more and more immigrants (Carneiro 1950, p.27). This time the main focus of the immigration policy was to attract a European workforce to work in coffee plantations in São Paulo (Fausto 2006, p.113), since slave labor was no longer available. The colonization form of migration continued to exist throughout this second phase, though.

Based on the fluctuations seen in Brazilian immigration history, one would expect to see most Norwegian migrants arrive in Brazil between 1890 and 1930, during the period of mass-migration. One would also expect to see an increase in Norwegian migration to Brazil after 1920, when the United States started restricting immigration. As early as 1921 the United States government approved The Quota Act, which "set annual immigration rates for each sending country in Europe based on their share of immigrants living in the U.S." (Lew and Carter 2002, p.4). Østrem (2006, p.65) states that Norwegian immigration to Canada increased significantly following the implementation of those restrictions and this may have increased Norwegian migration to Latin America as well.

In the 1930s it is Brazil's turn to impose more restrictive immigration policies (Carneiro 1950, p.33) and in 1935 immigration quotas are established, in the same fashion as the United States in the previous decade. The quota by itself probably had no effect on Norwegian migration. The maximum immigration quota for Norwegians was set at 100 individuals per year (Statistical Yearbook 1936, IBGE); however as Table 3 shows, the number of Norwegians arriving in Brazil was much lower then. On the other hand, a number of other restrictive policies implemented by the government (Carneiro 1950, p.34-35) might have had an indirect effect on the migration flow. They include certain limitations to foreigners' rights, such as their right to speak their own language in public and access to certain jobs, but they

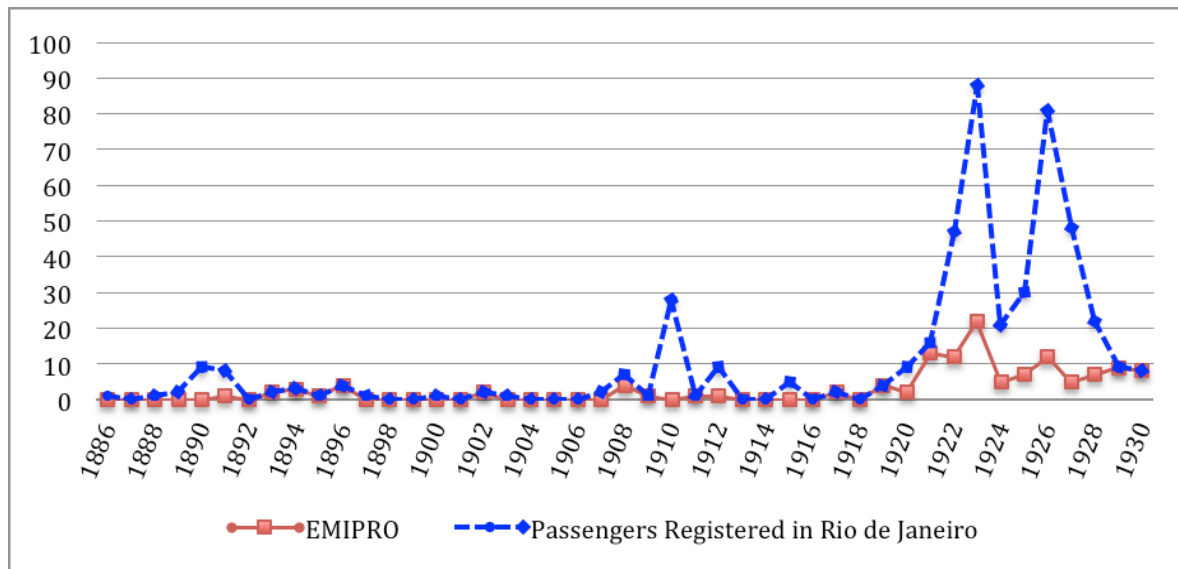
also created an overall hostility against immigrants and foreigners in general (Seyferth 1997, 1999). Those policies, as well as economical and political instabilities in Brazil after the 1930's Revolution (Fausto 2006, p.156), may have caused a reduction in the number of Norwegians willing to migrate to the country, or an increase in the number of Norwegians who left Brazil.

It has been said that the largest group of migrants arrived in the country in 1851, that is, before the mass migration period started in Brazil. Nevertheless it is important to remember that the first migration was not planned nor intended. Attracted by the "gold rush", those migrants' original destination was California (Havik 1985, p.26). At that time in order to reach the West Coast of the United States first they had to sail south, cross the Strait of Magellan to then head north again. The fact that they had to stop in Brazil was random. However, many members of this expedition did accept the offer made by colonization agents to move to a recently created colony in Santa Catarina (Havik, p.31). Although it was not their original intention, this event can still be considered as the start of the Norwegian migration to Brazil for the period being studied here. There is very little data available on Norwegians coming to the country from 1850 to 1880. Passenger lists from the port of São Francisco do Sul (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.172 and 2005, p.83-84) show that some Norwegians arrived in Joinville after the group of pioneers, but not in large numbers. According to passenger records from Rio de Janeiro the first Norwegian migrant arrived in 1886.

For the period that goes from the late 1800s to 1930 it is possible to compare available data from Norwegian emigration protocols and Brazilian passenger records to examine migration trends:

Graph 2: Comparative Chart of Norwegian Migration to Brazil Between 1886-1930

Sources: Norwegian emigration protocols (EMIPRO) (1891-1930) and passenger registration in Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928)



As expected, both sources show quite low migration levels for the earlier years from 1886 to 1920, with less than ten migrants per year. The first increase in immigration in 1890-1891 may be related to political and social changes in Brazil, especially the abolition of slavery (1888). Another important factor is that in 1887 the government significantly increased the amount invested to recruit European labor to Brazil (Carneiro 1950, p.56).

Another peak is seen in 1910 due to the arrival of a single group of almost 30 migrants on January 15th. It is not clear what caused this sudden increase in Norwegian migration. Table 2 shows that the number of Swedish migrants also increases significantly from 1909 to 1910 (from 35 to 424), and from 1910 to 1911 (from 424 to 1116). It is possible that those two groups are correlated. Other sources suggest that the early migration was more significant than what is shown in the graph. The Statistical Yearbooks of 1908-1912 (IBGE, online) show the number of naturalizations granted by the federal government from 1889 to 1912. Although Norwegians do not appear as a distinct group in immigration-related statistics of that period, they do appear in naturalization statistics. A total 43 Norwegians were awarded Brazilian citizenship between 1895 and 1912, almost 50% of them before 1900. Among data collected in the National Archive there are certificates of naturalization for five Norwegian men between 1886 and 1903; however none of them appear in any of the passenger lists

collected so far.³⁹ In two of those documents it is clearly stated that those men had been living in Brazil for three or four years prior to their naturalization (Attachment 3). It is interesting to observe that the number of naturalized Norwegians from 1889 to 1912 is almost twice the number given for Swedish and Danish individuals who were granted Brazilian citizenship in the same period: 22 and 25 respectively. Even for other national groups that migrated in greater numbers than Norwegians in this early period, the number of naturalized residents is lower: 31 Dutch, 9 Polish, 41 Russians and 13 Swiss. This suggests that Norwegian migration for the decades around the turn of the century is probably more significant than what is shown by the passenger lists collected so far.

Another trend observed in the graph is a clear increase in the Norwegian migration flow to Brazil in the 1920s. This period corresponds to the last emigration wave in Scandinavia (Stang 1976, p.295). Pedersen (2010, p.36) points to a similar increase in Norwegian migration to Argentina.⁴⁰ He explains that this increase is a consequence of high unemployment rates in Norway from 1921 onwards, as well as of immigration restrictions imposed by the United States at the beginning of the decade (Pedersen 2010, p.36). Those who wanted to migrate and found the doors to the United States closed looked for other possibilities in South America (Stang 1976, p.295). It is important to mention that during the 1st World War and throughout the following decade Brazil experienced an important process of industrial and infrastructure development in which immigrants played a significant role: “the immigrants appeared in both ends of the industry, as business owners and as workers”⁴¹ (Fausto 2006, p.162). Most of the companies that provided basic services to big cities, such as power distribution and public transport were foreign-owned. Foreign capital had also significant control over railroads and shipping (Fausto 2006, p.166). With all those developments comes a demand for skilled labor. This may also have been an element that attracted Norwegians to the country, though a very specific type of migrant.

³⁹ Hans Ludvig Lorentzen, naturalized Brazilian in 1896; Anton Richard Ludvig Omundsen, naturalized Brazilian in 1898; Albert Olsen, Fredrik Wilhelm Nicolay Engelhart and Gerhard Haaland, all naturalized Brazilian in 1903.

⁴⁰ Contrary to what is observed by Pedersen (2010), the official Norwegian number of emigrants never surpassed the number of Norwegians registered in Brazilian ports.

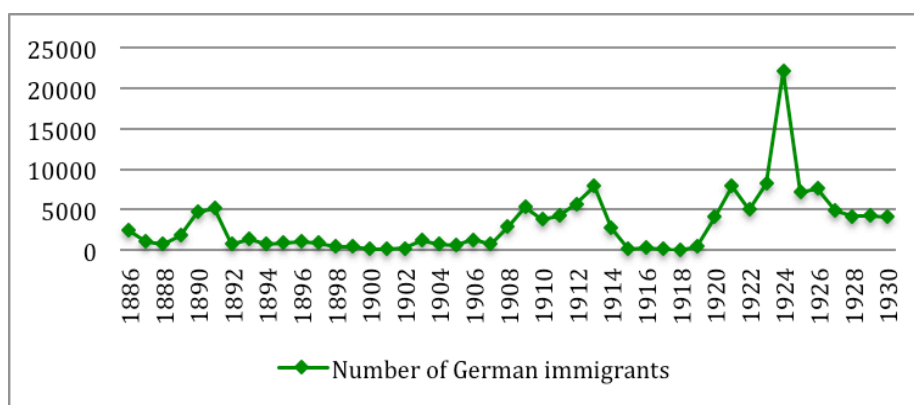
⁴¹ My own translation. In Portuguese: “Os imigrantes surgem nas duas pontas da indústria: como donos de empresas e operários”

Available data from 1935 to 1940 (Statistical Yearbooks, IBGE) show that the number of Norwegian passengers entering the country was more or less stable, albeit at a higher level than that observed throughout the first decade of the century: an average of 48 passengers per year. However it is important to notice that for these years the authorities establish a difference between permanent immigrants and temporary passengers. Although the average of passengers entering the country per year is higher compared to the two first decades of the 20th century, only a small percentage are registered as permanent migrants. The number of permanent migrants also ranges from 0 to 16.

Passenger lists collected for the port of Rio de Janeiro do not represent the total number of registers for the period from 1886 to 1928. Even though the total number of passengers arriving is probably higher, the general trend shown in Graph 2 seems to correspond reasonably well to the flow of Norwegian migration. When one analyzes the flow of German immigration to Brazil during the same period it is possible to observe very similar trends to the ones shown in Graph 2.

Graph 3: German Migration to Brazil Between 1886-1930

Source: Carneiro (1950)



Seyferth (2003, p.230-231) believes that in the early years German immigration to Brazil was considerably influenced by the action of colonization agents in that country and the subsidized migration policies established by the Brazilian government. When discussing sponsored migration to Latin America, Míguez states that “[t]his active participation by the state served to stimulate some specific migratory currents as well as to create some unusual immigrant groups” (2003, p.xvi). That could be the case for the Norwegians in Brazil. It is difficult to determine the real effect of propaganda and migration policies. They may have

been important in spreading information (sometimes not completely accurate) about Brazil as an immigrant destination, the opportunities that migrants could have in that country (such as jobs and land) and especially the possibilities of cheaper or free travel costs (Friborg 1988, p.18). Still, this effect was probably limited. The major increase in Norwegian migration (and also German) to Brazil comes only when the United States are no longer an available option and migrants are forced to look for alternatives. Further data must be collected in order to confirm this hypothesis.

4.3 Geographic Mobility

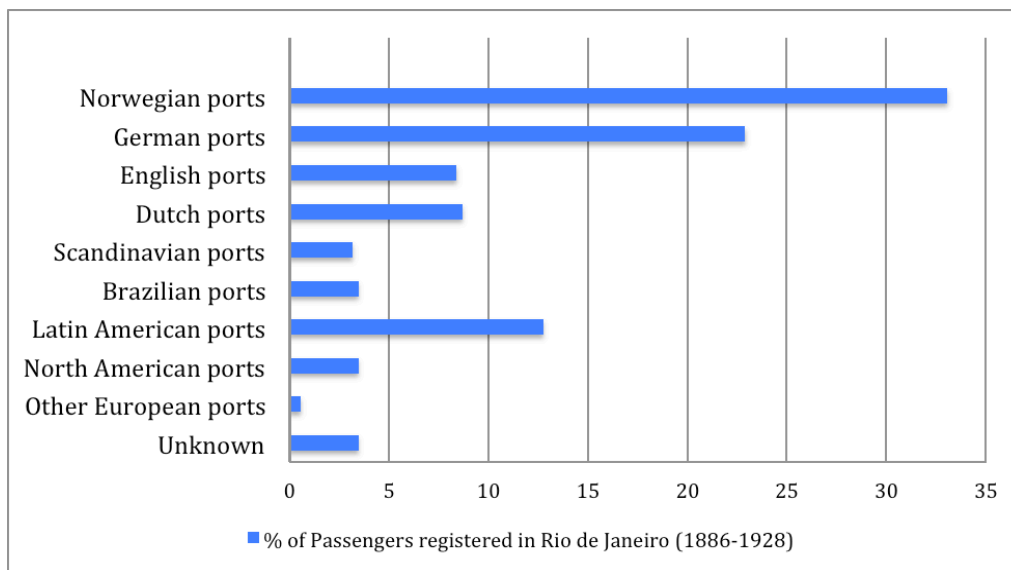
Passenger registration in Brazil rarely provides detailed information on the places of origin of migrants. Therefore it is not possible to know exactly where in Norway migrants came from, and information available from other sources is not enough to identify general trends at the macro level. Stang indicates that most Norwegian migrants in Latin America came from urban centers (1976, p.318-319). Yet, by examining passenger records it is possible to analyze which routes were most commonly used by migrants from Norway to Brazil. As mentioned above, most of the migrants registered in passenger lists in Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928) did not migrate to Brazil directly from Norway. They mostly came from different ports in Europe with passenger liners and also from ports in North and South America. Through the passenger lists it is also possible to infer how those migrants moved within the country. For example, notes on passenger lists and immigration records (Retsö 1999, p.50-53) show that some passengers who arrived in Rio de Janeiro continued their journey a few days later to other locations in the Southern region to form or join an immigrant colony. Knowing the different paths migrants have taken may be useful to understand more about who they were and why they chose certain destinations over others. This section will discuss from where Norwegians migrated and where they migrated to in Brazil.

4.3.1 Ports of Departure

The chart below shows the most important places from where Norwegians migrated to Brazil, according to information available from the passenger registration service in Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928). Passengers who were in transit to other countries (from Norway to Buenos Aires, for example) are not included.

Graph 4: Main Ports of Departure for Norwegian Migrants to Rio de Janeiro

Source: Passenger registration service in Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928).



Similar to the trend Sæther and Østrem observed in Argentina (2011, p.122), many Norwegian migrants registered in the passenger lists in Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928) departed from Germany, England or the Netherlands (about 40%). The percentage of migrants coming directly from Norway is quite high as well (33%), but as explained earlier in this chapter, this is mainly due to the passenger lists sampling method. The number of Norwegian migrants who arrive in Brazil coming from other Latin American ports, such as Buenos Aires and Montevideo, is also significant. About 13% of Norwegian migrants came from other Latin American ports. A few migrants (about 3%) arrive in Rio de Janeiro coming from other Brazilian ports (Recife, Salvador, Paranaguá and Santos). This suggests that there was some degree of internal mobility among Norwegian migrants in Latin America.

Hamburg, Amsterdam, London and Southampton were very important ports in the context of European emigration in general. It seems logical that they also appear as important points of departure for Norwegians, especially those migrating south. Out of those ports, Hamburg appears as the most important for Norwegian migration to Brazil. One possible explanation for many migrating via Hamburg is that Germany was one of the main points of action for Brazilian immigration recruiters in Northern Europe: “Propaganda and the action of representatives of the imperial Brazilian government and of private colonization companies

(formed either in Germany or Brazil) (...) attracted to Brazil individuals and families in search of better living conditions” (Seyferth 2003, p.203). It is known that those immigration agencies from Germany had representatives in Sweden (Stand 1976, p.302, Friborg 1988, p.16-18) and they may also have been active in Norway. Migrants had to travel first from Norway to Germany, Netherlands or England, and then board the ship that would take them and thousands of other immigrants from all over Europe to Brazil. In Brazilian registers those will be one of the main passenger ports of departure, not their Norwegian place of origin.

It should be noted that of all Norwegian passengers registered in Rio de Janeiro lists as 3rd class travelers (113), half departed from a German port (21% arrive from Amsterdam and 5% from an English port). Also, the vast majority of Norwegian passengers who arrived from either Hamburg or Bremen were 3rd class passengers (84% in 3rd class, 5% in 2nd class and 11% unknown). It is important to remember that these passengers correspond to the “typical” immigrants by Brazilian law valid at the time (Carneiro 1950, p.32). On the other hand, of the 123 passengers registered as 1st and 2nd class travelers, 37% departed from Norway, 21% come from Buenos Aires and 18% from England. Data collected so far suggests that most Norwegian migrants came from other European ports, and not directly from Norway. It is thus crucial to collect more lists from passenger liners coming from Germany, England and other countries.

4.3.2 Santos, 1930-1940

Much has been said about migrants registered in the port of Rio de Janeiro. I have also collected a considerable amount of data from passenger registration in the port of Santos, in the state of São Paulo. Such data show different trends than that observed for the former Brazilian capital. Records available for Santos cover, however, the period from 1930 to 1940, when Norwegian migration to Brazil was presumably declining. Since this sample is taken from a different period than that covered by Norwegian emigration protocols and passenger registers in Rio de Janeiro, it is very difficult to make a comparison between those three sources. Nevertheless, it is interesting to look at data from Santos, as they show the development of this migration after 1930 not only in São Paulo, but possibly also in Rio de Janeiro.

Santos was one of the main ports of entry for millions of immigrants who arrived in Brazil during the period of mass migration. Most European migrants who arrived in Santos were

laborers, traveling alone or with their families to work in coffee plantations in São Paulo. This represents a much more specific type of migration. However, data available on Norwegian migration from passenger records in Santos seem to show a different picture. This port seems to be more than anything a “midway stop” for migrants traveling from Norway to Argentina and vice-versa. Out of 396 entries of passengers arriving in Santos, about 27% correspond to passengers who are in transit, and another 27% of entries refer to passengers who have already been in Santos at least once before. It is also symbolic that the majority (143 entries, 45%) of passengers arriving in Santos are internal migrants, that is, Norwegians who arrive in Santos coming from other Brazilian ports⁴², especially from Rio de Janeiro (120 entries, 84%). The rest of the entries correspond to different ports in the North/Northern regions (7%) and in the Southern states⁴³ (9%).

While migration from Latin America and internal migration become more important, there are less migrants coming to Santos from the more “traditional” emigration ports, such as Hamburg or Amsterdam (only 2% of the entries). This trend is consistent with the decline in the inflow of labor migrants that happened after the 1929 crisis (Fausto 2006, p.156).

4.3.3 Destinations in Brazil

São Paulo and the southern states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul feature prominently in the context of Brazilian immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Carneiro 1950, Petrone 1977, Fausto 2006). There were also some government-driven attempts to attract immigrants to form colonies in Minas Gerais, but they were less successful (Petrone 1977). According to Fausto, “the Center-Southern, Southern and Eastern regions were the ones that received mass immigration. In 1920 93.4% of the foreign population lived in those regions”⁴⁴, with over 50% gathering in São Paulo (2006, p.156). São Paulo’s state government offered a number of incentives for immigrants (subsidized tickets and accommodation), but it also had the most dynamic economy in the country. In fact, many of

⁴² This only includes entries of passengers whose destination port was Santos, thus excluding passengers who were in transit to Norway or Argentina.

⁴³ For the North/Northeast: Belém (3), Cabedelo (3), Recife (2) and unspecified ports in Ceará (1) and Maranhão (1); South: Florianópolis (3), Paranaguá (4), Porto Alegre (1) and Rio Grande (6)

⁴⁴ My own translation. In Portuguese: “As regiões Centro-Sul, Sul e Leste foram as que receberam imigrantes maciçamente. EM 1920, 93,4% da população estrangeira vivia nessas regiões”.

the early migrants who initially went to rural areas moved to São Paulo's growing urban center, where they would find more job opportunities and better chances of social mobility (Fausto 2006, p.160-161). Rio de Janeiro was also an important urban center and being the capital of the country at that time it attracted a significant foreign population. Considering all those factors, one expects to find the majority of Norwegian migrants in the Southern states, particularly in the earlier period, and also in urban centers such as the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

In both Norwegian emigration protocols and Brazilian passenger records, Rio de Janeiro features as an important first destination for Norwegians. In EMIPRO this city appears in over 80% of entries where the port of destination is specified, while there is only a small number of entries with places other than Rio (3 entries with Santos/São Paulo and 2 entries with "Bahia"; "Rio de Janeiro" appears in 31 entries). On the other hand, in Brazilian passenger records from Rio de Janeiro only 16 entries specify that passengers will continue their journey to another location in Brazil: 8 to Paraná, 3 to Santos, 3 to Minas Gerais and 2 to Rio Grande do Sul. It is not clear, however, whether all migrants who mention Rio de Janeiro as their port of destination actually stay in the city or not. Some of the migrants who are registered with unspecified destinations in passenger records appear in Retsö's list (1999, p.50-53) as heading to Paraná or Rio Grande do Sul after spending a week or so at the Hospedaria in Ilha das Flores. It is possible that immigration registration in the "Hospedaria" was more detailed in relation to their destination than passenger lists.

Many sources show that Norwegians migrated to the Southern states, but they also reveal some level of internal mobility in this region. The most prominent group of Norwegian migrants is definitely the Joinville-pioneers. Although many members of the original group went back to Norway or continued their original journey to California, some settled in Joinville or nearby areas, while others moved to another location in the Southern region after leaving the colony: Jørgen Sliper moved to a location close to Joinville⁴⁵; Paul Wetten migrated to Florianópolis; Dr. Wilhelm W. A. Müller was later registered in Rio Grande do Sul (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.57-59)⁴⁶; Gørrissen settled in São Francisco do Sul; and

⁴⁵ According to an article published in the *Kolonie Zeitung* (Böbel and Thiago 2001, p.50), he was living in a location called Parati.

⁴⁶ Although information is taken from Böbel and Thiago (2001), I have corrected the spelling of their names based on the list kindly sent to me by Jostein Molde.

Petersen moved to Curitiba (personal account by Rodolpho Olsen, Arquivo Histórico de Joinville). Both Fløgstad (1999, p.187-190) and Nilsen (1996, p.96-98) describe a group of migrants from Rjukan who went to Cruz Machado, in Paraná, in 1923. According to Nilsen, their goal was to form a Norwegian colony in Rio Grande do Sul. They changed course after being advised by the Norwegian consul in Rio de Janeiro about the political revolution under way in that state (1996, p.97). The author also mentions that some of the members of this group later moved on to Joinville and worked in a “Norwegian paper factory” (Nilsen 1996, p.98).

There are also many registers of Norwegians in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, not only from passenger lists, but also from other sources such as travelogues, memoirs, personal accounts and others. These unsurprisingly show that those two urban centers were significant in the context of Norwegian migration to Brazil, but perhaps more so in the later period, after the 1920s. Unlike what is observed for the Southern region, which attracted mostly rural workers, Norwegian migration to these urban centers seems to have consisted essentially of high-skilled labor and businessmen. Many qualitative sources refer to the connections between the Norwegian “colony⁴⁷” and the diplomatic milieu in those two cities (for example, Maria Fleischer’s memoirs and *Nordmanns-forbundet*). Available data from passenger lists from Santos, and also from those other qualitative sources, show that mobility between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo was high and suggest there was a network between the two Norwegian “colonies”.

At least two sources show a different side of Norwegian migration in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, contrasting with the image of “elite-migration” that this group has (Fløgstad 1999, p.90). First, as Sæther and Østrem indicate, 24 Norwegians were registered in the immigrant hotel in São Paulo, and “[m]ost of them took work on coffee *fazendas* in the interior of the state of São Paulo” (2011, p.127). The second is data on sailors that signed on and off in Brazilian ports, which show that the vast majority of sailors deserted in Rio de Janeiro (Ships and Seafarers in Atlantic Canada, HULA, online). Such data is not conclusive, but they suggest that this “labour” migration might have happened in an earlier period than the arrival of skilled migrants in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Of all Norwegians who were registered

⁴⁷ The use of the term “colony” in this context is very different from the colonies in the Southern states and it refers to the group of Norwegian citizens residing in Brazil.

in São Paulo's immigration hotel, 71% of entries were recorded between 1900-1910 while only 8% were recorded after 1920.

Some data show that Norwegians also migrated to the Northern part of Brazil, although it is not known exactly how many. Only a few passenger lists from the port of Recife have been collected in the National Archive in Rio de Janeiro, since it is the Brasília branch of the National Archive that holds the lists from the ports in the North and Northeast regions. There are 11 entries of Norwegians arriving in Recife (one entry dated 1903, one dated 1904 and the rest from 1920-1922) and 29 entries of Norwegians departing from Recife to other ports (1911-1922). Stang mentions an organized group of Norwegians who migrated to Minas Gerais in an attempt to form a colony in that state around 1926 (1976, p.310). In passenger lists from Rio de Janeiro there are three entries of migrants who continue their journey to Minas Gerais, two in 1926 and one in 1928, but no further data were found on this group.

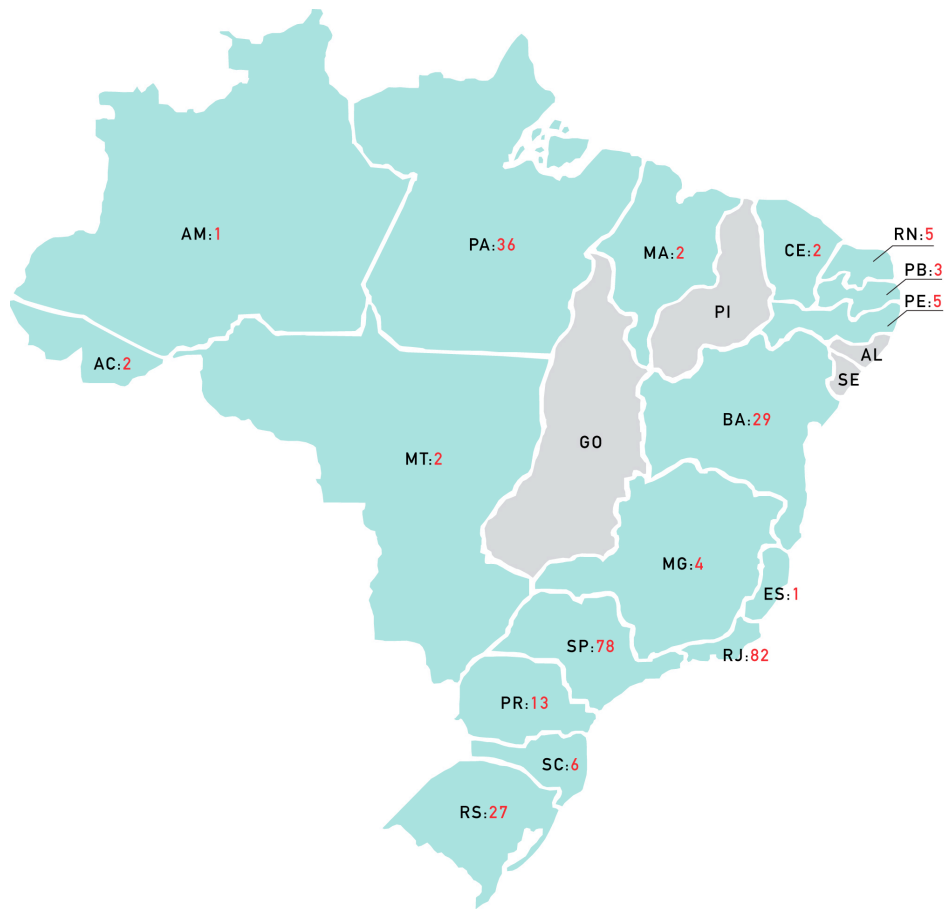
4.3.4 Norwegians in Brazil in 1940

The 1940 Brazilian census (in Jurandir Zamberlam 2004, p.83-149) provides an overall picture of how Norwegian migrants were distributed throughout the different Brazilian states at the end of the period being studied. According to this source there were a total of 298⁴⁸ Norwegian-born citizens living in Brazil that year, and Map 2 shows the population per Federal state, in absolute figures. It is worth noting that children of Norwegian migrants who were born in Brazil are *not* considered as Norwegians by Brazilian statistics, since Brazilian nationality is based on the principle of *jus soli*.

⁴⁸ Zamberlam presents first a general table for Brazil, in which the number of Norwegians is actually 293 (2004, p.84). However, adding the Norwegian population state by state the total number of migrants is 298. It is not clear why there is a difference of 5 migrants.

Map 2: Norwegian Population in Brazil in 1940, Distributed by State⁴⁹

Source: IBGE census of 1940 in Zamberlam (2004, p.83-149).



As the map shows, Norwegians could be found in almost every state in Brazil, although they were more numerous in some states than others. In two states the population is close to 80 individuals (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro) while in three other states the population is close to 30 individuals (Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia and Pará). This shows that Norwegian migration was somewhat “diffuse”. This trend contrasts with what is described by Stang in relation to the United States, where the Norwegian population was gathered in one particular area of the country (1976, p.296).

Unsurprisingly, the largest Norwegians communities were in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (respectively 27% and 26% of the total population). One surprising trend revealed by this map is that in fact Norwegian presence in the Northeast is equally significant as in the Southern region (15%). It is also quite unexpected to see such a high concentration of Norwegians in

⁴⁹ The map follows the administrative divisions of 1940, thus not showing the states of Amapá, Mato Grosso do Sul, Tocantins, Roraima and Rondônia, which were created after 1940.

the states of Pará and Bahia, which are respectively the 3rd and 4th states that received most Norwegians in the country. Comparing the percentage of the Norwegian population in each state with that of other migration groups, it is clear that this is a point of contrast between them:

Table 4: Comparison Between Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and German Populations Distributed by Federative State in Total Absolute Figures and Percentage of the Population.

Source: IBGE census of 1940 in Zamberlam, 2004.

	Total migrant population in 1940				Percentage of the migrant population			
	Norwegians	Swedish	Danish	Germans	Norwegians	Swedish	Danish	Germans
Acre (AC)	2	0	0	22	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0
Alagoas (AL)	0	1	0	44	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,1
Amazonas (AM)	1	0	0	65	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,1
Bahia (BA)	29	10	10	542	9,7	1,2	1,4	0,7
Ceará (CE)	2	4	2	150	0,7	0,5	0,3	0,2
Espirito Santo (ES)	1	1	6	642	0,3	0,1	0,8	0,8
Goiás (GO)	0	2	2	306	0,0	0,2	0,3	0,4
Maranhão (MA)	2	2	1	20	0,7	0,2	0,1	0,0
Mato Grosso (MT)	2	6	6	406	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,5
Minas Gerais (MG)	4	17	32	1908	1,3	2,1	4,4	2,5
Pará (PA)	36	2	5	194	12,1	0,2	0,7	0,2
Paraíba (PB)	3	0	2	114	1,0	0,0	0,3	0,1
Paraná (PR)	13	46	40	7658	4,4	5,6	5,6	9,9
Pernambuco (PE)	5	10	17	622	1,7	1,2	2,4	0,8
Piauí (PI)	0	0	0	15	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Rio de Janeiro (RJ)	82	155	189	10804	27,5	18,9	26,3	13,9
Rio Grande do Norte (RN)	5	0	0	34	1,7	0,0	0,0	0,0
Rio Grande do Sul (RS)	27	239	73	16313	9,1	29,1	10,1	21,0
Santa Catarina (SC)	6	27	15	11566	2,0	3,3	2,1	14,9
São Paulo (SP)	78	297	320	26260	26,2	36,2	44,4	33,8
Sergipe (SE)	0	1	0	55	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,1
Total	298	820	720	77740	100	100,0	100,0	100,0

In most states the percentage of the Norwegian population corresponds approximately to the trend observed for other Scandinavians and German migrants as well. For all four groups the highest concentration of migrants was in São Paulo, while the Norwegian percentage in Rio de Janeiro is actually the highest of all Scandinavians. In some of the “typical” immigration receiving states the percentage of Norwegians is perhaps lower than what would be expected. In Paraná and Santa Catarina the percentage of Norwegians is lower but does not differ

significantly from other Scandinavian groups. In 1940 the percentage of Norwegian migrants in Rio Grande do Sul was higher than in the other southern states but much lower than the percentage of Swedish or German migrants in that state. Unfortunately there is not enough data about those migrants to shed some light on who they were or when they arrived in the country.

The two surprising trends are the cases of Pará and Bahia. We still know very little about Norwegian migration to the North and Northeast regions. In an article published in *Nordmanns-fonbundet* in 1943, Reidar Solum (1943, p.221-226) mentions several “Norwegian colonies” in several states in Brazil, including the ones in Pará and Bahia. However this publication seems to give a very biased image of Norwegian migration to Brazil, as the author merely refers to a few Norwegian who are either diplomatic representatives, successful businessmen or members of the local elite. For Bahia the information given by the publication is the following:

In Bahia we meet Ludvig Lorentzen Hoppe, who runs South America’s largest vegetable oil mill. His cousin, shipowner Per A. Lorentzen, was until recently in the same city as the leader of the Northern Pan American Line, together with Per Fürst (...) Nils Otto Gram from Oslo is the head of the local branch of the largest tobacco factory in South America, Cia. Souza Cruz, and Hj. Holum is manager of Texaco’s office in the same city (Solum 1943, p.222)⁵⁰

In relation to Pará Solum (1943, p.222) mentions the consul Peter Fretheim and Harbitz, another Texaco manager. Norwegian migration to Pará may have been related with Ford Motor Company operations in that state from the late 1920s to 1945 (Sena 2008). In 1927 Henry Ford bought about one million hectares of land by the Tapajós river valley to build a rubber plantation to produce the feedstock for his car production. Together with the plantation a city called Fordlândia was founded in order to provide the necessary support for rubber production (Sena 2008, p.92-93). The article “Fordlândia: breve relato da presença americana na Amazônia” (Sena 2008, p.93) mentions Einar Oxholm as being an “American manager”,

⁵⁰ Solum refers to Bahia as a city, probably meaning Salvador, the capital of the state. My own translation. In Norwegian: ”I Bahia treffer vi Ludvig Lorentzen Hoppe, som driver Sydamerikas største vegetabiliske oljemølle. Hans fetter, skipsreder Per A. Lorentzen, var også inntil for nylig i samme by som leder av The Northern Pan American Line sammen med Per Fürst (...) Nils Otto Gram fra Oslo er leder av den stedlige avdeling av den største tobakksfabrikk i Sydamerika, Cia. Souza Cruz, og Hj. Holum er sjef for Texacos kontor i samme by”.

but other sources suggest that he was actually a Norwegian who had first migrated to the United States with his family.⁵¹

Further data should be collected from passenger lists, travelogues and historical accounts; this could help us better understand Norwegian migration especially to the Northern and Northeastern regions and a possible relationship between those communities and other receiving-regions in Brazil.

4.4 General Features

This section will present some general characteristics of Norwegians who migrated to Brazil before 1940, based mainly on data from passenger lists and emigration records, in addition to data from other qualitative sources when possible. The first part will show how they migrated: whether individually, together with relatives or in groups. The second part of this section will focus on the elements that provide information about the migrants' social background: which class they traveled in and what kind of professions they had. Such characteristics can be useful clues to understand what type of migrants they were and what expectations and goals they had. For instance, individual migrants are usually more mobile while family and group migration may suggest they intended to stay for a longer period or permanently. Additionally their social background may suggest whether there were many differences between Norwegian migrants and how they might have been related to one another. Finally, based on those analyses, I will discuss whether or not this group diverges much from the “real” emigrants as described by Fløgstad (1999).

4.4.1 Individual, Family and Group Migration

In his study about Scandinavian migration to Latin America Stang states that “without a doubt individual migration was numerically more important than group migration”⁵² (1976, p.315). No specific definition of “group migration” is presented. The author uses the term to refer, for example, to the Rjukan migrants who moved to Brazil in 1923. Another example is the colonization project organized in 1926, funded by the shipping company Skogland, in which

⁵¹ <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~kielland/slekt/per00560.htm#0>

⁵² My own translation. In Spanish: “no puede haber duda de que la emigración individual es numericamente más importante que la emigración de grupos”.

Norwegians were to create settlements in Minas Gerais (1976, p.310). Given the context in which this term is being used it is possible to construe “group migration” as referring to the *organized* migration of several individuals and families, especially in connection with the activity of an immigration agency or similar. This is also the concept of “group migration” being used for the purpose of this analysis. It is presumed that they migrated together with the initial plan of settling together as well, as a colony. Therefore several single males traveling together are not considered as “group” migration, but rather as individual migration. “Families” are considered as two or more passengers registered with the same last name, with the same traveling dates (date of departure in the case of Norwegian emigration protocols and date of arrival for passenger records from Rio de Janeiro) and registered in the same vessel. The rest of the passengers who appear alone will be considered as “individual” migration. It should be noted that even if the passenger is registered as an individual migrant, this does not mean that they do not have any connections with other migrants either in the same boat or who migrated in different dates.

Analyzing Norwegian emigration protocols there is no evidence of any group migration leaving from Norway. Out of the 125 entries found in EMIPRO⁵³, there are only 35 entries (28%) which correspond to individuals traveling with relatives, from a total of 14 families⁵⁴. The majority of registered emigrants are indeed individual migrants: 72% of all entries. Such migrants are almost exclusively male (95%), mostly single. However, as mentioned previously in section 4.1, emigration protocols are not entirely reliable in that aspect. A comparison with Brazilian passenger lists shows that there are cases of migrants, especially men, who are registered along with relatives upon arrival in Rio de Janeiro while Norwegian emigration authorities did not register those relatives as emigrants. The reason for this flaw in Norwegian records is still unclear. One hypothesis is that when the family was traveling together only the male head of the family was registered as an emigrant, but not his accompanying wife and children. However, in some entries in EMIPRO we find that all members of the family are registered. In 4 out of 10 families registered, only mother and children appear, without a male head of the family. These women are probably migrating to join their husbands in Brazil. Two entries specify that this is indeed their reason for migrating (“til sin man”).

⁵³ This time including passengers who traveled more than once.

⁵⁴ One family consists of two brothers, Ivar and Sigurd Graffer

As for the 347 entries of Norwegian passengers who arrived in Rio de Janeiro⁵⁵ between 1886 and 1928, the proportion is somewhat different. First, it is possible to recognize at least two organized groups (66 migrants, 19% of the entries). One of them is the group from Rjukan, described by Stang (1976), Nilsen (1996) and Fløgstad (1999). It is a group of 38 people: 9 single men and 4 families. There are some differences between what is observed in passenger records from Rio and the description of this group provided by Nilsen in the book *Canada-feber* (1996). According to passenger records in Rio the Abrahamsen family appears as having 8 children, not 6 as described in Nilsen (1996, p.145), while an additional child is also registered for the Velin family. Another difference is that according to passenger lists Karl Hansen, his wife Susanne and daughter Solveig arrived from Hamburg a few days after the main group, on May 15th 1923, on board of the vessel Antonio Delfino. According to Nilsen (1996) they all traveled together to Brazil with the Brazilian vessel Caxias, also from Hamburg.

The second group was registered in 1910 and does not correspond to any of the groups described in existing literature (Stang 1976, Fløgstad 1999). This group comprises 28 migrants: one single male and 4 families (12 adults and 15 children from ages 0 to 13). They arrived in Rio de Janeiro on January 15th 1910, coming from Amsterdam with a Dutch passenger liner. All those migrants are registered with an observation noting that their tickets were subsidized, an indication that they migrated as an organized group. This group can also be found in the list provided by Retsö (1999, p.52), according to which they continued their journey to Rio Grande do Sul about a week after their arrival. No other sources provide information about this group, such as where in Norway they come from or how and why they migrated to Brazil. This group may have been related to the migration of Swedish groups around the same period (Friborg 1988, p.28-31).

Approximately 34 % of entries from the Brazilian source correspond to migrants traveling with relatives, with 39 families identified. The majority of all entries still correspond to individual travelers (about 47%), although the percentage is lower than that found in EMIPRO. The percentage of women traveling alone is higher in passenger records in Rio de Janeiro (17% vs. 5% in EMIPRO).

⁵⁵ Passengers in transit to other countries are not included, but 2nd and 3rd time travelers are.

Individual migrants tend to be more mobile and there is greater likelihood that their migration will not be permanent. They are more likely to either move to other locations in Brazil or Latin America or to migrate back to Norway after a while. This predominance of individual migration over family or group migration is often pointed as a difference between Norwegian migration to North and South America. Presumably Norwegians who migrated to the United States tended to settle, more so than the ones who moved to Brazil. Available data are not enough to confirm or refute this hypothesis. However, the fact that the majority of Norwegians migrating to Brazil were single males is not an unusual trend in any respect, but rather a general characteristic of most migration groups (Míguez 2003, p.xv). Moreover, this predominance can also be observed in Norwegian migration to the United States during certain periods. Although in the 19th century Norwegians migrated mostly as families, “with time the individual migrant took over family-emigration, and the latest part of the mass migration period was dominated by the young single migrant”⁵⁶ (Østrem 2006, p.35). Østrem (2006, p.95) also shows that from 1890 onwards emigration to the United States was no longer considered as a definitive, permanent move: migrants were moving with the intention of returning eventually.

It should also be noted that those individual migrants are not necessarily disconnected from one another, on the contrary (Østrem 2006, 35). Many sources suggest the existence of “migration networks” in Brazil that could explain why certain individuals chose to move to the locations they did. One example is the information network between Norwegian engineers described by Stang (1976).

4.4.2 Social Background

Both Stang (1976) and Fløgstad (1999) talk about an “elite” migration when referring to Norwegian migration to Latin America. This is attributed to the fact that many of those who went to Latin America came from known traditional families, like the Engelhartts and Griegs. Another reason is the fact that many of those migrants were professional businessmen and engineers traveling in 1st class, contrasting with the background of North American migrants, who were mostly rural or urban laborers who traveled in 2nd or 3rd classes. To examine the social background of Norwegians in Brazil I will focus on data available from passenger

⁵⁶ My own translation. In Norwegian (nynorsk): ”med tida tok enkeltmigranten over for familieutvandrerane, og i den siste delen av utvandringstida var det dei einslege, unde utvandrarane som dominerte.”

records from Rio de Janeiro (347 entries from 1886 to 1928) and look at which class they traveled in and which professional group they belonged to. Other sources, such as Norwegian emigration protocols or travel accounts, will be used to complement the analysis in order to build a general picture.

Indeed the number of Norwegians registered as 1st class passengers in Rio de Janeiro records is high. They correspond to approximately 47% of the 249 entries under which the traveler's class is specified. However, of the 117 1st class passengers, 62 arrived in Brazil on board of Norwegian cargo ships that carried less than 20 passengers. As Sæther and Østrem (2011, p.127) show, the registration of those cargo ship passengers as 1st class might not be accurate. The information about the passenger's occupation is provided in only 64 out of 117 entries. It should be noted, however, that 8 entries where the occupation is not listed correspond to travelers under 14 years old, which means that for 45 adult travelers (men and women) data on their profession is missing. The most common occupations listed for men are "commerce" (30) and engineer (9). Other registered professions were: diplomat/consul (3); artist (2); "rancher" (1); student (1); captain (1); officer (1); tutor (1); and "employee" (1). Another 14 entries correspond to female travelers, and their occupation is registered as either "housewife" or "none" (with the exception of two artists). Almost half of the 1st class passengers arrived directly from Norway (48%), 20% arrived from other European ports or New York, and approximately 34% arrived in Rio de Janeiro from Buenos Aires, Montevideo or other Brazilian ports. All entries for 1st class passengers range from 1920 to 1928; with the exception of a group of 5 migrants who arrived from Bergen on October 1915.

There are 19 entries of 2nd class passengers, of which only 14 include information about the passenger's occupation. Again "commerce" and "engineer" are the most important occupations among men but there are three passengers whose occupation description says "worker". For women in 2nd class we observe the same information as for the 1st class female passengers: they are all registered as "housewives" or with no occupation. None of the 2nd class passengers arrived in Rio de Janeiro directly from Norway and the percentage of passengers coming from other ports in South America and Brazil is lower. Of those 19 passengers, 13 departed from either England or Germany, a route that was commonly used by the "typical" immigrants on their way to Brazil. It is worth noting that the three laborers registered as 2nd class passengers migrated through Hamburg.

The percentage of passengers traveling 3rd class is actually very close to that observed for 1st class passengers: 45% of the 249 entries where information on class is available. In a clear contrast with 1st class passengers, the vast majority of migrants who traveled in 3rd class arrived from Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam, Liverpool or Southampton. There are no internal migrants among them and only a very small percentage arrived from either Buenos Aires or Montevideo (6%), a different trend than that observed for 1st class passengers. Another clear difference is observed with respect to when those migrants arrived. While almost all 1st and 2nd class entries were recorded in the 1920s, 45% of the 3rd class migrants arrived between 1890 and 1912 and 55% after 1920. About half of the entries contain information on the passenger's occupation (58), but a significant number of entries where the occupation was left blank are actually children under 14 years old (42). This means that information about a passenger's occupation is unavailable only for a small number of adult travelers (mostly women). This time the main occupations listed for men are: "worker"⁵⁷ (16) and "farmer" (9). Among other professions listed we found: carpenter/lumberjack (3); commerce (3); engineer (5); sailor (4); mechanic (4); others (4). Of 10 women whose occupation was declared, 7 were listed as housewives and other occupations were mentioned as well: farmer (1), worker (1) and commerce (1).

Some of the entries recorded in Rio de Janeiro do not include any information about which class the passenger was traveling in. Most of those entries do not provide any information about the migrant's occupation either. Considering the migrants whose occupation is listed, it is still possible to observe a certain correlation between their given profession and the port of departure and the period when they migrated. Most farmers and workers arrived in Brazil before 1912, usually coming from German ports, while engineers, businessmen, diplomats and other professionals tend to arrive after 1920s using a more direct route.

Through this analysis it is possible to recognize certain elements of Norwegian migration to Latin America that challenge its portrayal as an "elite" migration. Among Norwegians who moved to Brazil before 1940 there are indeed cases of wealthy members of a certain Norwegian elite, but that does not show the whole picture. There are also many cases of workers and farmers who were trying their luck in South America. It is also problematic to presume that the migration of professionals and skilled labour is tantamount to an "elite"

⁵⁷ Including the category "jornaleiro" (worker paid by the day).

migration. Looking at Norwegian emigration protocols we find 54 entries which recorded the reason why the person is migrating. In at least 60% of these entries the given motive is clearly related to finding work and improving their earnings (bedre fortjeneste). Among those emigrants who moved to Brazil looking for better jobs it is possible to find a few highly educated and skilled professionals, such as engineers and businessmen⁵⁸, just as there are unskilled workers (such as landworker, shoemaker and blacksmith).

Those two groups, “labour” and “elite”, may have had very distinct experiences in Brazil and different opportunities. It is also possible that the line separating those groups was much thinner. One example can be seen in Maria Fleischer’s memoirs. She arrived in Brazil in 1926 to work and to improve her economic situation and get a good retirement condition (Fleischer n.d., 168-170).⁵⁹ She was part of the “elite” Norwegian colony, since she was related to the ambassador in Rio de Janeiro. At the same time, in several occasions she expresses that those elitist events she took part in Rio were rather an economic burden to her, since she had to spend money on nice clothes (p. 209): “I love Brazil, but I could not go back to Rio, then I would be back with the same important people, and I would rather work”.⁶⁰ This example shows that there are several subtleties within this group. Questions about who these migrants really were, what class they belonged to and what kind of relationship they had, require further investigation, especially at the micro and meso levels.

4.4.3 Typical Migrants?

Kjartan Fløgstad’s book, *Eld og Vatn* (1999) is perhaps one of the best known works to date about Norwegians who lived in Latin America before and after the 2nd World War. As mentioned previously in the first chapter, Fløgstad does not believe that this was a migration in the same sense as the Norwegian mass migration to the United States. Indeed it was not. Numerically speaking no other part of the world has received as many Norwegians as North

⁵⁸ Examples: Gunnar Lillejord (HULA id. 14405), Ingvar Arthur Kristiansen (HULA id. 14254), Finn Brynjulv Arnesen (HULA id. 14099), Alf Espeland (HULA id. 13890).

⁵⁹ In the original: “bygge mig opp et økonomisk grunnlag” (s.168) and ”skaffe mig en sorgfri alderdom” (s.170)

⁶⁰ My own translation. In Norwegian: “Brasil elsket jeg, men Rio kunne jeg ikke vende tilbake til da ville jeg bare komme inn i den samme store selskapeligheten og jeg skulle jo helst arbeide”

America. However the author believes there are also profound qualitative differences between the Norwegians who went to South America and the “typical” North American migrants:

The real emigrant was poor, or treated as poor. The emigrant did not have a return ticket. (...) He has two empty hands, his connections to lose, and his own labor capacity to sell. He and she traveled in herds. (...) But the Norwegian emigration to South America fits very poorly into this description. The emigrants to South America traveled alone, maybe paired up in a team to experience the adventure. They were not particularly poor. They traveled in first as well as in second or third class. (...) They were brave, energetic and resourceful emigrants. Many had good high education and came from old bourgeois families. (...) Perhaps because of the “poor man” label emigrants had, every Norwegian-clan in South America are unanimous in affirming that no, *my* family were not emigrants, we just moved here.⁶¹ (Fløgstad 1999, p.89-90)

Fløgstad argues that their social backgrounds were different, as well as their motivations and their goals. While the North American emigrant moved because he was *going* somewhere and was looking for a better life, the Norwegian going south is *escaping* from something. Therefore it is more appropriate to consider Norwegian migration to South America as an exile of short or long duration (Fløgstad 1999, p.90).

A systematic analysis of data about Norwegians who migrated to Brazil before 1940 shows, however, that this perception is not accurate. There were differences in the flows to North and South America, but such differences have to be regarded within the macro context of transatlantic migrations happening throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. For example, though migrants of the transatlantic system were regarded as poor, they rarely came from the lowest classes, no matter where they came from or where they moved to (Stang 1976, p.318). Migrating is costly and in order to migrate people have to be able to afford their traveling costs somehow. Such costs were higher to migrate to Latin America than to the United States (1976, p.318, Míguez 2003, p.xviii); thus it is not surprising if migrants who went south had better economic conditions than those who went to North America. Other differences can also be explained based on migration patterns common to other groups, such as an increase in demand for a certain kind of workforce or the existence of subsidized migration policies.

⁶¹ My own translation. In Norwegian (nynorsk): “Den egentlege utvandrarar var altså fattig, eller vart handsama som fattig. Utvandrarar har ikkje returbillett. (...) Han har to tome hender, lenkene sine å mista, og si eiga arbeidskraft å selja. Han og ho reiser saman, I flokk og følge. Men den norske utvandringa til Sør-Amerika passer svært dårleg inn i dette mønsteret. Til Sør-Amerika reiste utvandrarane gjerne åleine, eller kanskje to og to som slo lag for å oppleve eventyret ute. Dei var ikkje spesielt fattige. Dei reiste på første, som på andre og tredje klasse. (...) Som utvandrarar var dei modig, handlekraftige, ressurssterke. Mange hadde god eller påbyrja utdanning, og kom frå gamle høgborgarlege slekter. (...) Kanskje på grunn av fattigmannsstemplet på utvandrarar, seier så godt som alle norsk-ætta i Sør-Amerika samstemmig at nei, *min* familie er ikkje utvandrar, vi har berre flytta hit.”

Brazil was certainly a more exotic destination for Norwegians to move to, but any migration implies decisions and demands a number of skills that will help the migrant adapt to their new environment, no matter where (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.79).

4.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have used the sources available so far to analyze the Norwegian migration to Brazil from a macro perspective. The purpose was to find out more about the general characteristics of these migrants, who they were, where they went to, when they migrated and why.

The first session focused on determining the overall size of this group. Previous studies on Norwegian migration to Latin America had already shown how problematic official numbers can be, especially Norwegian emigration statistics. According the Norwegian emigration protocols as little as 120 Norwegians emigrated to Brazil in the period that goes from 1891 to 1930. Meanwhile the official number of Norwegian immigrants registered in Brazil from 1889 to 1935 is 594, a very significant difference. As Stang observed, “the statistics’ defects arise in part because of its restrictive definition of migrant and in part on the application”⁶² (Stang 1976, p.317). Because of how “emigrants” and “immigrants” are defined by law, a number of other migrants become “invisible” in these figures. This problem is reflected in both Brazilian and Norwegian official statistics. In most cases passengers are missing from the Norwegian emigration protocols but are registered in Brazil as immigrants. Sæther and Østrem (2011) suggest this difference comes from the fact that migrants who moved to Brazil through an intermediate European port were not required to register in Norway. Evidence shows this cannot be the only explanation. Most of the few migrants who figure in both registrations did not migrate directly from Norway, but through another port in Germany, Holland or England. There are also cases where migrant do not figure in neither Norwegian nor Brazilian statistics. In Norway migrants traveling in vessels with capacity of less than 20 passengers are not recorded in the emigration protocols. That is the case for many Norwegians who arrived in Brazil on board of Norwegian cargo ships. On the Brazilian side

⁶² “Los defectos de la estadística surgen en parte en su definición restrictiva del migrante, y en parte en la aplicación”

these passengers figure as 1st class passengers and are thus not considered as immigrants by the local authorities. Other groups of “invisible” migrants are fugitive sailors, “work-your-ways” and migrants who arrive in Brazil with private boats. Previous estimates of the size of the Norwegian migration to Brazil are too conservative. The material discussed in this session show that the size of this migration is probably around 1000-1200 for the time span of this research.

Considering the period included in this research, it can be said that Norwegian migration to Brazil “started” in 1851 with the arrival of a group with 61 men in the colony Dona Francisca, in Santa Catarina. Although they are the largest known group of Norwegians to migrate to Brazil, their migration was not planned nor intended. There is still relatively little data on the period following their arrival up to the final decades of the 19th century. The first Norwegian passenger registered in the passenger records in Rio de Janeiro arrive in 1886. According to data available so far, Norwegian migration has been low throughout the last decades of the 1800s up to 1920, rarely surpassing 10 migrants per year. Data from the passenger records from Rio show a small increase in immigration in 1890, which can be related to the end of slavery in Brazil as well as an intensification of the recruitment policies from the Brazilian government. The second peak happened in 1910, with the arrival of a group of subsidized immigrants. This can be related to the increase of organized migration from Sweden to Brazil in the same period. Both Norwegian emigration protocols and passenger records from Rio de Janeiro show a significant increase in migration in 1920s. One possible explanation for this increase is that from 1921 it becomes more difficult to migrate to the United States due to the implementation of immigration quotas. Norwegian migration to other important receivers such as Canadá and Argentina also experience increase during the 1920s. It is also possible that the on-going urbanization and industrialization processes happening in Brazil after the 1st World War and throughout this decade have made the country more attractive for migrants, especially skilled-labour. In the 1930s it is Brazil’s turn to implement restrictions on immigration. The immigration quotas had probably no impact on Norwegian migration, which was already in decline. However the government took a number of protective measures in favor of national labor and companies, creating a more hostile environment to foreigners. These measures, together with a growing nationalism, probably affected new comers as well as those who were already in the country.

The sources available do not have much information about these migrants' exact place of origin in Norway. Passenger lists show the city where the migrant departed from, but that is not necessarily where he lived. Through them it is possible to examine which routes these migrants used on their journey from Norway to Brazil. Passenger records from Rio de Janeiro (1886-1928) show that most migrants used "indirect" routes. They would first migrate to Germany, England or Holland and cross the Atlantic from there. Ports like Hamburg, Amsterdam and Southampton were important ports in the context of the mass migrations, especially Hamburg, where the activity of immigration agents was very important. Probably Norwegians who wanted to migrate to South America had to first travel to one of these cities to embark on a passenger liner that would take them to their destination. Evidence to this hypothesis is the proportion of 3rd class passengers who departed from that port. In passenger lists from Rio de Janeiro there is only a small percentage of internal migrants or migrants coming from other locations in Latin America. Passenger records from Santos (1930-1940) show a different picture: less passengers coming from European ports other than Norway and higher percentage of internal/intercontinental migrants. There is also a higher percentage of passengers in transit between Norway and Buenos Aires, which can indicate that Santos was a sort of "middle-point". Possibly the same trend can be observed in Rio de Janeiro, since Norwegian migration was declining in the 1930s, but more data is needed to confirm this hypothesis. For the most part, Norwegians chose the usual immigrant-receiving states as destinations: Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, but also the urban centers of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. But there is also evidence of Norwegians migrating to the North and Northeastern regions. In 1940 the 3rd largest concentration of Norwegians was actually in the state of Pará. There is still a lot to be investigated about migrants who went to these regions, but it is possible that Norwegian migration to Pará is related to the creation of Fordlândia and the production of rubber for Ford Motors.

Passenger records show that there were few attempts of organized group migration, one of which is undocumented by existing literature on Norwegian migration to Brazil. However this migration was mostly an individual phenomenon. This is however not a distinctive feature of this migration. Though in the early years of the mass migration to the United States whole families migrated together, by the 1900s most migrants were young single males. The percentage of migrants traveling on 1st class is high, but less than half of these 1st class passengers arrived with passenger liners. The qualification of 1st class to cargo ship passengers is somewhat misleading. These "elite" passengers were mostly diplomats,

businessmen and engineers who migrated to Brazil from the 1920s onwards. Migration before the I World War was predominantly of 3rd class passengers, mostly laborers and farmers, but many arrived in the 1920s as well.

5 Final Conclusion

This Master's thesis is part of the research project *Desired Immigrants – Frustrated Adventurers? Norwegians in Latin America, 1820-1940*, coordinated by professor Steinar A. Sæther and conducted by several researchers at Norwegian and Latin American universities. The project's goal is “to produce new knowledge about emigration to Latin America that is relevant in a larger comparative perspective and that can serve as a model for studies of other migrant groups.”⁶³ (Nordmenn i Latin-Amerika 1820-1940).

The present study focused on Norwegian migration to Brazil with the purpose of presenting a general picture of this group: who migrated, how many, when, where and why. These questions are simple, but at the same time very challenging. The first challenge was to find these migrants. Numerically this group was not impressive, thus they rarely appear in official emigration and immigration statistics in Norway and Brazil respectively. There is also very little in migration literature about these migrants. Migration scholars in Norway usually focus on the United States, destination of over 90% of Norwegian emigrants in the period that goes from 1869 to 1914 (Nugent 1999, p.57). Meanwhile in Brazil immigration is often associated with one of the major groups: Portuguese, Spanish, Italians or Germans. Even for the smallest of these three groups the total number of migrants in the period between 1820-1940 surpasses 200,000 (Carneiro 1950, p.61). In comparison, Norwegian migration to Brazil is statistically irrelevant, so their history is a “micro” history. Thus to build a macro picture of the whole group it was necessary to collect and examine information on as many individuals and groups of individuals as possible.

On the theoretical level, it was necessary to define the “object of study”: what defines a migrant as opposed to a non-migrant. Migration is usually defined as a permanent or semi-permanent movement. This perspective assumes that a migrant is a person who takes a deliberate decision to move to another place with the intention of staying for a certain period of time or for the rest of his life. This definition based on the duration of the person's stay in the new place can be useful in quantitative studies because it establishes clear boundaries

⁶³ My own translation. In Norwegian: “Prosjektet er ment å produsere ny kunnskap om utvandring til Latin-Amerika som er relevant i større komparative perspektiv og som kan tjene som modell for studier av andre migrantgrupper”

between those who are and those who are not based on a numeric threshold of months or years. From a qualitative perspective this approach can be very reductionist. It is difficult to measure the “intention” behind the move. The migrant’s intention may change depending on what he encounters in the new environment. The Joinville-pioneers are a perfect example to illustrate this issue. None of them had planned to migrate to Brazil, and in the end many established themselves permanently in the country. On the other hand the Rjukan migrants, who migrated with the intention of establishing and creating a colony, did not. This approach sees migration as a process of rupture, a process in which a migrant leaves his home country and wants to settle in a new place. It also neglects important elements of migration: mobility itself and the linkages that this mobility creates. Another possible approach to migration history is to examine how “emigrant” and “immigrant” were defined socially and legally in the period being studied. This approach is more “subjective” and more dynamic than the previous one, but it is still problematic. The vast majority of the transatlantic migrants during the mass migration period were low class rural or urban laborers (Harzig and Hoerder 2009, p.36), and that created a stigmatized image of “emigrants” and “immigrants” in both sending and receiving ends. From the legal perspective, migrants were those who arrived in Brazil as 3rd class passengers. Many Norwegians who migrated to Brazil before 1940 would not be considered as e/immigrants from neither social nor legal points of view.

Perhaps the greatest advantages of studying such a small migration group is that we are not forced to accept these conventional definitions. Instead, it is possible to examine *all* migrants: official and non-official, permanent and temporary, intended and non-intended. In order to build a macro picture of this migration group it was necessary to collect the largest amount possible of micro-level data from several types of sources: passenger lists, emigration and immigration records, travel accounts, letters, memoirs, personal narratives. It was a long and demanding job. I chose to focus my research on Brazilian archives and data that is not easily available for the Norwegian public. Since my research takes a macro-level perspective, it seemed natural to concentrate especially on the collection of passenger records from Brazilian ports. I was interesting in finding as many Norwegians as possible, more than finding out very detailed information about one particular group or some individuals. There are still a lot of material to be consulted, both in Brazil and Norway, and hopefully the advance of technologies will facilitate the collection of data from a number of important sources. The creation of databases that are available on the Internet is one example.

The total number of Norwegians who migrated to Brazil during the mass migrations is still uncertain. Official numbers in Norway and Brazil are both deficient. Norwegian emigration protocols, that are usually considerable as a highly reliable source by migration historians (Nugent 1999, p.57), has serious flaws in relation to Norwegian migration to Latin America. On the other hand, Brazilian statistics do not include 1st or 2nd class passengers. The analysis of available data show that the overall size of this migration in the period from 1820 to 1940 is probably somewhere between 1,000 and 1,200, about ten times the number of registered emigrants in EMIPRO records. This migration was much smaller than any of the “major” groups or even other Scandinavian groups. However, from a macro perspective, it is possible to see some similar trends between Norwegian migration to Brazil and other migration groups. For instance, increases and decreases in Norwegian migration in the period from 1886 to 1930 is similar to what is observed in German migration as well, and they can be explained by social, economical and political contexts in Norway, Brazil and elsewhere. It is within these contexts that migrants took their decisions of whether or not to migrate and which destination to chose. In Brazil most Norwegian migrants also took similar routes to other groups: the Southern states, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, since those were the places where migrants found better opportunities to achieve their lifeplans. In 1940 the number of Norwegians in the North and Northeast regions was surprisingly high, especially in the state of Pará, yet it is possible that these “odd” concentrations can still be explained by known migration mechanisms, such as networks. Fløgstad (1999) is right in saying that Norwegian migration to Latin America was mostly an individual phenomenon. Nevertheless, this trend does not necessarily contrasts with other groups in the transatlantic migration system. One of the questions asked was whether migration theory that is based on mass migration groups could be used to understand small groups like the one studied herein. At least from a macro perspective, it seems like these general theories can be used in the analysis of other small groups such as Norwegians in Brazil.

Any macro-level study runs the risk of generalizing too much and missing on important details. This was still a risk, although I had the opportunity of analysing some cases on a micro level and reveal some of the nuances behind the macro-level. At the same time, this research has been important to define general trends and characteristics of Norwegian migration to Brazil, opening doors to other researchers interested on the subject. It would be interesting to have researches focusing especially on micro- and meso-levels. For example, studies that examine Norwegian integration and interaction with other migration groups,

especially in German-dominated areas and whether ethnic identity played an important role in the creation of networks. Norwegian migration to Pará and Bahia are also interesting cases that should be further investigated.

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Attachments

1. Table from Brettel and Hollifield (2008:4)

CAROLINE B. BRETTELL AND JAMES F. HOLLIFIELD

4

TABLE 1.1: MIGRATION THEORIES ACROSS DISCIPLINES

Discipline	Research Question(s)	Levels/Units of Analysis	Dominant Theories	Sample Hypothesis
Anthropology	How does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?	Micro/individuals, households, groups	Relational or structuralist and transnational	Social networks help maintain cultural difference.
Demography	How does migration affect population change?	Macro/populations	Rationalist (borrows heavily from economics)	Migration has a major impact on size, but a small impact on age structure.
Economics	What explains the propensity to migrate and its effects?	Micro/individuals	Rationalist: cost-benefit and utility-maximizing behavior	Incorporation varies with the level of human capital of immigrants.
Geography	What explains the spacial patterns of migration?	Macro, meso, and micro/individuals, households, and groups	Relational, structural, and transnational	Incorporation depends on ethnic networks and residential patterns.
History	How do we understand the immigrant experience?	Micro/individuals and groups	Eschews theory and hypothesis testing	Not applicable
Law	How does the law influence migration?	Macro and micro/ the political and legal system	Institutionalist and rationalist (borrows from all the social sciences)	Rights create incentive structures for migration and incorporation.
Political Science	Why do states have difficulty controlling migration?	More macro/ political and international systems	Institutionalist and rationalist	States are often captured by pro-immigrant interests.
Sociology	What explains incorporation and exclusion?	Macro/ethnic groups and social class	Structuralist or institutionalist	Incorporation varies with social and human capital.

2. Police records on departures from the Port of Recife. Vessel “Pará”, May 10th 1919.

A photograph of a handwritten document, likely a police record or manifest, detailing the departure of a vessel named "Pará" from the Port of Recife on May 10th, 1919. The document is written in a cursive hand and lists the names of passengers and crew members. At the bottom, it provides a summary of nationalities: 2 Brazilians, 2 Portuguese, 6 English, 1 Belgian, 1 American, 1 Holandais (Dutch), 2 Italian, 1 Norwegian, 10 Russian, and 2 Swiss.

João Carlos de Sousa, João Maria de Sousa, João Pedro de Sousa, Agostinho de Sousa, José de
Andrade Mendes, Francisco Augusto Braga, João Ray Salis, Hilário, de Joaquim
de Sousa, José Martins Turtello de Sousa, Antônio de Sousa, André de
Sousa de Sousa, Maria de Sousa e Maria de Sousa, Roberto Ribeiro, Carlos de Sousa
Bastos, Embaixador de Sousa, Joaquim de Sousa, Joaquim de Sousa Costa, de
Quilho Tavares e Sousa, Francisco de Sousa, Maria de Sousa, António Ribeiro
Santos, João Manuel Tavares e de João Custódio Tavares

Napoleão de Sousa, António de Sousa, Manoel Rodrigues Sacramento, Al-
bino de Sousa, João de Sousa, Maria de Sousa, Maria Tavares, Horácio dos Santos,
Frederico de Sousa e Maria de Sousa, José Leite, Manoel Francisco de Sousa, José Trai-
ço, Maria dos Santos, António de Sousa, Eugénio de Sousa, Miguel de Sousa,
Manoel Francisco de Sousa, Maria de Sousa, Salustiano de Sousa, José Col-
quhouno de Sousa, José Baptista de Sousa, Manoel de Sousa, Manoel de Sousa, Benigno
de Sousa, Amalberto de Sousa, Henrique de Sousa e José de Sousa.

Brazilienses: 2. Portuguezes: 6. Ingleses: 1. Belgas: 1. Americanos: 1. Holandizes:
2. Italianos: 1. Norwegianos: 10. Russos: 2. Swissos: 1.

3. Picture of the certificate of good conduct presented by Anton Richard Ludwig Ommundsen to request the Brazilian nationality (1898), according to which he had been living in Pernambuco in over 4 years.



4. House of Ulrik Ulriksen



5. Picture of Ulrik Ulriksen, Norwegian colonist in Joinville (Arquivo Histórico de Joinville)

