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An African Alternative

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Vanhalinna, 11 March 1991

Eero Kupařinen

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Context of the Investigation

In the history of European overseas migration, the period lasting just over a hundred years from the early 1820s into the 1930s forms a great wave, in which about fifty million Europeans exchanged their native countries for new homes in other continents. The great majority of the people on this wave of migration moved to North America, mainly to the United States; but a minority, numbering about a third of the total, made their way to the southern hemisphere, mainly settling in Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Argentina, and South Africa.

The stream of settlers who made their way to the southern tip of the African continent comprised one of the smallest groups in the 19th- and 20th-century migrations. Where the flow to the United States is counted in tens of millions, and the flows to Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia in millions, the settlers in South Africa number only hundreds of thousands.

The relatively small scale of the South African migration, and the intractability of the sources, are presumably the major reasons for its general neglect by the international research community. In contrast to the other regions of immigration, South Africa did not introduce statistical records of immigration until relatively late, at the beginning of the 20th century. For the mapping of migration to South Africa prior to the turn of the century, therefore, government statistics are not available from South Africa itself, and 19th-century immigration has thus understandably received little attention even from South Africa's own historians.

This lack of source materials from within South Africa, coupled with the difficulties in the application of source materials within

the countries of origin, has contributed to a similar neglect of the migration to South Africa in European migration research as well. For none of the major countries of origin of migration to South Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, or the Netherlands) has a comprehensive study of the migration pattern and its composition has been carried out. Indeed, not even for migration more generally has the composition of the migrant population been investigated for most of these countries. The only nationality of origin for which any kind of detailed examination exists are the Germans, whose migration during the 19th century was described in the study published by Werner SCHMIDT-PRETORIA in 1955.¹ His main focus is placed on organized migration schemes, however, rather than on spontaneous mass migration.

The migration from other parts of Europe was on a small scale; yet the smaller numbers involved in these migration populations has not provided an incentive to investigation. Partly on account of problems with the source materials, and partly because of the small scale of the phenomenon, the only national migration to South Africa which has been studied in terms of its demographic composition is that from Finland.²

In Finland's Nordic neighbour countries Sweden, Norway and Denmark, the traditions of migration to South Africa go further back. In terms of research, however, they are in the same position as the other nations in Europe; despite the extensive study of migration both by individual scholars and in larger-scale projects, the migration to South Africa has been almost completely neglected.

This does not mean that the South African migration has passed completely unnoticed in conjunction with wider migration research; but it has been accorded no more than passing mention — a few lines, or at most a few pages.

One instance of the former category is the extensive *Emigrationsutredningen* (Emigration Report), published in Sweden in

1 Werner Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1955.

2 Eero Kuparinen, *Suomalainen siirtolaisuus Etelä-Afrikkaan ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa* (Finnish Migration to South Africa before the First World War). Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Turku. Turku 1978.

1908—13, comprising a survey of Swedish overseas migration and twenty appendices. Swedish migration to South Africa is dealt with here in eleven lines.³

For Norway, Ingrid SEMMINGSEN devotes approximately twenty pages to South Africa in her study of the Norwegian overseas migration, *Veien mot vest* (The Road Westwards).⁴ Most of this is however spent on a description of the organized settlement schemes from Norway; spontaneous mass migration receives only a few pages' attention.

For Denmark, even less scholarly attention has been paid to the South African migration. In Kristian HVIDT's study of the Danish migration to America, he mentions the South African migration briefly on a few occasions;⁵ but once again, his focus is on assisted-passage schemes during the 1870s, not on the individual initiatives of later decades.

In addition to these studies, however, which all examine migration on a relatively large scale, there are a number of more detailed studies of some collective colonization schemes; most of these consist of articles in journals. Further reference will be made to these later.

Some attention has also been paid outside the Nordic countries to Scandinavian migration to South Africa, mainly in the United States. The major American contribution is Alan Hansson WINQVIST's doctoral dissertation from 1976, *The Impact of Scandinavians on the Cultural, Social and Economic Development of pre-1948 South Africa*. As the title indicates, both the original dissertation, and the abridged version subsequently published in book form,⁶ cover an extremely wide range of questions. Chronologically, this book covers South Africa from the 17th to the 20th centuries; its content ranges over a range of human activities

3 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga XX. Svenskarna i utlandet* (Emigration Report. Appendix XX: Swedes Abroad), 173—174.

4 Semmingsen 1950, 334—355.

5 Kristian Hvidt, *Flugten til Amerika eller Drivkræfter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868—1914* (Emigration from Denmark to America, 1868—1914). Odense 1971.

6 Alan H. Winqvist, *Scandinavians and South Africa. Their Impact on the Cultural, Social and Economic Development of pre-1902 South Africa*. Epping, Cape 1978.

from natural history to business, and from the missionary field to the trenches of the Boer War. Migration itself receives very little attention from WINQVIST, who is more interested in the biographies of important Scandinavians than in rank-and-file migrants. Consistently with this approach, WINQVIST has left unexplored almost all of the source materials requisite for the study of migration proper; his description of the Scandinavian migration to South Africa thus mainly consists of references to data from the South African censuses.

The investigation of the migration to South Africa from Sweden, Norway and Denmark needs therefore to start in most cases from scratch.

1.2. The Research Design

The objective of this study is to carry out a comparative analysis of South African migration from the four Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.¹ By covering the migration from a multinational region of origin, it is hoped to achieve wider validity for the findings and their potential application to the study of non-British migration in general to South Africa during the period concerned.

The aim has therefore been to establish as rounded a picture of the Nordic migration to South Africa as possible, encompassing its origins, causes, and development, and its scale, locations, and structure of composition. Who were the migrants? Where did they come from, and why? The focus of the study thus lies on the question of recruitment, in the field of historical migration demography. Since, however, Nordic migration to South Africa must always be seen in the contexts both of the internal developments within South Africa, and of the wider flow of migration to

1 In this investigation the term 'Nordic countries' includes Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden; 'Scandinavian countries' refers not only to the countries of the Scandinavian peninsula, Norway and Sweden, but also to Denmark, linked to them in terms of language and culture. This usage corresponds also to that used in South Africa at the time.

the region, the study of the migration is balanced by the examination of developments in the South African economy and society. Although the study of assimilation needs to be seen as an essential component in migration research, however, the adaption by the Nordic migrants to South African society has been excluded from the present investigation.

The questions set with respect to Nordic migration to South Africa are thus in principle the same as have been asked about international migration in other contexts for several decades. The models and hypotheses for the explication of migration patterns have for the most part been proposed in conjunction with the migration to North America, but they also have validity for application to the examination of marginal phenomena such as the migration to South Africa.

The conditions requisite for the occurrence of migration are usually seen as factors affecting the areas both of origin and of destination. Factors usually identified as basic are the demographic development and social and economic change in the area of origin; legislation in the areas both of origin and of destination; and the availability of information relevant to migration. Migration begins where there is sufficient social and economic pressure in the area of origin, if the relevant authorities permit the movement, and if adequate information is available to potential migrants concerning their destinations.

Different scholars have placed these preconditions for the emergence of migration flows in varying orders of importance. The most important question is whether the major causes affecting the flow of migration have been operative within the area of origin or of destination, i.e. 'push' or 'pull' factors, which have been formulated in the classic analysis by the American sociologist Everett S. LEE under four headings:

- a) Factors associated with the area of origin;
- b) Factors associated with the area of destination;
- c) Intervening obstacles;
- d) Personal factors.

As LEE points out, within both the area of origin and the area of destination there are a wide range of factors in operation acting either to encourage or inhibit migration, and these act on different

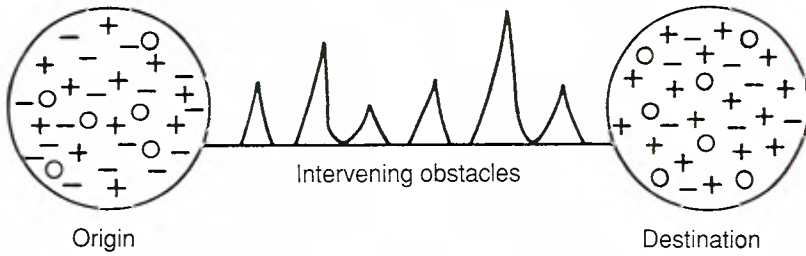


Figure 1. LEE's Representation of Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration (LEE 1969, 286).

individual persons in varying ways — powerfully, or not at all.²

LEE's first two headings cover the impact of demographic and social pressures within the areas of origin and destination; his third heading includes not only for example the impact of migration legislation, but also the resources required to overcome the distance between the two areas.

The fourth main heading, personal factors, LEE omits from this diagram, although such factors are always in operation affecting the decision to migrate or not. All four groups of factors may be presumed to be operative within the migration to South Africa as well, but this fourth group takes on increased significance, since in small-scale migrant populations, the acts of individuals become relatively more prominent, and the Nordic South African migration is undeniably on a smaller scale.

LEE has also studied fluctuation in the stream of migration, and proposes a number of hypotheses concerning these, of which the most fruitful for potential application to the migration to South Africa are the following:

- The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles;
- The volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy;
- The efficiency of migration streams will be high if intervening obstacles are great;
- Migrants responding positively to plus factors at destination

² Lee 1969, 285—286.

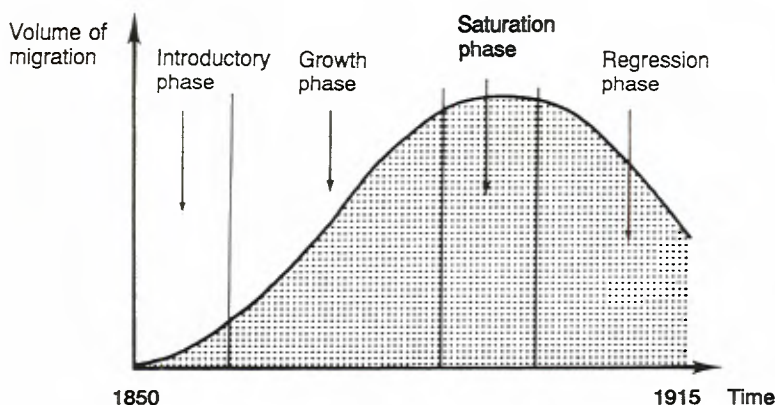


Figure 2. Theoretical Growth Curve for Migration (ÅKERMAN 1976, 25).

tend to be positively selected;

- The degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening obstacles.³

Models for the interpretation of the volume of and fluctuations in migration have also been developed within the Nordic countries. The most elegant version is that presented in Sune ÅKERMAN's theoretical migration growth curve, by means of which he examines migration as a process of innovation, and identifies four distinctive phases within the Swedish emigration: introductory, growth, saturation, and regression. ÅKERMAN'S curve provides a useful theoretical model for the examination of Nordic migration to South Africa and for the evaluation of the impact of factors such as migration tradition on fluctuations in the volume of migration.

Combination of the growth curves for several competing areas of destination makes it possible to produce a model of alternative destinations, in which the expansion of the stream of migration to one destination will be directly mirrored in a decline in streams to other destinations, as can be seen in the example of the emigration from Vaasa Province in Finland during the period 1860—1910 studied by Eric DE GEER and Holger WESTER.

We thus come to the consideration of one of the basic features in

³ Lee 1969, 290, 294—295.

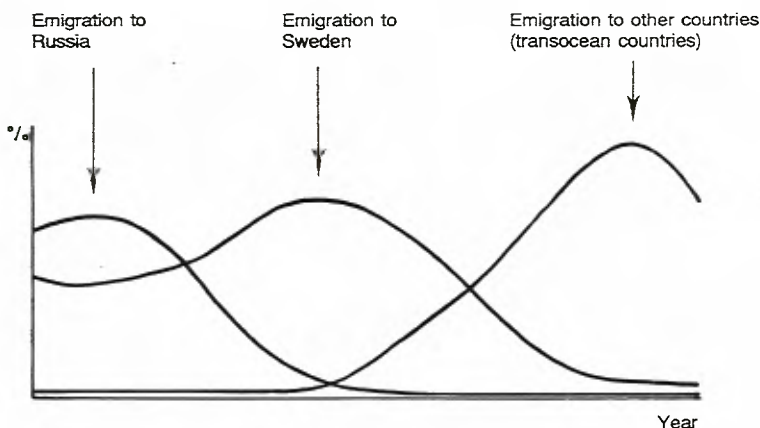


Figure 3. Growth Curves for Alternative Areas of Destination (DE GEER & WESTER 1975, 51).

Nordic emigration, i.e. the operation of alternatives.

The migration from the Nordic countries to South Africa cannot be considered as an isolated phenomenon, for it was in fact one component in a history of migration stretching over several centuries. Persons from the Nordic region were moving around the world well before the beginnings of the Great Migrations in the 19th century. In the migration to South Africa, what was new was the choice of destination, once the development of the economy in southern Africa created conditions attractive to immigration. Nonetheless, marine traffic had created contacts even during the Dutch East India Company's period, when South Africa had absorbed its earliest Nordic settlers.

In addition to the examination of the Nordic migration to South Africa as a distinct phenomenon, therefore, it will also be studied in the context of the overall stream of migration. Questions to be explored will include whether the Nordic migration to South Africa displays a distinctive structure and internal development of its own, independent of the overall overseas migration in terms of demographic composition, geographical pattern of recruitment, and causes, etc., or whether it was rather merely an alternative-destination sub-stream within the patterns of overseas migration as a whole. In order to identify the possible distinctive characteristics of the migration to South Africa, it will be compared here pri-

marily with the dominant North American stream of overseas migration, but also with other components in the international migration to South Africa (insofar as the limited source materials available permit).¹

The geographical scope of this investigation is the region corresponding to the present-day Republic of South Africa; the chronological scope extends over a hundred-year period from 1815 to 1914.

The geographical and chronological boundaries set here reflect a coherent historical and regional process of development. The historical end-markers are the beginning of the British administration in the Cape in 1815, and the outbreak of the First World War. The latter furnishes a natural boundary, for the outbreak of war reduced the total stream of migration to South Africa to a fraction of the levels obtaining in the pre-War period. Nonetheless, migration did not completely cease, and 1914 does not constitute an absolute terminus ad quem.

The date of the beginning of the period under investigation is that of the Peace of Paris and the official confirmation of British sovereignty over the Cape of Good Hope, which she had occupied during 1795—1803 and then again since 1806. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 also marked the transition from a prolonged period of international conflict to what was to prove a prolonged period of peaceful international relations. The pacification of the oceans opened the channels for overseas migration at a time when the expansion of the capitalist world economy was creating the conditions within which such migration was generated.

Within the hundred years investigated, two distinctive periods emerge: the early phase of South African immigration, continuing up to 1885, and the mass migration period in 1886—1914 following the opening of the gold fields on the Witwatersrand in 1886. The Witwatersrand gold transformed mining operations in the Transvaal into large-scale industry, and its repercussions

1 In this study, the migration to South Africa has been examined in the context of overseas migration from the countries concerned. The term 'overall migration' here thus refers to migration overseas, and excludes both internal and intracontinental migration (eg. to other countries in Europe).

created the conditions for major changes in the economy of the entire southern African region. It was also Witwatersrand gold which in 1886 created the town of Johannesburg, within a few years the largest concentration of population in South Africa, a powerful magnet not only for internal migration but also, with its high wage levels, for migrants from overseas.

1886 does not comprise a strict divide in South African history, neither in terms of the economy nor in terms of immigration, and cannot be regarded as a terminus a quo in the development of migration streams. The significance of 1886 lies in the new conditions created by the opening of the Witwatersrand gold fields and the growth of the city of Johannesburg. This region now became attractive to international migration, and formed an increasingly serious alternative to the migration destinations in other continents.

As a background to the Nordic migration to South Africa, an overview is first offered of the immigration to South Africa during the entire period 1815—1914, and of the role played by immigration in the establishment of the white community in South Africa. The peripherality of South Africa in relation to international migration research is emphasized by the fact that no overall picture of the migration to South Africa has been published.

In this investigation, the statistical data are given in accordance with regional divisions in use at the time (e.g. provincial divisions in the Nordic countries) with the names used in the relevant sources (in Norway, in the *bokmål* form), except for the cities of Christiania (for Kristiania, i.e. Oslo), Copenhagen, Gothenburg and Trondheim (whereas the provinces of Søndre and Nordre Trondhjem are listed thus in the Tables). Within Finland, names of towns and municipalities are normally given in the local majority language (Finnish or Swedish). In all four Nordic countries, place-names have been spelt in accordance with modern practice.

1.3. Sources

The investigation is based partly on statistics and partly on other sources of information, but statistical data form the major basis.

The objective has been systematically to examine the various recruitment populations, in order to establish a research population of the Nordic migrants who travelled to South Africa on as reliable a footing as possible. In each of the four Nordic countries, the primary research material used has consisted of the materials providing the basis for these countries' official migration statistics, supplemented by such other source materials as are available.

The source materials available for the different Nordic countries vary to some extent. The most extensive supplementary sources available are the lists of persons emigrating during the preceding year, contained in the Condensed Population Reports submitted annually by the parish clergy to the Central Bureau of Statistics in Sweden, the *Summariska folkmängdsredogörelser*. This system was introduced in 1865, retroactively from 1861, and continued down to 1946; from 1875, the reports also included lists of returning migrants. Every parish in the country was required to submit a report each year, irrespective of whether migration had occurred or not. The material thus covers the whole country, and is still extant in its entirety. For longer periods of investigation, however, its systematic use is laborious, since there were almost 2 500 parishes in Sweden at the turn of the century.

A second major source of information consists of the archive materials relating to the purchase of travellers' tickets by the migrants. These materials survive both for the cross-Atlantic traffic, and for the traffic from the Nordic countries to the ports of cross-Atlantic departure. While the cross-Atlantic data are not of use for investigation of the migration to South Africa,¹ the Nordic data provide valuable information. Data are available for all four Nordic countries, although in varying quantities and of varying importance. In Norway and Denmark, these passenger lists were utilized as the basis for the compilation of the official migration

1 The passenger lists of the British shipping lines operating to South Africa are extant from 1890 onwards, but have proved unhelpful for the investigation of national groups of migrants, since passengers' nationality is not stated; nor are passengers' forenames recorded, but only initials (and not in all cases even these). Finnish surnames often suffered unrecoverable distortion at the hands of British clerks and are frequently not even recognizable as Finnish (Passenger lists, outward. PRO Board of Trade, Statistical Department).

statistics; in Sweden and Finland this was not the case, and the juridical significance of the lists is also different in Finland.²

The systems used in Norway and Denmark differed somewhat. In Norway, the registration of migration contracts was the responsibility of the local police authorities; in view of the geographical conditions in Norway, this is highly understandable. There were thus almost twenty regional police authorities in charge of compiling lists of the contracts (*emigrantprotokollene*) between emigrants and shipping agents during the period 1886—1914 in the various regions of Norway. These materials have survived virtually intact, with the sole exception of Stavanger, where they were lost in a fire in the local police headquarters during the 1920s; for the investigation of the migration to South Africa it has fortunately been possible to consult copies stored at the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics.

In Denmark, on the other hand, the registration of migration contracts was almost completely concentrated in the hands of the police in Copenhagen. These records of confirmed contracts of emigration (*udvandringsprotokoller*) have survived intact from the introduction of the system in 1868. The only gaps in the Danish data consist of the lists for certain provincial towns in Denmark, mainly for the period 1888—93, when the Copenhagen archives cover only around 75—80 % of the Danish emigration.³ With regard to the larger patterns of migration to South Africa, however, these gaps in the data are not of great significance.

The third major group of source materials consists of the registers of passports issued for travel abroad. These registers exist for all four Nordic countries, but since passports were no longer compulsory in Sweden and Norway after 1860, nor in Denmark after 1862, it is only in Finland that the passport registers are of use for the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Passports continued to be compulsory in Finnish law throughout the period under investigation, and were used as the basis for the

2 In Norway, Denmark and Sweden the police emigration records consisted specifically of lists of passengers purchasing tickets from emigration agents; the system had originally been introduced to protect passengers against unscrupulous agents. In Finland, passenger lists were never given equivalent legal status.

3 Hvidt 1971, 70.

compilation of the official Finnish migration statistics. Nonetheless, the passport registers have their deficiencies as a source for research into the migration to South Africa, as will be discussed in further detail in the following section of this Chapter.

A source material which would be extremely awkward to use for the country as a whole, but is useful for local investigations, is provided by the parish records, which include lists of emigrants, lists of persons resident abroad, etc. These materials have been used in the present investigation for both Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, a sample of parishes have been examined to crosscheck the accuracy of the *Summariska folkmängdsredogörelser* materials; in Finland, however, the parish records have been used more systematically, and this has been facilitated by the extreme geographical concentration of the Finnish migration to South Africa.

On the basis of the Finnish passport registers, the 21 municipalities with the highest South African migration rates (i.e. all municipalities from which ten or more persons had emigrated to South Africa) were selected for more detailed examination. Despite the deficiencies of the passport registers as a research source for the investigation of the migration to South Africa, they have been regarded as sufficiently reliable to serve as a basis for selecting the areas for further examination, especially since the geographical concentration of the South African emigration shown by the registers is in agreement with the pattern derived from other independent sources (e.g. the press).

Another set of parish records to which reference has been made for tracing Scandinavian (especially Swedish) immigrants are the archives of the Scandinavian (subsequently Swedish) parish in Johannesburg. Since only a very small minority of the immigrants made use of the facilities of the parish, however, it has proved of little use for the present investigation.

Archives which have been of considerably more value are those of the Scandinavian consular authorities in South Africa. The archives of the Consulate General in Cape Town (originally of Sweden-Norway; following the dissolution of the Union, of Sweden alone) have been examined for the period 1841—1914, and those of the Consulate in Johannesburg for 1897—1914, together with those of the Danish Consulate in Johannesburg for 1898—1914.

The consular materials have provided a wide range of information. The consuls' correspondence has given insights into local conditions and information about the lives of immigrants, and reflected the hopes and expectations of the migrants who chose South Africa as their destination. Amid the grey statistical data, the consular files have brought light and colour, and turned statistical quantities into living flesh and blood.

In addition, moreover, they have assisted in mapping the migrant population under investigation. Migrants might be recorded in the consular archives for many different reasons: one of the most common was enquiries from the home country as to a migrant's current whereabouts. Such enquiries often included extensive information about the migrant in question. Another context in which migrants were sometimes mentioned in the consular archives was in connection with business or voluntary association activities; similarly, deaths occurring in South Africa were also often recorded by the consular authorities.

Information both on migrants, and on local conditions, has been obtained not only from archives, but also from contemporary literature, memoirs, and the press. For assembling information about individual migrants, the most useful source has been the special journals aimed at Scandinavians resident abroad. There were two of these in Sweden: *Allsvensk Samling* and *Utlandsvenskarna*; for Norwegians, there was *Nordmands-Forbundet*, and for Danish emigrants, *Danmarksposten*. Thanks to contributions from local correspondents, a wealth of information about the lives of the settlers within South Africa has found its way into the pages of these journals; many migrants received mention on the occasion of important events in their lives, or obituary notices when they died.

Since the Finns in South Africa failed to consolidate a significant local community, the Finnish journal for emigrants overseas, *Suomen Silta*, has proved to be of little use for the present investigation.

1.4. The Applicability of Migration Statistics to the Investigation of the Migration to South Africa

Great weight has traditionally been given to the use of statistical material in migration research, and to the extrapolation from figures in statistical tables of information about fluctuations in the stream of migration. Frequently, migration statistics alone have been regarded as a sufficient source of information. It may be asked whether this approach might not have been adequate for the study of the Nordic migration to South Africa. Is the extension of the source materials in the pursuit of the charting of the migrant population an uneconomic working method? No; there are two major reasons for extending the range of sources used: statistical deficiencies, and statistical errors.

Irrespective of the choice of source materials, the statistical reporting of the Nordic migration to South Africa is deficient, since in one way or another there were a number of migrants who escaped registration by the authorities. The Finnish statistics derived from the passport registers, for example, exclude both those who left the country without passports, and those who travelled on passports issued earlier. In purely statistical terms, this error is partly balanced out by those emigrants who were issued with passports, but then did not in fact set out; and this statistical error is evidently not on a very large scale. Whereas in the early years of Finnish emigration, as many as 50 % of the emigrants were travelling without passports, by the period 1893—1914 this only applied to a few per cent.¹

In the statistics derived from the Swedish parish records, one group deficiently reported are short-term emigrants. Those who omitted to report their intended departure to the parish authorities, and returned within two years, were never recorded as emigrants. The scale of the statistical underestimate arising from the non-registration of these short-term emigrants has proved impossible to assess.²

1 Kero 1974, 37.

2 Tedebrand 1976, 85—88; see also Tedebrand 1972, 322.

In Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, only those emigrants who handled their passages through accredited shipping agents were registered in the migration statistics; cases where emigrants set out independently from Norway to Britain, or from Denmark to Germany, went unrecorded. Many Norwegians, moreover, bought their tickets in Gothenburg or Copenhagen, and thus went unrecorded in the Norwegian statistics. It was moreover cheaper to set out in this way, for a ticket purchased personally at the port of departure for South Africa cost less, and this was a significant factor in the migration to South Africa, where even cheap tickets were expensive.

Whereas statistical deficiencies apply to all four Nordic countries, statistical error is primarily a problem with Finland, though possibly also with Sweden. Bureaucracies have an inherent tendency towards standardization; in the case of migration, this means assimilating minor streams of migration to the major ones. Thus in the Finnish passport registers persons applying for passports to travel to South Africa were very often entered as travelling to America. In 1895, for example, 70 emigrants set out from Munsala for South Africa. 57 of these have been traced in the passport registers, where their destinations are stated in 31 cases as 'America', in 17 as 'Africa', in four as 'Sweden', and in five simply as 'abroad'. Careful collation of information from multiple sources has however confirmed that all 57 did in fact travel to South Africa.

It is impossible to state what proportion of the Nordic migration to South Africa went unrecorded in the official migration statistics as a result of statistical deficiency or error. Some idea of the discrepancy can however be obtained by comparing the figures in the official statistics for the period 1886—1914 with those derived from the combined use of multiple sources. The figures from the official statistics are cited here after subtraction of persons travelling to other parts of Africa and also of missionaries, who have not been classified as migrants for the purposes of the present investigation.

According to these figures, something like two thousand persons emigrated in 1886—1914 from the Nordic countries to South Africa without being recorded in the official migration statistics. Yet even this is not the whole truth, for the multiple-source figures quoted here include only those cases identified with

certainty as having travelled to South Africa during the period 1886—1914; a further 512 cases of emigration have been traced which are known to have occurred prior to 1900 but cannot with certainty be dated in the period 1886—99; and an additional 813 cases are known to have occurred prior to 1915 but cannot be dated with certainty to the period 1886—1914. When these figures are included, the total number of emigrations to South Africa rises to 6 676, and the discrepancy from the official statistics amounts to 97 %. If this is true, virtually half of the persons travelling from the Nordic countries to South Africa must either have set out independently of the shipping agents, and thus escaped registration in the Norwegian or Danish official statistics; or failed to be recorded in the passport registers or parish records; or travelled to South Africa via a third country.

Persons travelling to South Africa	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark	Total
Recorded in official statistics	1 167	839	420 ³	962	3 388
Identified from multiple sources	1 462	1 454	1 222	1 213	5 351
Discrepancy	295 (25.3 %)	615 (73.3 %)	802 (191.0 %)	251 (26.1 %)	1 963 (57.9 %)

It must be noted that the figures quoted here refer to the cases of emigration recorded in the present investigation; to what extent they diverge from the number of actual persons involved, it is impossible to say. Some attempt to approach the question may be made on the basis of the evidence from censuses held in South Africa during the period under investigation, which are available for three dates: 1890—91, 1904 and 1911.

3 Due to the late initiation of migration statistics in Finland, official data on destinations other than America are available only since 1900. The figure cited hereafter as the official migration statistic for the period 1886—99 is one calculated from the entries for Africa in the passport registers, which would have provided the basis for official migration statistics had such been compiled.

The highest number of Scandinavians recorded in these censuses occurs in 1904, when there were 3 988 persons resident in South Africa who had been born in Sweden or Norway, and 1 249 who had been born in Denmark.⁴ Census data referring to Finns are available only from the 1920s, and there are no data on the Finnish population in South Africa in 1904. On the other hand, these figures (altogether approximately 5 200 Scandinavian residents in South Africa in 1904) also include those who had landed prior to 1886. Approximately 1 000 cases of immigrants landing before 1886 have been traced during the present investigation, most of whom are probably included in the 1904 statistics.

Although there are certain weakness inherent in the use of such census data to assess the number of migrants (e.g. the non-inclusion of both the deceased and the re-emigrants), their level of accuracy may be adequate for the present purposes, and suggests that the size of the migrant population traced during the present investigation is in fact reliably close to the true size of the Nordic immigrant population in South Africa at that time. The identification of every individual person migrating from the Nordic countries to South Africa is of course impossible, and has not been attempted here; the purpose behind the maximization of the research population has been to establish a sufficiently representative base to permit valid conclusions to be drawn concerning the Nordic migration to South Africa as a whole. Since the evidence suggests that the research population is on a comparable scale with the true immigrant population (rather than a fraction thereof, for instance), it may be considered fully adequate for this purpose.

⁴ *Census of the Cape Colony 1904*, 30; *Census of the Natal Colony 1904*, 532; *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 28—29; *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142.

2. Migration to South Africa from the Beginning of British Rule to the First World War (1815—1914)

2.1. The Assisted Immigration Era

The Cape Colony had been founded at the southern tip of Africa by the Dutch East India Company in 1652, and was ruled by the Company until 1795. In 1815, British de facto possession of the colony was confirmed, and within five years of the official transfer to British rule, the British had embarked in 1819 on an extensive program of settlement; yet even this program had been preceded by some earlier private settlement projects on a smaller scale.¹

In South African history, the 4 000 white settlers who joined population of the Cape as a result of this program started in 1819 are usually referred to as 'The 1820 Settlers' or 'The Albany Colonists', the former name referring to the date of arrival of the first settlers, and the latter to the Albany Province where their settlement was located. This project has inspired more research than any other single settlement project in South Africa during the 19th century.² Even so, the picture drawn by scholars is not

1 On the settlement program in 1818—19, see C.E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*. Vol. 2. London 1913; E.H. Burrows, *The Moodies of Melsetter*. Cape Town 1954.

2 On the 1820 settlers, see esp. I.E. Edwards, *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa*. London 1934; H.E. Hockly, *The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa*. Second Edition. Cape Town 1957; D.E. Rivett-Carnac, *Thus Came the*

entirely consistent, and in particular there has been a reassessment of the objectives of the grants from the British Parliament which made the settlement financially possible. Disagreement has focused on whether the decision to back the project was primarily a question of colonial policy (the wish to secure the restless eastern border of the colony by means of a settlement buffer zone), or one of domestic politics at a time of economic depression (the wish to reduce demographic pressure in the British Isles in the fear of labour unrest). Most investigators have nowadays accepted that both questions probably contributed to the decision.

The 1820 Settlers were not particularly successful in the area they settled, due both to the harsh conditions and to their own limitations. Within a few years, many of them had abandoned rural for urban life. Within three years, the majority of the settlers brought to the eastern borders of the Cape Colony in 1820 had moved away.³

Despite this failure of planned rural colonization, however, the importance of the 1820 Settlement for British South Africa should not be underestimated. Including non-assisted immigration, the white population of the Cape grew as a result of this project by around five thousand. For the colonial masters, what was also important was the nationality of the new settlers. The 1820 Settlers were the first sizable community of British people to choose Africa as their new home.⁴

Following the end of the 1820 Settlement, interest in immigration to the Cape declined. During the following four decades, 1820—1860, while the United States and Canada absorbed over 6.1

English. Cape Town 1961; E. Morse Jones, *Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa*. Part I up to 1826. Second Edition. Cape Town 1971; H.J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815—1830*. Oxford 1972; Graham Brian Dickason, *Irish Settlers to the Cape. A History of the Clanwilliam 1820 Settlers from Cork Harbour*. Cape Town 1973.

3 Kotze 1981, 131—132.

4 The insignificance of the British contribution to settlement in the Cape under the Dutch East India Company is illustrated by the finding in George McCall Theal's listing of 1 526 settlers, drawn up on the basis of C.C. De Villiers' family records, in which only three British settlers are mentioned (Theal 1922, 353).

million immigrants⁵ and Australia and New Zealand 1.2 million,⁶ South Africa received a mere dribble, estimated by C. W. DE KIEWIT at an annual average of 750 settlers.⁷ This figure is however a crude average, since there was wide fluctuation in the number of immigrants from one year to another.

Unfortunately, the investigation of migration to South Africa either in chronological or geographical terms is seriously hampered by the deficiencies of the local public records. In stark contrast both to the United States, and to other regions belonging at that time to the British Empire, Canada, Australia or New Zealand, no proper statistics on immigration were kept by the authorities in South Africa during the 19th century.⁸ The Canadian immigration statistics were commenced in 1816; those for the United States in 1820; and in New South Wales, the first colony in Australia to record immigration statistics, in 1825.⁹ South Africa follows far behind. This situation was partially amended by later immigration legislation, such as the Immigration Acts of 1902 and 1913; but not until 1924 did South Africa begin to maintain full and reliable records on migrants arriving and leaving.¹⁰

Information on the development and annual fluctuations in migration to South Africa can however be traced from national statistics on emigration. The key source in this respect are the port records of the United Kingdom, based on information collected by the port authorities on ships' passenger lists. The Passenger Act of 1803, sometimes called 'the first migration legislation', required ships' masters to submit to the port authorities a passenger list for any vessel departing overseas from a United Kingdom port. As a result of this Act, the United Kingdom has the oldest migration statistics for any country in Europe, dating back unbroken to 1803.¹¹

5 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 360, 369, 372, 377.

6 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 960, 979, 988, 990, 998.

7 De Kiewit 1960, 70.

8 On the history of migration statistics in South Africa, see the *Official Yearbook of the Union*. No 9, 1926—27, 890.

9 *International Migrations*. Vol. I, 81.

10 *Official Yearbook of the Union*. No 9, 1926—27, 890—891.

11 On the history of migration statistics in the United Kingdom, see *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 619—621.

It must be borne in mind that until 1912 the passenger lists used for the harbour records in the United Kingdom listed all passengers indiscriminately, i.e. also including possible non-emigrants. Prior to 1860, these are considered to have comprised too small a portion of the passengers to be of significance.¹² It should also be borne in mind that prior to 1863 passenger lists only were required to be submitted to the port authorities if deck passengers were being carried. If the ship's master only had cabin passengers, the submission of a passenger list was optional.¹³ Since, however, the great majority of emigrants travelled in the cheapest possible way, i.e. as deck passengers, this deficiency in the statistics will for the most part have led to the omission of cabin passengers who were not emigrants: i.e., in the case of South Africa, officials, traders, and missionaries and officers of the colonial armed forces.

The earliest port records for the United Kingdom relating to South Africa date from 1821, and confirm the picture of the early decades of the 19th century as a quiet period in South African migration. During 1821—30, the number of departures for the Cape amounted to 1 779, and for 1831—40, 3 091.¹⁴ The annual mean number of departures during the 1820s was thus below 200, and even during the 1830s only rose to 300. These figures are strikingly lower than the surge in 1820, reflecting the changed situation. Financial aid by the British Parliament for settlement in South Africa had come to an end with the termination of the 1820 Settlement,¹⁵ and the practice of granting assistance by the local colonial Government for settlers had not yet been introduced within the Cape Colony.

As a result of this sluggish current of migration during the 1820s and 1830s, by the 1840s the Cape Colony was beginning to suffer from an increasingly chronic shortage of manpower. As the colony expanded and developed, there was a steadily increasing need for labour. Eventually, the solution was seen as assisted migration, no

12 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 622, 624.

13 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 622.

14 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 630.

15 A 'last fling' of the 1820 settlement scheme was the despatch in 1823 of over 300 Irish settlers to the Cape with financial support from the British Colonial Office (Morse Jones 1971, 11; Dickason 1973, 60).

longer, however, funded by the British Parliament, as in 1820, but by the central authorities in the Cape. On several occasions between 1844 and 1850, the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony granted a small fund to assist settlers.¹⁶

As a result of this program of financial assistance, over 4 000 settlers arrived in the Cape Colony during the period 1846—50 from the British Isles, which were currently in an economic depression. The settlers included English, Scottish, and Scotch-Irish, and they made a major contribution to the development of the population in the Cape Colony, including as they did many young families, who soon helped to expand the European population in the colony.¹⁷

The termination of assisted passages in 1850 soon led to a recurrence of the same problems as in the preceding decade. By the later 1850s, the Cape Colony was once again suffering from a shortage of labour, and a new settlement program was needed. Under the terms of grants from the Cape Colony Parliament in 1857—62, British settlers were enticed to move to the Cape by means of free passages and other benefits. This campaign was successful, and the white population in the colony grew by almost 10 000 during this period.¹⁸

The settlement program of 1857—62 thus expanded the white population of South Africa by as many settlers as the two most successful previous recruitment campaigns together. Yet this was only one of several almost concurrent projects. For the first time under British rule, recruitment on a significant scale was now also aimed outside the British Isles. Several hundred Germans had been recruited to the Cape during the 1830s,¹⁹ and around 1 800 Dutch settlers had arrived in the colony aboard Dutch ships during 1849—62,²⁰ but there was now a sharp rise in the number of non-British settlers. In 1857, soldiers who had been recruited for the

16 Hattersley 1969, 87—88; see also Robertson 1937, 381—382. On the transport of immigrants to South Africa during the 1840s and 1850s, see 'A.M.L.R.', 'Emigration to the Cape A Hundred Years Ago'. *Quarterly Bulletin of South African Library* 1948/4, 112—117.

17 Theal 1893, 231; Theal 1902, 273.

18 Robertson 1937, 393—397; Hattersley 1969, 187.

19 Dawson 1925, 33.

20 Ploeger 1971, 125.

German Legion deployed in the Crimean War were offered land grants on the eastern borders of the Cape Colony, and this was followed by a campaign to consolidate these settlements with German farmworkers, smallholders, and artisans. Within a few years the numbers of Germans in the Cape had grown by almost 5 000.²¹

The next assisted settlement scheme was not introduced in the Cape Colony until the early 1870s. By this time, many factors had changed in South Africa. After a long period of relative prosperity, during the 1860s the Cape Colony had experienced a depression, during which the numbers of Europeans leaving the region exceeded the numbers of new arrivals.²² The discovery of diamonds towards the end of the 1860s, however, had provided an unexpected boost to the local economy, and had thrust it in a completely new direction of development. No longer was the Cape Colony a poor, remote corner at the southern tip of Africa, almost entirely dependent on agriculture; the emergence of the mining industry now offered major opportunities for a new prosperity.

One of the immediate results of the emergence and expansion of the diamond industry in South Africa was the need for improved communications. The mining regions, located far inland, needed a faster, more modern link with the coast than the traditional bullock carts used in the province were able to provide. Consequently, in the 1870s the first major construction project in South African history was launched: the building of a railway network to link the ports on the coast with the diamond fields in the north.

The assisted settlement program initiated in 1873 to recruit labour for the Cape railway construction project and other public works was to grow into the largest such project in the history of British South Africa, and it continued into the early 1880s, when a downturn in the economy led to the cessation of recruitment. Not only was this the longest-lasting project, it also had the heaviest demographic impact on the South African population. The number of settlers arriving in South Africa on passages assisted by

21 Samassa 1905, 380—381; Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 65—66, 351—375; see also Mönckmeier 1912, 225; Trümpelman 1972, 185.

22 Houghton 1971, 9.

the Cape Colony between 1873 and 1883 can be numbered at around 23 300.²³

The termination of this program, early in the 1880s, also marked the end of the major assisted settlement programs in the Cape during the 19th century. From now on, there would be no further need for recruited immigration on this scale.

The picture of assisted settlement in South Africa during the 19th century would be incomplete, however, if attention were only concentrated on the Cape Colony. Although at the beginning of British rule, European South Africa was synonymous with the Cape, a generation later this was no longer the case. White settlement had now spread beyond the borders of the Cape Colony, and by 1850, following the Great Trek by the Boers which had started in 1834, adjacent to the Cape Colony there were the new regions of Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State (see Cartographic Appendix 1).

The earliest new area of settlement, and for a long time the most important, was Natal. This region, situated over 1 500 kilometres from Cape Town and, in the early 19th century, virtually inaccessible by road, was not settled by Europeans until 1824. In 1837—42 the area was the Boer Republic of Natalia, but in 1842 it was annexed as a British colony, initially under the Cape Colony, but a decade and a half later finally achieving separate status as a British Crown Colony.

The first program of assisted settlement in Natal dates from 1847, a mere five years after the British annexation. The early settlement projects were characterized by a strong commercial emphasis: immigration was promoted as a commercial enterprise.²⁴ In terms of the promotion of settlement, the system adopted for Natal, which guaranteed sizable profits for immigration agents, was highly successful. The number of British settlers arriving in Natal in the period between the beginning of 1842 and the summer of 1852 amounted to around 4 800.²⁵ Since

23 Stone 1973, 114.

24 On early settlement projects in Natal, see Samassa 1905, 377—378; Hattersley 1950, 97—101; Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 40—48, 51—52; Engelsing 1961, 116; Clark 1972, 26; Hattersley 1972, 28; Van Zyl 1981, 218.

25 Hattersley 1950, 315.

most of these immigrants consisted of settler families,²⁶ they were to have a major impact on the extent and structure of European settlement in Natal, where by 1856 the entire white population numbered no more than approximately 8 000.²⁷

Irregularities in the activities of the agents who had handled the settlement program for Natal, however, soon led to the system being changed. The payment of bounties for settlers was now abandoned, and the Government of Natal took over closer responsibility for promoting immigration. In 1857 a program of assisted settlement was initiated, which was to continue until 1869.²⁸

During its total operation, lasting more than a decade, the program was many times amended. It started out with Government-backed loans for approved immigrants, and culminated with free or semi-free passages to Natal and free land grants from the Government. Nevertheless, the program failed to meet the targets which had been set. At the initiation of the program, it had been hoped to reach a steady annual flow of around 700 carefully selected settlers. This objective remained far from fulfilment, however; by the time the program was abandoned in 1869, when the depression affecting the Natal economy led to withdrawal of the funding, the number of settlers landing between 1858 and 1869 had totalled no more than 1 800.²⁹

Following the termination of this settlement program in 1869, assisted settlement in Natal was at a very low level for almost a decade. Not until 1878 did the situation change. The end of the preceding phase was symbolized by the closure of the Natal Colonial Agent's office in London in 1869; the beginning of the new phase by the commencement of operations by the newly-established Land and Immigration Board Office in 1878.³⁰

Just as the initiation of the Cape railway scheme in the early 1870s had created a need for the recruitment to the Colony of particular types of labour, the stimulus for renewed immigration to

26 Hattersley 1940, 35.

27 Hattersley 1973, 54.

28 Hattersley 1969, 191—192.

29 On the immigration project in 1858—69, see Carrothers 1929, 212; Hattersley 1969, 191—913; Clark 1972, 180; Hattersley 1972, 28.

30 Hattersley 1972, 28.

Natal was also public works, such as the extensive Docks Project, in conjunction with which the Natal Government issued free passages to suitable persons from the United Kingdom. The package included a free passage to Natal, and guaranteed employment in the public works program; employment in public works was not required, however, and settlers were also free to look for work independently.³¹

Assisted settlement in Natal in the late 1870s and early 1880s was however not very successful. The difficulties they encountered, and financial miscalculations, forced many farmers to abandon their farms and look for work elsewhere. By 1889, half of the farmers who had come to Natal during the 1880s had abandoned their farms.³² One of the few projects during this period to achieve even moderate success was the Norwegian settlement at Marburg, the credit for this success being due, however, not to external factors but to the settlers themselves.³³

The assisted settlement program in Natal was continued after the 1880s, but without any extensive recruitment campaign. Immigration to Natal by certain approved categories of settlers, such as financially self-supporting farmers, or workers in particular trades, continued to be officially promoted even after the Boer War, although on a much reduced scale;³⁴ thereafter spontaneous immigration took over from the official recruitment schemes.

In contrast to these schemes in the Cape Colony and Natal, assisted immigration played a very limited role in the other European settlements in South Africa, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and requires only brief examination.

In the early years of the Transvaal, recognized by the British in the Sand River Agreement of 1852 as the independent Republic of South Africa, there were a few private immigration projects, mainly recruiting on a small scale in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The most ambitious of these was the plan during the 1860s by a Scot, Alexander McCorkindale, for a settlement for

31 Theal 1919, 247.

32 Carrothers 1929, 239.

33 Carrothers 1929, 239; see also Hattersley 1969, 193.

34 Hattersley 1972, 28.

several hundred British families in the eastern Transvaal. Financial difficulties led to curtailment of the plans, however, and when it was finally implemented in 1867, no more than fifty new settlers were added to the population of the Transvaal.³⁵

Another scheme from the same period as McCorkindale's was an even smaller project organized by a Swede, O. W. A. Forssman, which will be discussed in more detail below.

In contrast to the very limited impact of these private schemes during the period of the independent Transvaal republic, there was rather more success in the schemes operated by the new British overlords in the early 20th century, in the aftermath of the Boer War. By 1910, a recruitment campaign by the British, aimed partly at ex-soldiers, had succeeded in bringing about 450 new settlers to the the Transvaal.³⁶

In the Orange Free State, which achieved independence two years later than the Transvaal, no project for assisted settlement was launched, or at least is known to have been carried through to completion, during the independence period. Only after the Boer War had brought an end to the independent Orange Free State was settlement promoted, by the new British overlords, who had in fact launched plans for a British settlement scheme in the Orange Free State territory before the War had even finished. The British schemes for settlement in the Orange Free State were somewhat more successful than those in the Transvaal, though still very limited in scope. By 1905, the number of British settlers had risen to no more than 700. By 1907, when the scheme was closed down, some of the earlier British settlers had already abandoned their farms in the face of difficulties, and the British Government had sunk £1,2 million in the scheme.³⁷

The closing down of the scheme for British settlement in the Orange Free State marked the end of large-scale heavily-funded assisted immigration programs in South Africa. In relation to the financial outlay, the success of the final scheme must be considered very poor: earlier schemes in South Africa had achieved considerably better results in financial terms. The

35 Theal 1889, 156—157; Pelzer 1972, 29; see also Du Plessis 1981, 260—261.

36 Carrothers 1929, 249—250.

37 Carrothers 1929, 249—250; Oberholster 1972, 29.

challenges, and the offer, were now however very different. The attempt to establish agricultural settlement on the unfriendly soils of the Orange Free State was a very dubious enterprise. The time for assisted settlement was over, at least in terms of settlement of the outlying regions of South Africa. The recruitment to South Africa at that period of artisans, mineworkers, or manpower for various service occupations by assisted settlement would not have encountered any difficulties: on the contrary. There was however no great need for such schemes, since the needed population growth was being supplied by spontaneous migration to South Africa, at times more than adequately.

2.2. Spontaneous Migration to South Africa

The series of events dominating South African history around 1870 is known as the Mineral Revolution, and this name does justice to the magnitude of the changes which took place in the South African economy. Within a short period, a remote, almost entirely agricultural community, where capital was in short supply, was transformed into the major industrial state on the African continent, whose wealth of natural resources made the rest of the world look poor in comparison.

Just as the discovery of gold had sparked off the Gold Rushes in California at the end of the 1840s, and in Australia in the early 1850s, the discovery of diamonds had a similar booster effect in South Africa at the end of the 1860s. Initially, the diamonds were discovered in the northern area of the Cape Colony, in alluvial deposits along the banks of the Vaal River easily exploited by means of panning. As a result of this first Diamond Rush, by 1870 there were about 10 000 prospectors crowding the banks of the Vaal River.¹

The earliest pioneers in this new branch of the economy came from within South Africa, mainly from Natal; before long, however, the diamond fields began to attract prospectors from outside Africa as well. South Africa found itself attracting

1 Rosenthal 1971, 20; cf. Cole 1961, 285.

shiploads of adventurers from all over the world in hopes of sudden wealth.²

In the early years of the South African Diamond Fever, around 1870, the annual profits from the river diggings rose to an estimated £3 million. Yet this was no more than a beginning: for from 1870 the major non-alluvial diggings rapidly overtook the river diggings in importance and raised South African annual profits from diamonds to many times the former figure: for the 1870s as a whole, to approximately £700 million.³

The pull factor impact of the diamond fields both in internal migration within South Africa and in immigration from abroad was very considerable. By the end of 1871, the number of people living on the diggings in the area between the Modder and Vaal Rivers, annexed by the British in that year as Griqualand West, exceeded the entire population of the Orange Free State. In 1873, the mining community at the centre of the area received the name Kimberley; at that time its total white and black population was estimated at 50 000, making it the second largest concentration of population in South Africa, after Cape Town.⁴

The Mineral Revolution in effect triggered off a new phase in migration to South Africa. Up to this time, most of the settlers had arrived under the auspices of some kind of assisted passage scheme. Naturally, other forms of migration had also occurred — including seaman migration, and spontaneous migration — since there had been opportunities of employment for artisans in the towns of South Africa ever since the days of the Dutch East India Company. Only after the impact of the Diamond Fever, however, did this small-scale spontaneous migration begin to develop into a phenomenon more on the scale of mass migration.

As was explained above, no immigration statistics are available for South Africa during the 19th century. Some indication of the relevant figures can be extracted from the port registers for the United Kingdom, however, although it must be borne in mind that the British figures include both spontaneous and assisted migration. The records show an average annual figure of 850

2 Hattersley 1969, 206.

3 Houghton 1971, 11; Rosenthal 1971, 20.

4 Hattersley 1969, 206—207; Rosenthal 1971, 21; cf. Oberholster 1971, 15.

passengers leaving the United Kingdom in the late 1860s for South Africa (see Appendix 1); by 1873, this had risen to almost 3 000, and it continued to rise, to exceed 4 000 in 1874, 5 000 in 1875, and 6 000 in 1876. Following a brief lull, the figures once again began to rise in the late 1870s, exceeding 7 000 in 1879 and 9 000 the following year. The peak figure for this period was reached in 1881, with over 14 000 passengers; in 1882 there were over 13 000; but by 1885, the figure had fallen back to below 4 000.⁵

The major assisted passages scheme to South Africa during the period in question was the campaign to recruit labour for the Cape Railway and other public works, as described in the preceding Section. The railway project is estimated to have brought about 23 300 immigrants to the Cape Colony during the years 1873—83.⁶ The number of passengers sailing from UK ports for South Africa during these years amounted to 81 398.⁷ This leaves approximately 58 000 persons unaccounted for by the railway scheme: some of these will have been immigrants to South Africa supported under other assisted passage schemes, while others again were non-immigrants. When all of these factors are taken into account, the mean average figure obtained for settlers sailing from British ports for South Africa during the eleven years in question is approximately 5 000 settlers per year. This represents a major increase over the mean annual figure of around 750 for the latter half of the 1860s.

The stimulus to immigration to South Africa of Kimberley and Diamonds in the 1870s, however, was overshadowed by the twin words Johannesburg and Gold in the later 1880s. There had long been prospecting for gold in South Africa, and some finds, but gold did not take on major significance until the 1870s, when alluvial gold deposits were discovered at Lydenburg in the eastern Transvaal.⁸

Even the discoveries at Lydenburg and elsewhere in the eastern Transvaal during the 1870s, however, were no more than the beginning. During the 1880s, new finds were reported from various

5 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628.

6 Stone 1973, 114.

7 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628.

8 On the discovery of gold at Lydenburg, see Theal 1919, 248—249; Rosenthal 1972, 224.

parts of the Transvaal, of which the most important was that in the southern Transvaal, on the watershed between Pretoria and the Vaal River. The earliest finds of gold here on the Witwatersrand dated from the 1850s; further discoveries had been made in 1884—85; but it was in March 1886 that the region passed into mining history with the discovery of the main lode.⁹ This was eventually to prove the largest known gold lode in the world, larger than any found either before or since.

In September 1886, the Witwatersrand was declared a goldfield, an event which was to mark the launching of an unprecedented boom in South Africa. It also sparked off a wave of immigration far in excess of anything previously seen in South African history. As the name of the Transvaal goldfield became known, a distinct branch within the overall flow of European emigrants began to make their way there in search of their own southern African Eldorado.

This drastic upsurge in migration to South Africa is clearly visible in the port records for the United Kingdom (see Appendix 1). Following the termination of the last major assisted-passages scheme to the Cape with the onset of the depression in 1883, the number of passengers had fallen by 1885 to less than 4 000. The numbers then began to rise, however: slowly at first, but accelerating. By 1889, the annual figure exceeded 15 000, and six years later, the number of passengers sailing for South Africa was in excess of 25 000. The record figure for the 19th century occurred in 1896, when there were over 35 000 passengers recorded. During the rest of the period up to the First World War this figure was exceeded only twice, but on both occasions drastically: in 1902 the number of departures for South Africa amounted to almost 52 000, while a year later the figure was eleven thousand higher still.¹⁰ It must be borne in mind that these figures refer almost entirely to spontaneous migration to South Africa through British ports; although they do include a small proportion of non-migrants, the numbers travelling to South Africa under assisted-passage schemes had by this time become insignificant.

9 On the discoveries at the Witwatersrand, see De Kiewit 1960, 115—116; Rosenthal 1972, 226—227.

10 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628—629.

The foregoing discussion has presented the main outlines of mass migration to South Africa in the decades prior to the First World War, as reflected in the statistics available from the United Kingdom port registers. A more revealing picture can however be obtained if these absolute numbers for migration to South Africa are placed in relation to the main currents of international migration for the same period, in order to estimate the South African contribution to the overall phenomenon of European overseas migration.

Once again, the British port records are of assistance. These statistics may be regarded as highly representative of traffic with South Africa, since British shipping companies overwhelmingly dominated the South African trade. This is understandable, since the United Kingdom was responsible for the maintenance of reliable communications with its colonies in the Cape and Natal. The State subsidized regular mail and passenger links, which were maintained by steam from the 1850s onwards.¹¹

No other marine power had similar obligations in South Africa, though some passenger and freight traffic with South Africa was also maintained from non-British ports, most significantly by a number of German shipping companies,¹² but the number of passengers carried remained relatively low. In the period 1871—1914, when the total number of passengers recorded as departing from British ports for the Cape and Natal amounted to 808 281,¹³ the overall number of departures from German ports for Africa only totalled 29 305;¹⁴ this latter figure, moreover, includes departures for all African ports. Only in the statistics for Bremen is South Africa listed separately: the total number of departures recorded there for South Africa during 1871—1910 amount to 8 341,¹⁵ although this figure may also include passengers who made the actual voyage to South Africa via British ports, and are therefore also recorded in the UK passenger lists. Nevertheless,

¹¹ Murray 1953, *passim*.

¹² On sea communications with South Africa, see Brackmann 1935, 40—45; Murray 1953, *passim*.; Pember-Devereux 1900, 265—273; *The South African Year-Book 1902—1903*, 146—153.

¹³ *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628—629.

¹⁴ *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 700—701, 706—707.

¹⁵ *Jahrbuch für Bremische Statistik 1900*, 296; 1905, 126; 1910, 382.

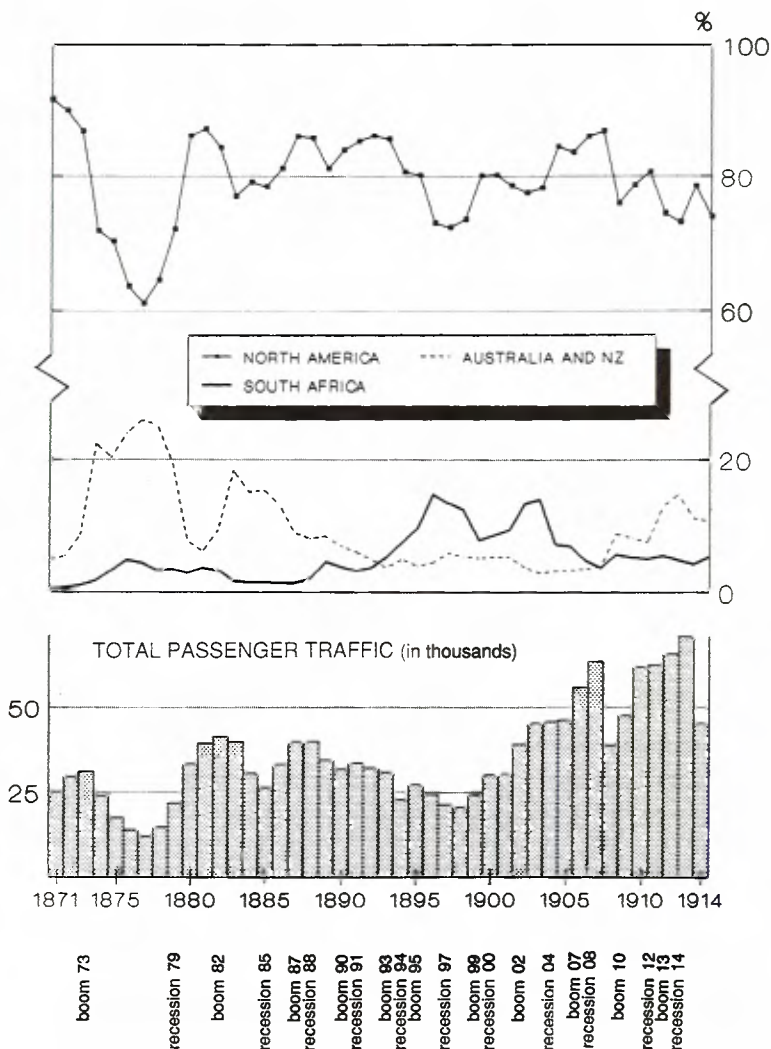
these figures suggest that the British passenger lists account for at least 96 % of the passenger traffic to southern Africa travelling with British or German shipping companies.

As was stated above, the British port records are derived from passenger lists, which include all passengers, not only migrants. It is unfortunately impossible to determine on the basis of the passenger lists what proportion of the total may have consisted of non-migrants, such as businessmen, officials, tourists, etc. Notwithstanding the limitations of these records, however, they provide an invaluable source of data on volume, chronology, and fluctuations for the passenger traffic between Europe and South Africa, and thus for the mapping of total South African immigration. It must also be borne in mind that these are in fact the only sources available on the basis of which it is possible to chart annual fluctuations in migration to South Africa during the 19th century.

The central role played by the United Kingdom in marine traffic between Europe and the other continents¹⁶ also makes it possible to use the British records as a basis for a comparison of the flow of migration to different destinations. The diagram in Figure 4 shows passenger traffic through British ports for the period 1871—1914, with the major fluctuations and with a breakdown by major destinations.

16 British ports played a crucial role in handling European overseas emigration. During the period 1871—1914, a total of 15.4 million passengers left Europe via Britain, followed by the 8.2 million emigrants passing through German ports (*International Migrations*. Vol. I, 348; Vol. II, 628—629, 697). By collating the numbers for European immigrants landing in the United States with the figures for passengers leaving British ports for the United States, the British share in the emigrant traffic during 1871—1914 can be determined as 40.1 % (*International Migrations*. Vol. II, 384—392, 628—629). If the numbers of those arriving in the United States via Canada is also taken into account, however, the proportion of emigration handled by British ports is even larger. The lack of the necessary statistics makes it impossible to calculate the equivalent figures for Canada or Australia, but a reliable indication can be obtained of the structure of immigration to Canada, Queensland and New Zealand for 1871—1900. In Canada, 81.0 % of immigrants coming from outside the United States were British; the British proportion of immigrants landing in Queensland from outside Oceania and Asia was 91.6 %; and the equivalent figure in New Zealand was 85.5 % (*International Migrations*. Vol. I, 264—268).

Figure 4. Passenger Traffic Leaving British Ports for Destinations outside Europe, with the Proportions thereof Travelling to North America, Australia and South Africa, 1871—1914.



a: *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 268—269. The booms and recessions cited below the figure refer to US economy.

Due to the low volume of migration to South Africa, its relative share in the total flow of migration is highly sensitive to changes in the flow to other countries of immigration. The major factor is naturally the migration to North America, but in the 1870s, 1880s, and in the first decade of the 20th century, the migration to Australia and New Zealand also exerts some influence.

As can be seen in Figure 4, the rises in migration to South Africa occurred almost without exception at times when the overall flow of migration was at an ebb. The prolonged depression following the economic crisis of 1873 in the United States¹⁷ dominates the pattern for the 1870s, when migration to Australia and New Zealand was also at its peak. Both the relative and the absolute figures for passengers to South Africa (see Appendix 1) rise up to 1876. For the following decade, to 1887, migration to Australia and New Zealand reflects in inverse proportion the rises and falls in migration to North America, whereas the proportion sailing for South Africa remains relatively constant, unaffected by overall fluctuations in the flow of migration.

In 1889, southern Africa emerges as a serious destination for migration. The number of passengers doubled from that for the previous year, and continued above 10 000 for the rest of the period up to the First World War. One major stimulus for this increase was of course the goldfields of the Transvaal, but migration to South Africa was also stimulated by external, universal factors. The most important of these was undoubtedly the Depression of the early 1890s, which hit the United States, Canada, and Australia badly.¹⁸ This depression caused a major fall in the overall flow of migration, bringing the relative flow to South Africa to record levels. Moreover, this is not merely a statistical illusion, since the absolute number of passengers sailing for South Africa also peaked at this period.

Another factor undoubtedly affecting both the absolute and the relative figures for migration to South Africa was changes in the immigration policies pursued in Australia and New Zealand. Most of the Australian colonies largely or completely discontinued the policy of assisted passages for immigrants in the latter 1880s,¹⁹ and

17 On economic crises and market fluctuations, see Achinstein 1961, 162—165.

18 On the impact of the depression, see Carrothers 1929, 238.

19 *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia*. No 18, 944.

a similar move had been made by New Zealand in 1884.²⁰

After 1896, however, migration to South Africa began to fall. One reason for this was economic difficulties in the Transvaal, and problems encountered in mining; a second was the increasing tension between the British and the Boer republics, which eventually led to the outbreak of the Boer War in the autumn of 1899.²¹ Following the cessation of hostilities, in the spring of 1902, there was a brief surge in migration to South Africa, reaching a peak in 1903, when the relative share was almost equal to that for 1896, despite the fact that (in contrast to the situation in 1896; see Fig. 4) the overall flow of migration in 1903 was very high. The volume of migration to South Africa had however virtually doubled since 1896.

Just at this peak of immigration, however, in 1903, a depression set in within South Africa, which after a mild onset continued to worsen up to 1909.²² South Africa was unable to fulfil the expectations of the wave of immigrants who had flooded into the country in the wake of the Boer War, and migration to South Africa went into decline once more. The magnitude of the change is illustrated by the fact that the British port records for 1906—09 actually reveal a negative relative flow; i.e. more passengers arriving in British ports from South Africa than departing thither (see Appendix 2). In 1906, the volume of migration to Australia and New Zealand once again overtook that to South Africa, thus reversing the pattern prevailing since 1893.

In 1907—08, the United States was hit by a new depression, causing a sudden fall in migration to North America; but in contrast to the pattern in the 1890s, this failed to lead to a surge in absolute migration to South Africa, and there was only a minor increase in relative migration. Only after 1909 did the numbers of passengers travelling to South Africa once again begin to rise, reaching a post-depression peak in 1911, and then once again declining. The relative share of the overall flow of migration via British ports represented by migration to South Africa remains relatively constant for the rest of the period leading up to the First World War, at 4.2—5.5 %.

20 *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 184—185.

21 See Section 4.2.2, below.

22 Houghton 1971, 15.

Since the passengers sailing from the United Kingdom constituted only part of the total flow of passenger traffic between Europe and the other continents, these findings cannot be taken as numerically valid for European migration overall: British ports handled no more than about 40 % of the passenger traffic between Europe and North America, for instance. Since virtually the entire traffic with South Africa was handled via the United Kingdom, however, the South African share in the overall flow of overseas migration from Europe must necessarily have been smaller than the figure quoted in Figure 4. Nonetheless, although the data in Figure 4 cover only passenger traffic through British ports, the findings are indicative for the total pattern of overseas migration. They graphically illustrate the marginality of migration to South Africa in the overall flow of European overseas migration; the fluctuations in the South African share during the period under examination; and the impact of fluctuations in the overall flow of migration, and in migration to other destinations, on both the relative and absolute figures relating to South Africa.

2.3. Migration and the Creation of a Nation

As commented above, the significance of migration to South Africa in the overall flow of European overseas migration was relatively minor. For the growth of white population within South Africa, on the other hand, immigration was of major importance, as can be seen in the examination both of the rapid growth of the European population in South Africa and of the proportion of the white population born outside Africa.

The first more sophisticated Census in South Africa, including data on population structure, was carried out in the Cape Colony in 1865.¹ For the period prior to this, there are more limited data available, dating back into the era of the Dutch East India Company, from occasional estimates and censuses of the number of residents. The baseline conventionally recognized for the study of the European population in British South Africa is the figure of

1 On the South African censuses in more detail, see Dubester 1950, 44—45.

26 000, from the census carried out in the middle of the first decade in the 19th century.²

Within one generation from this earliest census proper, the white population in the Cape had exceeded 50 000, and by 1834 it had reached 54 000.³ Whereas the white population in southern Africa in the first decade of the century had consisted almost entirely of the European population at the Cape, by mid-century this was no longer the case. Internal migration, and immigration from overseas, had led to the creation in southern Africa of three new states. In comparison with the Cape Colony, however, the white population of these remained relatively small for a long time. With the emergence of the South African mining industry, however, changes were set in motion which triggered off both internal and external migration creating the conditions for growth on an entirely new scale. The increase in European population is illustrated by the data in Table 1, giving the numbers of the white population for South Africa as a whole and for its four component regions for 1854, 1875, 1891, 1896, 1904, 1911, and 1918, and the percentage increase for the intervening periods.

Examination of the percentage increases reveals that the fastest rate of increase prior to 1911 was in the Transvaal, and the slowest, throughout this period, in the Cape. The mean annual increase for South Africa as a whole over the period up to 1904 fluctuates between 2.9 and 4.7 %; for the period 1904—11, this falls to 2.0 %, and for 1911—18 to a mere 1.6 %.

The data in Table 1 indicate that the fastest growth occurred in 1875—91, when the mean annual increase for the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal fluctuates between 6.2 and 7.1 %. The increase stated in the white population of the Cape for this period, on the other hand, is somewhat illusory, since 16.9 percentage points of the increase recorded for 1875—91 was the result of territorial annexations to the Cape Colony.⁴

2 Lucas 1897, 244; see also Kotze 1981, 117.

3 Walker 1957, 240.

4 *Results of a Census of the Cape Colony 1875*, 152; *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 76—77. The most important territorial annexation to the Cape Colony in economic terms was Griqualand West, which was governed as a distinct province until incorporation into the Cape Colony in 1880. In 1875, therefore, Kimberley did not yet belong to the Cape Colony, and was not

Table 1. White Population and Population Growth Rate in South Africa, 1854—1918.^a

(Population figures in thousands)

region	1854	growth rate 1854—75	1875	growth rate 1875—91	1891	growth rate 1891—96
Cape	140	69.3 %	237	59.1 %	377	18.0 %
Natal	8	125.0 % ^b	18	161.1 %	47	31.9 %
OFS	12	125.0 %	27	188.9 %	78	29.5 % ^c
Transvaal	15	166.7 %	40	197.5 %	119	47.9 % ^d
TOTAL	175	84.0 %	322	92.9 %	621	26.2 %

region	1896	growth rate 1896—04	1904	growth rate 1904—11	1911	growth rate 1911—18	1918
Cape	445	30.3 %	580	0.3 %	582	6.4 %	619
Natal	62	56.5 %	97	1.0 %	98	24.5 %	122
OFS	101	41.6 %	143	22.4 %	175	4.0 %	182
Transvaal	176	64.8 %	290 ^e	45.2 %	421	18.5 %	499
TOTAL	784	41.6 %	1 110	14.9 %	1 276	11.4 %	1 422

a: 1854, Cape, Orange Free State (OFS) and Transvaal: Walker 1957, 240, 346; Natal: Hattersley 1973, 54; 1875, Cape: *Results of a Census of the Cape Colony 1875*, 152; Natal, OFS and Transvaal: Walker 1957, 345—346; 1891, Cape: *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 76—77; Natal: *Official Yearbook of the Union*. No 9, 1926—27, IX; OFS: *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 26; Transvaal: *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republike den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—43; 1896, *Official Yearbook of the Union*. No 9, 1926—27, IX; 1904, *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1904*, 30; *Census of the Colony of Natal 1904*, 22; *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 25; *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142; 1911, *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 978—979; 1918, *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa 1918*, Part VII, 8—11.

b: Population figure for Natal from 1856

c: Population figure for the Orange Free State from 1890

d: Population figure for the Transvaal from 1890

e: The figure cited in the 1911 Union Census for whites resident in the Transvaal in 1904 is 297 277, whereas the figure given in the 1904 Transvaal Census is 289 952. If the 1911 Census figure is used, the percentage growth rate 1904—11 falls to 41.7 %.

These statistical distortions in the figures for the Cape Colony for 1875—91 reduce the overall percentage growth rate for South Africa as a whole to such an extent that in real terms the growth rates for both 1896—1904 and 1891—96 are higher than that for 1875—91. It should be noted, however, that where the figures in Table 1 are not derived from an official Census, they represent estimates of population, and are less reliable. This applies in particular to the estimates for the European population in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State for 1854 and 1875.⁵

In those cases where the Census data include information on places of birth, it is also possible to calculate separately the figures for different periods for in-migration and for natural increase. Unfortunately, for the earlier decades such data are available only for the Cape, starting from the first modern census carried out there, in 1865. Prior to the first official census for the entire Union of South Africa in 1911, the Cape Colony also carried out its own censuses in 1875, 1891, and 1904.

The next area within South Africa following the Cape to carry out a census incorporating questions on place of birth was the Orange Free State, in 1880. Unfortunately, the records both of this and of the following census, from 1890, have subsequently been lost,⁶ although some comparative data were included in the Orange region 1904 census.

For the period prior to the 1911 federal Census, data are also available on place of birth from the Transvaal censuses in 1890 and 1904, and for Natal from 1891 and 1904.

In Table 2, the available census data for the white population in South Africa born outside Africa have been collated, by region and by date. The Table also includes a figure calculated for the white population born elsewhere as a proportion of the regional white population at that time. It should be noted that (unless otherwise stated) these figures refer to population born outside the continent of Africa: white migration within Africa has not been included,

included in the Cape Census. In the 1891 Census, the European population of Griqualand West amounted to 29 670 (*Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 76—77).

5 Population estimates diverging from those given in Table 1 have also been put forward: see e.g. De Kock 1924, 139—141; Schuman 1938, 39.

6 Dubester 1950, 48.

Table 2. White Population in South Africa Born outside Africa: Absolute Numbers and Percentage of Regional White Population, 1865—1911.^a

date/region	1865	1875	1880	1891	1904	1911
Cape	28 024 ^b (15.4 %)	30 077 (12.7 %)		51 496 (13.7 %)	125 619 (21.7 %)	78 880 (13.5 %)
Natal				18 657 ^c (39.9 %)	46 849 ^d (48.2 %)	36 848 (37.6 %)
Orange Free State			2 034 (3.3 %)	2 763 ^e (3.5 %)	22 488 (15.8 %)	16 941 (9.7 %)
Transvaal				14 460 ^f (12.7 %)	96 996 (33.5 %)	122 655 (29.2 %)
Union of South Africa						255 324 (20.0 %)

a: *Census of the Cape Colony 1865*, 11, 45; *Results of a Census of the Cape Colony 1875*, 152; *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 78—79; *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1904*, 30; *Natal Census 1904*, 532—533; *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 26; *Transvaal Census 1904*, vii; *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 978—979.

b: This figure includes all whites born outside South Africa.

c: It is not possible to separate whites in the census data. The figure refers to all the population born outside Africa or Asia. The number of European-born residents in Natal in 1891 was 18 071.

d: It is not possible to separate whites in the census data. The figure refers to all the population born outside Africa or Asia. The number of European-born residents in Natal in 1904 was 42 556.

e: This population figure is for the year 1890.

f: This population figure is for the year 1890.

and its demographic significance in South Africa was very limited.⁷

It may be noted, in comparison, that in 1900 the proportion of the total population of the United States born abroad was 13.6 %, ⁸ that for Canada in 1901 was 13.0 %, ⁹ that for Australia in 1901 was 22.9 %, ¹⁰ and that for New Zealand in 1906 was 26.4 %. ¹¹ Despite the limitations of the available statistics, the rising proportion of immigrant population is clearly recognizable in the South African population towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Despite the relatively fast rate of overall population increase, the proportion born outside Africa continued to rise right up to the 1904 Census; and even thereafter the absolute number of those born outside Africa continued to increase in the case of the Transvaal up to the 1911 Census. The focus on the Transvaal in the immigration to South Africa, under the stimulus of the mining industry, is clearly to be seen in the pattern of the changes occurring across the turn of the century: in the 1890s, Table 2 shows that the Transvaal accounted only for one sixth of the white South African population born outside Africa, whereas by 1904 this proportion had risen to one third and by 1911 to nearly half.

It is also relevant in this context to examine the impact of internal migration within South Africa upon the regional population statistics. Out-migration mainly took place from the Cape Colony, the oldest and demographically the largest region, while the main destinations were the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In 1904, 20.8 % of the population of the Orange Free State had been born in the Cape Colony, and the corresponding figure for 1911 was 20.4 %; the corresponding figures for the Transvaal were 16.5 % and 17.4 %. ¹²

7 In 1904, for instance, a mere 0.4 % of the white population of the Cape Colony had been born elsewhere in Africa than in the Cape, Natal, the Orange River Colony or the Transvaal (*Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1904*, 30).

8 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 3, 414.

9 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 40, 77.

10 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 40, 116.

11 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 40, 187.

12 *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 26; *Transvaal Census 1904*, vii; *Third Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1921*, Part V, 7—8.

Internal migration and overseas immigration together thus accounted for a very high overall proportion of immigrants among the population of these two regions at the beginning of the 20th century. In the Transvaal the proportion of the population recorded in the 1904 Census as born outside the region amounted to 58.9 %, and even in 1911 the figure was 53.6 %. In the Orange Free State, the corresponding figure for 1904 was 40.4 %, and in 1911, 34.4 %. The proportion of in-migrant population was also high in Natal. The earliest Census permitting separate calculation for the European population was that of 1911, where the figure is 50.8 %. In contrast to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, however, internal migration within South Africa played a much smaller role in Natal, amounting to only 12.2 percentage points of whom almost half (5.5 percentage points) had been born in the Cape Colony.¹³

The population structure in the Cape Colony displayed considerably less impact of internal migration, where the corresponding figures were, in 1904, only 1.4 %, and in 1911, 2.3 %.¹⁴ The low figures for the Cape are partly explained by the size of the statistical unit, since the Cape Colony contained the largest population of the four regions; but in addition, a necessary factor is the complex field of migration forces and vectors represented by South Africa as a whole.

From the very beginning of the upheaval in the South African economy represented by the Mineral Revolution, the main migration movement was from south to north. Migrants were recruited in the areas of earlier settlement, and driven to the periphery — initially, following the diamond discoveries, to the banks of the Orange and Vaal Rivers, but later, after the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, north of the Vaal as well. The impact of this flow of migration on the population of the Boer Republics can be recognized from a very early phase, and is especially visible in the rapid growth they experienced between the 1870s and 1890s, and in the earliest censuses carried out within these territories. In

13 *Transvaal Census 1904*, vii; *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 26; *Third Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1921*, Part V, 6.

14 *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1904*, 30; *Third Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1921*, Part V, 5.

1880, the proportion of the population born outside the Orange Free State amounted to almost 19 000 (30.5 %), and in 1890 to almost 26 000 (33.2 %),¹⁵ while the number of in-migrants resident in the Transvaal in 1890 was almost 57 000 (40.3 %).¹⁶

The link between this in-migrant population and the precious minerals industry is clearly illustrated by the demographic statistics for the central gold-mining area in the Transvaal, the Witwatersrand. In 1890 there were 13 114 whites resident in this area, of whom 92.5 % had been born elsewhere.¹⁷ As the population grew, the relative proportion of in-migrants began to fall, despite a marked continuing rise in absolute figures. In the municipal census of 1896, the white population recorded in Johannesburg was 50 907, of whom 87.8 % had been born outside the region,¹⁸ and in the Transvaal Census for 1904, by which time the white population of the Witwatersrand had reached 114 201, 83.0 % of the Europeans were in-migrants.¹⁹

In contrast to the mineral wealth of the Boer Republics, Natal had no such bait. By means of a carefully planned and administered long-term immigration policy, however, with many schemes for assisted passages, Natal succeeded over a period of several decades in attracting a very considerable number of European settlers. The relatively small size of the statistical unit which Natal comprised means that even fairly small changes are clearly visible. Natal failed to attract internal in-migration within South Africa, however. Evidently persons planning to leave the Cape Colony between the latter 1880s and the early 20th century were uninterested in exchanging one colony for another similar one; rather they were attracted by the predominant movement north to the Boer Republics, from which there was also correspondingly little out-migration.

None of the foregoing discussion of the patterns of migration movement within South Africa, however, denies the occurrence of

15 *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 26.

16 *Transvaal Census 1904*, vii.

17 *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—43; Seidel 1898, 164.

18 *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8.

19 *Transvaal Census 1904*, ix.

counter-movement in the opposite directions. It is self-evident that such movement must also have taken place, since the period under examination is long and includes many phases within South African history. Nonetheless, the basic patterns of migration within South Africa are clearly recognizable.

2.4. From British Settlement to International Migration: the Composition of the Migration to South Africa by Nationality of Origin

The difficulties faced in the quantitative examination of the migration to South Africa have been discussed above. The examination of the national or ethnic composition of the immigrant population is hampered by difficulties of the same order: the same limitations of the same source materials, i.e. censuses and passenger lists. The supporting information to be obtained from the research literature is very limited, since only for a few national groups have even general surveys been carried out, let alone detailed research. Apart from a few investigations of specific assisted passage schemes, the research literature offers, in terms of nationality of origin, only sporadic superficial observations.¹

For the investigation of the period when the Cape was under the administration of the Dutch East India Company, the small size of the population makes it possible to utilize genealogical sources to

1 In addition to the various studies mentioned earlier (in connection with assisted migration) which dealt with British and German migration to South Africa, there have also been carried out several important studies of the Jewish immigration: e.g. L. Herrman, *History of the Jews in South Africa*. London 1930; Gustav Saron & Louis Hotz (ed.), *The Jews in South Africa*. Wynberg, Cape 1955. — Among the works containing a more general overview of various categories of British immigration are, for instance: Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*. London 1966; Kate Gaffrey, *The British to Southern Africa*. London 1973; G.B. Dickason, *Cornish Immigrants to South Africa. The Cousin Jack's Contribution to the Development on Mining and Commerce 1820—1920*. Cape Town 1978.

study the national composition of the population as a whole. The rapid growth of the colony following the arrival of the British, however, makes it impossible thereafter to study the immigration by means of examining the entire population. The periodic cross-sections of the population provided by the censuses do, however, reveal the impact of immigration on population structure, and thus also the relative strength of the flow of migration by different nationalities. Even though the censuses reveal the national origins only of persons born outside South Africa but resident there at the time of the census, this does provide an overall picture of the national/ethnic distribution in the flow of immigration.

The earliest modern census carried out in South Africa, that in the Cape in 1865, did not divide persons born outside the Cape by nationality; the first census to do so was that in the Cape Colony in 1875, which distinguished between immigrants born in the United Kingdom and those born elsewhere in Europe, classifying the latter into five subcategories: France, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and 'other countries'. This census recorded a total of 29 065 persons born in Europe, divided by place of birth as follows:²

United Kingdom	22 234	(76.5 %)
Germany	4 685	(16.1 %)
Netherlands	878	(3.0 %)
Scandinavia	420	(1.5 %)
France	238	(0.8 %)
Other European countries	610	(2.1 %)

These figures clearly illustrate the dominance within the South African immigration at that period by people of British origin. Whereas the British comprised a very small portion of the population of the Cape at the time when it passed into British control in 1815, by the 1870s the situation had utterly changed. The many assisted-passage schemes, together with the accelerating rate of spontaneous migration, now gave the British clear dominance among the population born outside South Africa. The important German community (16.1 %) is also a result of assisted-passage schemes in the 1850s and 1860s.

2 *Results of a Census of the Cape Colony 1875*, 152.

By the time of the Cape Colony census in 1891, however, the nationality distribution among the immigrants had somewhat changed again. This census recorded 49 769 white persons born in Europe, divided as follows among the same regions of origin as in the previous census:³

United Kingdom	38 670	(77.7 %)
Germany	6 540	(13.1 %)
Netherlands	866	(1.7 %)
Scandinavia	1 041	(2.1 %)
France	354	(0.7 %)
Other European countries	2 298	(4.6 %)

The British component had risen by 1.2 percentage points from the preceding census. The absolute number of persons born in Germany had risen by nearly 40 %, but had fallen as a share of the immigration population by 3.0 percentage points. A fall had also occurred in the proportions originating from the Netherlands and from France (the former by almost a half), whereas the proportion originating from Scandinavia had risen somewhat.

The largest change between the 1891 Census and the preceding one, however, is in the proportion of those born in 'Other European countries', from 2.1 % to 4.6 %. Of these, 1 092, i.e. almost half, came from Russia (899) or Poland (193). This rise in the numbers of eastern Europeans in South Africa is largely to be attributed to the Jewish mass migration which began in the 1880s. Over two decades from 1880 to 1900, the Jewish population in South Africa is estimated to have increased by around 20 000 persons, mostly through immigration. Jews arrived in South Africa during the 1880s from the eastern parts of Europe, but also from Germany, Britain, and even from the United States. The main flow of Jewish migration to South Africa from eastern Europe, however, came in the 1890s, mainly from Lithuania, where the Jewish population suffered particularly heavily from Russian Tsarist antisemitism.⁴

3 *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 78.

4 Saron 1955, 86, 100. A breakdown of the Jewish component in the Russian or Polish immigration is not available prior to the 1926 Census, when 88.4 % of the Polish-born and 98.2 % of the Russian-born persons resident in South Africa were Jewish (*Fourth Census of the Population of South Africa 1926*, Part VI, 66—68).

Virtually contemporaneous censuses for other regions within South Africa are available for Natal (1891) and the Transvaal (1890). The Natal Census covered all the races, and it reveals that the local immigration was more British-dominated than that in the Cape: the British-born accounted for 87.4 % of those born elsewhere, while Germans accounted for 6.7 %, Sweden and Norway for 2.8 %, and other countries for 3.1 %.⁵

In the Transvaal, however, the census reveals the lowest proportion of British-born immigrant population:⁶ a mere 62.6 %. The proportion of Germans was 13.6 %, i.e. virtually the same as in the Cape Colony, whereas the proportion of Dutch was six times larger, at 9.9 % (the absolute number of persons born in the Netherlands was actually greater in the Transvaal than in the Cape Colony).⁷ It appears probable that Dutch immigration during the 19th century was directed not towards the regions then under British control, i.e. the Cape and Natal, but towards the Boer regions of South Africa, as was of course entirely natural in view of the origins of the local white population. The next largest single group (although only a quarter the size of the preceding) consisted of those born in Russia (2.7 %), while the proportion originating from all other European countries totalled 11.2 %.⁸

An especially interesting cross-section of social conditions in the Transvaal is also provided by the municipal census carried out six years later in 1896 in Johannesburg. Although this survey was only a local one, its timing and location mean that it offers very valuable insights into life in the Transvaal in this period. Spontaneous migration to Johannesburg, the Gold City of South Africa, had risen to rush proportions, and by 1896 there were 24 535 persons of European birth living in the city, i.e. almost twice the total number of European-born persons recorded in the 1890 Census for the entire Transvaal. The proportion originating

5 *Natal Census of 1891*, Table 20.

6 For the Orange region, the earliest statistics referring to place of birth date from the 1904 Census.

7 *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—43.

8 *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—43.

from the United Kingdom was 66.3 %, which is virtually the same as in the Transvaal 1890 Census, but the proportions from Germany and the Netherlands had now fallen to 9.2 % and 3.3 % respectively, whereas second place had now been taken by those born in Russia, who comprised 13.6 %. Persons born elsewhere in Europe amounted only to 7.6 %.⁹ Johannesburg had now emerged as the main Jewish centre in South Africa, with Jews comprising 12.3 % of the total European population of the city: 6 253 in number, i.e. slightly more than the total number of persons born in Russia and Germany combined.¹⁰ It is not possible to establish from the available statistics how many of the Jewish population of Johannesburg had been born in South Africa.

The next cross-section of the population structure in South Africa is provided by the Census of 1904, the first to be carried out simultaneously in all four colonies, now that the formerly independent Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had been annexed to the British Empire. The date of this Census is particularly useful, for although the South African boom that followed in the wake of the Boer War had passed its peak towards the end of the previous year, the impending depression had not had time to lead to any fall in the immigrant population. During the two preceding years, South Africa had absorbed the largest numbers of immigrants in its history, with a record excess of arrivals over departures (see Appendix 2).

The data on the European-born population from the Census of 1904 in the four South African colonies are set out in Table 3, revealing both the similarity of the overall trends and some interesting local variations. The British-born component in the population falls into two categories: a higher level, of 87.3 % in the Orange River Colony (as the Orange Free State was named from its British annexation until Confederation) and 86.6 % in Natal, and a lower level, of 74.5 % in the Cape Colony and 73.7 % in the Transvaal. The lowest British-born component was thus still in the Transvaal, although it had risen by ten percentage points since the the 1890 Census. The British-born component for the entire area of South Africa amounted to 77.2 %. For comparison, the corre-

⁹ *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8.

¹⁰ *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8, 15.

Table 3. European-born Population in South Africa, 1904.^a

Country of birth / Colony	Cape		Natal	
Great Britain	88 169	(74.6 %)	36 824	(86.6 %)
Russia	11 667	(9.9 %)	553	(1.3 %)
Germany	7 455	(6.3 %)	1 917	(4.5 %)
Netherlands	1 659	(1.4 %)	276	(0.6 %)
Italy	2 009	(1.7 %)	233	(0.5 %)
Sweden-Norway	1 856	(1.6 %)	1 342	(3.2 %)
Austria	1 086	(0.9 %)	22	(0.1 %)
France	691	(0.6 %)	369	(0.9 %)
Greece	961	(0.8 %)	...	...
Denmark	653	(0.6 %)	143	(0.3 %)
Poland	470	(0.4 %)	53	(0.1 %)
Switzerland	336	(0.3 %)	101	(0.2 %)
other countries or unspecified	1 255	(1.1 %)	673	(1.6 %)
TOTAL	118 267	(100.0 %)	42 506	(100.0 %)
Country of birth / Colony	Orange River		Transvaal	
Great Britain	18 541	(87.3 %)	63 849	(73.7 %)
Russia	990	(4.7 %)	8 717	(10.1 %)
Germany	668	(3.1 %)	4 691	(5.4 %)
Netherlands	350	(1.6 %)	3 302	(3.8 %)
Italy	129	(0.6 %)	1 408	(1.6 %)
Sweden-Norway	95	(0.4 %)	695	(0.8 %)
Austria	115	(0.5 %)	854	(1.0 %)
France	83	(0.4 %)	646	(0.7 %)
Greece	81	(0.4 %)	472	(0.5 %)
Denmark	42	(0.2 %)	411	(0.5 %)
Poland	35	(0.2 %)	383	(0.4 %)
Switzerland	29	(0.1 %)	358	(0.4 %)
other countries or unspecified	75	(0.4 %)	798	(0.9 %)
TOTAL	21 233	(100.0 %)	86 584	(100.0 %)

a: *Census of the Cape Colony 1904*, 30; *Census of the Natal Colony 1904*, 532;
Census of the Orange River Colony 1904, 28—29; *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142

sponding proportions of British-born persons recorded in the 1901 Censuses for Australia and Canada were 90.1 % and 75.5 % respectively.¹¹

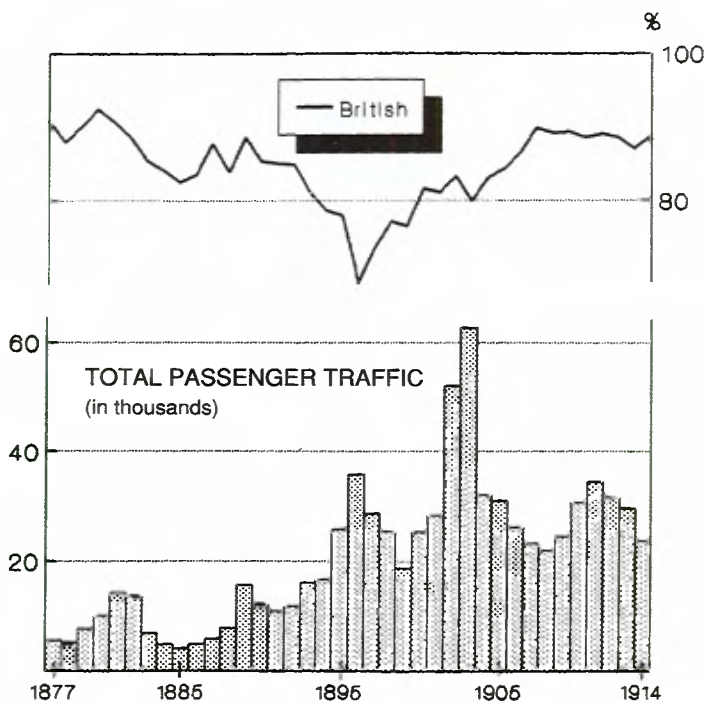
With the exception of Natal, the second-largest category in the data were now those born in Russia, with very similar proportions in the Transvaal and the Cape Colony (10.1 % and 9.9 %), although only half of that figure in the Orange River Colony (4.7 %). In the data for Natal, on the other hand, the second-largest category were (as in 1891) those born in Germany, who came third in the other colonies with shares ranging between 3.1 and 6.3 %; the Russian-born came only fourth in the Natal data, with 1.3 %, behind the 3.2 % originating from Norway and Sweden. Persons born in the Netherlands were most heavily represented in the Transvaal (3.8 %) and least so in Natal (0.6 %). Both in the Transvaal and in the Orange River Colony, the Dutch-born comprised the fourth-largest component in the data. In the Cape Colony, the fourth largest group were from Italy, but this group is small, and closely similar in size to those for the Netherlands and for Norway and Sweden (both within the range 1.4—1.7 %).

The British migrants, unlike those for other countries, can also be identified from the port records for passengers sailing from United Kingdom ports, where since 1877 British subjects and aliens had been listed separately. Figure 5 displays the British component in the passenger traffic recorded from United Kingdom ports for the period 1877—1914 and the overall trends in passenger volume during this period.

As can be seen from the Figure, there is a considerable correlation between the curves depicting the British component and the total volume of traffic between the United Kingdom and South Africa. Two contrasted sub-periods emerge, however: prior to the 1890s, the British component grew and fell in proportion to the overall rise or fall in passenger traffic (with the sole exception of 1888, when there was a fall in British passengers despite a rise in the overall volume). During the second sub-period, on the other hand, the British component rises or falls in inverse proportion to the changes in the total volume of passenger traffic. This pattern does not apply during the years of the Boer War, however, when

11 *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 40, 78, 166.

Figure 5. British Subjects as a Proportion of All Passengers to South Africa Passing through United Kingdom Ports, 1877—1914.^a



a: *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628—629, 636—637.

the British component can be seen to rise parallel to the overall rise in migration. The British component reaches its lowest level during the surge of immigration to South Africa in 1896, and the peak year of immigration during the boom following the end of the Boer War, 1903, is also reflected in a dip in the British proportional share.

Since the data under discussion here are derived from the passenger lists, which also listed non-migrant passengers, the size of the British component in the migration to South Africa is probably consistently overstated in Figure 5, for the majority of the non-migrant passengers to South Africa — businessmen, officials, etc. — will also have been British, and these would need to be

deducted in order to obtain the figure for British migrants proper.

Unfortunately neither the UK port records, nor the passenger lists from which they are derived, permit any breakdown of 'alien' passengers by nationality of origin.¹²

One additional source of information for the analysis of the immigrants' origin, however, is provided by certain South African census tables showing immigrants' date of landing, classified by nationality of origin. These data, naturally, are only available for immigrants resident in South Africa at the time of each census in question, and fail to cover immigrants who were deceased or had re-emigrated. The earliest such lists date from 1918, when the number of European-born persons resident in South Africa amounted to 207 060; for 97.7 % of these, the date of landing is available. The information from these lists has been used in drawing up Table 4, showing a breakdown by decade and by nationality of origin of immigrants resident in 1918 and having landed prior to 1915.

Caution must be taken, however, in applying the findings drawn from Table 4. The lapse of time between the 1918 Census and the surveys of the previous century, several decades earlier, is liable to lead to distortion in respect of the composition in terms of nationality of origin. National groups which had moved into the country earlier may well by this time have vanished. Nevertheless, for the larger groups, the Table may be assumed to offer a general impression of the composition of the migration to South Africa in terms of nationality of origin at different periods. Another factor reducing the accuracy of the data in this Table concerns possible variations between different national groups in terms of re-emigration or rates of mortality. The latter factor is in direct proportion to the average age of the members of any immigrant group. In 1918 there will have been a very considerable number of persons still alive who had arrived in South Africa as children during the wave of family migration half a century earlier, whereas of the settlement in the country by seamen from the same period no trace would remain other than memory.

The points emerging from Table 4 are somewhat similar to those

12 Passenger lists, outward 1890—1914. PRO. Board of Trade, Statistical Department. The passenger lists for ships plying between the United Kingdom and South Africa are extant only for the period from 1890 on.

Table 4. European-born Population Resident in South Africa in 1918 and Having Landed prior 1915, by Country of Origin and Date of Landing.^a

	1904—1914		1894—1903		1884—1893	
Great Britain	48 131	(70.2 %)	59 005	(75.6 %)	16 475	(74.7 %)
Austria	447	(0.7 %)	472	(0.6 %)	132	(0.6 %)
Denmark	193	(0.3 %)	284	(0.4 %)	141	(0.6 %)
France	307	(0.4 %)	421	(0.5 %)	205	(0.9 %)
Germany	1 917	(2.8 %)	2 440	(3.1 %)	1 526	(6.9 %)
Greece	917	(1.3 %)	472	(0.6 %)	34	(0.2 %)
Netherlands	1 434	(2.1 %)	1 883	(2.4 %)	908	(4.1 %)
Italy	632	(0.9 %)	678	(0.9 %)	92	(0.4 %)
Norway	287	(0.4 %)	468	(0.6 %)	161	(0.7 %)
Portugal	172	(0.3 %)	91	(0.1 %)	27	(0.1 %)
Poland	245	(0.4 %)	399	(0.5 %)	138	(0.6 %)
Russia	13 046	(19.0 %)	10 469	(13.4 %)	1 928	(8.7 %)
Sweden	197	(0.3 %)	421	(0.5 %)	154	(0.7 %)
Switzerland	278	(0.4 %)	210	(0.3 %)	64	(0.3 %)
other countries						
or unspecified	345	(0.5 %)	330	(0.4 %)	75	(0.3 %)
TOTAL	68 548	(100.0 %)	78 043	(100.0 %)	22 060	(100.0 %)
	1874—1883		—1873			
Great Britain	10 462	(76.5 %)	6 013	(76.4 %)		
Austria	59	(0.4 %)	27	(0.3 %)		
Denmark	217	(1.6 %)	37	(0.5 %)		
France	100	(0.7 %)	33	(0.4 %)		
Germany	1 523	(11.1 %)	1 039	(13.2 %)		
Greece	20	(0.1 %)	17	(0.2 %)		
Netherlands	232	(1.7 %)	319	(4.1 %)		
Italy	80	(0.6 %)	26	(0.3 %)		
Norway	193	(1.4 %)	22	(0.3 %)		
Portugal	11	(0.1 %)	5	(0.1 %)		
Poland	59	(0.4 %)	13	(0.2 %)		
Russia	466	(3.4 %)	232	(2.9 %)		
Sweden	104	(0.8 %)	22	(0.3 %)		
Switzerland	89	(0.7 %)	36	(0.5 %)		
other countries						
or unspecified	52	(0.4 %)	27	(0.3 %)		
TOTAL	13 667	(100.0 %)	7 868	(100.0 %)		

a: *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa 1918, part VII, 49—50.*

identified in the 1904 Census (see Table 3 above). The proportion born in Russia was noted there as having overtaken the German-born immigrant population in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal between the Censuses of 1890/1891 and 1904. Table 4 might suggest that this could have occurred in the period 1884—93: the number of Russian-born does indeed exceed the German-born for this period. This is however misleading. Although large numbers did move from Russia to South Africa in the early 1890s, this Russian migration consisted very largely of Jews,¹³ and the statistics may well be distorted by the higher level of loyalty to South Africa among Jewish immigrants than among other immigrant groups. Gustav SARON, who studied Jewish immigration to South Africa, came to the conclusion that Jewish immigrants were more likely than any other immigrant group to settle permanently in the country.¹⁴ The higher rates of re-emigration among other national/ethnic groups could thus lead to a higher Jewish component among the immigrant population still resident in 1918.

An interesting comparison can be made by collating the information from the 1918 Census, concerning immigration to South Africa during the earlier period prior to 1874, with the information on the composition of immigration in terms of nationality of origin from the Cape Colony Census of 1875. Despite the lapse of over four decades between the two censuses, the picture they provide is similar: in each, the British, the Germans and the Dutch form the leading trio. In Table 4, these are followed by the Russians in fourth place and the combined immigration from Sweden, Norway and Denmark in fifth place, whereas in the 1875 Cape Census the Scandinavians occupied the fourth position immediately after the Dutch; but in view of the differences between the two censuses in date of execution and geographical base, and the wide range of distortions and changes possible in view of the intervening lapse of time, the apparent discordance

13 The number of persons recorded as born within Russia and resident in South Africa at the 1926 Census who had landed in the period 1891—96 was 2 507, but only 45 of these are recorded as being 'Russian' (ethnic Russian). The number of Jewish immigrants for the same period is 3 723 (*Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 74—75, 81).

14 Saron 1955, 99—100.

between the data need not be probed any further.

The overall picture provided by Table 4 on the composition of South African immigration in terms of nationality of origin is thus largely similar to that extracted from the census data from the late 19th century and early 20th century. The British maintained their dominant position in the immigration throughout the period under investigation, although the Table shows that this had somewhat been reduced at the turn of the century, as had already emerged from a comparison of the Cape Colony Censuses for 1891 and 1904. The impact of the Gold Rush on immigration to South Africa had been to make it more multi-national, the most striking change being the emergence of the Russian Jews as the second-largest group after the British, displacing the Dutch and Germans, who nonetheless retained their position among the four largest immigrant groups throughout the entire period.

The fifth-largest national/ethnic group in the immigration to South Africa consisted of the Scandinavians. At three out of the five dates examined, the combined immigration by Swedes, Norwegians and Danes places them in fifth position. The exceptions were in 1904—11, when they were overtaken by the Greeks, and in 1874—83, when Scandinavian immigration was at its peak, and placed them in third position, exceeded only by the Germans and the British.

The information provided by these South African censuses thus shows that in relation to the population resources from which they were recruited, the Scandinavian countries were very well represented in the migration to South Africa. Since Finland, the fourth Nordic nation, belonged throughout the period under investigation to the Tsarist Crown, Finns are recorded in these statistics as Russian, along with the Russian Jews and a wide range of other national and ethnic groups from the Tsarist Empire. The census material for the 19th century, and well into the 20th century, thus offers no evidence on the date or location of possible Finnish migration to South Africa.¹⁵

15 The South African census authorities were not particularly responsive to political changes occurring within Europe, and in the Censuses for both 1918 and 1921 the Russian Empire continued to be treated as a single unit; the changes occurring there were not reflected in the census records until 1926.

3. The Nordic Response to South Africa in the 19th Century: Growing Interest in a Land of Growing Opportunities

3.1. The Origins of Nordic Knowledge about South Africa

3.1.1. The Role of Literature and the Press in Propagating Information about South Africa

3.1.1.1. Travellers' Journals and Missionary Literature

One of the essential preconditions necessary for migration to occur is the availability of information about the proposed destination country. Without a picture of South Africa or at least some kind of image of the region, no migration to South Africa could have arisen. What image of South Africa was available in the Nordic countries in the 19th century, prior to the beginnings of mass migration following the Transvaal Gold Rush? To what extent did information about conditions in such a distant corner of the world penetrate to the northern periphery of Europe? In order to answer these questions, attention will now be turned to the Nordic press and literature during the decades in question.

The longest and strongest tradition of contact with South Africa through literature was in Sweden, where the earliest descriptions

by visitors to South Africa dated from Nils Mattson Kiöping's account in the late 17th century, followed during the 18th century by Carl Gustaf Ekeberg, Jacob Wallenberg, Anders Sparrman and Carl Peter Thunberg.¹ In addition to these accounts by Swedish visitors, the first translations of literature relating to the region to be published in Sweden appeared in the 18th century. One of the earliest, possibly the first, was the translation in 1798 of a journal by the French traveller François Le Vaillant.² Half a decade later, there appeared a translation of an English traveller's journal, by John Barrow.³ This was then followed by a long hiatus in the Swedish literature relating to South Africa, not broken until the publication in 1859–60 of a two-part translation of David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, which had come out in English in 1857.⁴ Parallel to this publication, Livingstone's book was also published as a series of six pamphlets, and a few years later came the Swedish translation of Livingstone's second journal, was published in two parts in 1867.⁵ Other, less distinguished translations published in Sweden which related to South Africa included R. G. Cumming's *The Lion Hunter of South Africa. Five Year's Adventures in the Interior of South Africa*⁶ and H. T. Wangemann's *Ein Reisejahr in Südafrika*.⁷

In the later 19th century, references to South Africa also began

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- 1 References to South Africa in Swedish literature during the 17th and 18th centuries are discussed in more detail in Eero Kuperinen, *Pohjoismaalaiset ja Etelä-Afrikka Hollannin Itä-Intian kauppakomppanian hallintokaudella* (Scandinavians and South Africa under the Dutch East India Company), unpublished MS, 1989.
 - 2 Le Vaillant, *Le Vaillants Sednare resa uti Södra Africa, åren 1784 och 1785 från Gode Hopps Udden jämte Atlantiska Hafvet til och innom Wändkretsen* (Le Vaillant's Later Voyage to South Africa, 1784–85, from the Cape of Good Hope and Atlantic Ocean to and within the Tropics). I–II. Stockholm 1798.
 - 3 John Barrow, *Resa i det indre af Södra Africa, åren 1797 och 1798* (Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa). Strengnäs 1804.
 - 4 David Livingstone, *En missionärs resor och forskningar i Syd-Afrika* (Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa). I–II. Stockholm 1859–60.
 - 5 David & Charles Livingstone, *Nya missionsresor i Södra Afrika* (New Missionary Travels in South Africa). I–II. Stockholm 1867.
 - 6 R.G. Cumming, *Fem års jägarliv i det inre Syd-Afrika* (Five Year's Hunter Life in the Interior of South Africa). Stockholm 1873.
 - 7 H.T. Wangemann, *Lifsbilder från Sydafrika* (Descriptions from South Africa). Stockholm 1875.

to appear within Swedish literature. In 1854—55 G. Skogman published an account of the voyage around the world by the frigate *Eugenia*, including a two weeks' visit to Cape Town;⁸ and in 1863, J. W. Grill published one of the classic descriptions of South Africa: an account of the journey to the Cape by the naturalist J. F. Victorin in 1853—54, based on the latter's diaries and other materials.⁹ Finally, in 1873 there appeared a new edition (the eleventh) of Jacob Wallenberg's *Min son på galejan* (My Son on the Galleys), originally published in 1781.

In Norway, on the other hand, few references to South Africa occur in the literature of either the 18th or the 19th century: no translations into Norwegian appeared of works such as those by Le Vaillant, Barrow or Livingstone, due perhaps both to the smallness of the potential Norwegian readership and to the availability of the Swedish editions, which would be easily understood by Norwegian speakers. Within Norwegian literature, Halfdan A. Sommerfelt's history appeared in 1865 of the Norwegian missionary work in southern Africa, dating from the late 1840s.¹⁰

Neither Le Vaillant's nor Barrow's works were translated into Danish; but both of Livingstone's journals were, the first appearing in 1858—59¹¹ and the second in 1868,¹² followed in 1878 by the same author's account of his third journey.¹³

In addition, a number of descriptions appeared in Danish (both original works and translations) which were never published in

8 G. Skogman, *Fregatten Eugénias resa omkring jorden åren 1851—53, under befäl af C.A. Virgin* (The Voyage of the Frigate Eugenia around the World, 1851—53, under the Command of C. A. Virgin). Stockholm 1854—55.

9 J.W. Grill, *J.F. Victorins resa i Kaplandet åren 1853—55. Jagt- och naturbilder ur den aflidne unge naturforskarens bref och dagböcker* (J. F. Victorin's Travels in the Cape, 1853—55: Hunting and Nature Illustrations from the Late Naturalist's Correspondence and Diaries). Stockholm 1863.

10 Halfdan A. Sommerfelt, *Den Norske Zulumission. Et Tilbageblik paa de første 20 Aar af det Norske Missionselskabs Virksomhed* (The Norwegian Zulu Mission: A Review of the First 20 Years of the Norwegian Missionary Society's Activities). Christiania 1865.

11 David Livingstone, *Livingstones Reise i Syd Afrika* (Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa). I—II. København 1858—59.

12 David Livingstone, *Anden Reise* (New Missionary Travels in South Africa). København 1868.

13 David Livingstone, *3. og sidste Reise i Syd-Afrika* (Third and Final Travels in South Africa). København 1878.

the other Scandinavian countries. The earliest of these was Elisabeth Hansen's account, published in 1838, of her visit to Cape Town in the previous century.¹⁴ Not long afterwards, there appeared the travellers' journals of W. C. Baldwin, in 1864,¹⁵ and of J. Mackenzie, in 1872;¹⁶ a second edition of the latter came out in 1883.

In Finland, very few references to South Africa occur after the publication in Finland in 1795 of the Swedish translation of Le Vaillant's book.¹⁷ Almost a hundred years later, in 1892, the Finnish traveller G. E. von Alftan's journal came out.¹⁸ In the interim, however, following the beginnings of missionary work in Amboland by the Finnish Missionary Society in 1870, the first missionaries' memoirs appeared around 1880.¹⁹ Although the Finnish missionary field was located in South-West Africa, their route passed through South Africa. The 2 000 km long journey between the Cape and Amboland was difficult, but Cape Town, which was the closest town of any size, was where the missionaries went on furlough.²⁰ It was thus only natural that the missionaries' memoirs of their work in Amboland also included descriptions of the Cape.

In all of the Nordic countries, therefore, with the exception of Norway, some travel literature was published during the 19th century containing references to South Africa, although it must be

14 Elisabeth Hansen, *Min Reise i Aar 1788 til det Gode Haabs Forbjerg fra London* (My Journey to the Cape of Good Hope from London, 1788). København 1838.

15 W.C. Baldwin, *Sydafrikanske Reiseminder* (Reminiscences of Travels in South Africa). København 1864.

16 J. Mackenzie, *Fra det indre Syd-Afrika. Med 1 Kaart og flere Billeder* (From the South African Interior: with One Map and Several Illustrations). København 1872.

17 Le Vaillant, *Le Vaillants resa uti Södra Africa, åren 1780 till 1783 i sammandrag af Samuel Ödman* (Le Vaillant's Voyages to South Africa, 1780—83, ed. Samuel Ödman). Åbo 1795

18 G.E. von Alftan, *Afrikanska Reseminnen. Äfventyr och Intryck från en utflykt till de Svartes Världsdel* (African Reminiscences: Adventures and Impressions from an Expedition to the Black Continent). Helsingfors 1892.

19 P. Kurvinen, *Seitsemän ensimmäistä vuotta Lähetyssaarnaajana eli iloja sekä suruja Afrikassa* (My First Seven Years as a Missionary: Joys and Sorrows in Africa). I—IV. Helsinki 1877—80.

20 Peltola 1958, 67, 70.

conceded that in many cases these references were relatively superficial, while in others (e.g. in Livingstone's writings) the region referred to included all of Africa south of the Equator. In the latter case, the amount of information provided relating to South Africa in the narrower sense (i.e. the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal) would have been rather limited, possibly comprising no more than the route providing access to the southern African interior.

3.1.1.2. Handbooks and Travellers' Guides

In addition to the travellers' journals and missionary literature described above, a number of books and pamphlets were published in the Nordic countries during the 19th century containing more thorough descriptions of South Africa, and even propaganda offering practical information and encouragement to prospective migrants.

There is a long history of handbooks and guidebooks aimed at prospective migrants to South Africa. The earliest of these in English were published at the time of the 1819 scheme for settlement at Albany.²¹ In her 1948 bibliography of South African guidebook literature,²² Catherine INSKIP listed no less than 14 titles published in English prior to 1886 relating to the western Cape alone. Over the years, some of these came out in several editions, thus further expanding the total number of books available; and INSKIP comments that the bibliography is not complete.²³ Guidebooks were also published for other areas of South Africa, especially for Natal and the Transvaal; such handbooks also appeared in various Continental European countries, such as Germany and Holland, and in the Nordic countries in Denmark and Norway.

Two such titles are known from the Nordic countries. The earlier of these appeared in Denmark in 1877: *Kapstaten i Syd-*

²¹ Inskip 1948, 4.

²² Catherine Inskip, *South-African Guide-books. Bibliography. List of Guide-books and Handbooks Dating from 1800 to the Present Day, Dealing with South Africa and with Western Province*. Cape Town 1948.

²³ Inskip 1948, iv.

Afrika. En topografisk-statistisk Veiledning for Utvandrere (Cape Town in South Africa: A Guide for Emigrants), a 16-page translation into Danish of the German guidebook by L. Friederichsen.²⁴ This was published in Copenhagen by V. Sommer, the main settler agent in Denmark for the assisted-passages campaign launched in 1876 to recruit Northern European settlers for the Cape (discussed in greater detail below, in Section 3.2.2).

This pamphlet cost ten Öre, and provided information about the history and geography of the Cape, with sections on population, climate, and the economy. There were also tables (expressed in Danish crowns) giving the cost of food and clothing, rents, and in particular the high rates of pay.²⁵

Considering that it was published by a settler agent, the pamphlet was surprisingly realistic about the opportunities available in South Africa. This sober approach was also maintained by other persons involved in the project, such as Sophus Pihl, who in an article reviewing the guidebook in the journal *Social-Demokraten* in summer 1877 actually warned prospective migrants against excessive optimism. A labourer who set out for the Cape in the belief that he would be able to make a quick fortune there was likely to be disappointed, Pihl wrote; but a hard-working labourer with poor prospects at home in Denmark could be well advised to take himself and his family to South Africa.²⁶ The tone of Pihl's article may well have been influenced by another article, which had appeared in the same journal some months earlier, warning against emigration to South Africa;²⁷ nevertheless, the sober tone of the *Kapstaten* pamphlet remains one of its striking features.

The second guidebook to appear in the Nordic countries was *Natal, dets Geografi, Næringsveie, Historie etc. En Bog for Udvandrere* (Natal, its Geography, Economy and History: A Guidebook for Emigrants), published in Norway in 1884 by Nils Landmark, the captain for many years of the Norwegian

24 'Lidt om Udvandringen til Kapstaten' (In Brief: Emigration to Cape Town). *Social-Demokraten* 6.7.1877.

25 *Kapstaten* 1877, passim.

26 'Lidt om Udvandringen til Kapstaten' (In Brief: Emigration to Cape Town). *Social-Demokraten* 6.7.1877.

27 'Til Advarsel for Udvandrere til Kap' (Warning for Emigrants to the Cape). *Social-Demokraten* 27.4.1877.

Missionary Society's ship *Elieser*. Landmark's book, like the pamphlet published in Denmark in 1877, was linked with a current campaign in Norway to recruit migrants to South Africa: the Marburg Scheme, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2.3 below. Landmark's links with assisted immigration to South Africa go further back, however, for in 1879 — three years prior to the Marburg Scheme — he had privately suggested to the immigration authorities in Natal that the assisted-passages scheme should be extended to Norway. Although this suggestion did not come to fruition, Captain Landmark has an honoured place in the history of Norwegian immigration to South Africa.²⁸

In the preface to his book, Landmark states that his reason for writing it was that over the years he had received many enquiries about Natal.²⁹ It seems probable that Landmark was hopeful of profiting from the book in conjunction with the Marburg Scheme, since although the book was not actually printed until 1884, the Preface is dated December 1882; the good start to the Scheme in that year may well have encouraged him to expect continued success in the years to come, and accordingly demand for his book.

Landmark's book is different in many respects from the Danish pamphlet of 1877. Where the latter had been a 16-page concentrated dose of information about South Africa for prospective migrants, Landmark's book is more of a comprehensive handbook, intended for those who had already reached South Africa. In part, this is due to the Natal origins of the work.³⁰ The book was 95 pages long, allowing a relatively thorough cross-section of the colony, covering its history, geography, population, flora and fauna, economy and administration, together with a wealth of useful information for settlers.

Landmark's book describes Natal as it was: it provides information, not immigration propaganda. Only in passing does it refer to good opportunities for employment, or a higher standard of living than back in Norway.³¹ Landmark cannot therefore be seen as an enthusiastic 'booster' for immigration to South Africa, although he was undoubtedly a warm admirer of "Sunny Natal".

28 Hale 1982, 38.

29 *Natal* ... 1884, 4.

30 *Natal* ... 1884, 4.

31 *Natal* ... 1884, 39, 45.

3.1.1.3. *The Press*

The last written channel of information to be examined here will be that with the widest readership, the press, in order to determine how much attention South African conditions received in the Nordic press during the period under investigation. The focus is not on minor references, nor on political news items relayed by the international news agencies, but on full-length geographical articles, travellers' correspondence, reports dealing with economic conditions and immigration in South Africa, or other topics which might have been of interest to prospective migrants considering South Africa as a possible destination.

The sheer number of newspapers and journals published in the Nordic countries has made it impossible to examine more than a sample of them. For Sweden, the newspapers selected for examination are one major paper, the *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, and a somewhat smaller paper published in Kalmar, *Barometern* (since 1875 *Kalmaritidningen Barometern*). Both have been chosen on geographical grounds: Gothenburg was the major port of embarkation for Swedish emigrants, so that it is reasonable to expect that a paper published there would offer a better overall view of Swedish migration; while the decisive factor in Kalmar is the early date at which local emigration to South Africa began. Kalmar was the home town of the migration scheme to the Transvaal initiated in 1863 by O. W. A. Forssman, and it therefore seemed worthwhile to examine what kind of reflection this achieved in the local press.

In both cases, the newspapers have been examined from the beginning of 1862. The *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* had surprisingly little to contribute to contemporary knowledge of South Africa, most of its South African items consisting of minor news reports on Swedish trade with South Africa, particular individuals who had moved there, deaths occurring in South Africa, and other similar incidents.

The *Barometern* had rather more to offer. O. W. A. Forssman's Transvaal scheme of 1863 was covered in some detail, and in 1864 the paper published letters from several settlers who had already established themselves. Readers will thus have been aware of the popularity of migration to the Transvaal, and also that there was still land and work available. The reports suggested that

conditions were particularly favourable for artisans, for whom good employment opportunities were available immediately on arrival.³²

This interest on the part of the *Barometern* was followed, however, by three decades of virtual silence, when the only reports referring to South Africa were minor news items, etc. Not until the later 1890s was there another burst of interest in South Africa in the pages of the *Barometern*. A feature shared by the South African reporting in both of these Swedish papers therefore, in the period under investigation, is the predominance of minor news items, both travellers' correspondence and feature articles occurring only rarely.

Information relating to South Africa was however also to be found in other periodicals outside the daily press. Following the initiation of missionary work in Natal by the Swedish Missionary Society in 1876,³³ items about South Africa began to appear in the religious press.

From time to time, references to South Africa also appeared in Swedish magazines. The earliest such article found dates from 1872, when the *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* published an article about the South African diamond fields, over three pages long and with five lithographs.³⁴ The initiative for the article had come from O. W. A. Forssman, who had written to the magazine from the Transvaal, including photographs and written material, as is confirmed both by references within the article and by Forssman's still surviving letter.³⁵

For the most part, the article concentrates on diamonds and diamond discoveries in general, but local colour from South Africa is provided by the lithographs made from Forssman's photographs and by concise reports of the major diamond and gold field

32 'Från hr. ingenjör M. Forssman' (From Mr M. Forssman), *Barometern* 6.2.1864.

33 On the Swedish mission in Natal during the 19th century, see Anton Karlgren, *Svenska kyrkans mission i Sydafrika* (The Church of Sweden's Missions in South Africa). Uppsala 1909.

34 'Diamantfälten i Syd-Afrika' (The Diamond Fields in South Africa). *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 24.2.1872, 59—62.

35 O.W.A. Forssman to Harald Wieselgren, 10.10.1871. KBS Brevsamling. Brev från svenska och utländska brevskrivare.

discoveries in the region. Readers were told how tens of thousands of people were already making their living from the diggings, but that this was probably only the beginning, since it was suggested that the flood of immigration to this region so rich in natural resources would soon lead to the rapid growth of communities "on the European, or rather on the American pattern".³⁶

What makes this article especially interesting is its date: it is futile to look for a place called Kimberley in the list of diggings here, for the Kimberley diamond field had still not received that name, nor even strictly speaking been discovered, since the major finds on that field had not been made until the closing weeks of 1871,³⁷ i.e. after the composition of Forssman's letter.

Nevertheless, the Swedish magazine press did not deal with South Africa often during the 19th century; the *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* (at that time the leading illustrated magazine in Sweden) did not return in its pages to the topic of South Africa until more than two decades later, in 1896. There was presumably less material available on South Africa appropriate for the magazine press than for the newspapers. Not until the Boer War was closer attention paid in text and illustrations to South Africa.

Two newspapers selected for examination in Norway were the major papers published in the capital Christiania (Oslo), *Aftenposten* and *Morgenbladet*, for both of which the Oslo University Library holds a systematic annual catalogue of contents. Both papers have been examined from 1865 onwards.

Neither of these Christiania papers had much information about South Africa to offer. *Morgenbladet* did publish a few letters from Natal, and carried a few reports on Norwegian migration to South Africa, but in Norway the local press was a more important channel of information about South Africa during the period under investigation than the press in the capital. This is especially true with respect to the press in Bergen and Ålesund, the areas from which the Norwegian migration schemes to South Africa in the late 1870s and early 1880s originated.

The earliest of these Norwegian settlement schemes was the

36 'Diamantfälten i Syd-Afrika' (The Diamond Fields in South Africa). *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 24.2.1872, 59—62.

37 Hattersley 1969, 206—207.

Debora expedition from Bergen in 1879, which attracted extensive attention in the local press both before and after its departure. The expedition had originally set out to settle in Madagascar, but ended up in Natal. During the following year, several letters from members of the expedition in Natal were published in the press.

In 1880, the plans by Captain Landmark (author of the guidebook to Natal mentioned above) for a settlement also attracted attention, although the scheme was in the end not carried out. These projects will be discussed in greater detail below. It is significant that the reporting of them in the Norwegian press was largely concentrated in the local papers in the Bergen region, especially the *Bergensposten*, which from the start reported these emigration schemes very fully.

The letters published in the press in Norway from early Norwegian emigrants to Natal contained both praise and criticism. The high wages for artisans, especially in the timber and metal industries, were commended, but the high cost of living came in for complaints; and by the end of 1880, it was reported that the employment situation was weakening. So many immigrants had arrived in the major port in Natal, Durban, that there was not work available for all of them. A warning voice from Natal pointed out that since the employment situation in Natal was currently no better than that in Norway, there was no point in workers moving to South Africa. Although Natal undoubtedly had a great future, much remained to be done first.³⁸

The next major bout of publicity about South Africa in the Norwegian press came with the articles stimulated by the Marburg Scheme in 1882, and the publication of letters from emigrants. Most of the articles were published in 1882–83, mainly in a number of west coast papers such as the *Aalesund Blad* and *Stavanger Amtstidende og Adresseavis* and in metropolitan papers such as *Adressebladet* and *Morgenbladet*.

The emigrants' letters printed in Norwegian papers during 1883 in conjunction with the Marburg Scheme emphasized both the

38 'Lidt om "Debora"-Expeditionen' (In Brief: The *Debora* Expedition). *Morgenbladet* 5.5.1880; 'Lidt fra Natal og Udvandringsfolholdene dernede' (In Brief: Natal and Emigration Conditions Down There). *Bergensposten* 11.12.1880.

obstacles to be faced and the opportunities offered by emigration to Natal. The original venture, of a Norwegian settlement based on agriculture, had not been as successful as had been hoped, and by the following year many of the settlers had left the Norwegian settlement and found work elsewhere in Natal. It was reported that young men could easily find work in Natal, subject to certain conditions: skills were at a premium. The simplest work was carried out very cheaply with black labour, and whites therefore stood no chance as manual labourers. In a letter from Natal printed in *Morgenbladet*, the writer's advice is that the securest course for young men coming to Natal would be to have a skilled trade of some kind to support themselves by, e.g. as a carpenter, blacksmith or bricklayer.³⁹

This sample indicates that in Norwegian press, as in Sweden, serious attention (in terms of its impact on migration) was not given to South Africa until the 1890s, although the Norwegian migration projects in the early 1880s had stimulated a certain amount of interest at that time. In addition to occasional emigrants' letters printed in newspapers and magazines, however, a further source of information about South Africa was linked with Norwegian missionary work in Natal, since the Norwegian Missionary Society's magazine *Norsk Missionstidende* published both articles and missionaries' letters.⁴⁰

For Denmark, the two publications selected for examination were the leading national papers *Berlingske Politiske og Avertissements Tidende* and *Politiken*, both issued in Copenhagen. For each of these, the University of Copenhagen Library maintains a systematic chronological catalogue of contents. The *Berlingske Tidende* has been examined from 1865 (including both the morning and afternoon editions), and *Politiken* from its year of foundation, 1884.

The earliest South African item in these journals relevant for its potential impact on migration was a half-page article published in

39 'Fra Natal' (From Natal). *Morgenbladet* 23.10.1883.

40 On the Norwegian missions in Natal, see Og Myklebust — Sten Bugge — J. Nikolaisen — H. Endresen, *Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Historie i hundre år. III. Det Norske Misjonsselskaps Historie: Sør-Afrika, China, Sudan* (A Hundred Years of the Norwegian Missionary Society's History. Vol. III: South Africa, China, Sudan). Stavanger 1949.

the *Berlingske Tidende* in January 1872, reporting on gold fields abroad, including the gold and diamond finds in South Africa. Of the recent finds in the Transvaal, the paper commented that it would certainly take a long time before these occasioned significant migration from Europe; the route there was still too unfamiliar, and the road too difficult. On the other hand, the author of the article states that the finds on the Vaal River had already got people on the move, and that a steadily increasing flow of people was arriving on the goldfields both from within South Africa and abroad, including many fortune-seekers from all over Europe.⁴¹

The first occasion when attention was paid in the pages of the press to Danish migration to South Africa appears to have been in 1877, when the Copenhagen journal *Social-Demokraten* carried two articles on the topic. The first article contained material borrowed from a German journal, and reported the problems that had arisen in conjunction with the assisted-passage immigration campaign for the Cape launched in 1876.⁴² In the second article, Sophus Pihl (one of the Danish sponsors of the campaign) defended the project, and summarized L. Friederichsen's publication *Kapstaten i Syd-Afrika*⁴³ (cf. Section 3.1.1.2 on guide-books, above). These two articles appear to have been the only comments in the Danish press on the migration scheme, at least in the Copenhagen press. The *Berlingske Tidende* makes no reference to it at all, and *Social-Demokraten* did not return to the topic during the period when the scheme was in operation, during the latter 1870s.

This examination suggests, therefore, that little serious attention was paid to South Africa in the Danish press during the period under investigation. Not until the 1890s, when letters from emigrants began to appear in the pages of the Danish press, did South Africa receive more attention. In this respect, then the overall picture is broadly similar to that for the Norwegian and Swedish press.

41 'Opdagelsen af fjerne Guldlande' (Discovery of the Distant Goldfields). *Berlingske Tidende* 23.1.1872.

42 'Til Advarsel for Udvandrere til Kap' (Warning for Emigrants to the Cape). *Social-Demokraten* 27.4.1877.

43 'Lidt om Udvandringen til Kapstaten' (In Brief: Emigration to the Cape). *Social-Demokraten* 6.7.1877.

One other Danish journal which did provide publicity about South Africa for a time was the *Udvandrings-Tidende*. This was published by an organization called *Den danske Kolonisations-Forening af 1879* (The Danish Colonization Association of 1879), which proposed to form a colony in whichever country could offer the most favourable conditions for the venture, on the basis of negotiations with the local authorities, thorough investigations, etc.⁴⁴ One of the targets considered was South Africa, and the journal published a certain amount of South African material.⁴⁵

In the case of the Finnish press, it has been possible to examine not merely a sample, but the entire press, partly thanks to the Helsinki University Library's subject catalogue of articles published in the Finnish press prior to 1891, and partly to the catalogue maintained by the *Suomi-Seura* (Finnish Association) of all articles relating to emigration. In order to compensate for possible deficiencies in these catalogues (either having arisen during their compilation or subsequently, e.g. through the loss of index cards), certain publications from the regional press in Ostrobothnia (listed in the list of Sources) have been examined systematically.⁴⁶

The earliest reference to South Africa traceable in the Finnish press dates from 1801, when the Swedish-language journal *Åbo Tidning* carried a review of John Barrow's traveller's journal, published the same year (the Swedish translation, published in 1804, has been referred to above). The article was largely derived from an earlier review in a German literary journal.⁴⁷

After this early beginning, however, it was half a century before South Africa recurred in the pages of the Finnish press. In January-February 1857 the Swedish-language journal *Wiborg*, published in Viipuri (Vyborg), carried an extensive traveller's letter, in three

44 *Udvandrings-Tidende* 1.10.1879; Hvidt 1971, 448.

45 See e.g. 'Afrikas Kolonisering' (The Colonization of Africa). *Udvandrings-Tidende* 1.10.1879, 1.11.1879, 1.4.1880 & 16.4.1880.

46 For three newspapers (*Uusi Suometar*, *Vasabladet* and *Työmies*, there is available a survey carried out at the Institute of Migration, Turku, of articles dealing with migration: see Taisto Hujanen & Kimmo Koironen, *Siirtolaisuus suomalaisissa sanamalehdissä vuosina 1880—1939 ja 1945—1984* (Migration in the Finnish Press, 1880—1939 and 1945—1984). Turku 1990.

47 'Märkwärdigheter i Södra Afrika' (Curiosities in Southern Africa). *Åbo Tidning* 1.7.1801.

parts, containing a comprehensive account of the Cape, covering its history, population, and conditions at that time.⁴⁸ The text is signed '-l'; the contents suggest that the author may have been a Finn, but the evidence is not conclusive.

There were in fact very scarce references to South Africa in the press in Finland before the mid-1880s. Because the route to the Finnish Missionary Society's field in South-West Africa lay through the Cape, and the missionaries took their furlough there,⁴⁹ references to South Africa occurred from time to time in the Society's magazines — *Suomen Lähetysseuranta* in Finnish, and *Missionstidning för Finland* in Swedish — and in letters from missionaries published in other periodicals. Altogether, however, only six articles specifically concerned with South Africa have been found from the press in Finland during this period.

The first article published after the Cape article in 1857 was a feature in *Suomen Kuvalehti* for January 1874, on the diamond discoveries. This is also the earliest article published in Finland in which reference is made to South Africa as a potential destination for emigrants:

"The open hinterland of the Cape of Good Hope is no longer the deserted terra incognita it was a few years ago. Where previously there roamed only fleet-footed ostrich, greedy jackal and herds of elegant antelope, there is now the buzz of work and business. Thousands of the most robust of the men from the great commercial empires of Europe and North America have, with the space of a few months, constructed extensive towns of tents in the midst of the desert ..."⁵⁰

The article is two pages long, and gives a description of life on the diamond diggings at Colesberg Kopje known as Kimberley by 1873,⁵¹ although the new name is not used in the article, which was probably based on somewhat older material.

48 'Den 1. December i Kap' (December 1st at the Cape). *Wiborg* 30.1.1857, 3.2.1857, 6.2.1857.

49 Peltola 1958, 67, 70.

50 'Timanttilöydöt Etelä-Afrikassa' (The Diamond Finds in South Africa). *Suomen Kuvalehti* 1.1.1874.

51 Hattersley 1969, 206—207.

During the period 1875–79, there were also five other descriptions of South Africa, consisting of letters from travellers, which appeared in newspapers published in Pori, Viipuri, Jyväskylä, Helsinki and Turku: i.e. a wide geographical distribution.⁵² The first two, and possibly the third, were from travellers by sea who had visited South African ports.

All in all, therefore, South Africa received very scant attention in the Finnish press during this period, as was also found to be the case for the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish press. The occasional material which did appear in the press in Finland consisted not of reports relating to the beginnings of local emigration (as was the case in the other Nordic countries), but rather of travellers' descriptions.

An overall assessment of the significance of the Nordic press and literature in spreading the knowledge of South Africa prior to the mid-1880s, therefore, reveals considerable variation between the Nordic countries in both structure and intensity. The information was not composed of the same elements in each country, and the economic and historical background factors, etc., were also dissimilar.

In the genre of travellers' journals, the widest range of South African literature was published in Sweden and Denmark, whereas far less appeared in Finland, and least of all in Norway, where the sole source consisted of missionary literature. Guidebooks and emigration propaganda publications, on the other hand, were found only in Denmark and Norway. In terms of the press (i.e. the form of the printed word with the widest circulation), all four Nordic countries were at least to some extent represented.

In assessing the significance of these various channels of information, none of them should be overstated. The volume of travellers' journals and other forms of literature containing references to South Africa was during the 19th century very small,

52 'Utdrag ur ett bref från en vandrande sjöman' (Extract from a Letter from a Wandering Seaman). *Björneborg Tidning* 3.11.1875; 'Niitä näitä eräältä ulkomaan matkalta' (Scraps from a Journey Abroad). *Ilmarinen* 9.10.1878; 'Kirje Etelä-Afrikasta' (A Letter from South Africa). *Keski-Suomi* 6.3.1878; 'Finne i zulukriget' (A Finn in the Zulu War). *Helsingfors Dagblad* 25.4.1879; 'Finne i zulukriget' (A Finn in the Zulu War). *Åbo Underrättelser* 24.7.1879.

and its sphere of impact very limited, as was also the case with guidebooks and similar publications, both in the Nordic countries and elsewhere. Only the press can really be attributed a significant role in creating a public image of South Africa, and even this was fragmented, consisting of minor news reports and of occasional travellers' and emigrants' letters. Prior to the mid-1880s, the formation of an image of South Africa was thus no more than sporadic. Although an active search would have permitted the collation of information from these various Nordic sources, it must be assumed that the impact on the general reading public was more or less accidental.

3.1.2. From Etappe Contacts to Freight Trade: Nordic Marine Contacts with South Africa during the 19th Century

Whereas the contact created by literature and the press between the Nordic countries and South Africa was highly theoretical, on a practical level there were real marine contacts. There can be no doubt of the significance of seafaring as an agent furthering migration, especially in the early phases of migration; therefore the special emphasis in Nordic-South African marine contacts here will be on the mediation of information about South Africa.⁵³

During the era of the Dutch East India Company, when Danish trade with the East Indies had been busy, Danish ships had been the most frequent Nordic visitors to Cape Town.⁵⁴ In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, however, Denmark had both lost territory, and was no longer as wealthy as she had been previously. In the

53 Since communications by sea during the period 1886—1914 are not discussed again below, this analysis has been extended beyond the mid-1880s, representing the end of the earlier phase of migration to South Africa, into the early 1890s. Spontaneous mass migration had by that time started in all the Nordic countries, but in the migration to South Africa this was still a pioneer period.

54 For a more detailed discussion of sea communications between the Nordic countries and South Africa prior to 1815, see Eero Kuperinen, *Pohjoismaalaiset ja Etelä-Afrikka Hollannin Itä-Intian kauppakomppanian hallinto-kaudella* (Scandinavians and South Africa under the Dutch East India Company), unpublished MS, 1989.

difficult economic conditions, with falling prices, several old Danish trading houses had been forced to close down in the years 1817—20; and the prevailing freight charges were too low to entice new shippers. The *Asiatisk Kompagni* (Asiatic Company) made an attempt to relaunch the East Indian trade, despite most of its large Indiamen being out of action. The attempt was a failure, however: time and the development of marine trade had passed Denmark by. The Company still carried out a few voyages, but that to China in 1833—34 was its last.⁵⁵

The situation in Sweden following the Napoleonic Wars was broadly speaking similar to that in Denmark. The expected post-war boom proved short-lived, and was followed by a depression. The sphere of operations of Swedish merchant shipping contracted to the Baltic and the coastal trade.⁵⁶ The Swedish East India Company had effectively ceased operations in 1806, although its legal monopoly on Swedish trade with the East Indies was not revoked until 1813. A few Swedish ships plied the waters of the East Indies during the second decade of the century, by Swedish trade with the East Indies did not really begin again until 1824. Within six years, they were sailing on the Australian route, and by 1835 they had recommenced trade with China. Nonetheless, initially these were isolated voyages, and Swedish marine trade did not pick up again on a larger scale until the early 1840s.⁵⁷

Around 1800 Norwegian merchant shipping was only on a very modest scale, and it therefore suffered less from the impact of the European depression, between the end of the second and the middle of the third decade of the 19th century, than did Denmark and Sweden, both well-established trading nations. The conditions for expansion of Norwegian trade were not achieved until the beginning of the 1840s, when Britain began to move towards Free Trade and gradually began to abolish the obstacles to foreign traders. By the 1850s, the Norwegian merchant marine was already a large fleet, although most of the vessels were relatively small in size.⁵⁸

55 Klem 1941, 85—86; Flink 1951, 93—94.

56 Löwegren 1953, 50.

57 Börjeson 1938, 43; see also Börjeson 1932, 363—364.

58 Try 1979, 117—119, 126.

Finnish marine trade suffered heavily from the depression at the beginning of the 19th century. Around the end of the 18th century, the Finnish merchant marine had grown considerably; but in the period between 1809 (when Finland transferred from the Swedish to the Russian Empires) and about 1820, the fleet shrank again. There was an improvement in economic conditions after 1825, although the international sea freight markets did not pick up again fully until the end of the 1830s. The revival of Finnish marine trade can be seen both in the recommencement during the 1830s of the traditional Finnish routes in the Mediterranean and the entry into other routes around the world, e.g. India and China; in 1845—47, the barque *Hercules* from Jakobstad was the first Finnish vessel to circumnavigate the globe.⁵⁹ (It may be noted that in this respect Finnish shipping was not far behind that of Sweden, for the earliest Swedish vessel to complete the circumnavigation had done so in 1839—41.)⁶⁰

The material at present available does not permit a precise answer to the question as to how frequently Nordic ships may have called in at South African ports in the early 19th century. In contrast to the era of the Dutch East India Company, for which, on the basis of the Company's port records for South Africa, George McCALL THEAL has carried out a study of the structure in terms of nationality, no equivalent statistics are available for the 19th century. Naturally, during the British period the port authorities in South Africa did maintain their own records, and for the latter 19th century some of these have been published in the South African Yearbooks.⁶¹ These statistics do not, however, permit an analysis of the composition of shipping in terms of nationality, and are in any case available only for limited periods and not for all ports.

In the case of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, statistics for a longer period can be obtained from the consular records of those countries. Table 5 contains information on the volume of shipping calling at South African ports, gathered from

⁵⁹ Kaukiainen 1980, 458—459, 461.

⁶⁰ Börjeson 1938, 43.

⁶¹ See, e.g., *Blue-Book for the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1880*, Tables N12-N13.

Table 5. Visits by Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Ships to South African Ports, 1841—90^a

	Sweden	Norway	Denmark		Sweden	Norway	Denmark
1841	4	—	...	1866	6	6	2
1842	2	—	...	1867	13	12	3
1843	7	—	...	1868	17	12	3
1844	4	—	...	1869	14	2	1
1845	5	—	...	1870	5	2	3
1846	10	—	...	1871	7	8	—
1847	7	—	...	1872	2	16	5
1848	13	—	...	1873	11	10	5
1849	18	—	...	1874	15	7	12
1850	24	—	1	1875	18	11	16
1851	18	—	2	1876	29	20	...
1852	22	—	...	1877	17	18	22
1853	20	—	8	1878	34	35	9
1854	15	2	...	1879	82	39	...
1855	27	—	7	1880	63	37	15
1856	16	—	6	1881	143	49	18
1857	31	3	5	1882	134	73	...
1858	30	5	...	1883	90	42	...
1859	26	4	...	1884	65	47	4
1860	35	1	...	1885	75	77	8
1861	34	1	...	1886	79	56	12
1862	41	4	...	1887	71	80	8
1863	31	3	7	1888	51	126	11
1864	27	2	15	1889	77	178	20
1865	13	3	...	1890	70	129	5

a: Consular Shipping Lists, South Africa. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor 1841—90; RAK UD. Indkomne skiblistor fra konsulaterne 1849—90; Annual Consular Reports, South Africa. RAK UD. Handelsberetninger 1867—90. Records are missing for Sweden-Norway in respect of Port Elizabeth for 1854—59 and 1866; and for Denmark in respect of Port Elizabeth for 1866, 1868, 1871 and 1884, and in respect of Cape Town for 1872—73.

the annual reports and shipping records submitted by the Consuls of Sweden-Norway and of Denmark for the period 1841—90.

Since Finland had no consular institutions of her own, being under the Russian Empire, no corresponding statistics for Finnish

shipping are available in the Finnish public records. If the Russian Consuls in those ports where consulates were maintained did indeed record Finnish shipping, this information will have been included in the reports submitted to the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but no such information has been forwarded to Finland.

What the available statistics do show, in addition to the actual volume of shipping, is the expansion of the network of ports, as a consequence of the spread of settlement and development of trade. At the end of the 18th century, all the trade with South Africa had taken place through Cape Town and its two harbours; but during the 19th century, a series of new ports was opened. The first, and most important, of these was Port Elizabeth. This harbour is first mentioned in the shipping lists by the Consul for Sweden-Norway in 1853, and by the Danish Consul in 1864; thereafter the Port Elizabeth statistics, or their absence, are included in Table 5. Port Natal, i.e. Durban, is first mentioned Sweden-Norway's shipping lists in 1876, and in Danish ones in 1885.

Mention in the Danish consular shipping lists and annual reports is confined to these three ports right down to the end of period under examination, but the network covered by Sweden-Norway's records continued to expand. East London first occurs in these statistics in 1878, and continues thereafter to the end of the period under investigation. The fourth port in the Cape Colony, Mossel Bay, is first mentioned in 1879, and recurs several times, although the volume of shipping was small. The fifth port in the Cape, Port Alfred, is also first mentioned in 1879, but occurs only rarely in these statistics.

Whereas in the 17th century and 18th century, Denmark had been the most significant Nordic country in terms of shipping visiting South Africa, this position was taken over at the beginning of the 19th century by Sweden. In the early part of the period for which figures are available, the Swedish ships calling at South African ports were mainly engaged in trade with the East Indies: e.g. the Swedish Consul's records show that of the 94 Swedish ships calling in South African ports during 1841—50 61, i.e. almost two thirds, were on their way to or from the East Indies.⁶²

62 Consular Shipping Lists, Cape Town 1841—50. RAS KK. Konsulernas skepslistor.

As the decades passed, however, this situation changed radically. Over a longer period, it can be seen that the pattern of trade became more varied, and the East Indies were no longer so dominant; and eventually, there began to appear ships whose final destination was South Africa itself: i.e. having delivered their cargo from Europe in South Africa, they then returned home instead of sailing on as previously to the East Indies, China, or (especially after the 1840s) Australia.

This expansion in cargo trade with South Africa reflected the increasing volume of imports, as a consequence of the rapid development of the South African economy. Imports through the ports of the Cape, which in 1860 had amounted to 0.3 million tons,⁶³ had risen by 1873 to 0.6 million tons, but by 1880 it had reached 2.3 million tons and by 1890 4.0 million tons.⁶⁴

The rapid growth of the construction industry in South Africa, following the emergence of the diamond industry in the 1870s, created a heavy demand for timber, which Sweden and Swedish shipping stood to benefit from. South Africa had limited supplies of timber, and in addition to housing, a further development in the early 1870s which created heavy demand for timber was the railways construction program. Swedish exports of timber to South Africa reached their peak in 1877—83, when of the 563 Swedish ships docking in South African ports, 303 (i.e. 53.8 %) had brought cargoes directly from Sweden, mainly consisting of lumber.⁶⁵

Table 5 also clearly illustrates the rapid growth of Norwegian shipping. Although at the beginning of the 19th century, Norwegian shipping had been very modest, after the middle of the century a drastic expansion took place, with the total tonnage rising from 300 000 tons, in 1853, to 1.5 million tons in 1879: a fivefold increase within three decades. No other merchant marine grew as fast as that of Norway, and by the 1880s she had the third

63 *Blue-Book for the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1860*, summary of the customs returns.

64 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1873, 1880, 1890. RAS KA: 1873, *Skrivelser från konsuler*; 1880, 1890, *Konsuler: Britt. Riket*.

65 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1877—79, 1880—83. RAS KA: 1877—79, *Skrivelser från konsuler*; 1880—83, *Konsuler: Britt. Riket*. On trade between Sweden and South Africa, see also Toft 1938, 228.

largest tonnage in the world, exceeded only by the United Kingdom and the United States. This expansion in volume was accompanied by a corresponding expansion in the sphere of operations: in 1851 only 6 % of Norwegian shipping had ventured outside European waters, but this figure rose by 1860 to 9 % and by 1880 to around 50 %.⁶⁶

This Norwegian marine expansion is also clearly illustrated in Table 5. A comparison of the number of visits to South African ports over five-year periods by Swedish and Norwegian ships shows that in the early 1860s, Norwegian shipping accounted for only one tenth of the number of visits by Swedish vessels, whereas by the end of the period under investigation, in 1886—90, Norway had already overtaken Sweden, which now accounted for only 40 % of their joint statistics.

Throughout the period under investigation, Norwegian shipping docking in South African ports was mainly carrying cargoes originating from other countries; a very small proportion of the cargoes consisted of Norwegian exports. During the period 1877—83, when the Swedish timber exports to South Africa were at their peak, Norway was also involved, although on a considerably smaller scale: during these years a total of 293 Norwegian ships called at South African ports, but of these only 78, i.e. approximately a quarter, were carrying Norwegian cargoes (mainly timber). Over thirty of these vessels were carrying cargoes from Sweden, while the remainder were involved in the international cargo market.⁶⁷

One of the problems in the South African cargo trade was that it was largely one-directional. Although South Africa had exports (wool cargoes demanded considerable capacity), there was not enough freight to meet all the demand. Ships were not always able to obtain return cargoes for Europe, and were forced to sail back carrying only ballast, or to proceed to ports in Asia or South America in hopes of picking up a cargo there. During the same period 1877—83, only 84 of the 563 Swedish vessels calling in South Africa (14.9 %), and 71 of the 293 Norwegian vessels (24.2

⁶⁶ Try 1979, 127, 131.

⁶⁷ Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1877—79, 1880—83. RAS KA: 1877—79, *Skrivelser från konsuler*; 1880—83, *Konsuler: Britt. Riket*. See also Worm-Müller 1935, 276—277.

%), were able to pick up a return cargo in the port they docked in.⁶⁸ The higher return cargo rate achieved by the Norwegians may well reflect the greater flexibility of the Norwegian merchant marine, which was also to be seen in lower freight charges.⁶⁹

The pattern of Danish shipping in South Africa is largely similar to that of Norway, except that it was even more bound up with the international cargo market. Cargoes shipped direct from Denmark to South Africa were infrequent. During the period 1885—90, for example, for which records are available from all three Danish consulates (in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Port Natal), not one single cargo was brought to South Africa directly from Denmark.⁷⁰ This does not mean that there were no exports from Denmark to South Africa at that time (South Africans ate Danish butter, for instance); these were handled through Britain, however.⁷¹

On the basis of the statistics analyzed here, no estimates can be made of the volume of Finnish shipping visiting South Africa. It is known that by the 1840, at least, Finnish timber was being exported to South Africa,⁷² but this does not necessarily mean that it was carried in Finnish ships. Evidently the volume of trade was in any case low, for the Finnish official Foreign Trade and Navigation Records, started in 1856, do not list South Africa separately until the beginning of the 1890s. It is possible that exports of Finnish timber to South Africa may have been handled through the United Kingdom, being transshipped there to British ships for the journey to South Africa. This practice is known to have been followed with Swedish timber, at least during the 1870s.⁷³

Nonetheless, it may reasonably be assumed that Finnish ships

68 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1877—79, 1880—83. RAS KA: 1877—79, *Skrivelser från konsuler*; 1880—83, *Konsuler: Britt. Riket. On trade between Sweden and South Africa*, see also Toft 1938, 228.

69 On the factors contributing to the success of the Norwegian merchant marine during the 19th century, see Try 1979, 121—123, 132.

70 Consular Shipping Lists, South Africa 1885—90. RAK UD. *Indkomne skibblister fra konsulatene*.

71 Report of the Royal Danish Consulate, Cape Town 1885. RAK UD. *Handelsberetninger*.

72 Järvinen 1943, 31, 33.

73 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1873—75. RAS KA. *Skrivelser från konsuler*.

were at least to some extent familiar with South African ports. It is known that Finnish shipping visited there and other destinations east of the Cape since the early decades of the 19th century: for example, the first ship under the Russian flag to dock in Batavia, in the Dutch East Indies, after the introduction of Free Trade in 1841, is known to have come from Jakobstad.⁷⁴ The route followed by the barque *Hercules* on her circumnavigation of the globe in 1845–47, mentioned above, took it past South Africa, where she is known to have put in.⁷⁵ There was also more regular traffic, and the records extant from the 1860s (despite their deficiencies) show that Finnish ships were sailing every year to India and China.⁷⁶ There is thus no cause to doubt that Finnish vessels will also have called in at South African ports.

In the history of navigation, the period from the middle of the 19th century to the 1870s is remembered as the last great age of sail. The decline of sail set in from the 1870s, partly under the impact of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.⁷⁷ On certain longer routes, however, such as that to South Africa, sail was able successfully to compete for the cargo markets with steam for longer than in European and northern Atlantic waters.⁷⁸

Nonetheless, the share of sail in the South African trade also fell rapidly. Of the 2 312 ships landing in Cape Town in 1881, 1 073 (46.4 %) were sailing ships; but by 1890 the corresponding figures were 577 sailing ships out of a total of 2 249 (25.7 %).⁷⁹ Anders Ohlsson, Consul-General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, commented in his report for 1882 that steam ships had now ousted sail on the British-South African run. On the other hand, he did not believe that this would have serious consequences for the merchant marine of Sweden-Norway, since steam and sail were competing for different markets; Swedish and Norwegian sailing ships had on the whole carried very little of the mixed cargo trade between British and South Africa, while steamships were not

74 Björkman 1924, 92.

75 Björkman 1924, 95–96, 123–124.

76 Kaukiainen 1980, 463.

77 Pohjanpalo 1965, 61.

78 Worm-Müller 1935, 276.

79 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1881, 1890. RAS KA. Konsuler: Britt. Riket.

suited for carrying timber.⁸⁰ Only four years later, however, the Consul-General was prepared to lay the part of the blame for the decline suffered by Swedish and Norwegian shippers on steamships, which had successfully cornered not only the entire mixed cargo market, but also the return cargoes from the colony.⁸¹

Scandinavian sail did not give up easily, however, and continue, with varying success, to participate in the trade with South Africa into the early years of the 20th century. As the total volume of sail fell, the continued use of sail by the Nordic countries became a kind of trademark. In the South African trade, this concentration of sail on Nordic shipping was already clearly recognizable in the latter years of the 19th century.⁸²

The overall significance of South Africa for Nordic shipping was limited. The scale of shipping operations may be vividly illustrated by the fact that in 1880, Norway alone had around 8 100 ships at sea around the world.⁸³ On the other hand, the significance of shipping in transmitting information about South Africa to the Nordic countries should also not be under-estimated. Although only a small proportion of the population were reached directly by this channel, it supplied a source of information which remained constant over many decades; and although sailors comprised only a small section of the population, the total numbers amount to tens of thousands of Nordic sailors, on Nordic ships alone, visiting South African ports at one time or another during the hundred years between the beginning of British administration and the First World War (it is completely impossible even to guess at the number of Nordic seamen who may have sailed to South Africa under other flags).⁸⁴

80 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1882. RAS KA. Konsuler: Britt. Riket.

81 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1886. RAS KA. Konsuler: Britt. Riket.

82 During the period 1887—1904, altogether 1 129 Swedish and Norwegian ships visited Cape Town; of these, only about thirty were steamships (Kuparinen 1987, 211).

83 Ording, Östvedt & Hölaas 1949, 273.

84 During the period 1887—1904, altogether 3 893 ships of the merchant marine of Sweden-Norway visited ports in South Africa (consisting of 768 Swedish and 3 125 Norwegian vessels). The average size of the crew aboard the ships visiting Cape Town was 12.8 for Norwegian vessels and 12.0 for Swedish vessels. Not all members of the crews will however have been Scandinavian (Kuparinen 1987, 227, 230—231). On crew nationalities, *ibid.*, 239, 241.

3.2. Nordic Settlement in South Africa prior to the Rise of the Mining Industry (to 1885)

3.2.1. The First Half-Century of British Rule: The Swedish Era

3.2.1.1. *Jacob Letterstedt*

The earliest Scandinavian known from records or other published sources to have settled in South Africa after the beginning of British rule was a Norwegian, Poul Moth Ring, who came to the Cape in 1819.¹ It is highly likely that seaman migration occurred continuously in the ports of the Cape, so that the small local communities originating from the seafaring nations will have received reinforcements from time to time; the earliest Norwegians who can be traced in the records after Ring, however, date from the 1840s.

Information is however available from this early British period concerning other Scandinavian settlers, from Sweden. Soon after Ring's arrival, a young Swedish businessman called Jacob Lallerstedt, who had been unsuccessful back in Sweden, arrived in the Cape. In South Africa, he changed his surname to Letterstedt, a name which has gone down in South African economic history as one of the most successful local businessmen during the first half of the 19th century. Letterstedt's success brought recognition in Sweden as well, and in 1841 he was appointed as the first Consul for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town.²

On Letterstedt's arrival in the Cape in 1820, he was the recipient of good advice and assistance from earlier local Swedish settlers;³ and following his rise to good fortune, he was able to repay his

1 Trägårdh 1970, 149.

2 On Letterstedt, see Jacob Letterstedt, 'Självbiografi' (Autobiography). [1861]. *Vetenskapsakademiens Årsbok*. 24. 1926. Uppsala 1926, 257—268; Claes Annerstedt, 'Jacob Letterstedt'. *Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap, konst och industri utgifven af Litteraturska Föreningen* 1878. Stockholm 1878, 1—19.

3 Letterstedt [1861], 261.

debt, by employing Cape Swedes in his commercial and industrial firms.⁴

Moreover, not only did Letterstedt offer employment to Swedes already settled in the Cape, but he also recruited immigrants from Sweden to South Africa. The precise scale on which this may have happened is not clear. Letterstedt's own memoirs, and the migrants' papers collected by Otto Robert LANDELIUS, provide the names of some of the Swedes employed by Letterstedt; by comparing these names with the names recorded in the Swedish passport registers of passengers departing for South Africa during the 1830s and 1840s, and by assuming that all travellers being issued with passports for the same destination on the same day may have formed a unified group, it appears that Letterstedt may well have recruited a dozen Swedish emigrants, possibly more during this period.

It is reasonably certain, for example, that this category includes the eleven emigrants issued with passports for South Africa on 22 October 1838 at Linköping, in Letterstedt's native province of Östergötland. One of the members of the group was an accountant called A. C. Cnattingius, who is known to have been employed by Letterstedt.⁵ During 1837—38 Letterstedt had visited Sweden, including a visit to Östergötland,⁶ and it thus seems highly probable that during his Swedish trip he had made arrangements to recruit labour.

Following his trip to Sweden in 1837—38, and his appointment as Consul in 1841, Letterstedt visited Sweden three more times during the 1840s and 1850s, and almost 50 Swedish emigrants to the Cape from this period are known. Several of these originated from his native province of Östergötland, and others from Stockholm and Gothenburg, both of which he is known to have visited.⁷ Although no documentary evidence is available, it is thus tempting to speculate that Letterstedt may have been responsible

4 Annerstedt 1878, 9.

5 Verifikationer 1838. KKA Flottans pensionkassa (Swedish Royal Navy Pension Fund); A.C. Cnattingius. RAS Otto Robert Landelius Samling, Sydafrika.

6 Annerstedt 1878, 7.

7 Letterstedt [1861], 264—266.

for much of the Swedish migration to South Africa during the 1840s and 1850s.

Despite the lack of confirmatory evidence, the hypothesis is supported by Letterstedt's known enthusiasm for Swedish migration to South Africa. In a letter to the Swedish Board of Trade in 1841, he reports that following his return to the Cape in 1838 he had applied to the Governor of the colony for permission to bring in Swedish immigrants under contract; the project had fallen through because of new regulations from the Colonial Office in London banning immigration under contract from outside the colony.⁸ In this same letter, however, Letterstedt laid forward a new migration plan: if the Swedish Government were willing to recruit 50—100 young unemployed vagrants at a time, and pay for their passages, he would guarantee them employment.⁹

This 'vagrant migration' proposal by Letterstedt was a modified version of an earlier plan to make use of the Cape as a kind of Swedish penal colony. In the same letter, Letterstedt refers to a report he had heard that the Swedish Government was possibly interested in deporting convicts to the Cape. Letterstedt had approached the authorities in the Cape, but the proposal had been rejected: it could not be permitted for foreign governments to send to the Cape persons convicted of felonies; on the other hand, vagrants, unemployed, etc., who had not been convicted of felonies, would be acceptable as immigrants.¹⁰

The question therefore arises as to where Letterstedt may have obtained his information that the Swedish Government was considering penal deportation to South Africa. No source is mentioned in the letter, but it would seem possible that he may have heard of the proposal during his visit to Sweden in 1837—38.

Letterstedt's letter is recorded as received by the Board of Trade on 22 February 1842, but no record exists of any action having been taken as a result; and in a further letter, dated August 1842, Letterstedt reports that this scheme for 'House of Correction'

8 Letterstedt to the Swedish Board of Trade, 23.11.1841. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

9 Letterstedt to the Swedish Board of Trade, 23.11.1841. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

10 Letterstedt to the Swedish Board of Trade, 23.11.1841. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

migrants could not be carried through, since the Cape authorities were not prepared to accept immigration of this category.¹¹

In his correspondence with the Swedish Board of Trade, Letterstedt never refers to these migration schemes for vagrants or convicts again. In his own life, however, he did not escape from the penal colony question. In 1849, the British Government decided to deport Irish convicts to the Cape, whereupon some members of the Legislative Council of the Colony resigned their seats in protest. One of the new members appointed to the Council by the Governor was Letterstedt. His term of office was brief, however; infuriated by the proposals to import convict labour, a mob attacked the Council Chambers, and went on to destroy Letterstedt's mill. In the circumstances, he deemed it wiser to resign.¹²

In his own memoirs, Letterstedt claims to have been opposed to the deportation of convict labour to the Cape.¹³ It may be wondered, however, why Letterstedt was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1849 unless the Governor was certain of his support for the British Government's plans to implement penal deportation to the Cape; and his correspondence with the Swedish Board of Trade suggests support for such schemes, rather than opposition.

3.2.1.2. The Possible Recruitment of Swedish Immigrants to South Africa

From the various sources used here, almost fifty Swedish settlers in South Africa during the 1840s and 1850s have been traced, and Letterstedt's possible role in recruitment has been discussed above. There are, however, many other questions to be explored in relation to Swedish migration to the Cape during this period: e.g. the possible deliberate recruitment of specific occupations (cf. the recurrence among the Swedish migrants to the Cape during the period 1839—50 of no less than 6 journeymen tanners¹⁴).

11 Letterstedt to the Swedish Board of Trade, August 1842. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

12 Scott 1968, 19—20; Walker 1957, 241—242.

13 Letterstedt [1861], 264.

14 Verifikationer 1839—50. KKA Flottans pensionkassa (Swedish Royal Navy Pension Fund).

Some evidence relating to the possible recruitment of emigrants for South Africa from Sweden can be found, for example, in the later papers relating to Anders Johan Gustafsson, a former local justice of the peace in Heda, Östergötland, who migrated to South Africa with his family in October 1844. Some of Gustafsson's letters to his relatives in Sweden during the 1860s and 1870s have survived, and copies are now held at the House of Emigrants research institute at Växjö, Sweden, together with correspondence exchanged between Gustafsson's descendants in South Africa and their relatives in Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s containing some interesting information about Gustafsson's migration.

According to the information handed down in Gustafsson's family, there had been a French or Dutch businessman in Sweden recruiting labour for South Africa. He had paid an advance to prospective migrants, who had to undertake to be ready to leave within a year. Gustafsson, who had been in financial difficulties at the time, had accepted the advance, with the intention, however, of subsequently repaying it and withdrawing from the migration scheme; but this he proved unable to do, and therefore emigrated with his family. The emigrants are said to have gathered at Sävsjö, in the province of Jönköping, before proceeding on their journey together.¹⁵

The accuracy of this account is uncertain. Private initiatives to recruit settlers for South Africa were certainly carried out in the early decades of the 19th century; and although around 1840 the British authorities had attempted to ban schemes for contract immigration from outside the colony, as was mentioned above in conjunction with Letterstedt's activities, it is uncertain how effective this ban may have been in practice. There is, on the other hand, no confirmatory evidence. Sweden did not yet at that time maintain emigration statistics, and not even Gustafsson's departure for Africa is recorded in the (admittedly deficient) passport registers, although it is confirmed by an entry in the local parish records for 8 October 1844.¹⁶ A systematic search of the Swedish parish records for autumn 1844 might reveal other departures.

15 E.A. Granath to Margit Hällgren 18.3.1969. EIW Sydafrika Samling.

16 Utflyttingslängder 8.10.1844. Heda församling (List of Persons Moving Away. Heda Parish). Copy. EIW Sydafrika Samling.

If the claim that a larger party of emigrants gathered at Sävsjö is correct, it might be expected that some record would be found in the local press, but no reference to such an event has been traced in the four papers examined (*Linköping-Bladet*, *Östgöta Correspondent*, *Jönköping-Bladet*, and *Jönköpings Tidning*). Even assuming, therefore, that the account of the circumstances of Gustafsson's departure is correct, it seems improbable that a large number of emigrants were involved.

3.2.1.3. O. W. A. Forssman's Transvaal Expedition

In the history of Scandinavian migration to South Africa, there are also a few cases of projects to establish a Scandinavian settlement. The earliest of these was the migration in conjunction with the scheme launched by O. W. A. Forssman in 1863, which was reported in the press at the time and has also been examined subsequently both in Sweden and in South Africa.¹⁷

The originator of this settlement scheme was Oscar Wilhelm Alrik Forssman, an engineer from Kalmar, who left Sweden in the mid-1840s, and settled in 1848 at Potchefstroom in the Transvaal. Forssman set himself up as a successful wholesale merchant, and purchased large areas of land near the frontier with the Orange Free State.¹⁸

Over a decade and a half after his departure from Sweden, Forssman and his family made a visit to their home town of Kalmar in 1862. It is not known whether this journey was originally intended merely as a holiday; but in any case, after having been in Sweden for about a year, Forssman made a proposal for the establishment of a settlement in South Africa. The project combined the goals of migration and commerce. Forssman proposed to return to South Africa aboard a special ship, taking

17 For additional light on this project, see: Oscar Ståhl, 'En Kalmarexpedition till Sydafrika' (An Expedition from Kalmar to South Africa). *Kalmartidningen Barometern* 18.5.1935; Alrik Forssman, *Chevalier Oscar Wilhelm Alrik Forssman 1822—1889. Biographical Studies*. s.l, s.a; Carl Gustaf Trotzig, 'Den Forssmanska kolonialexpeditionen till Sydafrika' (The Forssman Colonial Expedition to South Africa). *Personhistoriska Tidskrift* 1/1978, 31—37.

18 'Under rubrik: "En Svensk koloni i Södra Afrika"' (Under the title: "A Swedish Colony in South Africa"). *Barometern* 29.4. 1863; Rosentahl 1966, 126—127; *Svensk Biografiskt Lexikon* 16:1965, 368.

with him not only a cargo of Swedish goods for sale, but also a shipload of Swedish emigrants, who would settle on his lands in the Transvaal.¹⁹

The plans reached fruition, and Forssman chartered the frigate *Octavia*, out of Kalmar, and loaded her with a suitable cargo of goods for the South Africa market and a party of emigrants.²⁰

Within two years, however, O. W. A. Forssman's plans for an agricultural settlement (to be named *Scandinavia*) had collapsed, due to the difficulties faced in farming. Oscar Forssman's brother, Magnus Forssman, who had been appointed as the agricultural manager of the settlement, reverted to his own profession as a surveyor. Having moved to the nearest town, Potchefstroom, he was appointed in 1866 as Surveyor-General for the Transvaal. His example in moving to the town was probably followed by most of the Swedish settlers.²¹ This Swedish community in Potchefstroom was still in existence around 1880, as is confirmed in the traveller's journal of a Swedish pastor, the Rev. F. L. Fristedt.²²

19 'Under rubrik: "En Svensk koloni i Södra Afrika"' (Under the title: "A Swedish Colony in South Africa). *Barometern* 29.4.1863; Oscar Ståhl, 'En Kalmar-expedition till Sydafrika' (An Expedition from Kalmar to South Africa). *Kalmar-tidningen Barometern* 18.5.1935; Trotzig 1978, 32.

20 There has been some debate about the number of emigrants involved. The contemporary newspaper reports (August 1863) do not state any number. The *Barometern* subsequently published a letter of thanks from the passengers to the Captain of the *Octavia*, signed by 20 emigrants, four of whom mention that they had travelled with their families ('Från hr. A. Forssman'. *Barometern* 9.3.1864). Presumably on the basis of this, Ståhl (1935) gives the total number as around 30. Trotzig (1978, 32), relying on Ståhl, gives the same figure, whereas on the basis of Ståhl and of material stemming from Alric Forssman, Allan H. Winqvist (1978, 33) gives the number as 35, including the Forssman family. A comparison of the names signing the letter in the *Barometern* with the emigrant lists of the Condensed Population Reports from Sweden for 1863, however, suggests a figure of 35, excluding Forssman (no longer to be counted as Swedish), his Dutch-born wife and their children. This figure of 35 also agrees with Forssman's own statement in a letter in 1871 to the Editor of the *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, Harald Wieselgren, that he had brought 35 emigrants to Africa (O.W.A. Forssman to Harald Wieselgren, 10.10.1871. KBS Brevsamling. Brev från svenska och utländska brevskrivare.)

21 Trotzig 1978, 36; see also Jenkins 1939, 61.

22 Fristedt 1905, 140, 227; see also Baines 1946, 5, 13; Baines 1946b, 593; Baines 1946c, 612; Kotze 1934, 662—663, 714.

Some of the settlers are also known to have returned to Sweden.²³

Forssman's settlement scheme was initially successful; he owned the land necessary, and had enough funds to cover the costs of the passage to South Africa for the prospective migrants who had entered into contracts with him, and the initial local costs in establishing the settlement. In the end, however, the result was no more successful than so many other European settlement schemes in South Africa in the preceding decades, and following the failure of the farming project, the settlers rapidly disappeared into the towns in the region.

3.2.2. Scandinavians and Assisted Passages in the 1870s: the Danish Invasion

Up to the 1880s, most of the Scandinavian migration to South Africa was of Swedish and Norwegian origin. During the period 1815—75, 196 immigrants have been definitely traced in the present investigation, of whom 134 were Swedish, 51 Norwegian, Finnish 6 and Danish 5. Although this finding must naturally be considered as indicative rather than conclusive, there is no reason to question the evident domination of the national composition of Scandinavian migration to South Africa during this period by Swedes.

Although these figures, therefore, suggest that the Danish migration to South Africa was on an insignificant scale compared to that from Sweden and Norway, it is unlikely that the contrast was in fact so great, since Denmark was a traditional seafaring nation, and it may therefore be assumed that the Danish community in South Africa will have been reinforced from time to time by seaman migration.

The earliest population survey in South Africa including analysis in terms of national origin is the Cape Census for 1875. Neither Danish, Swedish or Norwegian nationality is listed separately, all of these being classified as 'Scandinavian'.²⁴ John

23 Trotzig 1978, 36; see also Victor Emanuel Norén. RAS Otto Robert Landelius Samling, Sydafrika.

24 *Results of a Census of the Cape Colony 1875*, 152.

Noble's handbook of the Cape Colony, from the same year, however, lists both Swedish and Danish among the ethnic communities represented,²⁵ thus demonstrating an identifiable Danish presence by that period.

Although there had undoubtedly been Danish settlers in the Cape throughout the period of British administration, the real breakthrough in Danish migration to South Africa did not take place until the 1870s; indeed, in the history of Scandinavian migration to South Africa, the 1870s can with reason be labelled the Danish decade.

This surge in Danish migration was in large part due to the inclusion of Danes in the Cape Government's assisted-passage scheme, and more especially to the recruitment of Danish settlers in the 1876 scheme. The aim was to establish farmers on the uncultivated but potentially good farmland belonging to the State in the Cape. The scheme was launched in August 1876 with the signing of an agreement between the Government of the Cape and a Hamburg trading house, J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn, for the transport to the Cape of 1 500 adult settlers from Germany and Scandinavia. Godeffroy's was to be responsible for the practical arrangements, while the costs were to be met by the Cape.²⁶

Between November 1876 and July 1878, Godeffroy's shipped ten shiploads of settlers to the Cape, comprising almost 2 000 souls in all. Werner SCHMIDT-PRETORIA has published the passenger lists relating to emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, and performed some calculations concerning those from Northern Europe, indicating that 312 Danes and 11 Swedes took part in the scheme.²⁷

SCHMIDT-PRETORIA's data for the Scandinavians thus consist only of numbers, and do not include any personal data. For the Danes, however, Danish sources permit more detailed identification. The total number of Danish emigrants to South Africa during 1876—1878 was somewhat larger than those sailing with Godeffroy's, but since for the present investigation SCHMIDT-PRETORIA's original source data have not been examined, the

25 Noble 1875, 45.

26 Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 117.

27 Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 376—388.

differentiation of the Godeffroy's emigrants from other emigrants is not possible. It does seem probable, however, that virtually all of the Danish emigrants to South Africa during this period were covered by an assisted-passage scheme. Interest in recruiting Scandinavian migrants to South Africa was not confined to Godeffroy's, for there were also British firms involved, e.g. the Allan Line, which advertized Government-assisted passages to South Africa in Denmark during the autumn of 1877²⁸ (possibly in conjunction with the railways construction immigration recruitment scheme set up in 1873).

The inclusion of Danish settlers in assisted-passage schemes during the later 1870s is also evident in the distinctness and brief duration of this Danish migration. Prior to 1876, the police emigration records for the city of Copenhagen do not contain a single reference to emigration to Africa; the earliest migration contracts for South Africa were signed in November of that year, just over a week before the first and only Godeffroy sailing in that year.²⁹ There were twelve of these, all involving Danish emigrants, but no further contracts were entered into before the end of the year. In the following year, the number rose to 348, seven of whom were Swedish; but thereafter the numbers fell again rapidly, to 31 in 1878 (including two Swedes), but a mere two each year in 1879 and 1880.³⁰

The key person in the execution of the Danish scheme for Godeffroy's was the migration agent in Copenhagen, Wilhelm Sommer. The South African propaganda practised in conjunction with his migration recruitment campaigns has already been mentioned earlier. Sommer was marketing the Cape Colony to the Danish public by means of advertisements in the pages of *Social-Demokraten* from June to November 1877,³¹ and possibly in other publications as well, although not in Copenhagen's largest paper,

28 'Queensland og Kapstaten' (Queensland and the Cape). *Social-Demokraten* 5.9, 16.9, 24.9, 30.9, 7.10, 15.10, 22.10, 28.10.1877.

29 Emigrants Register (Register over udvandrere, indirekte). LAS PU; Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 376.

30 Emigrants Register (Register over udvandrere, indirekte). LAS PU; Schmidt-Pretoria 1955, 376.

31 See e.g. 'Til Kapstaten' (To the Cape). *Social-Demokraten* 7.6., 14.6., 15.6., 21.6., 28.6., 30.6.1877.

Berlingske Tidende, which has been examined for the present investigation.

In his propaganda in the pages of *Social-Demokraten* for this scheme, Sophus Pihl emphasized the cheapness of migration to South Africa: emigrants could start a new life for little costs. The doors to South Africa stood open, at a cost of 60 crowns for those aged over 12, and only 30 crowns for younger children: this price included transport to Hamburg, board and lodging in Hamburg until departure, and the sea voyage to South Africa.³² There is no doubt about it: this was indeed cheap. A deck class passage by sea from Copenhagen to New York in 1876 cost 120 crowns,³³ whereas this assisted passage to Cape Town cost only half as much.

Another factor which worked in favour of this scheme, besides its professional organizers and cheap price, was the favourableness of the timing for migration to destinations outside North America. The long depression which followed the economic crisis of 1873 in the United States lasted until 1879³⁴ and made the country a less attractive destination for emigrants.

The official Danish emigration statistics, which date from 1869, show the exceptionality of this period in Danish emigration very clearly: the annual average number of emigrants fell, from 5 200 for 1869—73, to the strikingly lower figure of 2 500 for 1874—79. The lowest figure was in 1876, when only 1 581 people emigrated overseas from Denmark; but the figure for 1877, too, was only 1877.³⁵ In this small total population, the 337 emigrants to South Africa³⁶ composed a significant proportion: 17.9 % (and the percentage for male emigrants was even higher, at 20.9 %: one in five).

Very little information is available about the subsequent experiences in Africa of the Scandinavian emigrants in the late-1870s assisted-passage scheme. Despite the large number who sailed, they were a very heterogeneous group; they were not

32 Sophus Pihl, 'Lidt om Udvandringen til Kapstaten' (In Brief: Emigration to Cape Town). *Social-Demokraten* 6.7.1877.

33 Hvidt 1971, 457.

34 On the impact of the financial cycle in the United States, see esp. Achinstein 1961, 162—165.

35 SSO No 6, Tab. III; No 8, Tab. VIII; No 9, Tab. XIX.

36 SSO No 8, Tab. VIII. The number of departures recorded for the Cape in the emigration statistics for 1877 is only 337.

involved in setting up their own settlement, and less information accrues concerning settlers scattering here and there than about an integrated community. Moreover, although these settlers must certainly have written letters home, none of these appear to have been printed in the *Social-Demokraten*, at least.³⁷

Despite this large group of Danish settlers arriving in Cape Town, the local Danish consul makes no mention of them in his annual report.³⁸ The Consul was a local businessman, G. Myburgh, whose report is in English; and it is of course possible that he actually did not come into contact with any of the Danish arrivals; but it seems somewhat strange.

The Consul-General for Sweden-Norway, however, C. G. Åkerberg, was fully aware of the arrival of Scandinavian immigrants, and mentions the arrival of the Germans and Scandinavians in Cape Town in his annual report for 1877. Most of them had obtained work almost immediately upon their arrival, while the farmers had taken up their selections.³⁹ Åkerberg also states in his following report, for 1878, that more Germans and Scandinavians had arrived, the majority of the latter being Danish, and that they had once again immediately been able to find work.⁴⁰

This surge of Danish interest in assisted passages to the Cape at the end of the 1870s is still traceable in the population structure of South Africa decades later. The 1918 South African Census provides for the first time a breakdown of the foreign-born population by place of birth and length of residence, including 123 persons born in Denmark who had landed in South Africa during 1874—78, comprising 34.4 % of the persons immigrating into South Africa during the 20-year period 1874—93 and still resident in 1918. The corresponding percentages for Swedes were 10.1 % and for Norwegians 6.2 %. The Germans also fall far behind the

37 An extract from a partly extant letter from an unknown correspondent in July 1878 has been published by J. K. Skov: J.K.Skov, 'Det lange brev fra den lange rejse' (The Long Letter from the Long Journey). *Årskrift Udgivet af Historisk Forening for Værlose Kommune*. Værlose 1972, 26—31.

38 Report of the Royal Danish Consulate, Cape Town 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880. RAK UD. Handelsberetninger.

39 Åkerberg to the Swedish Foreign Minister, 25.2.1878. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

40 Åkerberg to the Swedish Foreign Minister, 28.3.1879. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsuler.

Danish figure, with 18.7 %, while the figure for the British was even lower, 12.3 %.⁴¹ Naturally, since these statistics were drawn up over a generation later, they are also affected by the migrants' age structure. Eventually, only those who immigrated as children still appear in the statistics; but it is possible that the 1918 data do include persons who had entered the country as adults during the 1870s.

3.2.3. Norwegian Settlers in Natal: from Missionaries into Settlers

3.2.3.1. Early Stages of Norwegian Immigration

Compared to their Swedish neighbours in the Union of Sweden-Norway, the Norwegians 'discovered' South Africa relatively late. Whereas Swedish artisans had emigrated to the Cape as early as the 1830s and 1840s, the first signs of organized emigration from Norway (as opposed to casual seaman migration) are not found until the 1850s, and this, unusually, in the form of missionary activity, to help in the spread of the Gospel through the contribution of their own work.

Ordinary laymen, who had not received any theological training, were recruited to help in missionary work as 'missionary artisans'. Such people were essential for the missionary societies, for mission stations are not kept going by the Word alone. In addition to clergy and teachers, there was also a need for carpenters, blacksmiths, joiners, bricklayers, mechanics, and other skilled trades.

For the purposes of the present investigation, the term 'migrants' has been regarded as inapplicable to missionaries, working in Africa but on behalf of missionary societies located in Scandinavia. The artisans and other workers who were recruited for the missions, however, have been counted as migrants. Although they were paid by the missionary societies, they comprised a distinct, lower-status lay group, and were not

41 *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa 1918*, Part VII, 49—50.

regarded by the churches as missionaries in the proper sense,⁴² notwithstanding the important role they played on the missions, as instructors in technical skills and as examples of Christian living.

In the Scandinavian migration to South Africa, the Norwegian connection with Natal dates back to these missionary beginnings. Although there were probably Norwegian seamen who settled earlier in the Cape (European settlement in Natal did not begin until 1824), it was to Natal that organized Norwegian migration began, as a direct consequence of the selection of the Natal region for missionary work by the Norwegian Missionary Society (*Det Norske Missionselskap*). The aim was to set up missionary activity in Zululand (at that time adjacent to, but not yet incorporated in Natal). In practice, it was not until 1851 that missionary activities could be started in Zululand, and the first missionary sent out by the Norwegian Missionary Society, Hans P. S. Schreuder, spent his early years working in Natal.⁴³ In time, the number of missionaries grew, and they were eventually joined by missionary artisans, the pioneer of whom was a carpenter from Mandal, Sivert Martin Samuelson, who left for Natal with his wife in 1850.⁴⁴

By the early 1860s, Samuelson had been joined on Schreuder's missions by around a dozen other artisans and their families,⁴⁵ and others followed later. Not all of these arrivals remained working for the missions, however, some of them taking up land, and others taking up other employment,⁴⁶ to be replaced by new arrivals working for the Missionary Society.

Although the number of missionary artisans during these early years never rose very high, their significance lies not in their number, but in the contacts that they forged. These links between Natal and particular regions in Norway, especially the Bergen region and Sunnmøre, laid an important basis for subsequent migration: a direct connection can be traced between Daniel Nilsson Remoy, for instance, who set out for Natal from Sunnmøre

42 Sommerfelt 1865, 339.

43 Saxe 1911, 424.

44 Samuelsson 1929, 1—2; Saxe 1911, 424—425.

45 Sommerfelt 1865, 308.

46 Saxe 1911, 424.

in 1860, and the later recruitment from Sunnmøre for the Marburg settlement in 1882.⁴⁷

Before the Marburg scheme in the 1880s, however, two other, smaller groups of Norwegians were to arrive in South Africa. Neither of these groups was large, but both had considerable subsequent importance.

The first of these was a group which landed in Cape Town in the autumn of 1869 aboard the schooner *Albatros*, organized by a businessman from Stavanger, A. L. Thesen. Of the twenty members of the expedition, 13 were Thesens. Originally, their intention had been to sail to New Zealand, but learning of the excellent opportunities in the coastal trade in South Africa, they decided to stay. The Thesens settled in Knysna, on the south coast of the Cape, and their timber company soon grew into a large and successful firm.⁴⁸ The Thesen business dynasty soon came to achieve a similar status within the Norwegian community in South Africa as Jacob Letterstedt did in the Swedish community.

The second Norwegian group also ended up in South Africa more or less by accident: the *Debora* expedition, which set out from Bergen in July 1879.⁴⁹ Originally, the aim of this expedition had been to establish a Norwegian settlement on the Aldabra Islands, north-west of Madagascar. Following their arrival in Madagascar, however, the scheme was abandoned; about a third of the expedition remained in Madagascar, while the remainder (eight families and several unmarried migrants) set sail for Natal, where most of them settled, finding work as artisans, sailors, or farmers.⁵⁰

Despite the fairly small numbers involved, the arrival of the *Debora* expedition in Natal represented a significant addition to

47 Rabben 1978, 106; see also Rabben 1973, 344—345.

48 Worm-Müller 1935, 631; see also Falk 1933, 376—377.

49 On the history of this expedition, see O. Jensenius, 'Debora-ekspeditionen til det indiske hav' (The Debora Expedition to the Indian Ocean). *Nordmands-Forbundet* 21/1928, 14—16; Kjell Falck, 'Norsk handel, sjøfart og kolonisationen på Madagaskar 1865—1880' (Norwegian Trade, Shipping and Colonization on Madagascar 1865—1880). *Sjøfartshistorisk årbok* 1965, 95—141.

50 Jensenius 1928, 16; Falck 1965, 128; see also 'Lidt om Debora-Expeditionen' (In Brief: The Debora Expedition). *Morgenbladet* 5.5.1880.

the Norwegian community there, and Ernst HALLEN notes that many of the members subsequently played a very important part in the local Scandinavian Society.⁵¹

3.2.3.2. *The Marburg Scheme*

The Scandinavian migration to South Africa during the 19th century which has received most attention is the Marburg Scheme in 1882. This, together with O. W. A. Forssman's group who moved to Transvaal in 1863, represents the only successfully completed Scandinavian migration schemes in South Africa (and was considerably larger than Forssman's).

Since the Marburg Scheme was on a large scale, successful, and permanent in its impact, it has been the object of much later attention. On the fiftieth anniversary of the expedition, in 1932, a full-length history of the scheme was published in Norwegian, *Norsk Nybyggerliv i Natal*, and an English translation appeared the same year (*The Norwegian Settlers in Natal*).⁵² Most subsequent publications dealing with the Marburg Scheme are largely based on this source.⁵³

On the other hand, relatively little attention has been paid to the Marburg Scheme by migration scholars in Norway. Apart from the discussion in Ingrid SEMMINGSEN's book *Veien mot vest* (The Road Westwards), there are only brief mentions in the studies of local emigration by Martin GJÆVENES⁵⁴ and Ragnar STANDAHL.⁵⁵

51 Hallen 1930, 12; see also Jensenius 1928, 16.

52 Andrew Halland, Anna Halland & Ingeborg Kjönsstad, *Norsk Nybyggerliv i Natal. Festskrift i anledning De Norske Settlers 50-årsjubileum i Marburg 29de august 1882 — 29de august 1932*. S.l., s.a; English translation: *The Norwegian Settlers in Natal*. Port Shepstone 1932.

53 See e.g. Bjarne Rabben, 'Ei utvandring for 60 år sidan' (An Emigration 60 Years Ago). *Tidskrift for Herøy Sogelag* 1942, 76—84; Frederick Hale, 'The Norwegian Emigration to Natal'. *Natalia* 12/1982, 35—44.

54 Martin Gjævenes, *Utvandrarne frå Sykkylven* (The Emigrants from Sykkylven). [Sykkylven] 1957.

55 Ragnar Standahl, *Utvandringa til Amerika frå Hjørundfjord, Vartdal og Ørsta 1852—1915* (Emigration to America from Hjørundfjord, Vartdal and Ørsta 1852—1915). Unpublished MA diss., Dept of History, University of Trondheim. Trondheim 1977.

The Marburg Scheme was, however, not the first Scandinavian settlement planned in Natal. In his annual report for 1867, the suggestion that migrants should be sent to Natal had been put forward by the Cape Town Consul-General for Sweden-Norway, C. G. Åkerberg,⁵⁶ although no further action had been taken. Around a decade later, the Church of Sweden's missionaries in Zululand drew up plans for a Swedish settlement in Natal, but this too never progressed beyond an exchange of letters between the Swedish missionaries, the immigration authorities in Natal, and the Board of Governors of the Swedish Missionary Society in Uppsala.⁵⁷

In 1880, two years before the Marburg Scheme, two Scandinavian migration schemes to Natal were launched, one Danish and one Norwegian, both of them without result.

The Danish scheme was mounted by an organization called *Den Danske Kolonisations-Forening af 1879* (The Danish Colonization Association of 1879), but went no further than an exchange of letters with the immigration authorities in Natal, and a few articles in the press.⁵⁸ This scheme, in fact, collapsed so early that it does not appear to have had any further impact on subsequent Danish migration to South Africa.

The Norwegian scheme, on the other hand, was set up by Captain Landmark, the author of the guidebook to Natal mentioned earlier, and published in 1884. Landmark's scheme progressed relatively far. In the summer of 1880, he had a group of migrants ready to set out: 30 families, and four unmarried men. The plans then collapsed, on receipt of a letter from the Natal Land and Immigration Board's office, stating that since the Norwegian scheme had been so slow in getting started, the land reserved for them had been allocated to other immigrants, and the office had no alternative selections to offer.⁵⁹

56 Åkerberg to the Swedish Foreign Minister, 9.3.1868. RAS KK. Huvudarkivet, Skrivelser från konsulär.

57 Minutes of the Swedish Missionary Society. SKM Svenska Kyrkans Missionsstyrelses Protokollsbilagor 1877—1878.

58 See *Udvandrings-Tidende* 1.10.1879, 1.4.1880; see also Hvidt 1971, 448—449.

59 On Landmark's colonization scheme, see Semmingsen 1950, 343—345; Hale 1982, 36—44. See also 'Norsk Nybygd i Natalkolonien' (A Norwegian Colony in Natal). *Fædrelandet* 6.3.1880; 'Angaaende en norsk Nybygd i Natalkolonien' (On the Norwegian Colony in Natal). *Fædrelandet* 1.5.1880; 'Angaaende en paatænkt norsk Nybygd i Natalkolonien' (On a Proposed Norwegian Colony in Natal). *Bergensposten* 6.10.1880.

The roots of the Marburg Scheme can to some extent be linked with Captain Landmark's unsuccessful project, although there was no direct organizational connection between them. Landmark had prepared the ground in Norway for migration to Natal, and had created in some local areas considerable enthusiasm, which he had been unable to fulfil; and this potential interest in migration was further intensified by letters home from a number of local emigrants who had left for Natal earlier on their own account.⁶⁰

Within Norway, interest in Natal was heavily concentrated in Sunnmøre, Ålesund, and the coastal region around Ålesund. The local initiative was taken by a bookseller in Ålesund by the name of A. Andersen, who made contact through the Norwegian Seamen's Church in London with the Natal Settler-Agent in London, and obtained the offer of a free passage from London to Durban originally for twelve families, and subsequently for fifty families. Each family could also take with them, in addition to their own members, 1—2 unmarried servants. In Natal, the settlers would be located near the German mission at Marburg, on the Umzinkulu River in Alfred County, where they would be able to buy land at economic prices.⁶¹

This offer by the Natal authorities provoked an enthusiastic response in Sunnmøre. In the first rush of enthusiasm, all but five of the 300 families who expressed interest in emigrating to Africa came from Sunnmøre. Eventually, however, after a process of selection, the quota of fifty families was not completely filled, for by the time of departure in July 1882 the number of selections reserved at Marburg for migrant families had fallen to 34. The total number of passengers was 233; but three children died during the journey, and 230 Norwegian settlers reached Natal.⁶²

In contrast to so many of the Scandinavian migration schemes to South Africa, therefore, the Marburg Scheme did indeed come to fruition. After a felicitous beginning, however, the later stages were less successful. Natal presented the Norwegian settlers with one disappointment after another. The land on their selections was

60 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 9; see also Rabben 1942, 76—77; Semmingsen 1950, 346.

61 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 9, 101, 122; see also Rabben 1942, 77.

62 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 9—10, 14—15, 19—21.

dry and stony; the cost of living was high; transport and communications in the region were poor.⁶³ The climax of these initial difficulties was the failure of the settlement's first maize crop, as a result of planting at the wrong time of year.⁶⁴

These disappointments led to a steady flow of settlers away from Marburg. Five families returned to Norway within a few months, followed some time later by another five families. Some exchanged the African continent for Australia. Of those who stayed, some tried to find work outside Marburg; many headed for Durban, about 120 km away — unmarried settlers first, but later followed by families as well.⁶⁵

After the rise of the gold mining industry in the Transvaal, the high wages being paid there also attracted Marburg settlers. Almost all of the men (with only three exceptions) went to work at the Transvaal mines sooner or later;⁶⁶ and the money they sent back to Natal was significant, since it has been estimated that it was this income which enabled virtually all of the families remaining in Natal to have paid off their selections by 1889.⁶⁷

Marburg never became the centre for a wider Norwegian community in Natal. During the next couple of years, a few more migrants came from Norway;⁶⁸ but after 1884, the flow of migration seems to have completely dried up, for since the settlement was in financial difficulties, it could no longer attract new emigrants from Norway.

Consequently, the number of Norwegian-born settlers steadily fell, as a result of internal migration within South Africa as well as through natural causes. In the 1891 Census, the number of persons

63 'Udvandringen til Natal' (Emigration to Natal). *Morgenbladet* 1.6.1883, 'Fra Natal' (News from Natal). *Morgenbladet* 23.10.1883; Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 27, 48, 52.

64 Åkerberg to the Swedish Foreign Minister, 30.4.1883. RAS KA. Konsuler: Brittiska Riket.

65 'Udvandringen til Natal' (Emigration to Natal). *Morgenbladet* 1.6.1883; Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 48—51.

66 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 52.

67 Carrothers 1929, 239.

68 On new settlers, see esp. 'En brevskriver fra Natal' (Correspondence from Natal). *Stavanger Amtstidende* 2.3.1883, 'Udvandringen til Natal' (Emigration to Natal). *Morgenbladet* 1.6.1883.

in this area registered as born in Sweden-Norway was 143,⁶⁹ but three decades later this had fallen to 63 persons born in Norway.⁷⁰ Information is not available as to how many of the original members of the Marburg Scheme were still at that time living in South Africa; at the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement, in 1932, there were 84 still living;⁷¹ by the 75th anniversary, in 1957, the number had fallen to 20.⁷²

Despite the loss by re-emigration of some of the original settlers, the number who remained represented an important boost for the Norwegian population in South Africa. Within the first five years after their arrival in 1882, the original settlers produced 767 children, 696 of whom were still alive when the settlement celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1932.⁷³

The significance of family migration in the Marburg Scheme can be seen in the fact that its impact continues to be visible in the demographic structure of South Africa for several decades. The analyses of numbers born outside the country and length of residence, included for the first time in the 1918 Census, show that 171 persons were still alive who had been born in Norway and had moved to South Africa during the period 1879—83: i.e. 51.5 % of the Norwegian immigrants over the fifteen-year period 1879—93 still resident in South Africa in 1918. For Swedish immigrants, the corresponding percentage was 33.6 %, and for Danish immigrants, 40.0 %.⁷⁴

In the next Census, in 1926, the number of recorded surviving Norwegians landing during the period 1881—85 was 124; i.e. 51.4 % of Norwegian immigrants over the fifteen-year period 1876—90 still resident in South Africa in 1926. For the Swedish community, the corresponding figure had now fallen to 26.3 %; for the Danes, to 22.3 %; and for the Finns, to 14.3 % (although it should be noted

69 *Natal Census of 1891*, Table 20.

70 *Third Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1921*, Part V, 25.

71 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 159.

72 'Marburg-settlement i Natal 75 år'. *Nordmands-Forbundet* 1957, 245.

73 Halland, Halland & Kjønstad 1932, 159.

74 *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa 1918*, Part VII, 49—50.

that the total number of Finns for the period 1876—90 only amounted to 14 persons).⁷⁵

Despite the slight incompatibility between the dates for the periods analyzed, the trend is unmistakable: in other words, the Marburg Scheme settlers' impact is still clearly visible several decades later. This is even clearer in the case of the women immigrants, for whom the 1926 Census permits a separate analysis: women landing during the period 1881—85 represented 64.9 % of Norwegian women immigrants over the fifteen-year period 1876—90 still resident in South Africa in 1926, and a larger absolute number were still surviving in 1926 than for any other five-year period except 1901—05.⁷⁶

Although these statistics need to be treated with caution as an indicator of migration enthusiasm, they nevertheless provide a vivid picture of the impact of the Marburg Scheme compared to migration to South Africa overall, and especially of the significance of the settlement in terms of family migration, which emerges both in the relatively large number still surviving in 1926, and more distinctly in the high proportion of women. Despite the relatively small size of the group landing in 1882, among their now adult children both sexes were represented more equally than in the overall male-dominated migration to South Africa. The absence of similar family groups from the statistics for Norwegian migration to South Africa in later decades further brings out the special status of the Marburg Scheme in laying the foundations of the Norwegian community in South Africa.

75 *Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 73, 75.

76 *Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 74—75. — The impact of the Marburg Scheme is somewhat more clearly visible in the 1926 Census than that of the assisted Danish immigration in the late 1870s. 50.0 % of the Danish immigrants to South Africa landing in 1876—90 and still resident in 1926 had arrived during 1876—80. For women, the proportion was 50.9 %. In absolute terms, among the Danish female immigrants still resident in South Africa in 1926 the number of those landing in 1876—80 was higher than that for any other quinquennium except 1901—05, and in this respect the impact of the Danish migration in the late 1870s and of the Marburg Scheme among Norwegian immigrants is similar.

3.2.4. Nordic Late Arrivals: Finnish Migration to South Africa

One of the earliest, possibly the first Finnish seaman known to have deserted his ship in South Africa was Michel Lund, who deserted from the frigate *Concordia*, out of Jakobstad on the East India run, during the period 1783—85;⁷⁷ but it is unknown whether he immediately re-enlisted on another ship, or whether he may have remained in Cape Town for some time.

It is highly probable that Lund's example was followed by many others in the course of the following hundred years. The desertion of ships by seamen still under contract, which has been a problem familiar throughout history, expanded to much more serious proportions in the merchant marine during the middle and late 19th century.⁷⁸ Desertion from Finnish ships during the periods 1826—53 and 1870—90 has been investigated by Kustaa HAUTALA, who does not cite a single known instance of desertion in a South African port;⁷⁹ but this does not exclude the possibility of such having occurred, since HAUTALA himself admits the incomplete nature of his source materials. In cases of desertions reported by shippers to local magistrates, the port of desertion is not always stated.⁸⁰ One case not recorded by HAUTALA, that of Henrik Gustaf Viklund, can be documented. Viklund, a carpenter, deserted in South Africa from the barque *Hercules*, out of Jakobstad, during the first circumnavigation of the globe by a Finnish ship, in 1845—47.⁸¹

It is highly improbable that Viklund was the first Finnish seaman to desert in South Africa during the 19th century, and he was certainly not the last to do so. Finnish sail expanded rapidly in this period to a worldwide field of operations.⁸² Moreover, it needs to be borne in mind that Finnish seamen also served on the ships of other nations. The records of the Finnish seamen's guilds,

77 Björkman 1921, 45.

78 Hautala 1967, 101.

79 Hautala 1967, 108.

80 Hautala 1967, 115.

81 Björkman 1924, 95—96, 123—124.

82 On the development of Finnish seaborne trade during the 19th century, see Pohjanpalo 1949, 42—46.

therefore, offer only a partial source of evidence on the loyalty of Finnish sailors to their employers.

On the other hand, desertion by seamen cannot be directly equated with the emergence of seaman migration. Even though individual seaman might sometimes abandon their ships in favour of a better life ashore, seaman migration as a significant extensive phenomenon did not take place except where highly favourable conditions prevailed in the local economy; e.g., in the United States, in the aftermath of the gold finds in California in 1848; or similarly, following the gold rush in Australia three years later. In South Africa, no such factors were operative to tempt seamen to desert prior to the virtually simultaneous discovery of gold and diamonds in 1867—70. There were several distinct strikes, but the most significant was the opening of the Kimberley diamond field in 1870; the impact of Kimberley was highly similar to that of the gold rushes in California and Australia.⁸³

From this period of major structural changes in the South African economy, information becomes available on individual Finns who had spent some time in the region. When the Finnish Missionary Society's first missionaries were on their way from Cape Town to their missionary field in Amboland, in 1868—69, they met in Stellenbosch (north-east from Cape Town) a Finnish prison guard:⁸⁴ this is the earliest recorded instance of a Finnish immigrant within South Africa. The earliest recorded instance of emigration from Finland for South Africa, on the other hand, dates from 1863, when one C. Dehm, from Helsinki, is listed as one of the members of O. W. A. Forssman's group of settlers in the Transvaal.⁸⁵

There is also a record of three persons having set out for Africa from Esse, Ostrobothnia, in 1867 (cited in the general survey of Finnish emigration carried out by the Finnish National Board of Welfare in the 1920s).⁸⁶ This survey was based on information gathered by questionnaire from the municipal authorities, however, and contains many errors and inaccuracies; and it

83 De Kiewit 1960, 89—90.

84 Peltola 1958, 33.

85 'Från hr A. Forssman' (From Mr M. Forssman). *Barometern* 9.3.1864.

86 *Suomen siirtolaisuusolot* (Emigration Conditions in Finland), 9.

is possible that these three persons from Esse were in fact seamen who had spent some time ashore. There are no records in the passport registers for Finland of passports being issued for South Africa, and no record of any such emigration in the parish records in Esse. Similarly, Wold. BACKMAN reports someone travelling to South Africa from Munsala, Ostrobothnia, in 1868, which may also in fact refer to a seaman, since again there is no corresponding entry in either the passport registers or the parish records.⁸⁷

Occasional reports of Finns in South Africa occur during the 1870s. During the Zulu War of 1879 on the borders between Natal and the Transvaal, two 'Letters from the Front' were published in the Finnish press (both apparently by the same person, fighting with the British troops).⁸⁸

From the beginning of the 1880s onwards more information about the Finnish presence in South Africa gradually becomes available, as a result of the publication of letters from South Africa in the Finnish press, which provide some picture of the movements of Finns in the region (any definitive statements on the geographical distribution of Finnish settlement, of course, are ruled out by the small population involved and the deficiencies of the source materials).

The published letters indicate that in the later 1870s and early 1880s Finns were most likely to be found in one of the major ports of the Cape Colony, such as Cape Town,⁸⁹ Port Elizabeth,⁹⁰ or East London,⁹¹ or in Natal, where there were Finns working in Port Natal.⁹² This concentration in the ports would be a natural choice for seamen moving ashore.

Finns were also to be found inland, however. Following the beginnings of mining, the hope of getting rich quick attracted

87 Backman 1945, 13.

88 'Finne i zulukriget' (A Finn in the Zulu War). *Helsingfors Dagblad* 25.4.1879; 'Finne i zulukriget' (A Finn in the Zulu War). *Åbo Underrättelser* 24.7.1879.

89 'Från andra sidan eqvatorn' (From Beyond the Equator). *Östra Finland* 11.3.1886.

90 'Kirje Etelä-Afrikasta' (A Letter from South Africa). *Keski-Suomi* 6.3.1878.

91 'En österbottnisk sjömans äfventyr i Sydafrika' (An Ostrobothnian Seaman's Adventures in South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 14.1.1886.

92 'Ur ett enskildt bref från en landsman' (From a Private Letter from a Comatriot). *Vasabladet* 3.4.1886.

large numbers inland from the coast. The shift from concentration in a few ports along the coast to the scattered mining areas inland, however, makes the settlers harder to trace. Little information is available about Finnish involvement on the diggings prior to the rise of Johannesburg as the centre of the mining region. There is a record in 1883 of three men from Ostrobothnia on the Cape Colony diamond fields (from Gamlakarleby, Lappfjärd, and Alahärmä respectively); the source does not state the length of their stay, but does mention that two of the men had been away from home since 1862.⁹³ Also from the early 1880s is a report of two Finns on gold fields in the Transvaal (evidently on the smaller diggings prior to the opening of the Witwatersrand in 1886).⁹⁴

All of these records are derived from scattered sources: travellers' letters in the press, or subsequent memoirs written in Finland, etc. There are also, however, two on-the-spot estimates available of the local Finnish population in Cape Town in the early 1880s: the earlier (from 1883) gives a figure of around fifteen,⁹⁵ and the later (from 1885—86) of about twenty.⁹⁶ The former of these may be regarded as a relatively reliable investigation, having been drawn up for the Finnish Missionary Society by Antti Piirainen, their local agent, to assess the possible need for a pastor for the local Finnish community.

Although South African demographic materials also provide a source of some information concerning Finns in the region, this is restricted to the data in the 1926 Census listing the date of landing of population born outside South Africa. These data report the following dates of arrival for persons alive in 1926 born in Finland and landing in South Africa prior to 1886:⁹⁷

93 *Sjömansvännen* 1883, 39.

94 'Ur ett enskildt bref från en landsman' (From a Private Letter from a Compatriot). *Vasabladet* 3.4.1886.

95 Antti Piirainen to C.G. Tötterman, Director of Missions, 23.7.1883. SLA Lähetysjohtajan kirjekokoelma. Afrikan lähetyskentiltä saapuneet kirjeet 1869—1914.

96 'Från andra sidan eqvatorn' (From Beyond the Equator). *Östra Finland* 11.3.1886.

97 *Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 81.

1871—1875 1
1876—1880 3
1881—1885 4

All of these (except one case in the period 1881—85) were men.

The lapse of time between the 1870s or 1880s and the 1920s prevents the use of the 1926 Census to map the total earlier Finnish population on a larger scale. All the evidence, however, points to the domination of Finnish immigration into South Africa up the mid-1880s by seamen migration. Other than the single member of O. W. A. Forssman's expedition to the Transvaal in 1863, there is no definitely confirmed record of a departure from Finland for South Africa prior to 1885, nor any evidence of organized planned migration. Most of the known locations of Finns within South Africa are ports. In the published travellers' letters, all of the settlers identified by name or origin are either seamen, former seamen, or came from towns on the Finnish coast (usually important ports); this also applies to most of the Finns recorded on the gold and diamond fields inland. Moreover, this concentration of the place of origin of the early Finnish settlers in South Africa in the coastal towns of Finland (indicating seamen migration) is the same feature as was identified by Olavi KOIVUKANGAS in the early Finnish migration to Australia.⁹⁸

The assumption of seamen migration is further reinforced by the low proportion of women landing prior to 1886 recorded by the data from the 1926 Census; nor is there a single mention of a woman in the published travellers' letters from this period; and although the report to the Finnish Missionary Society by Antti Piirainen in 1883 does state that two of the Finns in Cape Town were married, one of their wives was German and the other was Coloured.⁹⁹

An additional perspective on the Finnish settlement in Cape Town is provided by an account signed 'R', dating from 1885—86, which describes the Finns as consisting of about twenty or so older

98 Koivukangas 1986, 77—78.

99 Antti Piirainen to C.G. Tötterman, Director of Missions, 23.7.1883. SLA Lähetysohjattajan kirjekokoelma. Afrikan lähetyksentiltä saapuneet kirjeet 1869—1914.

men, former seamen who had long lived ashore and were well-to-do foremen, etc.¹⁰⁰

Any attempt to estimate the total Finnish population in South Africa at the mid-1880s is inevitably largely the result of guesswork. The reports concerning Cape Town indicate a Finnish community there in the early 1880s of some fifteen to twenty persons; other reports also suggest that Finns were to be found in the smaller ports, but the published travellers' letters mention only a few isolated cases. If the total number of Finnish settlers in the other ports is estimated as being of the same order as that in Cape Town, a total Finnish population for the coast of 30—40 persons is obtained. Any estimates for the Finnish population on the diggings inland, however, is entirely guesswork. Only a few cases are recorded, but there can be no guarantee that the number was not considerably larger.

A minimum estimate of the total Finnish population in South Africa at the mid-1880s as fifty or so is unlikely to be seriously misleading.

Moreover, even if the number of Finns in South Africa at that time had been twice or three times as large, it would still have been a tiny proportion of the total Nordic population. Of the definitely recorded cases of migrants from the Nordic countries to South Africa prior to 1886, totalling around 1 200, only 21 are Finnish, which clearly demonstrates the order of magnitude of the Finnish contribution to Nordic migration to South Africa at that time. Whereas the Swedes had 'discovered' South Africa in the 1820s, the Norwegians in the 1850s, and the Danes in the 1870s, for Finnish migration in the early 1880s South Africa still represented an obscure remote corner of the world, with merely minor recruitment from seamen migration. The Finns were clearly on the move both later and in smaller numbers than their Nordic neighbours.

100 'Från andra sidan eqvatorn' (From Beyond the Equator). *Östra Finland* 11.3.1886.

3.2.5. Regional Structure of Nordic Emigration to South Africa, 1815—1885

Which areas in the Nordic countries served as the recruitment base for migration to South Africa during the seven first decades of British administration? And what was the possible demographic inheritance from the earlier period for Nordic migration to South Africa, as the rise of the gold industry brought South Africa into the era of mass migration?

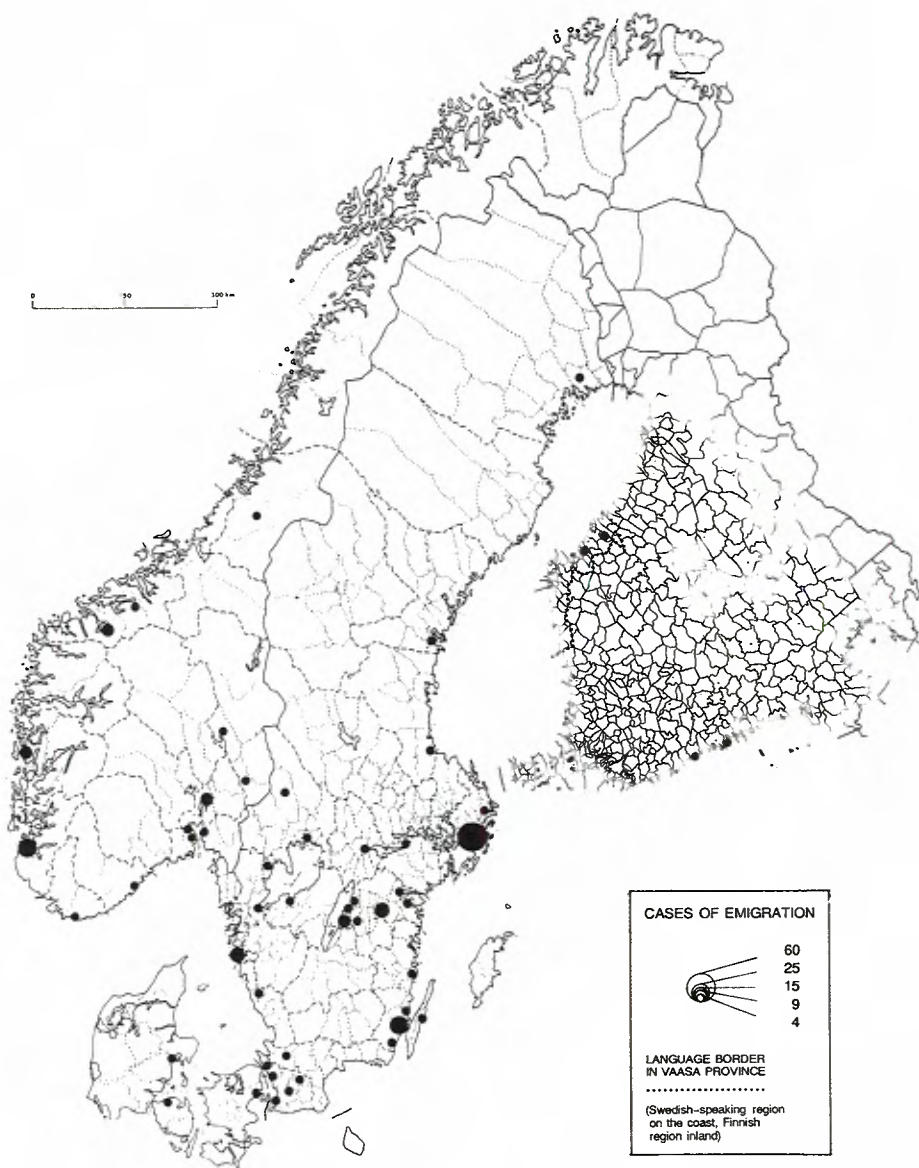
These questions can be examined by analyzing the distribution of the locations of origin of the recorded migrants for the periods 1815—75 and 1876—85 (see Maps 1 and 2). Map 1 is based on 166 recorded instances of emigration, and Map 2 on 949 cases.¹⁰¹

For the period 1815—75, the overwhelming majority of recorded cases are from Sweden and Norway, with very few from Denmark or Finland. Map 1 indicates very clearly the importance of Stockholm in recruitment for migration to South Africa; other significant regions in Sweden were Kalmar and the provinces of Östergötland and Malmöhus. The figures for Kalmar specifically reflect the impact of the O. W. A. Forssman expedition to the Transvaal, while those for Östergötland are at least in part explained by the migration schemes of Jacob Letterstedt in the 1830s and 1840s.

There is a striking incongruity between the overall figures for Swedish emigration and those for migration to South Africa. The systematic collection of emigration statistics in Sweden began in 1851, so that comparable materials relating to overall emigration are available only after this date; but even over the period 1851—75, the discrepancy between the South African and the overall emigration figures persists.

For the period 1851—75, the major single source region for emigration from Sweden was the province of Jönköping, which accounted for 9.2 % of the total. Among those settling in South Africa, however, not one case is recorded as having originated

101 The emigrations are listed by place of origin in Appendix 3. In Maps 1—2 the emigrations are marked by detailed place of origin in Sweden, Norway and Denmark only for the towns; rural emigration are given for Norway by bailiwick, for Sweden by court districts and for Denmark by province.



Map 1. Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1815—1875.

from Jönköping Province, while the overall figure for Stockholm (4.1 %) represents no more than the average level of recruitment, whereas Stockholm was the major single source region for South Africa. The only region where high recruitment coincides for the overall emigration and for migration to South Africa is the province of Malmöhus (9.1 %: the second highest).¹⁰² Although caution should be observed with regard to the comprehensiveness of these early Swedish statistics,¹⁰³ there is no reason to doubt the general trends that they indicate.

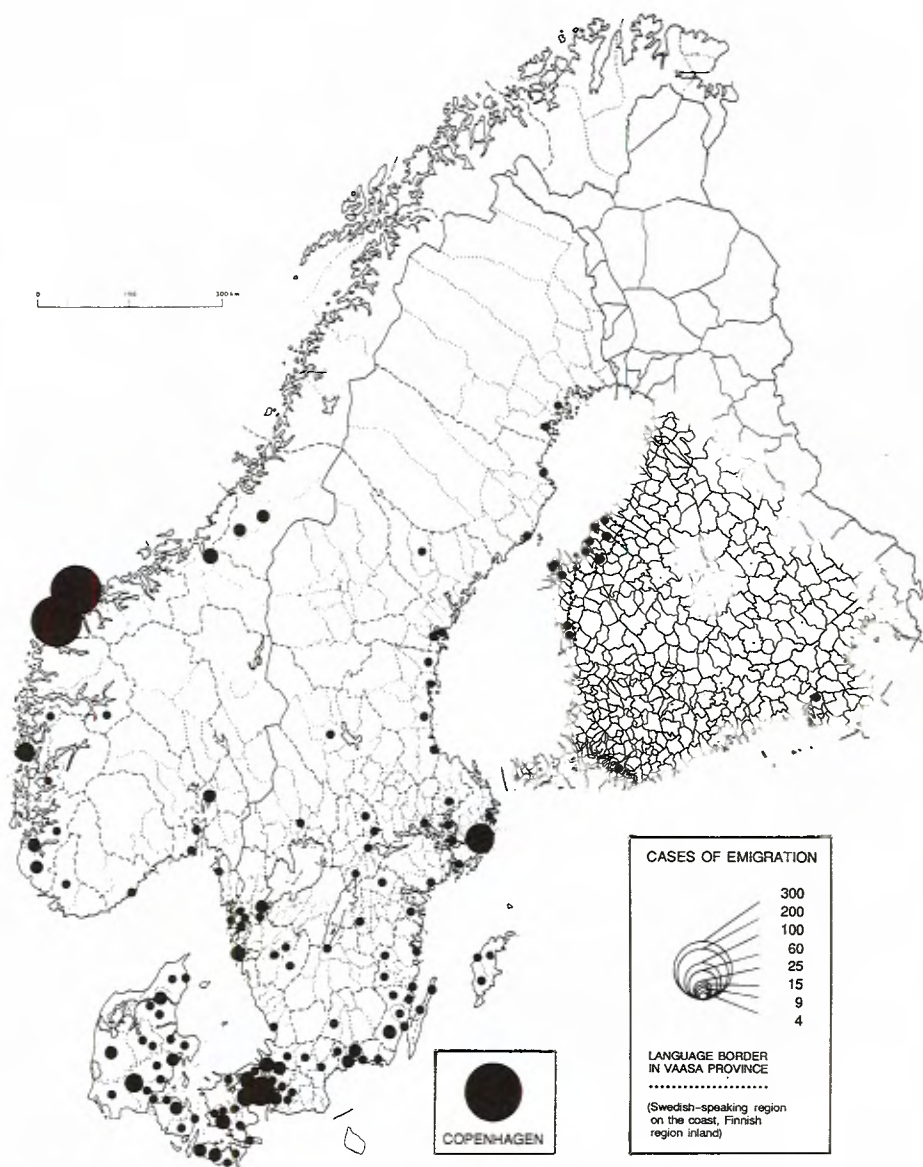
Within Norway, three regions of higher emigration recruitment emerge: Stavanger, Bergen, and Sunnmøre, although the figures for Bergen and Sunnmøre are still relatively low. The strikingly higher figures for Stavanger reflect the impact of the Thesen family departure in 1869.

The data on which Map 2 is based, for the second period examined, total nearly one thousand recorded cases. Since a mere 14 of these originated from Finland, no meaningful detailed conclusions on the Finnish regional structure can be drawn, beyond the evident concentration in the Ostrobothnian seaboard.

The emigrant population material from Sweden upon which Map 2 (1876—85) is based is virtually double that for Map 1, rising from 113 to 201 cases. The main change to be observed is the extension of the region of recruitment for Swedish migration to South Africa, with a considerable increase in the number of locations of origin. The number of cases originating in Stockholm, which had dominated the migration to South Africa in the period 1815—75, did not rise as fast as the emigration from elsewhere, and in percentage terms Stockholm's position therefore falls. Changes also take place in the period 1876—85 in the status of Östergötland, where the earlier higher level of emigration fades out, and in Kalmar, where the influence of O. W. A. Forssman was no longer operative; the recorded cases of emigration are no longer concentrated in the city of Kalmar, but scattered more widely through the surrounding province.

102 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: SOS A I.1, Tab. 42; II.1, Tab. 41; VII, Tab. 23; VIII—IX, Tab. 24; X—XVI, Tab. 23; XVII, Tab. 23B.

103 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), 248.



Map 2. Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1876—1885.

On the other hand, the high level of emigration recruitment in Malmöhus Province recorded in Map 1 for the earlier period is now reinforced; after Stockholm (18.8 %), Malmöhus, with 17.3 %, now becomes the second major source region of emigration from Sweden to South Africa, and between them these two regions account for over a third of the total South African flow.

Other regions of above-average recruitment for the Swedish migration to South Africa are the coastal provinces of Gothenburg & Bohus in the south-west and Blekinge in the south. On the other hand, whereas Malmöhus Province was also a region of high recruitment in the overall emigration from Sweden during the period 1876—85 (11.0 %), the overall emigration figures for Gothenburg & Bohus (4.8 %) and Blekinge (2.8 %) are at or below the average level for provinces throughout the country. Even Stockholm is only at this level in the overall emigration (4.1 %),¹⁰⁴ i.e. less than a quarter of the proportion which the city represented in the Swedish migration to South Africa.

The Danish data for Map 2 constitute the largest number of cases, 433. The Map reveals a clear concentration of recruitment for Danish emigration to South Africa in the area of Greater Copenhagen; Copenhagen itself accounts for 268 (61.9 %) of all departures, and if the figures are included for Frederiksberg (autonomous town on the outskirts of Copenhagen), Greater Copenhagen then provides 68.1 %, i.e. over two-thirds of all the emigrants from Denmark to South Africa during the period 1876—85.

The Danish migration statistics do not permit an analysis as to how much this distribution may have diverged from that for Danish emigration overall. The Danish migration statistics are very superficial in comparison with those of the other Nordic countries during the 19th and early 20th centuries: the place of origin of emigrants, for example, is recorded up to 1903 only for males aged over 15. Using this limited criterion, Copenhagen accounts for the origin of 60.0 % of the Danish emigrants to South Africa during the period 1876—85, i.e. almost four times the proportion originating

104 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *SOS A* XVIII—XXII:1, Tab. 23B; XXIII—XXVII, Tab. 18.

from Copenhagen in the overall Danish emigration during the same period (15.2 %).¹⁰⁵

For Norway, the number of cases used in the data for Map 2 rises from 44 to 301, as a result of the Marburg group in 1882, which is also clearly visible on the Map. Emigration from Norway to South Africa during the period 1876—85 is dominated by the province of Romsdal, and specifically by the bailiwick of Sunnmøre, core area for the Marburg Scheme. Heavy emigration to South Africa is recorded both from the countryside and from the only town in the bailiwick, Ålesund. The high level of emigration to South Africa from Sunnmøre during the period 1876—85 also represents an element of continuity with the preceding period.

In the statistics for overall emigration from Norway during the period 1876—85, on the other hand, Romsdal Province belongs to the region of below-average emigration, accounting for a mere 3.7 % of overall emigration (the provincial average being 5.3 %, and the proportion from the region of highest overall emigration, the province of Kristians, being 14.9 %).¹⁰⁶

The contribution of Romsdal Province to the Norwegian emigration to South Africa (73.4 %) is strikingly different. This figure is however in part a technical result, and incorporates some uncertain factors. Since the Marburg settlers did not enter into a contract with any Norwegian shipping agent, their departure is not recorded in the relevant Norwegian police records. Although the names of all 230 emigrants are known, their place of origin could be established only in 144 cases. These do however include 30 of the 34 persons for whom land selections were made, and since the other emigrants travelling to Marburg belonged in all cases to a selector's household or party, it is also a reasonable assumption that they shared at least approximately the same area of origin. The 144 persons accounted for by the 30 selectors whose place of origin is known can thus be regarded as providing a relatively reliable cross-section of the places of origin of the entire Marburg Scheme group. Although it would be inappropriate to offer any precise

105 The figures for Copenhagen have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *SSO* No 8, Tab. VIII; No 9, Tab. XIX; No 10, Tab. XIX.

106 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *NOS* Ny række C. 1. Tab. 1; R. III 84, Tab. 1.

regional distribution pattern on the basis of this information, therefore, it is justifiable as an approximate measure.

It is thus possible to state that in Norway, too, the regional distribution of recruitment for emigration to South Africa diverged significantly from that for the overall pattern of Norwegian emigration. Heavy emigration to South Africa took place from Romsdal Province, where emigration in overall terms was low; whereas overall emigration was high in the neighbouring province of Kristians, where not a single case has been traced of emigration to South Africa.

In contrast to the regional patterns of recruitment for emigration to South Africa in Sweden and Denmark, Christiania (Oslo), the capital city in Norway, was not so important a source of emigration as Stockholm and Copenhagen were. Heavier rural recruitment can be seen in Norway than in Sweden or in Denmark, although the towns do still slightly dominate the emigration statistics (52.8 %; the reservations noted above with reference to the Marburg emigrants should also be borne in mind).

In the overall patterns of emigration from Norway during the period 1876—85, on the other hand, no more than 26.9 % of emigrants originated from towns, and the urban proportion for emigration to South Africa is thus almost double that for emigration overall.¹⁰⁷

Within Sweden, however, the urban origins of recruitment for emigration to South Africa diverged from the pattern for emigration overall even more strikingly: 64.8 % of emigrants to South Africa during the period 1876—85 were from towns, compared to only 18.0 % in the overall emigration.¹⁰⁸

In Denmark, moreover, the pattern of urban recruitment for the emigration to South Africa is even more pronounced. The heavy recruitment from Copenhagen leads to a total figure of 79.9 % of Danish emigrants to South Africa with urban origins, whereas according to the calculations of Kristian HVIDT, the corresponding urban-origin proportion for Danish emigration overall during the

107 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *NOS* Ny række C. 1, Tab. 1; R. III 84, Tab. 1.

108 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *SOS* A XVIII—XXII:1, Tab. 23B; XXIII—XXVII, Tab. 18.

period 1875—84 amounts to 37.8 %.¹⁰⁹ If only male emigrants aged over 15 are included in the statistics, the proportion of emigrants with urban origins in the Danish emigration to South Africa rises to 79.3 %, i.e. nearly four-fifths of the total, in contrast to 34.0 % for emigration overall. The statistics include 3.3 % of emigrants whose place or origin is un-known.¹¹⁰

This analysis of the regional structure of the emigration from the Nordic countries to South Africa prior to 1886 thus reveals marked differences from the pattern for emigration overall from these countries. In the case of Finland, the population involved is too small to permit any more far-reaching conclusions to be drawn, but the material in Sweden, Denmark and Norway is adequate.

With the exception of Sunnmøre in Norway, no area emerges within the Nordic countries with exceptionally high emigration to South Africa; and in the case of Sunnmøre, one particular expedition accounts for the concentration. The emigration from Scandinavia to South Africa is, however, marked by a strong urban bias in recruitment, and especially in the case of Denmark, was dominated by emigrants from the capital.

109 Hvidt 1971, 540—541.

110 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical tables: *SSO* No 8, Tab. VIII; No. 9, Tab. XIX; No 10, Tab. XIX.

4. Nordic Migration to South Africa from the Rise of the Transvaal Gold Mining Industry to the First World War (1886—1914)

4.1. The Availability of Information and Transport (Factors within the Nordic Countries Enabling Migration)

4.1.1. The Expansion of Information on South Africa during the 1890s

4.1.1.1. *Guidebook Propaganda for South Africa*

Following the Natal guidebook published by Landmark in 1884, no similar literature relating to South Africa appeared in the Nordic countries until the 1890s, when two titles came out in Denmark, and one in Sweden.

Both of the Danish titles, *Cap Kolonien, Transvaal og Syd-Afrika* (The Cape Colony, Transvaal, and South Africa) and *Et Brev fra Sydafrika* (A Letter from South Africa), appeared in 1894. Although both works were anonymous, the sponsorship is relatively evident. The former appears to have been published by Vincent Riber, a Copenhagen agent for the British Castle Line, whose own firm is mentioned on three of the pamphlet's nine

pages, while three pages are devoted to the Castle Line itself, which had been operating between the United Kingdom and South Africa since 1872. It seems evident that the pamphlet had been sponsored by the Castle Line, although Riber is the only Danish agent mentioned in its pages (the Castle Line was also represented by other agents in Denmark).¹

It is also conceivable that there were also other editions of this same pamphlet advertising other agents; this is the only text to have survived, however. The structure of the text would have facilitated the production of parallel editions. No further light on this question is available from the Danish National Bibliography, *Dansk Bogfortegnelse*, which has no record of the pamphlet at all.

The contents of the pamphlet are English in origin. After a brief historical overview, there is an introduction to the Cape and its major centres of population. The outlying parts of the Colony, e.g. the mining town of Kimberley, are also briefly described. A similar amount of text is also devoted to the Transvaal and Johannesburg. One section is devoted to the level of wages in South Africa, mainly with reference to the Transvaal, set out as a statistical table in Danish crowns; it is stated that although the cost of living is twice as high as in Britain, wages are also twice as high.²

Whereas this first Danish pamphlet, *Cap Kolonien*, was drily informative and factual, the second pamphlet published in Denmark the same year, *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*, was very different. The background sponsor was evidently once again the Castle Line, but this time no agents are mentioned in its ten pages. Both pamphlets were printed by the same printer. *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*, unlike its predecessor, is listed in the Danish National Bibliography, with the note that it was not for sale through booksellers,³ which indicates that it was intended for distribution through agents to prospective travellers. It is also conceivable, although no agents' names are mentioned in the surviving copy, that this second pamphlet was in fact published by one or more of Riber's rival agents for the Castle Line in Copenhagen.

1 On the shipping lines and their Danish agents, see *Protokoller over agenter og underagenter*. LAS PU.

2 *Cap Kolonien* 1894, 5.

3 *Dansk Bogfortegnelse for Aarene 1893—1900* (Danish National Bibliography 1893—1900), 34.

Unlike the first pamphlet, *Et Brev fra Sydafrika* gives the impression of having been written in Denmark. It is divided into two main chapters, and the headings, "The Struggle for Survival" and "The Land of the Future", indicate the main drive of the argument. Europe, the centre of the Old World, had long been overpopulated and in trouble; for millions, the solution had been the Golden Future offered by America. Gradually, however, the wealth of America had become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, and for the many, hope had given place to despair: the promised land had become accursed. Those who had tried to warn of this, however, had called to deaf ears, for the myth of Golden America continued to survive. Unscrupulous advertising by the steamship companies, and competition for passengers, including the dropping of fares to rockbottom levels, had in fact led to continuously increasing migration; only within the last year had people come to realize the true state of affairs in America, and recognized that hundreds of thousands of unemployed are an equally serious problem, irrespective of whether they are on the streets in the cities of Europe or America.⁴

Nevertheless, the author suggests, there was another hope for the future: South Africa, the "America of the Future", with enough space and enough bread; riches still unclaimed, to the value of millions and millions of crowns for millions and millions of people. Even if moving to South Africa could not at a stroke turn the student into a professor or the clerk into a managing director, one thing was certain: in Africa there would be work, and work would be well paid, so well that even in spite of the high cost of living there would still be savings left over.⁵

Even in South Africa, the author of the pamphlet admits, there were problems; he notes the current crisis in Johannesburg, with some of the population unemployed. Yet even this should not discourage young people, at least, from heading for Johannesburg, for all the evidence indicated that the city had a great future ahead of it as the centre of South Africa's modern culture. The author finishes his South African eulogy grandiloquently:

4 *Et Brev fra Sydafrika* 1894, 1—3.

5 *Et Brev fra Sydafrika* 1894, 4—8.

"Before we bring this brief survey of conditions in the Cape and the neighbouring states to a close, we wish once more to emphasize that what we have said here is no exaggeration or wild imaginings of the advertiser. We have presented the facts as they are, and what can be achieved through diligence and hard work. We have not here counted on the sudden acquisition of wealth by chance, luck, or daring business deals; yet these are the opportunities within the reach of anyone moving to Africa."⁶

How could South Africa be advertised more effectively?

Nor was this pamphlet, *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*, the only text of this type in the Nordic countries, for the next text to appear (and also the last Nordic guidebook to South Africa to appear during the nineteenth century) was in the same category. This was a book published in Sweden in 1896, under the title: *Eger Sydafrika, det nya oerhördt rika guldlandet, förutsättningar för att blifva ett civilisationens, handels och industriens Framtidsland?* (Has South Africa, the New Golden Land of Untold Riches, the Basis to Become a Land of the Future for Civilization, Trade, and Industry?).

There are many questions raised by this book, not least concerning its authorship. The writer is unknown; the long interrogative title is followed merely by the mysterious signature 'X ...'. The book is relatively long, with 165 pages, and was printed in London. Considerable mention is made in its pages of the Union Line, which had been sailing between Britain and South Africa since 1857, and was the major rival of the Castle Line. The map included in the book also originated from the Union Line. The evidence thus suggests that the publication had been totally or at least partially financed from Britain, where it was also printed. The distributor in Sweden was Bokförlagsexpeditionen, a bookseller in Gothenburg; it appears highly probable that the Swedish partner in the publication may have been from Gothenburg. It is also evident from the content that the author was Swedish.

The argument of the text is very similar to that of the Danish pamphlet *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*. In America the Golden Age was over, and even with the best will in the world, European

6 *Et Brev fra Sydafrika* 1894, 8—10.

immigrants could no longer make a decent living there, as had earlier been the case.⁷ In this respect, both texts reflect the impact on the United States economy of the depression of the early 1890s.

Moreover, if America had its faults, so had other places, the author suggests. Canada's Siberian winters were too cold; Brazil was too hot and unhealthy; Argentina a treeless savanna. Australia and New Zealand were located on the other side of the world, and their best land had already been settled. Having thus excluded in turn all of the traditional regions of immigration, the author is left only with South Africa. Had South Africa, then, the potential to become a New America? The author's answer to this question, and to that in the title of the book, is an enthusiastic Yes. Quoting Livingstone, he describes South Africa as a combination rare in the world: natural beauty, a healthy climate, gold, copper, iron, coal, foodstuffs, forests, water, and all in plenty.⁸

This Swedish contribution to the Nordic propaganda literature relating to South Africa is more theoretical in orientation than *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*. There is, for instance, very little information about wages in South Africa, nor are they given any special emphasis. The book appears to have been aimed at Swedish business interests in general, nor merely at prospective migrants. This emerges clearly in the conclusion. After the survey of information such as the geography, population, etc., of South Africa, characteristic of the traditional structure of such guidebooks, the author turns to deal with South Africa's future:

"Currently there is lively discussion in financial and business circles of major projects for the formation of new companies with 'fifty per cent dividends', and the fortune-hunters on the lower levels are wondering whether they too should move to this country, were 'millions are dug up daily'. If this latter claim be really possible, and our countrymen are ready to share with our friends the Boers and uitlanders the treasures concealed with the Rand, Malman, Komat, De Kaap, and other massive natural vaults, and if the Swedish educated classes and labouring people are ready to participate in sowing and reaping this harvest (both intellectual and material) in the 'virgin' lands

7 *Eger Sydafrika* ... 1896, 13—14.

8 *Eger Sydafrika* ... 1896, 14—15, 105.

of the South African interior, then the good news is that the Swedes are more welcome than many other nationalities. We can neither forbid nor command; the facts and the evidence which we have here presented speak clearly enough for themselves. Let each man assess them for himself. For our own part, we are thoroughly convinced that in time the Dark Continent will be radiant with light; and it is our conviction also that it would be not at all to the discredit or disadvantage, but to the honour and advantage of our ancient nation of Sweden to take a more active part in leading Africa in general, but more specifically South Africa, along the path of civilization.”⁹

Behind the anonymity of his ‘X’, the author of this text was thus certainly not lacking in confidence in the future for South Africa.

When the guidebook and informative literature published in the Nordic countries during the 1890s is compared with that available earlier, the more propagandist nature of the later literature is evident. The earlier neutral, informative style gave way to the marketing of South Africa, as indeed is only to be expected in publications sponsored and financed by agents and shipping lines operating on the South African run.

4.1.1.2. The Role of the Press in Distributing Information about South Africa

In the Swedish press, examined from 1863 onwards, references to South Africa both in the *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning* in Gothenburg and in the *Kalmartidningen Barometern* in Kalmar continued through the mid-1880s to consist of minor news items. During the 1890s, however, the South African material in the *Kalmartidningen Barometern* sharply increased, reaching a peak in 1897—98 when the paper published a series of 15 letters from one Carl Rydström, a farm manager who had left for South Africa in 1896.¹⁰ These letters provide a vivid picture of the life of immigrants in Johannesburg at that time.

Articles similar in nature to Rydström’s letters can be found in many other papers and magazines as well. In contrast to the scarcity of references in earlier decades, there appears to have been

⁹ *Eger Sydafrika ...* 1896, 164—165.

¹⁰ On Carl Rydström, see Almqvist 1971, 337—340.

a significant increase in volume of material on South Africa throughout the Swedish press around the mid-1890s. Travellers' letters, etc., remained relatively rare, however, the majority of references being minor news items.

The Swedish business community also began to pay more attention to South Africa, and from 1895, extracts from the reports of the Consuls in South Africa for Sweden-Norway were published in the journal *Svensk Export*, thus providing a supply of official information about South African conditions.

In Norway, once the articles about the Norwegian migration to Natal had come to an end in 1883, there followed an interval of more than half a decade when no references to South Africa can be traced in the Christiania press. Not until the very end of the 1880s does South Africa recur in the pages of *Morgenbladet*, *Aftenposten* or *Dagbladet*. In the early 1890s, *Morgenbladet* published over twenty letters from emigrants to South Africa, and both of the other newspapers also carried a few emigrants' letters. The series in *Morgenbladet* virtually comprised a regular South African correspondence; the author, under the pen-name 'Africanus', was Anton Høyer, a post office official who had moved to Jeppestown in the Transvaal, and he continued to contribute regularly to *Morgenbladet* from 1893 until 1900.¹¹

The earliest of these emigrants' letters published in the Norwegian press around 1890 came from Natal. The earliest letter from the Transvaal is dated autumn 1889, posted from Germiston, in the vicinity of Johannesburg, and describes life on the goldfield of the Witwatersrand.¹² Not until 1892, by which time Johannesburg and the goldfields had become regular topics in Norwegian correspondence from South Africa, do letters from the Transvaal become more common among the Norwegian correspondence.

Initially, these letters provide a strikingly neutral picture of Johannesburg and the rapidly growing gold industry. The problems familiar from the Natal correspondence in the 1880s (high wages, but a high cost of living) recur;¹³ no unduly rosy

11 On Høyer, see 'Nordmenn i Johannesburg under boerkrigen' (Norwegians in Johannesburg during the Boer War). *Morgenposten* 15.5.1937.

12 'Fra Syd-Afrika' (From South Africa). *Morgenbladet* 13.2.1890.

13 See, e.g., 'Fra Syd-Afrika' (From the Transvaal). *Morgenbladet* 13.2.1890.

picture is painted. There are no stories in these letters of fantastic super-wages or of fortunes being made in Africa; on the contrary, a warning note soon appears. By 1892, there are already comments that the goldfield had attracted too many people, and that there was unemployment in the area.¹⁴ By the middle of the decade, this changes to direct warnings to stay away from South Africa: a dark picture is painted not only of the Transvaal, but also of Natal and the Cape.¹⁵ The clearest example is a letter dated summer 1894, warning that if Norwegian migration to South Africa did not stop, Johannesburg was in danger of becoming a colony of starving Scandinavians.¹⁶

In addition to descriptions of the region and prevailing conditions, these Norwegian letters also include from time to time practical advice for the journey: some of them, indeed, describe the entire journey in detail, from beginning to end.

In Denmark, the earliest emigrants' letters in the press examined here did not appear until a series of letters from one 'T.P.' was published in *Politiken* in 1893—95, and not on *Berlingske Tidende* until the end of the decade.

The letters from 'T.P.' contain relatively few facts, and they are more valuable for their vivid literary style than as sources of information about South Africa. Nor does 'T.P.' indulge in the enthusiasm which marked *Et Brev fra Sydafrika*: rather the contrary; he discourages migration to South Africa, e.g. the comment that it would be as pointless for a Dane to come to South Africa in search of work as it would be for a South African to come in search of work to Denmark.¹⁷

In Finland, as in Norway, there are occasional descriptions of South Africa to be found in the press from the later 1880s onwards. Altogether seven letters from emigrants to South Africa have been traced in the entire press in Finland for the period 1886—90: three in *Östra Finland*, published in Viipuri (Vyborg); three in

14 'Fra Transvaal' (From the Transvaal). *Aftenposten* 10.3.1892.

15 See, e.g., 'Sydafrikanske Forholde' (Conditions in South Africa). *Morgenbladet* 23.9.1894; 'Forholdene i Syd-Afrika' (Conditions in South Africa). *Aftenposten* 23.6.1895.

16 'En skandinavisk Sultekoloni' (A Scandinavian Starvation Colony). *Morgenbladet* 1.8.1894.

17 'Brev fra Syd-Afrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Politiken* 25.2.1895.

Österbottniska Posten, published in Nykarleby; and one in *Vasabladet*, published in Vasa.

The three letters in *Östra Finland* are all from the same author, signed 'R', and mainly describe life in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.¹⁸ No further letters were published in this journal, whereas the second of these journals, the *Österbottniska Posten*, subsequently became the major single channel of press information about South Africa, carrying a total of 18 letters from South Africa between 1891 and 1895. During the same period three other journals also published in the Ostrobothnian seaboard region of Finland, *Vasabladet* and *Wasa Tidning* in Vasa and *Svenska Österbotten* in Gamlakarleby, carried four letters, three letters and one letter respectively. All of these journals were in Swedish. Fourteen of the letters published originated from four correspondents, of whom the busiest was 'Jussi', who contributed seven letters to the *Österbottniska Posten*. The majority of the letters in 1891–93 were posted from the Cape and Natal, but in 1894–95 they all came from Johannesburg.

The only similar letters which have been traced in the Finnish-language press during this period consist of a series of 16 letters published in the journal *Aura* in Turku during 1894–95. The author, who signed his name as 'Job', was Johan Oskar Boijer, a surveyor and adventurer who spent the years 1894–1903 in South Africa.¹⁹ Only the first seven letters were actually sent from within South Africa proper (mainly from Cape Town or elsewhere in the Cape), the later letters coming from Matabeleland, further to the north (in what subsequently became Southern Rhodesia and eventually Zimbabwe).

These letters to Finland cover a wide range of topics, from geography, ethnology and history to contemporary politics. For persons already considering emigration to South Africa, their overall effect was probably encouraging, while for those already critical, they will have reinforced the decision to remain at home.

Whether the author was writing from the Transvaal, Natal, or

18 'Från andra sidan eqvatorn' (From beyond the Equator). *Östra Finland* 11.3.1886, 17.3.1886, 28.7.1886.

19 On Boijer and his visit to Africa, see Mikko Uola, *Suomalaiset Afrikkaa etsimässä* (Finns in Search of Africa). Tampere 1976.

the Cape, working conditions in South Africa are one of the topics most frequently referred to; 'Job', for example, comments as follows:

"This country is a paradise for foresters, tradesmen and the lazy! There is no need for labourers here; the blacks do the labour, for miserable wages — once the English have robbed them naked. — But blacksmiths, decorators, bricklayers, joiners and carpenters; I was about to forget shoemakers; — if they have just a little capital to set up a business, once they have learnt the language, they can easily become millionaires. Of course, they have to work, too; but the white man must be the master here, not the servant, if he intends to live properly."²⁰

Boijer's description is over-simplified, and evidently paints an unduly rosy picture of the opportunities for European immigrants; for although it was true that the blacks did the labour, there was soon an excess of people competing for white man's work. This situation is frequently alluded to in the letters in the *Österbottniska Posten*. In the earlier correspondence it is repeatedly emphasized that skilled artisans could easily obtain work, but that an ordinary labourer would be wiser to stay at home.²¹ With the passage of time, however, the flow of migrants to South Africa created a surplus among the skilled workers too, leading to unemployment, and the warnings against further immigration become more universal.²²

The direct impact of these South African letters published in the press in Finland during the early 1890s was thus not especially encouraging to migration; the indirect impact is harder to assess. Practical details relating to the journey to South Africa are often

20 'Kirje Cape Townista' (A Letter from Cape Town). *Aura* 17.6.1894.

21 See, e.g., 'Bref från Syd Afrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.1.1892; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 18.2.1892; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 29.6.1893.

22 See, e.g., 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 28.9.1893; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 9.6.1894; 'Bref från Sydafrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 25.11.1895.

dealt with, e.g. routes, prices, etc.,²³ but there are few references to what was probably the major lure for migration to South Africa, i.e. the high level of wages.

Migrants' letters did not, however, comprise the only information on South Africa available in the Finnish press. From the early 1890s onwards, another important source of information and of attitudes were the editorial articles and comments on migration and related topics. Most of these appeared in the Swedish-language press in Ostrobothnia, but articles of more than usual interest were sometimes reprinted in the national Swedish-language press, e.g. *Hufvudstadsbladet*.

Typically, these articles and news items focused on migration, or money, or both. Frequently they commented on the diversion of the main flow of local emigration from North America to South Africa, and discussed the probable reasons for this. Often these comments were accompanied by astonishing explanations for the sometimes large sums of money sent home by emigrants or the fortunes brought with them by returning migrants.

News items of this type, linking South Africa and big money, appeared repeatedly in the Swedish-language Ostrobothnian press during the early 1890s. In February 1891, for instance, the *Österbottniska Posten* carried a story that two emigrants from Munsala had sent back home from South Africa the sum of three thousand marks (a very considerable sum²⁴), their savings from a

23 See, e.g., 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 3.9.1891; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 18.2.1892; 'En reseskildring' (A Travel Memoir). *Österbottniska Posten* 25.2.1892; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 28.9.1893.

24 Around the turn of the century, a Finnish journeyman could expect to earn from two to two and a half marks a day, sometimes three marks, during the best employment season, which lasted between one and a half and three months ('Emigration'. *Vasabladet* 6.10.1900); see also 'Emigration från Svenska Österbotten' (Emigration from Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia). *Österbottningen* 26.7.1907. Wages in the United States did not reach the same level as in South Africa; on daily wages of two dollars, a workman might save 300 dollars in a year (i.e. slightly over 1 500 marks at the then rate of exchange). Workers on piece-rate pay could achieve rather better daily income (Toivonen 1963, 146—147).

mere six months.²⁵ In the summer of 1891, the same journal reported that money had again been sent back to Munsala: this time, 5 000 marks; and that two emigrants who had returned home had also brought with them large sums of money: one had paid off his parents' debts, given a thousand marks to his sister living at home, and even lent money to others.²⁶ With the passage of time, the sums of money involved grew. A few years later there is the report of an emigrant who had saved 9 000 marks in three years;²⁷ of a man who had accumulated 20 000 marks in four years;²⁸ or of an emigrant returning after a few years in South Africa who had bought a farm for 15 000 marks in cash.²⁹

A further boost was provided by the publication in the local press of statistics concerning remissions of money from abroad received by post offices, which thus provided official confirmation of the stories about South African riches. During the summer of 1895, several papers carried reports that the three post offices in Nykarleby, Munsala, and Jeppo alone had handled remissions from South Africa to the total value of 47 928 marks.³⁰

It is probably true to say that the editorial articles and news items of this type in the press contributed more to the moulding of the public's image of South Africa than did the letters published in the press from migrants actually out there. The vocabulary of the Finnish journalists — 'Africa's Land of Gold', or 'the Africa fever' — and the references to enormous sums of money, could well have a greater impact than the letters, with their alien, often unintelligible references.

Throughout the press in all four Nordic countries, there was a marked rise in the volume of references to South Africa around the beginning of the 1890s, representing a breakthrough in awareness. Letters from emigrants are found most in the Norwegian and

25 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.2.1891.

26 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 18.6.1891.

27 'En emigrants besparingar' (An Emigrant's Savings). *Wasa Tidning* 17.4.1895.

28 'Återkomna emigranter' (Returning Emigrants). *Österbottniska Posten* 13.6.1895.

29 'Emigrationfebern härjar' (Emigration Fever Raging). *Wasa Tidning* 26.10.1895.

30 'Hvad emigranterna hemsända' (What the Emigrants Send Home). *Svenska Österbotten* 12.7.1895, *Vasabladet* 13.7.1895, *Wasa Tidning* 14.7.1895.

Finnish press. The closer attention paid in Finland to migration to South Africa appears to be an authentic phenomenon (and not, for example, a statistical accident arising from the more comprehensive examination of the press in Finland than elsewhere). On the other hand, within Finland this closer interest is mainly concentrated in the Swedish-speaking regional press of Ostrobothnia, rather than in the national press.

In comparison with the period prior to the mid-1880s, South Africa had now through the press become familiar to a wider audience, and contact with material relating to South Africa was no longer as fortuitous as previously. Information was available in the press at more frequent intervals, and covering a wider range of topics, from local conditions in South Africa to practical questions affecting the journey. By the end of the 19th century, the press had thus made South Africa considerably more concrete to the Nordic reader.

4.1.2. The Road to South Africa: Restricted Entry

The image of South Africa created in the prospective migrant's mind by the letters in the press, and the immigration propaganda in the guidebooks, might be dazzling; but in practice, the dazzling opportunities were not within the reach of all.

The problem was not distance as such: by the end of the 19th century, South Africa could be reached by sea from the Nordic countries in about three weeks, by a variety of routes. These were essentially the same for travellers from anywhere in the Nordic countries: setting aside the freight lines, travellers from Northern Europe to South Africa needed to choose between travelling via England or Germany, although there were several alternative ways of doing this. The passages to South Africa sold in the Nordic countries all contained essentially the same package, with the same basic price, the actual price to the traveller varying in accordance with the costs charged by the shipping lines or their agents for ancillary services, the journey to the port of departure, etc.

The first shipping lines operating on the South African run were British: the Union Line, which started in 1857, and the Castle Line, in 1872. Until the rise of the gold industry in the Transvaal,

communications by sea between Europe and South Africa were almost exclusively in British hands. Towards the end of the century, however, this situation changed, and German shipping lines began to compete with the British. There were three important German lines: Die Hamburg-Amerika Linie (HAPAG) on the western route; Die Wormann Linie, which operated via German South-West Africa; and Die Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie, which operated via the German colonies in East Africa. Early in the 20th century, these lines combined their operations, in order to improve their competitiveness; but the British lines had already gone further, with the fusion of the two rival companies to form the Union-Castle Line in 1900.³¹

The cheapest way of reaching South Africa at the end of the 19th century was to travel by British Intermediate Mail Steamer, which was a mail ship calling in at ports on the way, and therefore slower than the Royal Mail Steamers, but also cheaper. At the turn of the century, a III Class passage with an open berth from London to Cape Town cost £10. 10s. Since the open berths were only available for men passengers, however, the cheapest passage for women travellers was a III class cabin, costing £13. 13s. One of the forms of competition with the German lines was the inclusion in this price of a free passage from various Continental ports to London.³²

The real problem with the journey to South Africa was the price, for even the cheapest alternative was expensive. For travellers from Sweden, Norway and Denmark, an open-berth III class passage cost about 189 crowns, and from Finland, about 263 marks; the cheapest cabin berth cost about 246 crowns or 342 marks respectively. This only covered the first major leg of the journey to the Transvaal, however, and even a III class train ticket from Cape Town to Johannesburg at the beginning of the century cost a further £4 6s. 3d. (78 crowns, 108 marks).³³

The journey to South Africa was thus a relatively expensive investment; by comparison, during 1886—1900 the maximum price

31 McGregor 1974, 578—579.

32 *The Guide of South Africa 1899—1900*, xlviii; see also *Castle Line for the Goldfields of South Africa. Royal Mail Steamers. Weekly Passenger Service.* LAS PU. Sager vedr. agenter.

33 *The Guide of South Africa 1899—1900*, xlv.

of a tweendecks ticket on the Copenhagen-New York crossing was only 130 crowns, and at its cheapest it cost only slightly over sixty crowns.³⁴ Early in the 20th century, a Cunard ticket from Gothenburg to New York cost 108 crowns in 1901–02, 113 crowns in 1903, 60 crowns in 1904, and 120 crowns in summer 1905.³⁵ The price of a Cunard ticket to New York from Hangö in Finland in 1896 was 179 marks; in 1903, 202 marks; and in 1904, when fares were at their cheapest, a mere 86 marks.³⁶ Consequently, the fare for the journey to South Africa at the turn of the century was approximately double that for the passage to the United States. In relative terms, the South African passage was dearest during 1904, when acute competition between the shipping lines pushed fares down so far that the fare to South Africa would have paid for four trans-Atlantic crossings, the fare for which was cheaper than the rail fare from Cape Town to Johannesburg.

The road to the gold fields of Johannesburg was thus not open to all would-be travellers. As KERO has pointed out, the cost even of the journey to America was in Finland at times too high for prospective emigrants to have been able to pay their fares out of their own savings except in exceptional cases.³⁷ It must therefore have been much harder to finance the journey to South Africa, where the fares were consistently higher. Since the journey to Africa required more starting capital, this ruled out those with no or little financial resources, both in Finland and in the other Nordic countries. The annual wages of a Danish farm labourer around the turn of the century, for instance, were about 500 crowns;³⁸ the tickets to South Africa would thus have cost over half his annual income, despite the fact that the initial costs for Danish travellers were considerably lower than those from the other Nordic countries, consisting merely of the 300 km train journey from Copenhagen to Hamburg. For other Nordic emigrants, even the initial leg of the journey was both more complicated and more expensive.

34 Hvidt 1971, 457.

35 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga II. Utvandringsväsendet i Sverige* (Emigration Report. Appendix II: Emigration Conditions in Sweden), 10.

36 Finnish Steamship Company, passenger lists. TYYH:s:m:7:1–6, 10–11, 13

37 Kero 1974, 172–173; Toivonen 1963, 57.

38 Pedersen 1930, 313.

4.2. Fluctuations in the Migration Rate

4.2.1. The Early Mining Industry Period (1886—94)

4.2.1.1. *From Cape Town to Johannesburg*

The Transvaal has often been compared to Cinderella. Right up to the final decades of the 19th century, the region was desperately poor, and isolated from the rest of civilization by bad communications. With the discovery of gold, however, the Transvaal became the queen of the South African economy, and the focus of the prosperity of the whole of southern Africa.

Although the earliest finds of gold in the Transvaal dated back to the 1850s, and excavations had been in operation since the 1870s, the exploitation of the region's mineral resources on an industrial scale, i.e. going beyond small-scale alluvial deposits, did not begin until the middle of the 1880s.¹ A series of significant gold discoveries were made early in that decade, but the major mineral strike, dwarfing all the preceding ones, came in March 1886, when prospectors hit the main lode of a conglomerate in the Witwatersrand hills south of Pretoria. Gold had been found there previously, so that it was known that the area was promising. The size of the strike, however, was a surprise. Buried beneath the Transvaal were gold deposits on a scale unknown in the history of mining throughout the world before or since.²

The Witwatersrand was officially declared a gold field in September 1886, triggering off an unprecedented mining boom throughout South Africa. Investors quickly found their way to the Transvaal, and by November 1887, 68 companies had been established to exploit the gold deposits of the Witwatersrand; within the following three years, the number rose to around 450.³

The crucial transformation of the South African mining industry can be vividly seen from the figures for gold production (in kilograms) in the Transvaal over the period 1884—94.⁴

1 On the earliest discoveries of gold in South Africa, see Rosenthal 1972, 220—226.

2 De Kiewit 1960, 115—116; Rosenthal 1972, 226—227.

3 Dickason 1978, 58—593.

4 *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa*. No. 9, 1926—27, 505; original data stated in ounces avoirdupois.

1884	73.9
1885	44.0
1886	254.1
1887	1 240.4
1888	7 083.8
1889	10 914.5
1890	13 690.3
1891	20 790.8
1892	33 251.4
1893	37 331.0
1894	56 141.8

Although these figures may not in fact include all the gold found in the Transvaal, especially from the alluvial deposits,⁵ they provide a vivid picture of the speed of the gold mining industry's development. Within three years, gold production rose by a factor of nearly 43.

The Witwatersrand gold field rapidly gave rise to its own distinct settlement and administration, and in the autumn of 1886 the town that was growing out of the miners' tents was given the name Johannesburg.⁶ Johannesburg's phenomenal speed of growth has often justly been compared with that of a mushroom, pushing up from the ground with astonishing speed in the autumn rains. In a region which in the first half of 1886 had provided support for less than a hundred permanent inhabitants, by 1887 there was already a population of 3 000; a year later the figure had risen to 10 000, and by 1890 to 17 000.⁷ Within ten years of the main lode strike, the first Census recorded a population of 102 078, of whom 50 907 were white.⁸ By this time, the population of Johannesburg was already nearly twice that of Cape Town, previously the major settlement in South Africa.⁹

The rise of Johannesburg from a miners' camp to the largest city in South Africa is unique in the entire history of southern Africa.

5 *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa*. No. 9, 1926—27, 505.

6 On the history of the name of Johannesburg, see Cartwright 1963, 61—62.

7 Cook 1975, 32.

8 *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, VIII.

9 The population of Cape Town in 1897 amounted to approximately 60 000, including approximately 28 700 Whites. *Cape Town's 100 Years of Progress, a Century of Local Government* [1968], 14.

The diamond discoveries in Griqualand West around 1870 had given birth to the town of Kimberley, and the population of the area had risen for a time to 45 000;¹⁰ but this was only temporary, and once the initial enthusiasm faded, Kimberley's chances of overtaking Cape Town faded. Twenty years later, the Census returns show that its population was still below 30 000.¹¹

With the rise of Johannesburg, however, population was powerfully attracted into the interior. No longer did South Africa mean merely the narrow coastal strip in the Cape and Natal. Moreover, mining was not Johannesburg's only means of support. As any major settlement of population grows, large numbers of jobs begin to be generated: the city needs to be built, repaired, fed, clothed, cleansed, etc., and all of these operations require labour. As soon as mining operations began, the dynamic development of Johannesburg became a magnet attracting population; and although the first arrivals came from within the South African region's boundaries, The Golden City soon attracted settlers from outside Africa as well. Immigrants no longer needed to remain in Cape Town in search of work; there was a better future beckoning in the interior. Johannesburg was beginning to displace Cape Town.

This did not all happen in a moment, however. In the early years of mining, no one could have had any idea where it was all to lead to. Although the process was far from slow, it was no explosion. The Transvaal mining industry needed time to achieve its high technological standards and volume of production, and the period under investigation, 1886—94, represented a 'running-in' phase. Nor was the beginning an unbroken series of success; the 1890 crisis threatened to bring the entire Witwatersrand mining industry to an end, when the available technology proved inadequate to the demands being placed on it. As new technology was developed, however, belief in the Witwatersrand's future was restored.¹²

A good general impression of the development of the mining

10 Houghton 1971, 11.

11 *The South African Year-book 1902—1903*, 327.

12 On the crisis in the mining industry, see Cartwright 1963, 94—95; see also Houghton 1971, 14.

industry in the Transvaal and its consequences can be obtained from the correspondence of the Consulate General of Sweden-Norway. Even in the period prior to 1886, there are a few letters filed in the records of the Consulate General from Swedes or Norwegians enquiring about conditions in South Africa; during the period 1886—94, however, the number of these increased sharply, and approximately fifty enquiries are in the records. Not all of these had been sent from Scandinavia; many came from Scandinavians in other parts of the world. While most of the letters merely ask about conditions and employment opportunities, there are also requests for assistance in obtaining a job.

The occupational backgrounds of the correspondents were very varied, including clerks, accountants, students, physicians, engineers, a wide range of artisans, and also young people evidently with no professional skills.

The answers sent by the Consulate General followed a consistent policy. Nobody received encouragement to travel to South Africa, except in cases where they already had a job lined up. Nor would the Consulate assist in searching for work, evidently not wishing to find itself saddled with a pack of unsuccessful job-hunters. Moreover, since the Consulate General had no authority beyond the area of the British administration, to which Johannesburg did not at that time belong, those travelling to the Transvaal would have to cope by themselves.¹³ No encouragement was given to travel to Johannesburg; in this respect too the Consulate General followed a consistent policy.

Although the Consul General, Anders Ohlsson, and his colleagues thus attempted to restrain migration fever for South Africa, their attempts probably had little real impact. From the later 1880s, South Africa was becoming an increasingly attractive target for migration, and this can be seen in the trends in the Nordic migration statistics. Altogether over 600 cases of emigration from the Nordic countries to South Africa during the period 1886—94 have been traced in the present investigation, distributed chronologically and geographically as follows:

13 Sweden-Norway did not open a consulate in Johannesburg until 1897, and Denmark a year later.

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
1886	3	11	3	2
1887	3	9	5	—
1888	14	28	—	1
1889	5	53	2	3
1890	3	26	12	2
1891	13	18	20	13
1892	8	28	17	17
1893	19	31	26	32
1894	39	46	25	67
1886—1894 ¹⁴	39	55	122	5
<hr/>				
TOTAL	146	305	122	162

These figures clearly demonstrate an overall acceleration in the flow of Nordic migration by the early 1890s, although the Swedish statistics follow a divergent pattern: there was no significant change in the migration from Sweden in the early 1890s, where the peak figure is found in 1889.

One possible explanation for the different pattern in the Swedish migration statistics could be the higher rate of spontaneous migration earlier. Almost 200 Swedish settlers in South Africa have been traced in the present investigation during the period 1876—85; and although the absolute number of Swedish migrants was lower than that from Norway or Denmark in that period, they had migrated under different conditions. The Swedish settlers were not members of larger organized expeditions, nor were they recruited under assisted passage schemes; they travelled independently, whereas the Norwegian settlers in this period almost all belonged to the Marburg Scheme, and the Danish settlers travelled under assisted-passage schemes to the Cape.

For the Swedes, therefore, the mid-1880s did not mean the sudden discovery of South Africa as a target for spontaneous migration in the same way as in the other Nordic nations. The Swedes had already recognized South Africa's potential earlier,

¹⁴ Migrants during the period 1886—94, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

and the flow of Swedish migration therefore continued on approximately the same scale as before. It might be said that the Swedes had known South Africa better, and longer, than their Nordic neighbours; consequently, the impact on Swedish migration to South Africa of the economic boom triggered off by the Transvaal gold mining industry was much less than in the other Nordic countries. Moreover, many of the Swedish settlers who came to Johannesburg had in fact landed in South Africa earlier, and are therefore not recorded in the migration statistics for this period.

It is difficult to assess on the basis of the available sources to what extent Nordic migration to South Africa during the period 1886—94 was directed towards the established regions of immigration, i.e. the Cape and Natal, or towards the Transvaal. In the passport registers and parish records in the Nordic countries, the destination of these emigrants is usually merely stated as 'Africa' or 'South Africa'.

In the passenger lists and ticket sales records of the shipping companies, etc., the passengers' destinations are stated more precisely: the destination port is usually stated, and occasionally there is further information. Not until the completion of the first railway link, in 1892, was the sale of a combined sea-rail ticket as far as Johannesburg possible.

Whereas the destination of most Nordic emigrants is stated in the Nordic records simply as 'Africa' or 'South Africa', on occasion more detailed information is available. The following table sets out the destinations mentioned in Nordic passenger lists, parish records, etc.:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
Cape (Colony)	—	—	5	—
Cape Town	15	18	8	110
Port Elizabeth	1	1	—	1
East London	—	1	—	3
Natal	17	—	—	2
Port Natal (Durban)	10	2	10	—
Transvaal	—	—	3	—
Johannesburg	—	—	—	3
Pretoria	—	—	1	—
Orange	—	—	1	—
Delagoa Bay	—	—	—	2

Strictly speaking, all that this catalogue demonstrates is that not all emigrants were headed for Cape Town, but that other destinations also occurred. Moreover, this material cannot provide any indication as to the destinations of the settlers after landing at a stated port, although the list does also include some destinations in the South African interior, all from the period 1890—94: 'Transvaal' or 'Orange' in 1890—92, and 'Johannesburg' and 'Pretoria' in 1894.

Naturally, reaction to the opportunities opening up in the Transvaal was faster in the neighbouring regions of South Africa under British administration, and the settlers who streamed from the Cape and Natal to Johannesburg also included local Scandinavians.

It is known, for instance, that all but three of the men at the largest concentrated Nordic settlement in South Africa at that time, in Marburg, went to work in Johannesburg one time or another, the first of them in 1886.¹⁵

On the basis of the available sources, it is impossible to determine the scale of this internal migration by Scandinavians from the coast to the interior, but some kind of interim balance on the impact of immigration and internal migration during this period can be drawn from the Censuses carried out in the Cape, Natal, and the Transvaal in 1890—91.

The Cape Census for 1891 records 698 persons born in Sweden-Norway, of whom 598 were resident in Cape Town; the figures for persons born in Denmark were 343 for the Cape and 298 for Cape Town.¹⁶

The figure recorded in the Natal Census of 1891 for persons born in Sweden-Norway was 510; Denmark is not listed separately, but is included in 'Other European countries', which comprised all countries other than Great Britain, Germany, France, and Sweden-Norway. The Danish contingent cannot have been very large, since the entire Other European figure amounted to only 449.¹⁷

The information for the Transvaal date from the 1890 Census,

15 Halland, Halland & Kjönstad 1932, 52, 104; see also Saxe 1914, 108.

16 *Census of the Cape of Good Hope 1891*, 78, 90.

17 *Natal Census of 1891*, Table 20.

the first population survey carried out for the region. Sweden-Norway is here included, like Denmark, in the 'Other European' category. The countries listed separately in this Census were the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Portugal. The figure recorded for the category 'Other European countries' for the entire Transvaal was 1 252 persons.¹⁸

The 1890 Transvaal Census data do not permit any estimate as to how many of the 'Other Europeans' may have originated from Sweden-Norway or Denmark, but the Scandinavian element in the population cannot have been very large, especially since the numbers for Johannesburg region are not high. Excluding the figures for areas of the Transvaal settled during the earlier phases of migration, the 'Other Europeans' recorded specifically in the Witwatersrand numbered no more than 351.¹⁹

The situation changed quite sharply, however, in the early years of the 1890s. Alone in the records of the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, there are notes on approximately thirty Norwegians or Swedes at that time resident in Johannesburg who had had dealings with the Consulate General.

One of these was the Norwegian Anton Høyer, who wrote to the Consul General in January 1893 asking for support in his plan to establish a Scandinavian newspaper in South Africa, with a proposed print of 500 copies.²⁰ The plan was mainly backed by Norwegians. It collapsed before even a trial issue could be published.²¹

Although the plan was for a journal that would circulate throughout the whole of South Africa, the proposal of Johannesburg as the place of publication indicates that a handful of Scandinavian miners had by that time evolved into a thriving Scandinavian community.

18 *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—43.

19 *Uitslag van de volkstelling, gehouden in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek den 1 sten april 1890*, 36—37, 40—41.

20 Anton Høyer to the Consul General, Ohlsson, 4.1.1893. RAS GK. Inkomna skrivelser.

21 Anton Høyer, 'Litt av hvert fra Syd-Afrika' (Nothing of Much Value from South Africa). *Nordmands-Forbundet* 1929, 346.

This impression is also confirmed by the early information concerning the Scandinavian voluntary organizations in Johannesburg, the first of which was the *Nordkap* Society founded by Norwegian settlers in February 1893. Although there were also both Danish and Swedish settlers in Johannesburg, they did not establish local associations until the late 1890s, after the end of the period under investigation;²² nor did this first Norwegian association last long. The reason for this failure is unlikely to have been any lack of potential members, though, since at the first Norwegian Christmas party in Johannesburg, in 1893, the *Nordkap* Society is stated to have brought together around four hundred Norwegians.²³

By 1894, the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes in Johannesburg had each formed their own small communities, the result both of internal migration within South Africa, and of the gradual shift of immigration from the coastal strip into the interior. For the Scandinavian nations proper, migration to Johannesburg was in fact the continuation of a small but long-established flow of migration to South Africa stretching back for several decades. For the Finns, on the other hand, the situation was different: they had virtually no historical background of South African migration, and the beginnings of Finnish immigration are therefore a distinct story.

4.2.1.2. *The Natal Railway Gang*

It is difficult to determine the point in time at which Finnish migration to South Africa evolved from seamen migration into a flow of deliberate migration in the strict sense. The term 'seamen migration', which has always been somewhat imprecise, is understood here to refer to seamen who left their ships to settle or to spend some time ashore in a country other than that of their origin. Often this also involved a change of occupation, although

22 Anton Høyer, 'Litt av hvert fra Syd-Afrika' (Nothing of Much Value from South Africa). *Nordmands-Forbundet* 1929, 345—346; see also Norenus 1923, 104; 'Brev fra Sydafrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Politiken* 28.1.1894.

23 Anton Høyer, 'Litt av hvert fra Syd-Afrika' (Nothing of Much Value from South Africa). *Nordmands-Forbundet* 1929, 345.

the term can also cover cases in which seamen continued to serve aboard ship but based on their new home.

The shift from seamen migration to migration proper is not necessarily a sharp hiatus: seamen who had first spent some time ashore in South Africa, for instance, and subsequently returned home to Finland, could in some cases then remigrate to South Africa. With their familiarity with tools from an early age, and their frequent smallholder origins, many sailors had the necessary basis for changing occupations in the progress, e.g. as carpenters.

The beginnings of Finnish migration proper to South Africa can be defined in terms of specific external criteria, the first of which is the definite record of deliberate emigration from Finland. The earliest such case traced, after C. Dehm who left on O. W. A. Forssman's expedition in 1863, dates from 1885, when two young Finns are recorded as having set out from Stockholm for Cape Town.²⁴ In the passport register in Finland, their place of origin is entered as Närpes, Ostrobothnia, their social status as independent smallholder and smallholder's son, and their destination as America;²⁵ although they came from a coastal town, they thus were evidently not seamen. Their decision to leave for South Africa suggests that the recruitment of migration to South Africa had now widened from the seafaring population to a wider base; on the other hand, it cannot be excluded that they may have been persuaded to shift their destination to South Africa by propaganda in Stockholm, in which case the original statement of their destination as America would have been correct.

No such uncertainties of interpretation apply to the next case: a seaman and his newly-wed bride, entered in the parish records for Jakobstad in September 1886 as emigrating to South Africa.²⁶ This is both the earliest unambiguous case of migration to South Africa traced in the Finnish parish records, and the earliest documented case of a woman migrating to South Africa from Finland. It seems highly likely that the husband was a seaman who had previously visited South Africa, and was now returning there with his bride. The decision to take his wife with him suggests familiarity with

24 Passenger lists of the Stockholm Police Department, 7.7.1885. SSA.

25 The passport registers of Kristinestad City Administration, 2.7.1885. VMA.

26 Parish records of Jakobstad, Certificate of no impediment 17.9.1886.

the target area, and confidence for the family's future survival, though this must remain a matter of conjecture.

The discovery of gold in the Transvaal was to have a profound impact on the economy of the whole of southern Africa. Adjacent to the Transvaal Republic was not only the other independent Boer republic, the Orange Free State, but also the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. The last three, with their ports, were all of vital significance to the land-locked Transvaal, whose rapidly expanding industry was dependent for sea communications on harbour facilities in the neighbouring jurisdictions.

The closest port to the Witwatersrand was Lourenço Marques in Mozambique, but the journey to Port Natal was hardly any longer, whereas the distance to Cape Town was twice as long. In the 1880s none of them had as yet a railway link with the Transvaal, and foreign trade continued with the same methods of transport that had been used since the beginnings of European settlement: horses for light traffic, and ox-carts for heavy loads.

The deficiencies of the transport system were recognized in the Transvaal, but the old-fashioned Boers were unwilling to admit the need for a railway, especially if it linked them to the British Empire. A rail link with Mozambique was a different matter, however, and within a year after the Witwatersrand gold strike, the *Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaanse Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NZASM) railway company, with German financial backing and Dutch management, was granted permission to build a line from the Mozambique border to Johannesburg.²⁷ Politically speaking, this project was vitally important to the Transvaal, for it would liberate the Boer republic from the dangerous dependence which a rail link with the sea through the British colonies on the south coast would bring.

The Transvaal's neighbours were equally determined not to be cut off from the rising mining industry of the Witwatersrand, and altogether there were three railway construction projects launched: the plan for a track to Lourenço Marques, which the Transvaal Government favoured; and two British plans, for railways to Johannesburg from Cape Town and from Durban.²⁸ The

²⁷ Marais 1961, 8.

²⁸ Samassa 1905, 293—294; Rosenthal 1970, 208, 210.

project for a rail link with Cape Town in practice meant the extension through the Orange Free State to Johannesburg of the line which by 1885 had already reached Kimberley in the north of the Cape Colony.²⁹ In Natal, too, there was by 1885 already a track reaching approximately 250 km inland from Durban as far as Ladysmith.³⁰

Particular importance was attached in Natal to the construction of a railway to Johannesburg, partly because Durban was the British port closest to the Transvaal. Natal was unwilling to lose the economic benefits that were to be gained from a good link with Johannesburg running through its territory.³¹ The construction of a railway from Ladysmith into the interior was, however, a major project, involving approximately 400 km of track running in places through difficult mountainous country. Nevertheless, since the construction site would be a mere few hours by train from Durban, Natal's major port, recruitment of the white labour needed would be relatively easy. News of the project is likely to have spread rapidly among seamen, and in this way to have filtered back home and stimulated potential interest.

By 1889, migration from Finland to South Africa had risen to the point where 'South Africa' was listed separately as a destination in the official passport registers. The first passports issued for South Africa were taken by two travellers from Munsala, Ostrobothnia (a smallholder, and the son of an smallholder) and one from Oravais, Ostrobothnia (a smallholder's son).³² Prior to 1889, no travellers are recorded in the Finnish passport registers as leaving for Africa; for whatever reason, the destination of earlier travellers to Africa was entered under some other heading, e.g. 'America'. Unfortunately, the creation of the African column in 1889 did not bring an end to false entries of destinations; moreover, it could even be misleading, since only one of the three travellers issued with passports for Africa in 1889 eventually sailed to South Africa, the other two setting out from Gothenburg for America.

The beginnings of Finnish migration to South Africa first attracted the attention of the press in March 1890. The journal

29 De Kiewit 1960, 99.

30 *Natal Province* 1911, 538.

31 Fair 1955, 13.

32 Provincial passport registers, Province of Vaasa, 30.8.1889. VMA.

Vestra Nyland, published in Ekenäs, regularly commented on the shipping movements in the nearby port of Hangö, and carried a report that twelve men from Munsala had set sail for Port Natal, to clear the way for a planned Finnish settlement at Newcastle.³³ This report was also repeated verbatim in several other papers over the next few days.³⁴

These men could hardly be regarded as 'clearing the way', however, except in the most literal sense, for they had in gone to work on railway construction in Natal; and the 'Finnish settlement' consisted of no more than workers' tents on the construction site. Newcastle is a small town in northern Natal, where the railway line under construction had now reached.³⁵ The 'Finnish settlement' was thus in reality a railway gang, and its location was to move progressively further north.

These twelve were not the first Finns in the area, for there were two Finns from Ostrobothnia already working on the railway.³⁶ Further continuity was also represented by the leader of the Munsala party, John Olson, who had been in Natal previously;³⁷ it seems obvious that Olson's prior knowledge of the area played a part in launching this first larger-scale Finnish group of migrants to South Africa.

This group led by Olson was in fact the largest single group emigrating from Finland to South Africa which has been traced during the period under investigation up to 1894. The economic situation did not stay bright for long; by the early 1890s, demand for labour was falling. For the Transvaal, the construction of the railway from the coast to Johannesburg was a political question. President Kruger considered that it would be better for the Boer Republic of the Transvaal for a railway link to be completed first to a non-British area, i.e. to Lourenço Marques in Portuguese

33 'Till Port Natal i Södra Afrika' (To Port Natal in South Africa). *Vestra Nyland* 11.3.1890.

34 In the Ostrobothnian press, articles are known to have been published at least in *Wasa Tidning* 14.3.1890, *Norra Posten* 15.3.1890 and *Österbottniska Posten* 20.3.1890.

35 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.6.1890; *Natal Province* 1911, 538.

36 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.2.1891.

37 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.6.1890.

Mozambique; but the NZSAM company, which held the construction permit, made such slow progress that it eventually became clear that there was no hope of this. In order to reduce the political damage, Kruger vetoed the construction permits from the borders of the Transvaal to Johannesburg for the British companies building the Cape Town-Johannesburg and Durban-Johannesburg lines.³⁸ The construction permit for the track from the borders of the Orange Free State to Johannesburg was awarded instead to the NZASM, and in this way the Cape Town-Johannesburg line was finally opened for traffic in September 1892.³⁹ The construction of the Durban-Johannesburg line became even more politically complicated, and construction work was held up until 1894.⁴⁰

Kruger's actions were political, but they also had a direct impact on employment in South Africa. Many of the Finns lost their jobs as a result of the veto on the construction of the last stretch of the line from Durban to Johannesburg.⁴¹

By October–November 1891, when work on the Durban-Johannesburg track was interrupted, the construction workers' camp was at Charlestown, on the border between Natal and the Transvaal. The "largest settlement of Finns in South Africa" were now unemployed, and with no rosy hopes for the future.⁴² It was to be a long time before the resumption of construction work on the Durban-Johannesburg line, since three years later, at the end of 1894, the northern railhead was still stuck at the Natal-Transvaal border.⁴³ Forced by circumstances, some of the track construction workers moved elsewhere, or took up different work; a few of the Finns are also known to have been employed during the next few years on smaller railway construction sites elsewhere in the Transvaal.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, hopes of major new railway projects did not

38 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 29.6.1893; Rosenthal 1970, 210.

39 Marais 1961, 9; Rosenthal 1970, 210.

40 Marais 1961, 10–11.

41 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 5.11.1891; 'En reseskildring' (A Travel Memoir). *Österbottniska Posten* 31.3.1892.

42 'En reseskildring' (A Travel Memoir). *Österbottniska Posten* 31.3.1892.

43 Walker 1957, 446; Marais 1961, 11.

44 See 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.1.1893; 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 5.1.1894.

completely die. In December 1892, the *Österbottniska Posten* carried a report of a letter received from the railway workers in Natal in which they mentioned major new railway works proposed in the vicinity of Port Natal, and other construction projects. There was especially heavy demand for blacksmiths and carpenters, and the paper stated that a group had already been formed in Munsala (including some who had been in South Africa earlier) who intended to set out after Christmas.⁴⁵

In January 1893, a group of five set out from Munsala,⁴⁶ followed later the same spring by a second group of six young men from Munsala, Oravais and Nykarleby. The destination of this second group was reported in the journal *Hangö*, somewhat loosely, as "Johannesburgh, near Cape Town".⁴⁷

It is unknown whether the rumours of major construction projects in Natal were accurate; certainly there is no mention of them in the travellers' letters subsequently published in the Finnish press. It appears fairly clear from these letters, however, that the focus of Finnish migration to South Africa was now shifting from Natal, beyond the interrupted railhead on the border, into the Transvaal itself and to Johannesburg, since letters from Johannesburg now begin to appear alongside those from the colonies on the coast. Although the earliest known letter from the Transvaal came in 1886,⁴⁸ the first one specifically from Johannesburg was published in March 1892, dated 22 November 1891.⁴⁹ It remained unique for the time being, however, and letters from Johannesburg on a larger scale did not begin to appear until the end of the period under investigation, i.e. 1893—94.

During these two years, the Ostrobothnian Swedish-language press where closer attention had been being paid to Finnish migration to South Africa began increasingly frequently to carry warnings against migration to South Africa. The chances of

45 'Sedan ryktet om invandringsförbud till Amerika ...' (Rumours of a Ban on Immigration in America ...) *Österbottniska Posten* 22.12.1892.

46 Provincial passport registers, Province of Vaasa, January 1893. VMA; Parish records of Munsala 1893.

47 'Till Australien ...' (To Australia ...) *Hangö* 25.5.1893.

48 'Ur ett enskildt bref från en landsman' (From a Private Letter from a Compatriot). *Vasabladet* 3.4.1886.

49 'En reseskildring' (A Travel Memoir). *Österbottniska Posten* 31.3.1892.

success for unskilled labourers without the necessary language skills are stated to be very poor, but warnings were also aimed at skilled artisans. Reports in the South African press were cited, stating that the flood of immigration had led to a surplus of applicants for work in every occupation in the Cape, in Natal, and in the Transvaal. The letters published in the press carried descriptions of the local situation in Cape Town and Johannesburg, reporting the difficulty of obtaining employment, the constant flow of new immigrants, and the rising numbers of unemployed.⁵⁰

Despite these warnings, migration continued, perhaps in the trust that relatives, neighbours or acquaintances already in South Africa would be able to help in obtaining a job. It is also possible that some of the migrants already had promises of jobs before they left. It must also be noted that contradictory reports were carried by the press.⁵¹

Following in the wake of the other Nordic countries, therefore, the Finns had also now discovered South Africa as a target for migration. Once the bridgehead had been established, migration to South Africa proceeded under its own dynamic, and warnings in the press could no longer stop it.

4.2.2. The Era of Technological Efficiency and Political Deadlock (1895—99)

4.2.2.1. *The Witwatersrand Tragedy*

The five-year period 1895—99 was a time in the history of gold mining in the Transvaal marked by profound contradictions, and it is therefore of great interest for the historian. With improving technology and greater efficiency, the profits from the mines grew steadily; but at the same time, and indeed partly as a consequence, the Transvaal ran deeper and deeper into political deadlock, thus

50 'Arbetsförhållandena i Södra Afrika' (Working Conditions in South Africa). *Wasa Tidning* 16.1.1894; 'Warning för emigrationen till Syd-Afrika' (Warning against Emigration to South Africa). *Norra Posten* 15.9.1894; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 28.9.1893; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 9.6.1894.

51 See, e.g., 'Från Afrika' (From Africa). *Hangö* 5.10.1893.

obliterating the increased productivity in the mines achieved by technology and efficiency.

No one could foresee, at the time when the Witwatersrand gold field was opened, where it would lead. The world is littered with worked-out mines, and the rapid exhaustion of mineral deposits is the rule rather than the exception. In the early years of the Witwatersrand, therefore, there were no great expectations, but rather the assumption that the end would come relatively soon.

The earliest excavations on the Witwatersrand were open-cast diggings: miners in South Africa already had gained extensive experience of these at Kimberley. In the course of time, however, the open pits gave way to cuttings and passages, gradually moving deeper and deeper underground; and it was only with the opening of the deep mining that the Witwatersrand's full extent began to become apparent. Mining experts came to realize that the Witwatersrand was no ordinary gold deposit; it was a unique geological formation, outstripping the scale of anything previously known.⁵²

As soon as the financial world was convinced of the long future ahead of the Witwatersrand, capital became readily available, and this was absolutely necessary for continued successful operations. By 1895, many of the initial difficulties had been overcome.⁵³ The production figures show how adequate capitalization, in conjunction with up-to-date technology, was able to raise output year by year. In 1894, the total gold production of mines in the Transvaal was 56 141.8 kg; within four years, this had been doubled, as the following Table for 1895—99 illustrates:⁵⁴

1895	62 141.8
1896	63 000.4
1897	85 333.0
1898	118 920.1
1899	113 145.6

52 On the development of deep mining on the Witwatersrand, see Cartwright 1963, 100—103; Rosenthal 1972, 228—229.

53 De Kiewit 1960, 130; see also Houghton 1971, 13.

54 *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa*. No 9, 1926—27, 505; original data stated in ounces avoirdupois.

The scale of this expansion is all the more astonishing in view of all that happened in the Transvaal during those years, including the unsuccessful attempted revolution of 1895—96, the first months of the Boer War, which began in October 1899, and the period of extreme tension in the months leading up to the War. The rate and scale of growth are evidence of the increased productivity achieved by rapid advances in mining technology, despite being seriously hampered by the tense political situation.

For almost two centuries, one of the major questions in South African history has been that of ethnic relations. The ethnic problem has been acute at all times in one form or another, although its precise form has varied. Before the present-day conflict took shape around the tensions between whites and all other races, there was the conflict between the Boers and the British, where the ethnic tension was intertwined with a power struggle between the independent Boer Republics and the British Empire.

For the Transvaal, the political and social effects of the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand were very complex. While the gold brought great wealth, it simultaneously shook the social structure and conservative peasant ideology of the isolated inland Boer Republic. Gold attracted large numbers of newcomers, both from British South Africa, and from outside Africa altogether: the 'uitlanders', or foreigners. A new, industrial society was inserted into the traditional Boer culture of the Transvaal.

The class status of the uitlanders in Transvaal society was characterized by a contradiction between their supremacy in economic and financial terms, and the fact that in political terms, they were the parias of the white population. In a sense, the uitlanders had to pay the bill in the 1890s for the British assault on the Transvaal in 1877—80. The attempted British annexation had humiliated the Transvaal Boers, and had created an ethnic patriotism marked by caution, or even hatred, for all outsiders.⁵⁵

The uitlanders were indeed 'outsiders' to Boer culture in many ways, with their urban way of life and, in many cases, their hated British background. Only a tiny fraction of uitlander money ended up in Boer pockets.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the benefits to the

55 De Kiewit 1960, 121—122.

56 Marais 1961, 4.

Transvaal from the uitlanders, their banks, and companies, were unquestioned. The Boer attitude to the uitlanders could be compared to the traditional proverb about fire: a good servant, but a bad master. It was therefore in the Boers' interests to keep the uitlanders as servants, or at least to hinder their rise into the master class.

The social conflict between the Boers and the uitlanders in the Transvaal in the 1890s is symbolized (at least from the uitlanders' perspective) in the franchise laws of 1890. Previous to 1890, citizenship of the Transvaal, with full civil rights, had been granted after five years of residence; the residence period was now raised to fourteen years, and the full franchise was open only to citizens aged 40 years and over.⁵⁷ In Kruger's Republic, the rise from the servant class to the master class was now truly difficult.

The significance of citizenship and the franchise was instrumental. Since the economy of the Transvaal was in the hands of the uitlanders, access through the franchise to control over policies and taxation would have represented a significant financial advantage.

For the present, however, the uitlanders were the oppressed white class of the Transvaal. They paid the lion's share of the Republic's income from taxation, but with no political representation. Since no reliable statistics are available for the 1890s, however, it is difficult to assess how large the uitlanders community really was at that time.

It has been estimated by J.S. MARAIS that in January 1899 there were still more Boers than uitlanders in the Transvaal overall, but that for adult males the balance was reversed.⁵⁸ MARAIS' estimate diverges considerably from many earlier estimates, which appear to have been grossly exaggerated (there were claims that the uitlanders outnumbered the Boers by three, four, or even ten to one).⁵⁹

The lack of statistical information gave the uitlanders the opportunity to make political capital out of the oppression of their alleged majority. The influencing of public opinion was important, for not only were the uitlanders politically restless; Britain also

57 Marais 1961, 4.

58 Marais 1961, 3.

59 Marais 1961, 3.

wanted to bring about changes, but of a more far-reaching character: she wanted to re-draw the map of southern Africa.

President Kruger's South African Republic on the Transvaal had proved itself an irritation to the British in many respects. Kruger's stubborn independence infuriated the British, who saw him as an unpredictable adversary. The Transvaal was a block to the British plans for a colonial axis from the Cape to Cairo, and by the mid-1890s, when the scale of the Witwatersrand discovery had been recognized, important economic interests entered the already complex picture.⁶⁰

It was the economic aspect which finally pushed the British into acting. The prime agent was Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister of the Cape, but also identified with the uitlander interests, since he was not only a politician but also an important gold mining magnate. With the approval of Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Rhodes drew up plans for the subordination of the Transvaal on classic lines. The oppressed uitlanders would rise in rebellion against the Boer régime, and their request for British aid would provide the excuse for British occupation. At the end of 1895, in preparation to back up the plan, Rhodes' aide in the Cape, Dr Leander Starr Jameson, gathered a force of 500 volunteers in Bechuanaland, behind the western borders of the Transvaal.⁶¹

The plan was a dismal failure. The uitlanders's uprising failed to materialize, and Chamberlain ordered Rhodes to hold back Jameson's force. Jameson, however, disobeyed, and on 29 December 1895 he attacked the Transvaal. Within five days, he and his men had been forced to surrender to the forces of the Transvaal.⁶²

In military terms, the Jameson Raid was over in five days; but its economic consequences were to last much longer. The disturbance had a direct impact on the employment situation on the Witwatersrand, and thus indirectly also on the experiences of Nordic immigrants.

On the beginnings of hostilities, many of the diggings on the Witwatersrand suspended their operations, and white employees were urged either to stand by to defend the mines, or to join the

60 On relations between the United Kingdom and the Transvaal, see De Kiewit 1960, 123—135; Thompson 1971, 307—313.

61 De Kiewit 1960, 130, 135—136; Thompson 1971, 313—318.

62 De Kiewit 1960, 130, 135—136; Thompson 1971, 313—318.

volunteers being recruited to defend Johannesburg.⁶³ Since the mines were in uitlander hands, and Johannesburg was the uitlanders' town, 'defence' in this case meant defending the uitlanders' uprising against the Boer régime, seen by many uitlanders as the 'outsiders'. Naturally, it was also a question of defending one's place of work and one's job. A second alternative was to join the opposite side, and fight with the Boer forces upholding the legitimate government. The third possible strategy was to do nothing: to stand back and await the outcome, or even to abandon Johannesburg. The evidence indicates that Scandinavians opted for all of these alternatives (there were even some among Jameson's men).⁶⁴

Once the disturbances were over, the mines recommenced their operations. For the time being, there was a shortage of labour, many whites having left Johannesburg, or even Africa, in the expectation of a prolonged war.⁶⁵ Gradually, these returned. Some of them suffered reprisals at work (depending on what they had done and who owned the mine they worked in). In Boer companies, it was argued that these renegades should not be re-employed, since they had shown their disloyalty by failing to enlist with the forces defending the Transvaal.⁶⁶ In British-owned companies, on the other hand, all non-British were liable to reprisals, on the grounds of their real or supposed Boer sympathies.⁶⁷

Despite the gradual stabilization of the situation, the level of employment remained poor for a long time, and there were problems in re-starting the mines which had been closed down. There were also serious problems over the shortage of native labour.⁶⁸ On the outbreak of hostilities, the blacks had moved back

63 'Bref från Munsala' (A Letter from Munsala). *Österbottniska Posten* 15.2.1896; see also Fitzpatrick 1899, 143.

64 On the attitudes of Nordic immigrants to the Jameson Raid, see Eero Kuparinen, *Pohjoismaalaiset siirtolaiset ja buurisota* (Nordic Immigrants and the Boer War). Unpublished MS 1989.

65 'Emigrationen' (Emigration). *Norra Posten* 26.2.1896.

66 'Bref från Syd-Afrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 21.3.1896.

67 'Våra landsmän i Transvaal' (Our Compatriots in the Transvaal). *Vasabladet* 16.6.1896.

68 *The Guide of South Africa 1896—97*, 178; see also 'Emigrationslukten tyckes åter börja wakna' (Revival of Emigration). *Vasabladet* 5.2.1895.

to their homelands, and it took time to re-recruit them. The impact of the Jameson Raid on the economy of the Transvaal can clearly be seen in the Witwatersrand monthly gold production figures (in kilograms):⁶⁹

November	1895	6042.5
December	1895	5515.9
January	1896	4608.8
February	1896	5194.9
March	1896	5410.5
April	1896	5496.2
May	1896	6065.5

As these figures illustrate, it took the gold industry six months to regain the level of production which one week's hostilities had upset.

The Jameson Raid can be seen in many ways as a prelude to the Boer War. It revealed the alignment of the front for the coming war, and contributed to the hardening of opinions. The British in southern Africa felt humiliated, while the Boers now regarded all British as untrustworthy and potential imperialists; for this, moreover, they had cause, since some of the British in the Transvaal were already openly demanding British annexation of the region.⁷⁰

In the relations between the uitlanders and the Boers, and between Britain and the Transvaal, the period from January 1896 to October 1899 was one of open cold war. In the Transvaal, the Government was laying preparations for the inevitable confrontation, while the economy played it safe, living one day at a time. On the Witwatersrand, the days of eager investment and rapid growth were over; it was time for rationalization. Unprofitable or low-profit mines were closed down, and expensive white labour was reduced to a minimum;⁷¹ but the reduction in the

69 *The South African Year-Book 1902—1903*, 331—332; original data stated in ounces avoirdupois.

70 Thompson 1971, 318—322.

71 C.T. Eriksson, a Finnish emigrant, states that the mine where he worked reduced its white labour force from 120 to nine (Eriksson 1932, 20). For further discussion of the problems during this period, see also Walker 1957, 462.

level of mining operations was compensated for by advances in technology.

Insight into the situation and events in the Transvaal on the eve of the Boer War is provided by a perceptive Report for 1898 by the Consul for Sweden-Norway in Johannesburg, E.B. Suhrke, dated May 1899:

"1898 has been one of the worst years experienced in the Transvaal. Business has been at a complete standstill, and the mining industry has been subject to severe contractions, during the past twelve months. A mere fraction of the mines in operating condition have been in action; nor have these been able to operate with the same efficiency as would under normal circumstances have been the case.

All interest in investment, and spirit of enterprise, has been paralyzed; confidence in the country's future is largely broken.

The major cause for these setbacks has been in political incidents, and also in the attempts by the owners of business capital, by means of an artificial depression of the economy, to force the Government into conceding the just demands of the uitlanders."⁷²

In October 1899, the tensions between Britain and the Transvaal led to the outbreak of war. By the latter 1890s, and at the latest by the beginning of 1899, it must have been clear to all those with personal experience of the local situation that a peaceful solution was no longer possible for the Transvaal's protracted domestic and international tensions. In May 1899, the Danish Consul in Johannesburg, Ferdinand Prior, reduced the alternatives for the Transvaal in the immediate future to two: Either revolution from within, or war with Britain.⁷³

Over the preceding years, the causes leading to the outbreak of war between the Transvaal and Britain in the autumn of 1899 were many and complex, one of them being the existence of the Witwatersrand goldfield itself, identified by DE KIEWIT, for example, as the decisive factor in the outbreak of the Boer War.

72 Annual Consular Reports, Johannesburg 1898. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

73 Prior to the Foreign Ministry 17.6.1899. RAK UD. Indkomne og utgående skrivelser fra konsulater.

The Witwatersrand led to the emergence of important economic and commercial interests; the social conflicts centred on the uitlander problem; the Jameson Raid and many other frictions in Transvaal-British relations.⁷⁴ The tragedy of the Witwatersrand, from the Transvaal point of view, was the sheer size of the deposits, which was out of proportion to the scale of the Transvaal State and its political and economic resources. The exploitation of the goldfield was of necessity left mainly in the hands of outsiders, the uitlanders, with consequences that led to war and the redrawing of the political map of Africa.

4.2.2.2. Johannesburg: the Golden Disappointment

In the history of Nordic migration to South Africa, the quinquennium 1895—99 represents the first major escalation: a period of heated growth, great expectations, and great disappointments, when many potential emigrants in the Nordic countries began to recognize South Africa, and in particular Johannesburg, as a serious alternative destination.

In the early years of this period, the Transvaal gained a world-wide name as the South African Eldorado, and a firm reputation in the Nordic consciousness as the promised land of opportunity for high wages and getting rich quick. By the end of the period, however, the Transvaal was displaying a much sterner face, as more and more migrants faced bitter disillusionment.

Plentiful evidence for the Nordic enthusiasm for migration to South Africa in the first phase of the quinquennium is provided by the migration statistics, the South African correspondence in the Nordic press, and the records of the Nordic consular authorities in southern Africa. The emigration statistics for the Nordic countries are many times larger than in the preceding periods. During the period 1886—94, altogether slightly over 600 cases of Nordic migration to South Africa have been traced, i.e. an average of just over sixty cases annually; during the quinquennium 1895—99, on the other hand, the number traced rises to more than 1 700, i.e. over four hundred cases per annum. These are distributed geographically and chronologically as follows:

74 De Kiewit 1960, 138.

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
1895	57	57	312	61
1896	121	182	96	138
1897	109	110	29	94
1898	48	74	16	67
1899	37	73	18	30
1895—1899 ⁷⁵	14	9	—	5
<hr/>				
TOTAL.	386	505	471	395

In addition to the cases of emigration listed above, for which statistical documentation is available, there are also over 500 cases traced in the course of this investigation (77 in Denmark, 43 in Finland, 152 in Norway, and 240 in Sweden) for whom no precise date of travel is known other than that it occurred prior to 1900. It is highly probable, however, that these too belonged to the increased migration to South Africa during the last quinquennium of the century. It is also clear that these figures, despite the increase they report, represent only a portion of the total Nordic migration to South Africa during the period under investigation; nevertheless, they give a reliable overall picture.

A noticeable feature in the migration statistics for the quinquennium is a similar pattern of distribution in the figures for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, in contrast to the pattern for Finland. For the former three countries, the migration peak occurs in 1896, which was also the peak year for immigration overall into South Africa during the 19th century.⁷⁶ In the Finnish figures, on the other hand, the peak falls earlier, in 1895, followed in 1896—99 by a fall from first to last place in these statistics.

This striking flare in the Finnish migration figures suggests the

75 Migrants during the period 1895—99, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

76 Since no migration statistics were kept in South Africa during the 19th century, the estimates of the migration given here are based on the numbers of passengers listed in the port records for shipping sailing from the United Kingdom to South Africa; the relevant figures for 1895—99 are: 1895: 25 988; 1896: 35 840; 1897: 28 801; 1898: 25 653; 1899: 18 863. See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1895—1899.

possibility of some kind of epidemic factor behind the high figures for 1895, which is confirmed by closer scrutiny.

Evidence begins to appear in the Ostrobothnian press by the spring of 1895 of rising interest in moving to South Africa in search of higher wages. Reports appear of earlier migrants sending back news of the good conditions there: plenty of work and good wages.⁷⁷ Such messages were eagerly received in some parts of Ostrobothnia. In Munsala, already relatively strongly represented in the earlier migration to South Africa, an 'Africa fever' was said to have broken out and to be spreading;⁷⁸ the "entire direction of emigration" is said, somewhat magniloquently, to be "switching from America to South Africa",⁷⁹ and in fact during the spring of that year two separate parties did set out from Munsala alone for South Africa,⁸⁰ as well as a larger party of 15 persons, which was to date the largest group from Finland.⁸¹

By the summer of 1895, the monthly passenger figures recorded by the Finnish Steamship Company had risen slightly further. In the five months between January and May of that year, this shipping line alone carried a total of 36 passengers on transit to British ships for South Africa; during the three months of June, July and August the total was 28. The major increase, however, came in the autumn: between the beginning of September and the end of the year, the number of Finnish Steamship Company passengers setting out for South Africa rose to 151.⁸² It must moreover be borne in mind that the emigration route to South Africa through the Finnish Steamship Company was only one, although the easiest, of several routes available.

During the summer and autumn of 1895 the press continued to carry reports of a boom in the Transvaal, the rapid growth of

77 'Emigrationslukten tyckes åter börja wakna' (Revival of Emigration). *Vasabladet* 5.2.1895; 'Till Afrika' (To Africa). *Wasa Tidning* 5.3.1895.

78 'Afrikafebern tiltager' (Increasing Africa Fever). *Wasa Tidning* 14.3.1895.

79 'Emigrationslukten tyckes åter börja wakna' (Revival of Emigration). *Vasabladet* 5.2.1895; 'Emigrationen börjar mer och mer att taga riktning till Afrika' (Emigration Heading for Africa More and More). *Wasa Tidning* 24.2.1895.

80 'Från Munsala' (From Munsala). *Gamlakarleby Tidning* 23.4.1895; see also 'Emigrationen börjar mer och mer taga riktning till Afrika' (Emigration Heading for Africa More and More). *Wasa Tidning* 24.2.1895.

81 Statistical records of the Finnish Steamship Company. TYYH.

82 Statistical records of the Finnish Steamship Company. TYYH.

Johannesburg, and the higher wages and employment opportunities awaiting in South Africa compared to America.⁸³ Many Finns thinking of emigration thus began to see Johannesburg as their Eldorado, or Golden City. More and more decided to set out, and the size of the parties travelling with the Finnish Steamship Company continued to grow: the record of 16 passengers, early in September, was broken only two weeks later by a party of 39, and early in October by an even larger group.⁸⁴

The arrival in Johannesburg of such large numbers of Finns did not pass unnoticed by the local Finnish community, who began to display anxiety. John Olson, a Munsala-born South African veteran, and three of his fellow-immigrants, drew up a warning published in the *Österbottniska Posten*, in which they explained in some detail the employment situation in South Africa:

"As a consequence of the arrival here during the past week of a large group of young men (some of them barely of adult age), who have no kinds of skilled trade, and will therefore before long be faced with hardship, we wish hereby earnestly to warn all parents and guardians against allowing such young persons under any circumstances to travel here. For they have not the slightest chance of obtaining work, since the negroes perform all the heavy manual labour, and at wages on which a white man could not keep body and soul together.

Many of the readers of the *Österbottniska Posten* may well have judged employment here by American standards, where anyone at all may find work suitable to him. In this, they are greatly mistaken. Here there is no forest, and therefore no forestry work. Whites are not employed as farming labourers. All that remains, therefore, are the gold mines, and building work in Johannesburg. Each mine, however, employs merely a few dozen white men, the rest of the workers being black. Nor can a man find building work, if he has neither a skilled trade nor a command of the language. South Africa is no place for an emigrant who has no trade.

For others, in particular for carpenters and bricklayers, the situation earlier this year was quite good. During the past two

83 'Emigrationen' (Emigration). *Norra Posten* 31.7.1895; 'Från Afrika' (From Africa). *Vasabladet* 12.10.1895; 'Vecka för vecka' (Week by Week). *Svenska Österbotten* 25.10.1895.

84 Statistical records of the Finnish Steamship Company. TYYH.

months, though, thousands of men have arrived here in search of work, with the result that even in these trades, there are now hundreds of men without work.”⁸⁵

From time to time, the poor employment situation in South Africa was reported elsewhere in the Ostrobothnian press.⁸⁶ The news of the opportunities opening up in the Transvaal had spread round the world fast, leading to a steadily expanding flow of immigrants; but migration to South Africa was now reaching its culmination point. Johannesburg, which had beckoned so welcomingly to the migrant at the beginning of the 1890s, was becoming an overcrowded city of disillusioned men in search of work. The cycle which had been foreseen by a Munsala correspondent, writing from South Africa in the *Gamlakarleby Tidning* in the early spring of 1895, had come true:

”One can see that Africa will soon be overcrowded with immigrants searching for jobs, just as America has been for some time, as soon as the rumours of Good Times in the Negro Continent have had time to spread.”⁸⁷

By the spring of 1896, however, the ‘Africa fever’ which had infected Finland during the preceding autumn had already faded away. The *Vasabladet* reported in May 1896 that Finnish migration to South Africa was virtually at a standstill,⁸⁸ and this is also confirmed by the passenger lists of the Finnish Steamship Company, which during the first six months of 1896 carried a mere four passengers en route for South Africa.⁸⁹ Bad times are also reported in migrants’ correspondence home. A rather emotional letter, printed in several journals, painted a dismal picture of the situation, and urged anyone thinking of migrating to South Africa to abandon the idea:

85 ‘Bref från Sydafrika’ (A Letter from South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 25.11.1895.

86 See, e.g., ‘Från Afrika’ (From Africa). *Vasabladet* 28.11.1895; ‘Warning för Emigranter’ (Warning for Emigrants). *Norra Posten* 14.12.1895; ‘Res icke till Afrika’ (Do not Travel to Africa). *Wasa Nyheter* 14.1.1896; ‘Res icke till Afrika’ (Do not Travel to Africa). *Svenska Österbotten* 17.1.1896.

87 ‘Från Munsala’ (From Munsala). *Gamlakarleby Tidning* 23.4.1895.

88 ‘Emigrationen’ (Emigration). *Vasabladet* 2.5.1896.

89 Statistical records of the Finnish Steamship Company. TYYH.

"Ostrobothnians friends, at home in Finland! Do not let African gold tempt you into coming here. The iron hand of fate has already crushed and obliterated many hopes and plans. Many a young man has here experienced his high aspirations and hopeful dreams run into the sand. Gold, that treacherous metal, has disappointed so many. Do not allow it to disappoint you too, like the many whom its frustrating glitter has already cast into despair and dismay. Stay at home and be content with what you can earn at home. That is enough, even though you may never own so much on the hard rushmat of life."⁹⁰

During the summer and especially in the autumn of 1896, the number of passengers from Finland rose somewhat compared to the early part of the year, but the Finnish Steamship Company, at least, did not come even close to the volume of South African traffic in the previous year. During the summer 18 passengers bought tickets for Africa, and from the beginning of September to the end of December the total number of passengers for Africa amounted to 42, of whom 21 left in a single group in October.⁹¹

These figures from the latter half of 1896 thus show that although South Africa had lost the record appeal for migrants it had held in 1895, it still exercised some attraction. The catalogue of departures for South Africa traced in this investigation indicates that the total number of emigrants in 1896 was about one third of that inspired by the Africa fever in 1895.

Within Nordic migration to South Africa as a whole, 1896 was the year of the Danes, Norwegians and Swedes: the peak year both for them and for immigration overall in South Africa, although the annual fluctuations in Scandinavian migration were much less than in the Finnish figures. The catalogue of emigrants drawn up for this investigation shows that the leading group, throughout 1896—99, were the Swedes. The Swedish immigration was analyzed by Erik Wadner, South African exports correspondent for the Swedish business organization *Svensk Exportföreningen*

90 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 7.3.1896; 'Från Syd-Afrika' (From South Africa). *Svenska Österbotten* 10.3.1896; 'Om arbetsförhållandena i Syd-Afrika' (Working Conditions in South Africa). *Norra Posten* 14.3.1896. .

91 Statistical records of the Finnish Steamship Company. TYYH.

(Swedish Exports Association), in a ringside report submitted from Cape Town in July 1896:

"Almost every week, there are Swedes landing at Cape Town, sometimes in larger and sometimes in smaller groups, most of them young and inexperienced. Many come straight from school or home. Many are clerks or sales assistants, lacking in the necessary language skills or knowledge of local customs, or the other necessities for the establishment of a career. If they are unable to obtain employment immediately upon their arrival, which is rarely the case, they frequently do not even have enough means to live on. I must beg you to address a most solemn warning to persons in this situation, to consider carefully before leaving Sweden for the uncertain conditions prevailing here, since they will in most cases be forced to undergo difficulties which may well bring them to despair. There are here, as elsewhere, too many clerks and sales assistants, and without a perfect command of at least the English language it will be impossible for them to obtain employment of the kind to which they are accustomed. As a consequence of the surplus of assistants of all kinds, moreover, the wages are in general poor, certainly no better than at home in Sweden, while the costs of subsistence are high. There are few among those that come here who can fulfil their hopes, or achieve that station in life to which they had been looking forward."⁹²

Similar warnings to intending emigrants were also sent by Sweden-Norway's Consuls in South Africa, in conjunction with their annual reports. The Consul General in Cape Town, A. Ohlsson, included such warnings with every report submitted during 1896—99.⁹³ From Johannesburg, where Sweden-Norway appointed Cato Aal as Consul in 1897, came a sharp warning with his first annual report:

"Since the Consulate has been continually receiving enquiries as to whether the Consulate could assist young men in obtaining employment here, or whether the prospects for immigrants here

92 'Från Exportföreningens korrespondenter m.fl.' (From the Export Association's Correspondents and Others). *Svensk Export* 3.10.1896.

93 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

are favourable, it should be clearly stated that there are crowds of unemployed Scandinavians here, who are unable to secure themselves a place of employment. For manual labour, only Kaffirs are employed, and Europeans would be unable to live on the wages. There has frequently been serious indigence among the Scandinavians, and most of them would certainly have wished to leave, if they could have raised the fares.”⁹⁴

The Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town continued during this quinquennium to receive frequent enquiries concerning the Transvaal, the Cape, or South Africa in general, as it had done during 1886—94. Most of these were about the employment situation, many of them coming from other parts of the world, and approximately sixty such enquiries received during the final quinquennium of the century are filed in the records of the Consulate General. It is also clear from the annual reports of Sweden-Norway's Consulate in Johannesburg that such enquiries were received there too, although the files have not survived for posterity. In the records of the Danish Consulate in Johannesburg, which was opened in 1898, a few examples are still preserved.

The Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town continued to reply to such enquiries on the same lines as before. No one was encouraged to migrate to South Africa. A similar note of caution was sounded in many of the letters from South Africa published in the Scandinavian press. In 1895, a letter in the Danish journal *Politiken* had characterized Danish migration to South Africa as "senseless".⁹⁵ In June of the same year, *Aftenposten* in Norway carried a report that immigration into South Africa had grown faster than the number of jobs available.⁹⁶

Approximately a year later, the fate of indigent immigrants in the Transvaal was described in the Swedish journal *Göteborg Morgon-Posten* in dismal terms:

94 Annual Consular Reports, Johannesburg 1897. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

95 'Brev fra Syd-Afrika' (A Letter from South Africa). *Politiken* 25.2.1895.

96 'Forholdene i Syd-Afrika' (Conditions in South Africa). *Aftenposten* 23.6.1895.

"May the Lord have mercy on those unfortunates who come here with neither a skilled trade nor capital. Thousands of them are starving, literally starving, and I have met many a Swedish accountant who has been tempted by the rumours of gold to quit a secure, if modest post at home, to live the far from enviable life of a labourer here."⁹⁷

In December 1896, the same journal carried an even more clearly worded warning:

"If you have not yet warned my countrymen, then for God's sake do so now, before it is too late. Here there are scores of Swedes, unable to speak a word of English, wandering around unemployed, and with no other hope, than that they were home again."⁹⁸

Similar warnings appeared during this period in the Danish and Norwegian press. A letter from South Africa published in the Norwegian journal *Christianssands Tidende* in January 1897 gave a warning against migration to the Transvaal and analyzed the reasons for the unemployment there:

"These are truly hard times here. People wander around begging, and even those who have been here for many years are having difficulties in obtaining employment. You will therefore be doing everyone a favour, if you warn intending emigrants against coming to South Africa in the near future.

Naturally, we all hope that times will improve, but as long as the Boers persist in their policy of scraping all the money into their own and their friends' wallets, there can be no chance of a change. European capitalists are now pulling their money out of South African companies, and the future looks bleak."⁹⁹

The difficulties caused for these Scandinavian immigrants by South African unemployment were not merely material for the

97 'En varning för Transvaal' (Warning against the Transvaal). *Göteborg Morgon-Posten* 24.10.1896.

98 'Ennu en varning för Transvaal' (A Further Warning against the Transvaal). *Göteborg Morgon-Posten* 23.12.1896.

99 'Advarsel mod Udvandring' (Warning against Emigration). *Christianssands Tidende* 12.1.1897.

pages of the press, but also the cause of serious problems for the local consulates. The records of the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town contain about half a dozen letters posted during 1898—99 from various different parts of South Africa, asking for help either in obtaining employment or in leaving the country. Some of the writers were ready to work their passage home on board ship. It is also probable that in addition to these appeals arriving by letter, many living in the vicinity of the consulates must have made similar appeals in person.

Very few records have survived from these years at Sweden-Norway's Consulate in Johannesburg: no similar letters are extant, nor any records of personal appeals for assistance. There is also little information available for the Danish Consulate in Johannesburg, although it is known that requests for help were received from unemployed Danish immigrants.¹⁰⁰

Despite the despondent picture painted by the South African correspondents to the Nordic press of crowds of unemployed wandering around on the streets, or the evidence of appeals for assistance received by the consulates, it must be noted that South Africa was still at peace. With the outbreak of war in October 1899, the situation deteriorated still further, with refugee and similar problems. The wartime situation will be discussed in greater detail in the following Section.

In the years leading up to the Boer War, Johannesburg had offered great promises to immigration, but had proved a great disappointment. The number of migrants from the Nordic countries who had left for South Africa, and specifically for Johannesburg, in search of their fortune, only to be let down, was very considerable: over 1 700 cases documented in the course of the present investigation for the years 1895—99, and most probably the greater part of the cases (over 500) only dateable to the period preceding 1900.

These figures constitute, moreover, only part of the total Nordic migration to South Africa. Despite the powerful attraction exercised by the golden magnet of Johannesburg, not all immigration to South Africa was directed there. The economic

100 Prior to the Foreign Ministry 17.6.1899. RAK UD. Indkomne og utgående skrivelser fra konsulater.

stimulus of the gold discoveries on the Witwatersrand extended beyond the borders of the Transvaal into British South Africa, and the economic boom in the Cape and Natal brought them their share of the increased immigration as well.

On the basis of the available information, it is difficult to assess what proportion of the Nordic immigration was directed to the Transvaal or to other parts of South Africa. As pointed out earlier, the passport registers and parish records in the Nordic countries usually state these emigrants' destination merely as 'Africa' or 'South Africa', and this continues to be true for the last quinquennium of the century. The only source which states destinations more precisely are the shipping companies' passenger lists or other documentation relating to the purchase of tickets, which state at least the port of landing in South Africa, and in the case of combined sea-rail tickets, more detailed information.

Despite the fact that the destination for many of the emigrants during the quinquennium 1895—99 is registered only as (South) Africa, a more detailed destination has in fact been traced for about 60 % of these, totalling 1 064 cases, distributed as follows:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
Cape Colony	—	7	—	—
Cape Town	99	214	69	317
Port Elizabeth	18	14	—	9
East London	8	4	—	4
Kimberley	—	2	—	3
Natal	20	5	—	3
Port Natal (Durban)	77	9	1	14
Transvaal	—	23	—	—
Johannesburg	15	12	74	29
Pretoria	—	4	—	1
Delagoa Bay	—	7	—	1
Beira	—	1	—	—

Again, as pointed out earlier, in most cases this list shows not necessarily the immigrants' ultimate destination, but their port of landing in South Africa. These sources do not provide any further information as to where the migrants may have moved after landing.

A comparison of these figures with the emigration data from the Nordic countries during this period reveals some striking

differences. The Nordic material is at its most comprehensive for Denmark and Norway, and weakest for Finland. The natural explanation for this is both in the nature of the source material itself and also in the different routes taken by emigrants from different countries. For Denmark and Norway, the statistical data are mostly gathered from the documentation relating to the sales of tickets (which is the same source as that used for the emigration statistics), whereas in Sweden and in Finland much less use can be made of passenger lists; this is largely because it was cheaper for Swedish and Finnish passengers not to buy the complete ticket before setting out (although this was also possible), but to buy the ticket for Africa while en route, usually in Britain, and they were therefore unlisted on the South African passenger lists of Nordic shipping agents.

The list also shows national differences in destination. The Norwegians were more likely than emigrants from the other Nordic nations to buy a ticket for Natal, the traditional focus of Norwegian migration to South Africa. In the case of Denmark, but also of Sweden, there is a marked domination by Cape Town. In the Finnish figures, on the other hand, there is a striking domination by Johannesburg; in around half the cases listed here, the migrant had purchased a combined sea-rail ticket all the way to Johannesburg.

In examining the Nordic patterns of settlement in South Africa, it must also be borne in mind that neither in this nor in the other periods examined was direct migration from Northern Europe the only source of Nordic immigration. The enquiries received by the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, for example, suggest that there was also movement to South Africa of Scandinavians from other parts of the world, and a few such cases can be documented.

It is far from easy to draw a balance for the total scale and impact of Nordic migration to South Africa during the quinquennium 1895—99. No regional censuses were carried out within South Africa during this period, and no regional population data are therefore available; there are, on the other hand, the data from a local census carried out within Johannesburg in July 1896 by the local Sanitary Committee.

The white population of Johannesburg at the census date was 50 907, of whom 32 387 were men. The only Nordic nationa-

lity listed separately in this census was Sweden-Norway (as a single category), for which 311 persons were listed in Johannesburg, 256 of them men.¹⁰¹

Persons from Denmark are included in the 750 'Others'; the categories listed separately were persons from England & Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden-Norway, Italy, Russia and Switzerland. The smallest separate category was that from Switzerland, with 139 persons,¹⁰² which suggests that the Danish community in Johannesburg at that time must have been smaller than 139, although since the tabulation criteria are unstated, this is not entirely certain.

The Finns, naturally, were included in the category for Russian nationals, which included 3 335 persons (the largest group in the data after that for England & Wales).¹⁰³ This category in fact included very few ethnic Russians, since the overwhelming majority were Lithuanian and Polish Jews: indeed it was assumed that the Russian-origin category consisted entirely of Jews.¹⁰⁴

Another group of sources for estimates of the scale of Nordic settlement in South Africa at this period is from letters published in the press, memoirs, local chronicles, etc.; the figures suggested by these sources show considerable variation, however.

The letters from South Africa published in the press are usually very vague. The Swedish community in Johannesburg in early 1898 is quoted as around 1 500—2 000 persons.¹⁰⁵ A Finnish observer estimated the Finnish community in Johannesburg on the eve of the Boer War at around 500, and the Swedes and Norwegians at around 4 000.¹⁰⁶ Nor can Cato Aal, the Johannesburg Consul for Sweden-Norway, be accused of excessive precision, for his statement of the number of Swedes in the Transvaal in 1899 was 2 000—3 000 persons.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, the numbers suggested in memoirs, local chronicles,

101 *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8.

102 *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8.

103 *Johannesburg. Sanitary Committee. Census, 15 July 1896*, 8.

104 Sowden 1955, 150.

105 'Genom hr Rudolf Wefel' (From Mr Rudolf Wefel). *Barometern* 17.2.1898.

106 'Johannesburg i Transvaal'. *Österbottniska Posten* 24.11.1900.

107 'En Nordmand om Boerne' (A Norwegian View of the Boers). *Aftenposten* 1.11.1899.

and other similar sources are imprecise and mutually contradictory. The Rev. Paul Gullander, a pastor who worked among the Scandinavians in Johannesburg during the later 1890s, estimated the number of Scandinavians in the Cape Town area at around 800 and in the entire Cape Colony at around 1 000.¹⁰⁸ The Norwegian author Ludvig Saxe, in his study of overseas Norwegians, estimates that the total Norwegian community in South Africa had risen by 1899 to well over 2 000.¹⁰⁹

More modest figures, however, are suggested by Anton KARLGREN, in his study of the history of Swedish missionary work, who estimates the total Scandinavian settlement in Johannesburg (including the Finns) at the end of the 1890s at around 2 000.¹¹⁰ KARLGREN's assessment is also supported by the only semi-official estimate of the Scandinavian population at that time, a report submitted by the parish council of the Scandinavian congregation in Johannesburg, where it is estimated that the total number of Scandinavians living in the Transvaal at the outbreak of the Boer War may have been around 1 500, of whom the majority were in Johannesburg or its surroundings.¹¹¹ Although the reference here is to 'Scandinavians', it may be assumed that it also includes Finns.¹¹²

This figure does however refer to the time immediately prior to the outbreak of the Boer War, by which time many of the Scandinavians who had been in the area had already left Johannesburg, and possibly South Africa altogether, in disappointment. The situation in 1899 therefore presumably does not represent the peak of Scandinavian settlement, which is more likely to have

108 Gullander 1902, 36—37.

109 Saxe 1914, 424.

110 Karlgren 1909, 456.

111 M. Hansen Stormoen, A.W. Brattlund, S. Alin, Edward Boman: recommendation to P. Gullander, Feb. 1900. Gullander to von Schule, 31.10.1901. SKM Missionsstyrelsens protokollbilagor 1901.

112 The Constitution of the Scandinavian Lutheran church established in Johannesburg in 1898 states it to be a joint congregation for Danes, Swedes, Norwegians and Finns (Konstitution för Den Skandinaviske Evang.luth. menighed i Johannesburg (Transvaal) 1898. Artikel IV. § 1). See also: Till den skandinaviske befolkningen i Transvaal (To the Scandinavian Population in the Transvaal), Johannesburg 1899. SKM Missionsstyrelsens protokollbilagor 1901.

been reached in 1896—97 than later. KARLGREN's estimate of around 2 000 for the slightly earlier date may therefore be reliable. This figure, which presumably includes both persons who had migrated directly from Northern Europe, and those who had moved from other parts of the world or from other regions within South Africa, thus indicates the maximum level of Scandinavian population at one time, and does not exclude the possibility that the total number of persons of Nordic origin who spent at least some time in Johannesburg during this period, including those who were speedily disillusioned, may have been considerably higher.

4.2.3. Disruption: the Boer War (1900—01)

Superficially, following the passions roused by the Jameson Raid, relations between the British and the Boers returned to normal, but the underlying problems persisted. The major obstacle to the achievement of real mutual understanding continued to be the question of the rights of the uitlanders in the Transvaal. By September 1899, the waiting was finally over: irritated by the uncompromising attitude adopted by the tiny Transvaal, Britain felt that her honour had been offended, and began to transfer troops to South Africa. President Kruger responded to this action by presenting an ultimatum, to which Britain did not bother to reply. In consequence, not only the Transvaal, but also, on the basis of their mutual pact, the Orange Free State, regarded themselves as at war with Britain with effect from 11 October 1899.¹¹³

If the British had imagined that this was to be a brief expedition to restore order, they were sorely disappointed. The Boer War was to last two and a half years, and to require a major effort by the British to secure victory. Altogether almost 450 000 men fought in the War under the flag of the British Empire, whereas the numbers fighting on the Boers' side were significantly smaller: estimated at about 88 000 men, consisting of about 73 000 from the Transvaal

113 On the developments leading up to the Boer War, see Walker 1957, 454—486; Thompson 1971, 318—324.

and the Orange Free State, 13 000 Boers from Natal and the Cape, and 2 000 foreign volunteers.¹¹⁴

The vast majority of these foreign volunteers in the Boer armies were overseas settlers from the Transvaal, who provided units of the Boer army staffed by Dutch, German, French, American, Irish, Italian, Russian and Scandinavian volunteers.¹¹⁵ Since the troops fighting on the British side came not only from the British Isles, but also from South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the combined armies represented a very international mix for the time. Among the foreign volunteers, moreover, nationality was not the deciding criterion for loyalty, with the result that there were representatives of many of the nationalities present in South Africa fighting on both sides.¹¹⁶

The total duration of the Boer War falls within four calendar years (October 1899 — May 1902), but only two of these, 1900 and 1901, were entirely war years, during which it is possible to speak of wartime migration in the strict sense.

The circumstances in South Africa at the beginning of 1900 were hardly such as to encourage Nordic migration. Whereas the letters from South Africa appearing in the Nordic press in earlier years had (despite occasional warning comments) stressed the high level of wages and the luxury attainable in the Transvaal, the outbreak of war completely overturned the situation. The flow of migration between the Nordic countries and South Africa, especially the Transvaal, threatened to reverse, and a new term enters the vocabulary of Scandinavian migration to South Africa: 'war refugees'.

For several months, the crisis between the Transvaal and Britain had led to a drain of population from Johannesburg, but with the outbreak of war this took on panic proportions. The largest group to leave were the British, who were ordered to leave the country within eight days by the Pretoria Government, whereas the citizens of countries neutral to the conflict were allowed to remain if they wished. Nonetheless, the almost complete close-down of mining

114 Holt 1958, 293.

115 On the uitlander volunteer troops, see Rosenthal 1970, 328.

116 On the involvement of Nordic settlers in the War, see Eero Kuparinen, *Pohjoismaalaiset siirtolaiset ja buurisota* (Nordic Immigrants and the Boer War). Unpublished MS 1989.

operations, with all that followed from that, led to such a collapse of the local economy that the majority of the Nordic settlers living in Johannesburg late in 1899 now moved away: some to the British parts of South Africa, and others back to Europe.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, there were also those who neither could nor wanted to abandon their homes, and who remained in Johannesburg or elsewhere in the Transvaal. Many of these soon found themselves in serious financial difficulties, news of which also filtered back to the Nordic countries. Instead of the flow of money remittances home which had previously flowed north from the Transvaal, readers of the Nordic press now learnt of the need to reverse the direction of flow. The *Skandinaviska organisationen* (Scandinavian Organization) in Pretoria, headed by a Swede, Christer Ugglä, sent an appeal to be published in the Nordic press for the collection of funds to assist Nordic settlers in distress. Having been unemployed for months, many Scandinavians were penniless, and were now in real trouble with the drastic rise in the cost of living as a result of the outbreak of the War.¹¹⁸ This appeal had very little result, although limited funds are known to have been sent from Sweden and Denmark.¹¹⁹

Following the British occupation of Johannesburg and Pretoria in June 1900, and the establishment of British control over most of the Transvaal, it was widely expected that the Boer War would soon be over. Many of the Nordic settlers who had fled from the region at the outbreak of war now began to plan their return, and the Transvaal even began to attract attention from potential new migrants. The local consular officials, understandably, tried to dampen any enthusiasm, and in reply to queries strongly warned against travelling to Transvaal at that time.

117 On the immediate impact of the Boer War in Johannesburg, see Prior to the Foreign Ministry, 9.10.1899, 14.10.1899. RAK UD. *Samlade sager*, vol. 5634; 'Fra Natal' (From Natal). *Aftenposten* 21.11. 1899; 'Skandinaverna på flykt från Transvaal' (Scandinavians on the Run from the Transvaal). *Westerviks Weckoblad* 11.1.1900.

118 On the appeals published in the press, see, e.g., 'Nødlidande Skandinaver i Transvaal' (Scandinavians Starving in the Transvaal). *Berlingske Tidende* 15.11.1899; 'Fra Skandinaver i Transvaal' (From Scandinavians in the Transvaal). *Aftenposten* 5.11.1899.

119 On the outcome of these collection appeals, see Ugglä to the Cabinet Secretary, von Ditten, 19.2.1901. RAS UD. 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 1114.

The first warning against migration was sent by E.B. Suhrke, the Johannesburg Consul for Sweden-Norway, in July 1900, only little over a month after Johannesburg had been taken by the British. The Consul must have been an optimist, for he anticipated that mining operations would be under way again very soon; nevertheless, he issued a warning against travelling to Johannesburg for the next four to six months.¹²⁰

By November 1900, the Consul needed to revise his estimate, for the mines were still closed and the local economy at a standstill; nor was there any information available as to how soon the uitlanders who had left the Transvaal would be allowed to return. It would take another four to six months before the mines could offer work, and he again warned against travelling to the Transvaal within the following six months.¹²¹

Even a year later, in October 1901, the situation was virtually unchanged. Although some of the mines were now open, production was still at a very low level, although there were signs that more mines might be re-opened in the near future. One sign of the improved situation in the Transvaal cited by Suhrke was that from the beginning of September permits had been issued for uitlanders to return to the Transvaal, although only on certain conditions: they must own property, or financial interests, within the Transvaal, or have permanent employment to return to. Those who had been expelled at the outbreak of the War, and new immigrants, stood little chance of being allowed in, considered Suhrke, before peaceful and orderly conditions had been restored.¹²²

Ever since the beginnings of the mining industry on the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg had increasingly served as the 'primus motor' of the South African economy, the focus of wealth and the major target area for immigration into the region. The mining industry also exercised a considerable impact on the economy in the neighbouring regions of Natal and the Cape. The

120 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 20.7.1900. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1900.

121 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 27.11.1900. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1900.

122 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 29.10.1901. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1901.

economic boom in Johannesburg had also created employment beyond the borders of the Transvaal.

October 1899 brought to an end the impetus which had driven the Transvaal economy for several years, and plunged the Boer republic into the miseries of war. The war ruined the Transvaal economy, and drove a large proportion of the population into exile, unemployment, and even starvation. In the Cape and Natal, on the other hand, the economic impact of the Boer War was the opposite, with a major inflow of funds that accompanied the thousands of troops arriving from all over the British Empire.¹²³

The boom in the Cape and Natal was the salvation of many of the war refugees from the Transvaal. If they found work within British South Africa, they were able to await the end of the War in order to return to the Transvaal. Soon, however, the flood of people from the Boer Republics into the Cape and Natal had satisfied the demand for extra labour, leading to unemployment. By 1901, the number of British subjects in Cape Town recorded as having fled from the Transvaal had risen to 1 500. They flooded the local labour market and left little opportunity for any non-British to find work. Warnings against moving to Cape Town even appeared from time to time in the Scandinavian press.¹²⁴

Yet despite the hostilities, the refugee problem, and the unemployment, a steady flow of Nordic migration continued throughout the War years 1900—1901, possibly attracted by the war boom in British South Africa. Undoubtedly there was also misplaced optimism about an end to the War and the revival of the economy in Transvaal, especially after the War had apparently turned against the Boers early in 1900.

In the investigations carried out for this study for 1900—01, approximately 400 cases of migration have been traced: a mean of 200 per year, representing a fall of about half in the intensity of Nordic migration in comparison with the period 1895—99, yet still at three times the level of Nordic migration in the earliest years of the period under investigation, 1886—94. The cases of migration

123 Houghton 1971, 15.

124 See, e.g., 'Advarsel til Emigranter' (Advice to Emigrants). *Politiken* 30.7.1900: 'Mr. Jeppe, vor Konsul i Cape Town' (Mr Jeppe, Our Consul in Cape Town). *Politiken* 22.8.1901.

traced for 1900—1901 are distributed in terms of date and place of origin as follows:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
1900	68	53	20	58
1901	58	54	8	79
<hr/>				
TOTAL	128	107	28	137

The lower level of Finnish migration in comparison with that from the other Nordic countries in this Table is striking. There may be several reasons for this, e.g. a possibly heavier concentration of Finnish settlement in the Transvaal during the 1890s; this interpretation is supported by the statistics quoted earlier on destinations: during the Boer War, whereas migration from the other Nordic countries to the British areas in South Africa continued, Finnish migration slowed, waiting for the resumption of migration to Johannesburg.

For the Nordic migrants to South Africa during the War years 1900—01, the destinations are relatively precisely known (i.e. at least the destination port) in about 65 % of the cases. Destinations have been traced in Nordic passenger lists, parish reports, etc., in 258 cases, as set out in the following Table:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
The Cape	—	1	—	—
Cape Town	25	28	11	103
Port Elizabeth	9	1	—	7
Algoa Bay	4	—	—	1
Knysna	—	—	—	1
Natal	12	2	—	13
Port Natal (Durban)	29	—	—	4
Orange	1	—	—	—
Transvaal	—	3	—	—
Beira	—	—	—	3

As would be expected, these statistics refer almost exclusively to ports in British South Africa. Although the Transvaal was still closed to immigration in 1901, however, there were three Swedish migrants who stated this as their destination. It is striking that from

Norway there was a more intensive flow of migration to Natal, reflecting patterns established in the earlier period.

A striking feature in South Africa during the Boer War period, which must be taken into account in examining Nordic migration as well, is the rise to almost epidemic proportions of desertions from ships by seamen in South African ports. This phenomenon had not been unknown earlier, of course, and seamen migration had played a small but significant role in the formation of the white population in South Africa from its first beginnings. Desertion did not necessarily lead to settlement on land, moreover; often the reason was that the seamen had secured a better berth on another ship, and this also applies to the period 1900—1901; nevertheless, the number of seamen deserting was so large that it must also have included some who settled on land, as can be confirmed from scattered references in the consular archives for Sweden-Norway.

The merchant marine of Sweden-Norway suffered from desertions more than that of the other Nordic countries, and especially so on the freight run to Cape Town.¹²⁵ According to the shipping log and crews register maintained by the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, a total of 221 seamen deserted from Swedish and Norwegian ships in Cape Town during the years 1900—01, of whom 158 were seamen from Nordic countries: 86 from Norway, 45 from Sweden, 19 from Finland, and eight from Denmark.¹²⁶

Initially, this problem (which caused considerable nuisance to Sweden-Norway's trade with Cape Town, and extra work for the Consulate General) was seen as a consequence of the compensation recruitment of crew for British ships, to replace seamen who had gone to the front in the War;¹²⁷ by 1901, however, the Consulate General noted, the process had moved into a new phase, with the direct recruitment of Scandinavian seamen into the irregular troops for the War.¹²⁸

125 On the question of desertions by seamen, see Kuparinen 1987, 203—250.

126 Skeppsdagböcker 1900—01, *Av- och påmönstringsjournal* 1900—01 (Shipping Logs and Crews Registers of the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town for 1900—01). RAS GK.

127 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1900. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

128 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1901. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

It would be quite misleading to interpret military recruitment in terms of principles or a commitment in the settlement of scores between the British and the Boers. The motivating force behind recruitment was in all probability money or the quest for adventure, both of which were offered by the cosmopolitan irregulars recruited by the British. A military expedition meant a brief adventure, not the rejection of civilian life for years to come; the contracts of service for irregulars were, on the whole, for only six months.¹²⁹ Moreover, it paid well: the normal pay for a volunteer was 5 shillings, plus board, lodging and clothing.¹³⁰

Seamen were precisely the kind of men who might be expected to be attracted by such an adventure; but even more significantly, their normal level of pay provided no motivation for rejecting military recruitment when it was offered.¹³¹

Altogether during 1900–01, a total of 85 Swedish and Norwegian ships suffered from desertions in port at Cape Town, ranging from one to eleven men at a time.¹³² Desertions also took place from ships under other flags. An extreme illustration of the efficiency of the British recruiting officers was the case of the Finnish vessel *Paramatta* from Turku, captained by M. J. Eklund, which docked in Cape Town in 1901, and within the first day after docking had lost its entire crew except for the mates and the ship's carpenter.¹³³

British military recruiting was not aimed especially at seamen,

129 *The Times History of The War in South Africa 1899–1902*. Vol. VI, 276.

130 *The Times History of The War in South Africa 1899–1902*. Vol. VI, 276, 617; see also 'Hemvändande finska emigranter' (Finnish Emigrants Returning Home), *Jakobstads Tidning* 30.7.1901.

131 The wages paid to seamen varied widely between the ships of different nations. Norwegians were at the bottom end of the scale, with the Swedes only slightly above them. At the turn of the century, the average wages on board Norwegian vessels (stated in pounds sterling decimal) were approximately £3.20 per month; since the pay in the British troops was five shillings a day, this offered approximately 2.3 times higher monthly earnings. Moreover, the figure quoted here represent mean wages for the crew as a whole, i.e. approximately the wages of an able-bodied seaman. Other members of a ship's crew might be paid considerably less, e.g. ship's cooks, junior seamen, deck boys, ship's boys, etc. On seamen's pay, see in more detail Tønnesen 1951, 155.

132 Kuparinen 1987, 243–244; Nikula 1929, 179.

133 Nikula 1929, 179.

however, but at all white males in British South Africa. It thus had a major effect on reducing unemployment in the Cape and Natal. In addition, both for those already living in the region, and for those recruited directly from ships, it offered the opportunity to follow political and economic developments in South Africa in expectation of the end of the War and economic recovery. In this respect, these recruits' expectations were similar to those of the few Scandinavian uitlanders who had remained in the Transvaal on the outbreak of the War, and who by the end of 1901, having spent the War years in Johannesburg, and experienced the collapse of the Boer resistance and the British occupation, were now looking forward to the revival of mining operations.

4.2.4. The British Transvaal — Rise and Depression (1902—14)

4.2.4.1. *From Unregulated Settlement to Controlled Immigration: Immigration Legislation in South Africa, 1902—13*

In his Annual Report for 1899, dated 1 August 1900, a mere two months after the surrender of Johannesburg and Pretoria to the British troops, the Danish Consul in Cape Town, Julius Jeppe, prophesied that the impending end of the War would bring about major changes in South Africa. Thousands of the volunteers who had fought in the Imperial armies would probably choose to remain in South Africa, joined by a flood of settlers from all over the world, with Johannesburg as their main destination. As a consequence of trade being caught up in excessive competition, South Africa was in danger of falling into a major crisis, while the flood of immigration was likely to lead to a serious surplus of labour.¹³⁴

Jeppe's colleague Anders Ohlsson, the Consul General for Sweden-Norway, shared similar views about the situation likely to prevail after the War was over. The establishment of British control in the Boer areas would lead to healthier government, and trade and the economy in general would be likely to boom throughout

134 Report of the Royal Danish Consulate. Cape Town 1900. RAK UD. Handelsberetninger.

South Africa. Large-scale immigration could be expected, and many of the volunteers serving in the forces would be likely to settle in the region, and would enjoy priority in recruitment for employment. Ohlsson therefore warned against migration to South Africa at present, until conditions had settled down, which might take several years.¹³⁵ In this estimate, the Consul General was right.

These views on the future of South Africa, and the future role of the Transvaal, largely reflect the prevailing climate of opinion within British South Africa at the time, now that the War had in a sense passed its climax, and the military initiative had passed from the Boers to the British. The War would soon be over, and an unprecedented flood of immigration would surge into the region. This was likely to cause considerable problems for the economy, however, especially if the authorities had been unprepared; but they were not unprepared: their precautions reflected the same thinking. The flood of immigration was foreseen, and preparations were being made.

By the beginning of 1902, South Africa had changed in many respects from the conditions prevailing three years earlier, prior to the outbreak of the War. The Boer Republics had already effectively ceased to exist as independent states, and their territories had been annexed as separate colonies to the British Empire, although a formal peace treaty was not yet possible as long as the Boer commandos continued their resistance. Nonetheless, the end of the War was now only a matter of time. At the same time, South Africa had also changed in regard to immigration, and was in 1902 a considerably more closed and protectionist society than it had been in 1899.

In part, this change was a direct result of wartime circumstances. At the beginning of 1902, the entire area of South Africa was under martial law.¹³⁶ Military regulations comprised only one part of the system of control in operation, however, and were in any case only temporary. More significantly, South Africa was now abandoning its former open borders and preparing to adopt immigration controls.

135 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1899. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

136 On the introduction of martial law in different parts of South Africa during the War, see *The Times History of the War in South Africa*. Vol. VI, 557, 560—570.

During the period prior to the Boer War, there had been three immigration statutes promulgated within South Africa. The earliest of these were the immigration laws passed by the Orange Free State and the Transvaal early in 1897, and were part of the attempts by the Boer Republics to protect themselves against the outside world in the aftermath of the Jameson Raid. These laws were abandoned within six months, however, on the grounds of the problems they were said to be raising for the British colonies.¹³⁷

The third immigration legislation prior to the Boer War also dated from the same year: the 1897 Immigration Restriction Act in Natal. The ultimate purpose of this Act was to block Indian settlement in Natal,¹³⁸ but it also defined a number of other categories of undesirable immigrants.¹³⁹ In contrast to the abandonment of the immigration legislation in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the Natal Act remained in force, and was still operative at the beginning of 1902.

During 1902—03, a series of immigration statutes and supplementary regulations came into effect for South Africa. Some of this legislation remained in force only for a few years, but some continued for the following ten years, and even longer.

Two immigration acts were passed for the existing British colonies on the coast: the 1902 Immigration Act for the Cape (the first such legislation in its history), and the 1903 Immigration Act for Natal, which replaced the 1897 Act.

For the ordinary immigrant, however, the Acts were often less significant than the accompanying statutory regulations. This was especially the case during 1902, when no immigration legislation had as yet been passed governing the Cape; moreover, for most of the year, South Africa was still under martial law.

The earliest immigration controls relevant to 1902 were connected with the extension of martial law on 19 October 1901 over the ports in the Cape, the last remaining areas in South Africa not previously specified as lying within the war zone. Immigration controls came into effect under martial law from 1 January 1902,

137 Saron 1955, 86, 88; De Kiewit 1961, 137.

138 Saron 1955, 88—89.

139 *The Immigration Restriction Act, 1897*. [Colony of Natal] No. 1, 1897, § 2—3, 5.

applying to both incoming and outgoing traffic. All arrivals were now required to be in possession of a special Permit, issued in advance. Passengers travelling to South Africa from the United Kingdom were required to obtain their permits from a specially established agency in London, the Permit Office, whereas passengers travelling from the European Continent should obtain their permits from the local British Consulate.¹⁴⁰

Permits were only issued on certain stringent conditions. The applicant must be in possession of at least £100, or be able to show that he would be able to support himself in South Africa; for this purpose an employer's letter of confirmation was usually considered sufficient evidence. Only 'bona fide' travel was permitted (a reminder that the Boer War was still in progress); nor were permits issued to persons who had been deported or expelled from South Africa at public expense.¹⁴¹

Prospective Nordic immigrants to South Africa could apply for their permits to the British Consulates General in Gothenburg and Christiania. If permit applications were also processed in any other Nordic ports, no mention of this has been traced in the press.¹⁴²

If the War had continued for long, authority to issue permits would no doubt have been extended to the other British Consulates. This proved unnecessary, however. The termination of hostilities allowed martial law to be lifted within South Africa step by step, starting in the Cape on 19 September 1902, and extending to Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony within the following two months.¹⁴³ In the Cape and Natal, the restoration of

140 *Martial Law. Regulations as to Persons Proceeding by Sea to or from Cape Ports. Cape Colony District Martial Law Circular. No. 11. C.R. No. A/3974/1; 'För resande till Syd-Afrika' (Notice to Travellers to South Africa). Svensk Export 14.12.1901.*

141 *Martial Law. Regulations as to Persons Proceeding by Sea to or from Cape Ports. Cape Colony District Martial Law Circular. No. 11. C.R. No. A/3974/1; 'För resande till Syd-Afrika' (Notice to Travellers to South Africa). Svensk Export 14.12.1901; 'Villkoren för tillståndsbevis för resa till Syd-Afrika' (Conditions for Travel Permits to South Africa). Svensk Export 5.4.1902.*

142 See, e.g., 'Tillståndbevis för resa till Sydafrika' (Travel Permits to South Africa). *Svensk Export* 3.5.1902; 'Ett gif akt för Afrikaresande' (A Warning for Travellers to South Africa). *Vasabladet* 13.9.1902.

143 On the lifting of martial law, see *The Times History of The War in South Africa 1899—1902*. Vol. VI, s. 570—571.

civil law also meant the abandonment of the martial law immigration controls; it was once again possible to enter South Africa without obtaining formal permission.¹⁴⁴

In the Cape, for several months there were no immigration controls in force at all. The 1902 Immigration Act came into effect on 31 January 1903, but due, it would seem, both to the hurry in which the Act had been drafted, and the novelty of the entire situation, the regulations necessary for the implementation of the Act were not in fact issued until May 1903.

The 1902 Act had defined as undesirable immigrants persons who were illiterate or without visible means of support; on the other hand, it had also exempted various categories of European artisans, miners, and labourers.¹⁴⁵ Not until the publication of the more detailed regulations in May 1903 were these internal contradictions in the legislation clarified.

Under the regulations, European agricultural labourers, servants, skilled craftsmen, mechanics, skilled labourers and miners were recognized as acceptable immigrants to the Cape, provided that they could present documentation of future employment from an employer of good standing. Persons fulfilling both of these conditions were explicitly exempted from the requirement of literacy. Persons with no pre-arranged employment would however be required to demonstrate literacy (this is emphasized as a strict requirement) and must be carrying funds of at least £5.¹⁴⁶

The five pounds in funds required of persons in this latter category was a very small sum, corresponding at that time to approximately one week's average wages for a white male in the Cape Town area.¹⁴⁷ As the tide of migration rose, and work became harder to obtain, this sum was found to be too small; in Natal, the

144 'Emigrationen till Sydafrika' (Emigration to South Africa). *Svenska Österbotten* 10.10.1902; 'Tillstånd för resa till Sydafrika' (Travel Permits to South Africa). *Svensk Export* 1.11.1902.

145 *The Immigration Act, 1902*. Cape of Good Hope. Act No. 47 of 1902, § 2—3.

146 Permission to enter the Colony. Copy. Ohlsson to the Foreign Ministry, 21.5.1903/Bilag. RAS UD. 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 1115; see also 'Villkoren för invandring till Kapstaden' (Conditions for Immigration to Cape Town). *Svensk Export* 11.7.1903.

147 *Official Yearbook of the Union of South Africa*. No. 9, 1926—27, 229.

corresponding sum had been laid down as £10 from the start;¹⁴⁸ and in the Cape, the funds required in regulations was amended with effect from the beginning of 1904 to twenty pounds.¹⁴⁹

The immigration controls in the Cape and Natal under the permit scheme during 1902, and under the Immigration Acts of 1902 and 1903, caused extra work for the local consular officials; but this was on a minor scale compared with the workload created by the special regulations introduced for immigration to the Transvaal.

As mentioned earlier, late in 1901 the British had given permission to return for persons who had fled from the Transvaal. As the numbers returning increased, and the need to restore peacetime conditions in the Transvaal became more acute, the British introduced a special immigration permit system. By strictly rationing the issue of permits, they hoped to ensure the controlled resettlement of the Transvaal at a rate compatible with the revival of the economy. This scheme was gradually introduced from early in 1902, and it underwent many revisions in the course of the four years it remained in effect, with consequent work for the Nordic consulates in South Africa.

The evidence in the archives of the Nordic consulates in Johannesburg indicates that the frontiers of the Transvaal were reopened to Danish, Norwegian and Swedish nationals in February 1902, when these consulates were issued with their first immigration permits and explanations as to how the scheme was to be administered. These permits were specifically intended for the return of former residents of the Transvaal. Each month, each consulate in Johannesburg would be issued with a quota of permits for distribution to nationals of the country concerned. The refugees, currently scattered around South Africa, should apply to their consulate in Johannesburg for a special application form; when this had been completed and returned, the consulate should then submit it for approval to the Permit Office in Johannesburg. Refugees who had left for Europe would be able to obtain application forms from the immigration authorities in London or

148 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1903. RAS KK. Avdelningen för näringsstatistik.

149 Colonial Secretary's Office to the Consul General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, 31.12.1903. RAS GK. Inkommande konsulära skrivelser 1903.

from the local British consular authorities. They would alternatively also be able to return to South Africa, provided they had first obtained a landing permit for the Cape or Natal, and submit an application form through their own local consulate to the relevant consulate in Johannesburg.¹⁵⁰

The return of non-British settlers to the Transvaal at this stage was being kept at a very low level: the first monthly quota of permits for nationals of Sweden-Norway was only eight, and for Danish nationals five.¹⁵¹

Nor at this stage, with hostilities still in progress, was the application for immigration permission to the Transvaal a mere formality, even in cases where the consulate had reserved a place on its quota for the applicant. Permits were only issued to uitlanders who had not taken the Boers' side in the War, but had remained neutral,¹⁵² and this principle was moreover adhered to, as can be shown on the evidence of rejected applications in the records of the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town. Subsequently, however, control over the issue of permits was relaxed, and by 1903, there are documented cases of immigration permits being issued to Nordic nationals who had served in the Boer forces.¹⁵³

For Scandinavians hoping to immigrate to the Transvaal, the permit scheme entailed many obstacles. In order to obtain a permit, the applicant must present a passport as proof of identity: persons without passports were not to be granted immigration permission.¹⁵⁴ Since passports were no longer required by law in the Scandinavian countries, many if not most emigrants had

150 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 21.2.1902. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1902; Prior to the Foreign Ministry 22.2.1902. RAK KJ. Utgående breve 1902.

151 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 21.2.1902. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1902; Prior to the Foreign Ministry 22.2.1902. RAK KJ. Utgående breve 1902.

152 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 21.2.1902. RAS KJ. Kopieböcker över avgående skrivelser 1902.

153 'Från Transvaal' (From the Transvaal). *Vasabladet* 15.4.1903.

154 Office of Chief Secretary for Permits, to the Danish Consul in Johannesburg, 20.11.1902. RAK KJ. Korrespondance med Permit Office; see also 'Indvandring til Transvaal og Orange-Kolonien' (Immigration to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony). *Berlingske Tidende* 18.12.1902.

travelled from Scandinavia without obtaining passports and now were forced to apply for them from the consulates of Sweden-Norway and Denmark in Cape Town.

The most serious problem with the permit system, however, was the allocation of entry quotas by nationality. With effect from July 1902, previous residence in the Transvaal was no longer required as a condition for the issue of a permit, and new immigration was now admitted.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the monthly quotas were kept very low. The correspondence between the Johannesburg consulates of Sweden-Norway and Denmark with the Permit Office shows that until the latter part of 1902, the normal monthly quota for Sweden-Norway nationals was eight, rising in September to 20 and finally in March 1903 to 25. The Danish quota was a mere five, rising only in November 1902 to ten.

Since there were more applicants attempting to enter the Transvaal than places in the quotas, they were forced to queue for their permits. For the consulates, these arrangements meant considerable extra work. The scheme as a whole imposed a heavy burden on the consular authorities in Johannesburg, who received large numbers of applications both from the consulates in the Cape and Natal, and directly from applicants. Each month, the consulate then had to submit to the immigration authorities a list of persons on whose behalf the consulate wished to apply for permits. Moreover, since strict queuing systems were not introduced, the consuls were able to influence the length of time each applicant might have to wait for a permit.

The permit system became particularly difficult during the busiest months of 1903, a year of record immigration. Up to May 1903, the normal waiting period for Sweden-Norway nationals applying for permits had been three to six weeks; Ohlsson, the Consul General, foresaw that this was now likely to rise to 2–3 months as a consequence of the rise in migration.¹⁵⁶ In fact, Ohlsson's prediction was over-optimistic. By the beginning of September 1903, there were approximately 175 applications

155 Civil Permit Office to the Consulate for Sweden-Norway in Johannesburg, 18.7.1902. RAS KJ. Inkommande skrivelser 1902.

156 Ohlsson to the Office for Foreign, Trade, Shipping and Industrial Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, 18.5.1903. UDO Utenriksdepartementet. Sydafrika.

pending in the Johannesburg consulate of Sweden-Norway,¹⁵⁷ and during 1903 the waiting times recorded at the consulate stretched out to eight months.¹⁵⁸

To the consular authorities' relief, 1903 was an exception. Once the war refugees had returned, and the initial wave of new immigration had ebbed, the situation became easier. No statistics have been traced in the records of Sweden-Norway's consulate in Johannesburg as to the total number of permit applications; although records were probably made, they have not survived. Some indication of scale can however be obtained from the information in the records of the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town: whereas during 1902 the Consulate General had forwarded a total of 43 permit applications to the Johannesburg consulate, this rose in 1903 to 201, but fell again in 1904—05 to 51 and 46.¹⁵⁹

Similar trends emerge from the data concerning Danish permit applications. During 1902, there were 57 applications for permits submitted by the Danish consulate in Johannesburg; in 1903, the figure rose to 112, but fell again in 1904 to 37.¹⁶⁰ Since the Danish monthly quota was ten, the problems faced by the Danish consular authorities were on a rather different scale from those of the consulate for Sweden-Norway, with a closer match between demand and supply.

The available material does not permit any conclusions to be drawn as to the numbers of Finnish applicants for immigration permits. During the peak of the immigration wave during 1903, it is evident that Finns too must have needed to wait before obtaining permits, and it is known that Finns landing in Cape Town in March 1903, for instance had to wait two months for permits.¹⁶¹

Even while it was in operation, the permit scheme was subjected to amendments and alterations, e.g. in the conditions imposed on prospective immigrants. The first such change arose from the termination of martial law in the Transvaal in November

157 Suhrke to the Foreign Ministry 5.9.1903. RAS UD. 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 1115.

158 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1903. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

159 Applications for "Permits". RAS GK.

160 Correspondence with the Permit Office. RAK KJ.

161 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 29.10.1903.

1902, as a result of which the processing of all permit applications for the Transvaal was transferred to South Africa: as from 1 December 1902, applications could no longer be forwarded to the authorities in South Africa through the Permit Office in London or the British consular authorities elsewhere.¹⁶²

Subsequently, the conditions imposed on applicants for immigration to the Transvaal were tightened. The first such restriction was introduced in the first half of 1905, when applicants were required to be carrying a minimum of £20 in travelling funds. In cases where applicants could demonstrate that they had employment already arranged, however, this requirement could be waived.¹⁶³ In November of the same year, the personal criteria for the selection of immigrants were also tightened: an addition to the immigration regulations for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony meant that permits would no longer be issued to applicants unable to read and write a European language.¹⁶⁴ The stricter regulations introduced in 1905 reflect the impact of the depression on the Transvaal economy; since the colony was unwilling to host penniless job-hunters, the imposition of a minimum educational standard on immigrants would give them better opportunities of obtaining employment.

For the consular authorities, however, the biggest change in the permit system in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony came in April 1906, when the consulates were freed from their role as mediators. Provided that immigrants fulfilled the conditions required for immigration to the Transvaal or the Orange River Colony, they were now able to obtain a permit at their port of landing in South Africa, at the Permit Offices in the Cape or Natal.¹⁶⁵ Initially such permit offices were only established in the major ports, but soon the network was extended to the interior as well, and residents of the Cape Colony or Natal were also enabled to obtain permits by telegraph or post from Cape Town or

162 Embassy of Sweden-Norway in London to the Foreign Ministry 1.12.1902. RAS UD. 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 1115.

163 Office of Chief Secretary for Permits, to the Consulate for Sweden-Norway in Johannesburg, 31.3.1905, 12.4.1905. RAS KJ. Inkommande skrivelser 1905.

164 High Commissioner's Office, to the Consulate for Sweden-Norway in Johannesburg, 4.11.1905, 6.11.1905. RAS KJ. Inkommande skrivelser 1905.

165 Office of Chief Secretary for Permits, to the Consulate for Sweden-Norway in Johannesburg, 23.4.1906. RAS KJ. Inkommande skrivelser 1906.

Durban.¹⁶⁶ Evidently the entire permit scheme had by this time become a mere formality.

In 1910, the entire system of government in South Africa entered a new era. Since the end of the Boer War, the British possessions in South Africa had consisted of four distinct colonies: two older ones and two newly acquired; but these now entered into confederation as the Union of South Africa, which enjoyed the same Dominion status in relation to the United Kingdom as did Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As a consequence of confederation, it became necessary to harmonize the legislation of the four constituent colonies (now provinces). The first immigration legislation enacted by the Union was the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913.

The 1913 Act represented in many ways the coordination of all prior immigration regulations still in force. It superseded the immigration acts of the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal, and the only legislation in the Orange River Colony regulating immigration, which was the Indemnity and Peace Preservation Ordinance, 1902, enacted following the termination of martial law. The basis had thus now been created for a unified immigration policy throughout the Union of South Africa.

4.2.4.2. Brief Flood and Prolonged Ebb: Nordic Migration to South Africa 1902—14

Following the formal British annexation of the Transvaal as the latest addition to their colonial Empire towards the end of 1900, one of their major objectives, besides the termination of hostilities, was the restoration of the Transvaal economy. The crucial factor for economic recovery was the remobilization of the gold mining industry on the Witwatersrand. In view of the central role of the Witwatersrand in the economy not only of the Transvaal, but indeed of the whole of southern Africa, moreover, its performance measured in relation to the period prior to the Boer War provides a useful indicator of economic activity.

In August 1899, there were 74 gold mines in operation in the Transvaal, and a total of 5 970 stamps in use for the processing of ore. By January 1902, 21 mines had recommenced operations, with

166 Notice. To Persons Intending to Visit the Transvaal or Orange River Colony.

1 075 stamps. By June 1902, the Boer War was over, and the figures had risen to 37 mines and 2 130 stamps, and by December of the same year, to 47 and 2 990 respectively. Yet even a year later, total production had only reached 75 % of the pre-War level of output.¹⁶⁷

One of the problems encountered in reopening the mines was the shortage of black labour. The interruption of mining operations by the Boer War had driven the black mine workers back to their home villages, and it now proved difficult to recruit them back to the mines. Similar problems had been faced following the interruption of production in the aftermath of the Jameson Raid in 1896, although on a smaller scale.

The paradoxical feature of the labour situation in the Transvaal during the period following the Boer War was on the one hand a labour shortage (not enough black workers) coexisting with a labour surplus (too many white workers); but these two supplies of manpower were not mutually compensatory.

Blacks could not replace whites in the mines, nor vice versa. The whites were employed in management and supervisory positions, and certain specific skilled occupations, while the blacks carried out the heavy labouring duties. The reason was economic: white labour was expensive, and was used only where necessary; the availability of cheap black labour was on the other hand essential to the successful operation of the mines. If white labour alone had been used, the mines could not have operated profitably. In the pre-Boer War period, the mean monthly wages for blacks on the mines in the Transvaal were 45 shillings, inclusive of board and lodging; by comparison, the average weekly pay for a white worker on the Witwatersrand in 1895 was 107s. 10d., and in 1900 108s. 5d.¹⁶⁸ Discounting the food and lodging benefits of the black workers, therefore, the monthly payroll costs for a mine were approximately 9.5 times higher than for a black.

Major hopes had been placed in South Africa on the economic boom expected to sweep over the Transvaal immediately the Boer War was over. Following the advent of British administration, it

167 Annual Consular Reports, Johannesburg 1902, 1903. RAS Kommerskollegium. Avdelningen för näringsstatistik.

168 Walker 1957, 508; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*. No. 9, 1926—27, 229.

was anticipated that the mines would flourish and thus stimulate the economy as a whole. In the event, the outcome was different. The shortage of labour delayed the recovery in mining operations by several years; although the Boer War was over by May 1902, and the first mines on the Witwatersrand had in fact already been reopened prior to this, not until 1905 did production reach the levels obtaining in 1898, before the outbreak of the War;¹⁶⁹ and even this would not have been possible without the introduction of Chinese labour in 1904.

Despite the failure of the expectations that South Africa would in the wake of the Boer War become a land of economic plenty, the belief in the region's future and in the opportunities offered triggered off a wave of immigration unprecedented in the region. In 1902, the year of the peace treaty, the numbers of travellers passing through British ports for South African destinations rose from the 1896 peak pre-War figure of 36 000, to nearly 52 000, and a year later was twelve thousand higher still.¹⁷⁰

For the post-War period, unlike that preceding the conflict, migration movements can also be traced by means of South African statistics, since the port records of arrivals and departures are available for the Cape and Natal. Due to weaknesses in the data, the figures cannot be read as referring directly to migration as such: they include, for example, varying quantities of both non-migrant traffic, and migration to destinations outside the borders of South Africa. It is further possible that the same passengers may be listed twice, in the records for both the Cape and Natal. Moreover, the ports of the Cape and Natal were not the only routes of access to South Africa. Nonetheless, the value of these statistics, as an indicator both of annual fluctuations in migration, and of the state of the South African economy, is indisputable.

These statistics (referring to European population only) confirm that 1902—03 were record years in passenger traffic travelling to South Africa, with around 76 000 arrivals in the Cape and Natal from all around the world in 1902, rising in 1903 to 90 000.¹⁷¹

169 *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*. No. 9, 1926—27, 507.

170 *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903.

171 Uppgift utvisande antalet personer ... (Information on the Number of Persons ...). Rosenlund to the Foreign Ministry, 28.8.1907/Bilag. RAS GK. In- och utvandring 1907—22. See also *International Migrations*. Vol. I, 1053—1054.

For Nordic migration to South Africa, too, 1902—03 constituted the peak of intensity during the period under examination. Throughout the period 1902—14, however, the figures were lower than they had been during the peak preceding period 1895—99, for which the number of cases of migration to South Africa traced totalled over 1 700, i.e. over 400 cases per year, whereas during 1902—14 the total amounts only to under 2 500 cases, i.e. less than 200 cases per year. The dates and places of origin of the cases traced between 1902 and 1914 are distributed as follows:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
1902	112	92	23	97
1903	360	157	193	149
1904	54	54	74	48
1905	31	25	87	43
1906	32	20	62	30
1907	17	18	14	32
1908	31	25	19	13
1909	18	23	14	17
1910	33	23	41	18
1911	37	26	11	24
1912	28	34	19	17
1913	20	19	14	17
1914	20	10	14	11
1902— 1914 ¹⁷²	9	11	16	3
TOTAL	802	537	601	519

The peak year during the period 1902—14 for all the Nordic countries was 1903, and the second highest figures, for all the Nordic countries except Finland, were in 1902. Finnish migration to South Africa, by contrast, was slow to recover in the aftermath of the Boer War, and one reason for this may be the heavier concentration of Finnish settlement in the Transvaal. In 1902, when access to the Transvaal was still difficult, Finns would have been less likely to travel to South Africa. (The same reason was suggested for the more noticeable drop in migration during the

¹⁷² Migrants during the period 1902—14, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

Boer War from Finland than from the other Nordic countries.)

Although the figures quoted here certainly include only a proportion of all the cases of Nordic migration to South Africa during the period 1902—14, they do provide an indication of the trends during this time. As can be seen, the volume of migration from all the Nordic countries fell after the peak year of 1903: most noticeably in the case of the Norwegians, for whom the figure of migrations to South Africa in 1904 is only one seventh of that for 1903. For all four Nordic countries, the numbers fall towards the end of the first decade of the century. At the beginning of the second decade there was a small rise, followed by a fall again. Finnish migration to South Africa had been slower to pick up again in 1902, and the fall-off following the peak in 1903 is also correspondingly less marked in 1905—06, when migration to South Africa from Finland was slightly stronger than from the other Nordic countries.

For the period 1902—14, the stated destination of Nordic migrants in South Africa (i.e., in most cases, the port of landing) is known in about 63 % of cases. A total of 1 543 destinations in southern Africa for Nordic travellers are recorded in passenger lists, etc., distributed as follows:

	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Denmark
The Cape	—	8	—	—
Cape Town	121	135	420	337
Port Elizabeth	14	1	1	12
Algoa Bay	1	1	—	2
East London	1	6	—	11
Natal	58	28	3	16
Port Natal (Durban)	181	29	—	95
Orange River Colony	1	1	—	—
Transvaal	—	20	4	—
Johannesburg	6	5	—	6
Pretoria	—	1	—	—
Delagoa Bay	1	—	—	9
Lourenço Marques	—	—	—	3
Beira	—	3	—	2

As in earlier periods, the destinations mentioned in these statistics consist almost entirely of ports in the Cape and Natal. The re-opening of the Transvaal to migration is also reflected indirectly in

the rise in the number of southern African destinations recorded outside Natal and the Cape, both inland and in Portuguese Mozambique (Delagoa Bay, Lourenço Marques, Beira). Mozambique, on the eastern coast of southern Africa, in fact offered the shortest route for access to Johannesburg, especially for travellers using the Suez Canal route to South Africa.

A striking difference between the migration patterns from the different Nordic countries is the continued concentration of Norwegian immigration in Natal, where Norwegian settlement had strong roots. Even if an entry for 'Natal' or 'Durban' indicates merely the choice of route, it still reflects this specific Norwegian migration tradition.

The fluctuations in the figures for Nordic migration to South Africa during the period under examination reflect the movements in the South African economy. The end of the Boer War was followed by a sharp boom, as had been anticipated, but this lasted only a very short time, with a downward trend emerging in the course of 1903. Despite the solution of the labour problem in the mines, the difficulties encountered had shaken public faith in the foundations of the Transvaal economy. Nor was labour the only source of difficulties, and the scale of the problems facing the South African economy was such that the depression which now set in continued (with local variations) up until 1909, aggravated towards the end by the onset of an international depression in 1907.¹⁷³

These fluctuations in the South African economy are reflected in the port records for the region. During 1902, white passengers landing in the Cape and Natal outnumbered corresponding departures by 33 000, and in 1903, by 45 000; but in the following year, departures outnumbered arrivals. During 1904 the net white population was reduced by around 600; during 1905, by 4 000; and during 1906, by 10 000.¹⁷⁴

The fall in migration figures is further confirmed by information from the two censuses held during this period for the whole of

173 On the recession in the South African economy at the beginning of the 20th century, see Carrothers 1929, 250; Schuman 1928, 36; Houghton 1971, 15; Cook 1975, 36.

174 Uppgift utvisande antalet personer ... (Information on the Number of Persons ...). Rosenlund to the Foreign Ministry, 28.8.1907/Bilag. RAS GK. In- och utvandring 1907—22.

South Africa. In April 1904, censuses were held simultaneously in all four British colonies in South Africa; and in 1911, following the confederation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, there was held the first federal census.

Comparison of the data from the 1904 and 1911 Censuses shows a rise during the intervening seven years in the white population of about 159 000 persons (14.3 %), due not to immigration, however, but to a high birth rate. The number of white persons born in Africa increased over the intercensal period by over 200 000, while the number recorded in the Census for white persons born in the traditional areas of recruitment for migration to South Africa (Europe, America and Australia) fell by about 42 000 persons (14.2 %).¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, this fall in the numbers of white persons born outside South Africa was not distributed equally throughout the region: in the Transvaal, there was an increase of 17 000 persons, matched by a fall of 59 000 in the three other regions combined.¹⁷⁶ The Transvaal, the most industrialized region in South Africa, thus continued to attract immigration even during a period of economic recession, although the majority of this immigration evidently consisted of the reunification of families, since approximately 3/4 (74.9 %) of this population increase during the period 1904—11 consisted of women and girls. For the Transvaal, this is all the more striking since this region had traditionally been male-dominated. In the 1904 Census, for example, only about one quarter of the population in the Transvaal born in Europe, America or Australia were female (24.9 %), and even in 1911 only about a third (31.7 %).¹⁷⁷

This increase in the white population born within Africa was almost entirely the result of natural increase, since white migration to the Union of South Africa from elsewhere within Africa was on a very small scale. The white population recorded in the 1911 Census as born within Africa but outside the Union of South Africa amounted to only around 4 600 persons.¹⁷⁸

Comparison of the 1904 and 1911 Censuses also shows that the

175 *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 982—983.

176 *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 982—983.

177 *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 982—983.

178 *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 1008, 1022.

Scandinavian population had fallen during the seven-year intercensal period in a similar manner to that of the other European-, American- or Australian-born population. Although this decrease can be attributed in part to natural causes, the fall is so large that it must also be the result of considerable out-migration. For example, in the 1904 Census the numbers of persons born in Denmark totalled 1 249 persons (Cape Colony 653, Natal 143, Orange River Colony 42 and Transvaal 411), whereas the corresponding total figure in the 1911 Census had fallen to 911 (Cape Province 353, Natal 96, Orange Free State 37 and Transvaal 425), a decrease of 27.1 %. The corresponding fall in the population born in Norway and Sweden over the same period was even slightly higher, at 29.4 %: the number of persons born in Sweden-Norway recorded in the 1904 Census totalled 3 988, but by 1911 this had fallen to 1 603 persons born in Norway (Cape 467, Natal 680, Orange Free State 42 and Transvaal 414) and 1 214 persons born in Sweden (Cape 475, Natal 259, Orange Free State 28 and Transvaal 452).¹⁷⁹

There was also regional variation in the trends for the Scandinavian population, with a rise in the Transvaal, countered by a fall elsewhere in South Africa. The Danish-born population rose by only 14 persons (3.4 %), but the rise for persons born in Sweden and Norway amounted to 171 (24.6 %).¹⁸⁰

The majority of this increase in Scandinavian-born persons is probably to be attributed to the reunification of families, although the increase is less female-dominated than in the case of the European-, American- or Australian-born population in general. Even so, almost half of the increase of 185 in the Scandinavian community in the Transvaal between 1904 and 1911 was female (91 persons).¹⁸¹ This proportion is almost twice as high as the proportion of females in the Scandinavian-born population recorded in the Transvaal in the 1904 Census (23.6 %).¹⁸²

The reunification of families was thus a common phenomenon in this period. In some cases, the head of the family may have come

179 *Census of the Cape Colony 1904*, 30; *Census of the Natal Colony 1904*, 532; *Census of the Orange River Colony 1904*, 28—29; *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142; *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 988.

180 *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142; *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 988.

181 *Census of the Union of South Africa 1911*, 994.

182 *Transvaal Census 1904*, 142.

to the Transvaal immediately following the resumption of immigration; and if he then wished to settle permanently in the Transvaal — and had the financial resources to do so — he could then send for his family to join him. Similarly, it was quite common for unmarried immigrants who had established themselves to invite a bride from the home country.

Further light is thrown on the fall in immigration to South Africa during the period under examination by the data from the 1918 Census on the length of residence of persons at that time resident within South Africa but born elsewhere. The factors making for unreliability in such data have been discussed above, and this is especially the case with reference to very early migration, when natural decrease, and re-emigration, seriously affect the data. Ultimately, the only persons included in such data will be those who had entered the country many decades earlier as children. Where the time elapsed between immigration and the census returns is more brief (in the present case, only 10—15 years), however, such problems are relatively minor, and the census data can therefore be regarded as relatively trustworthy.

In the 1918 Census, among the generation that had landed in South Africa during 1884—1914 and was still resident there in 1918, there were 916 persons recorded as born in Norway, 772 born in Sweden, and 618 born in Denmark: a total of 2 306 Scandinavian immigrants. The distribution of their dates of landing in South Africa is given in the following:

	1884—1893	1894—1903	1904—1914
Norway	161 (17.6 %)	468 (51.1 %)	287 (31.3 %)
Sweden	154 (20.0 %)	421 (54.5 %)	197 (25.5 %)
Denmark	141 (22.8 %)	284 (46.0 %)	193 (31.2 %) ¹⁸³

For all three nationalities, the finding is the same. Although the period 1904—14 is the closest in time to the date of the census in 1918, and therefore the statistical impact of the intervening lapse of time is least, nonetheless for all three nationalities the highest numbers for surviving immigrants refer to those landing in the period 1894—1903. In other words, either the numbers of

183 *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa*, Part VII, 49—50.

immigrants landing in South Africa during the period 1904—14 were considerably lower than during the period 1894—1903, or else, for whatever reasons, the depreciation was exceptionally high among the later immigrants. There is, however, no evidence to support the latter hypothesis. What seems more feasible is that by 1904, the decision to migrate to South Africa would have been more carefully considered, and therefore the likelihood of permanent settlement higher, than may have been the case among those who arrived during the sudden rush of immigration in 1902—03, since the period immediately after the Boer War was characterized by many rosy expectations which South Africa was unable in fact to realize.

The picture which emerges from the data in the 1918 Census on dates of landing in South Africa are further confirmed by the corresponding data in the 1926 Census, despite the increased statistical distortions due to the additional eight years elapsed between the dates of landing and the compilation of the Census. For the investigation of Finnish migration to South Africa, the 1926 Census represents an important advance in that Finnish nationality is now recognized as a separate category. In theory, this would in fact have been possible earlier, in the 1918 Census of the white population or in the 1921 Census of the entire population; but the South African authorities were relatively slow to react to the emergence of Finland and of the other new states on the political map of Europe.

In the 1926 Census, among the immigrants recorded as landing in South Africa during 1886—1915 and were still resident there in 1926, there were 757 born in Norway, 626 born in Sweden, 68 born in Finland, and 528 born in Denmark: a total of 1 979 Nordic immigrants. The distribution of their dates of landing in South Africa is given in the following Table:

	1886—1895	1896—1905	1906—1915
Norway	203 (26.8 %)	383 (50.6 %)	171 (22.6 %)
Sweden	183 (29.2 %)	301 (48.1 %)	142 (22.7 %)
Finland	24 (35.3 %)	27 (39.7 %)	17 (25.0 %)
Denmark	173 (32.8 %)	235 (44.5 %)	120 (22.7 %) ¹⁸⁴

184 *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa*, Part VII, 49—50.

The trends are highly similar in all four cases: the largest group of immigrants still resident in South Africa in 1926 consisted of those landing during the period 1896—1905. This is hardly suprising, since this period includes two waves of heavier immigration, in the mid-1890s, and in the wake of the Boer War. For the Finnish immigrants, however, the concentration in this period is less marked, partially due to the fact that the peak of Finnish immigration during the 1890s had occurred not in 1896 but during the preceding year, 1895; in the 1926 Census data, it therefore falls in the preceding period, during which a slightly sharper rise can indeed be identified for the Finns than for the other Nordic nationalities.

Comparison with the distribution in the 1918 Census shows that the number of immigrants recorded in 1926 as landing during the statistical period closest in time to the compilation of the Census, i.e. 1906—15, was in fact now lower than that for immigrants landing during the earlier immigration period, 1886—95. The explanation for this discrepancy may well however lie in the different definition of statistical periods in the two Censuses.

In the 1918 Census, the years 1904—05 were included in the later period. Although they do in fact belong to the period of declining immigration, nevertheless the volume of migration in 1904—05 was considerably higher than towards the end of the decade. Similarly, the years 1894—95, with high levels of immigration, were allocated in the 1918 Census to the central period, with the highest immigration levels; in the 1926 Census, on the other hand, they are included in the earlier period, thus strengthening its share.

Despite the gaps, incompatibilities and inaccuracies in the data, therefore, the statistics from the 1918 and 1926 South African Censuses confirm the picture obtained from other sources of the trends in Nordic migration to South Africa. The surge of immigration in the immediate wake of the Boer War, in 1902—03, was followed by a very low level of migration which then continued to the end of the period under examination.

The economic problems faced by South Africa throughout most of the period between the Boer War and the First World War would inevitably exercise a dampening effect on both Nordic and overall immigration to South Africa, provided that accurate information was available abroad about conditions in South Africa, thus

averting false optimism. In the Nordic press, information on the state of the South African economy, economic trends, employment, and other factors possibly influencing the decision to migrate, was now in more plentiful supply than ever before.

The isolated voices prior to the Boer War which had warned against migration to South Africa in the pages of the press had now become a chorus. Not only did the press carry pessimistic reports by migrants,¹⁸⁵ but also more official-sounding warnings.

The most common source for such warnings against migration were the annual reports submitted by the Nordic consular authorities in South Africa to their respective foreign ministries, which were then released for use by the press. These reports, almost without exception, included anti-migration warnings; in the Swedish reports, for example, they can be found in every year throughout the period 1902—14, either from the Consul in Johannesburg or the Consul General in Cape Town or, frequently, from both. For Denmark, too, warnings were submitted by the Consuls in both Johannesburg and Cape Town.

In the Finnish press, on the other hand, not one comment has been found whose source could be traced to the Tsarist Russian consular authorities in South Africa. The only known instance of a public statement by the Russian Imperial authorities on Finnish migration to South Africa is a warning issued in the spring of 1903 by the Russian Ministry of Finance, triggered off by a telegram sent to St Petersburg by the Ministry's correspondent in Johannesburg, commenting that large numbers of Finns had arrived in the Transvaal and advising that a warning should be issued, since the local labour market was already flooded.¹⁸⁶

Despite the lack of official anti-migration consular warnings by

185 See, e.g., 'I Johannesburg' (In Johannesburg). *Aftenposten* 1.10.1903; 'Sydafrika' (South Africa). *Morgenbladet* 7.1.1904; 'En warning för emigration till Sydafrika' (A Warning against Emigration to South Africa). *Vasabladet* 3.3.1904; 'Från Transvaal' (From the Transvaal). *Wasa Posten* 22.1.1905; 'Från Johannesburg' (From Johannesburg). *Folket* 15.7.1905; 'Sydafrika' (South Africa). *Morgenbladet* 7.3.1906; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 7.8.1906; 'Bref från Sydafrika' (A Letter from South Africa) *Wasa Posten* 11.1.1907.

186 'Emigration till Transvaal' (Emigration to the Transvaal). *Vasabladet* 16.4.1903.

the Russian authorities, their Finnish subjects were not left unwarned, since the Finnish press carried reports borrowed from the press in Sweden. The Swedish-language press in Finnish Ostrobothnia, in particular, carried reports derived from the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway (subsequently, for Sweden) in Cape Town, or from the Consul in Johannesburg.¹⁸⁷

In most cases, these warnings by the Nordic consular authorities which found their way into the pages of the press derived from the routine annual consular reports. On occasion, however, the consular authorities also despatched specific anti-migration warnings. These might be motivated by items in the local press, e.g. reports of particularly poor employment opportunities, warnings against immigration, or official statements issued by the South African authorities to discourage immigration.

The widest attention paid to such a warning during the period under examination was aroused by a surprisingly early appeal for the discouragement of migration issued by the Government of the Cape Colony late in 1903. In view of the current state of the South African economy, the Government considered it necessary that all possible steps should be taken to prevent any further migration to South Africa. Since it was known that there were currently large numbers even of skilled craftsmen without employment, any further expansion of the population through migration from abroad would merely aggravate the situation, and occasion for the migrants themselves disappointment and penury. No one should be encouraged to migrate to South Africa unless they had enough funds to support themselves, or had definite notice of immediate employment.¹⁸⁸

This warning against migration to South Africa was sent by the Government of the Cape Colony to London, where responsibility

187 'Res icke till Transvaal' (Do not Travel to the Transvaal). *Vasabladet* 9.10.1902, *Wasa Posten* 12.10.1902, *Österbottniska Posten* 24.10.1902; 'Res icke till Johannesburg' (Do not Travel to Johannesburg). *Vasabladet* 28.4.1906, *Österbottningen* 1.5.1906; 'Res ej till Transvaal utan plats!' (Do not Travel to the Transvaal without a Job!) *Wasa Posten* 21.7.1907; 'Warning för emigration till Kapstaden' (Warning against Emigration to Cape Town). *Vasabladet* 21.9.1907.

188 See, e.g., Barrington to Lagerheim 2.1.1904. Copy. UDO Utenriksdepartementet. Sydafrika.

for publicizing it was delegated to British diplomatic representatives abroad. In Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, at least, it is known that they did in fact do so. Evidence in the Nordic press, including those publications examined for the present investigation, shows that information concerning the Cape Government's warning was circulated by the British legations or consulates in Christiania, Stockholm, Helsinki and Copenhagen.¹⁸⁹ In addition, outside the capitals, the British Consul in Vasa is also known to have publicized the warning.¹⁹⁰

As in earlier years, the consulates operating within South Africa continued to receive enquiries concerning migration, and in most cases they replied to these. The tone of the replies was largely similar to that in the period prior to the Boer War. No one was encouraged to migrate to South Africa; on the contrary, intending migrants were urged to abandon their plans, or to come to South Africa only on condition that they either had a definite place of employment awaiting them, or had adequate funds to support themselves for a period possibly lasting several months while they looked for work. The consular authorities were always able to appeal to the current economic situation in South Africa, the unemployment rate, etc., in support of their advice not to proceed with the idea of migrating to South Africa.

It is of course obvious that only a small minority of potential migrants (mainly from a relatively narrow range of skilled occupations) contacted the consulates in South Africa to enquire about migration. Moreover, however well-informed and justified the consuls' warnings about local conditions may have been, it is not known whether they always achieved the intended effect.

The consuls' work thus involved monitoring what happened to the immigrants, and what niche they managed to find in the host society and labour market. Successful immigrants probably had

189 Barrington to Lagerheim 2.1.1904. Copy; Gray to Schöning 4.1.1904. UDO Utenriksdepartementet. Sydafrika; 'Warning för emigration till Syd-Afrika' (Warning against Emigration to South Africa). *Wasa Posten* 6.1.1904; Foreign Ministry to Ritzau's Bureau 6.1.1904. RAK UD. Samlade sager, vol. 7743. See also 'Advarsel mod Udvandring til Sydafrika' (Warning against Emigration to South Africa). *Aftenposten* 7.1.1904.

190 'Varning för emigration till Sydafrika' (Warning against Emigration to South Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 29.1.1904.

little cause to maintain contacts with their consular authorities, whereas immigrants who ran into difficulties usually ended up being dealt with by the consulates; consequently, the consuls were often very concretely acquainted with the dark side of immigration in South Africa.

For the unsuccessful immigrants, their consulate was often the last hope. Although it was possible, given the right conditions, for immigrants to succeed in South Africa, not all of them managed it. Alongside the cases of major financial success among Nordic immigrants, there were also the cases of sad failure, such as that documented in a letter from John Johnsson, mason, to the Swedish Consul General in Cape Town in 1907. Couched in a mongrel mixture of Swedish and English, the story it tells is similar to many others the Consulate received:

"Lady Grey, 31/9/1907

Dear Mr Consul

I am a poor Swede and I havent any work. I have been about in search of work and cannot find any, and I have a wife and children here nearly dying of hunger so I dont know where to go. Dear Mr Consul if you should have a job free in the brewery please give me some work. I am a stonemason by trade but I will be glad to do anything I can I have bin in south afraca for over ten years so I can cope with dust and kaffers I am only 32 years old and healthy and strong so for Gods sake dont let me die of hunger.

Dear Mr Consul please help me I have nobody else to go to for if I cant get work then I must die so hungry for Gods sake help me.

yours faithfully.

John Johnsson
mason

Lady Grey C.C."¹⁹¹

191 Johnsson to the Consul General for Sweden in Cape Town, 31.9.1907. RAS GK. Platssökande 1906—13. The text of the original letter is as follows:

"Lady Grey den 31/9 1907 Basta herr Consul Jag ar en fatig svensk och har icke nogot arbete. Jar har varit öfver att och söck för arebet och kan icke få nogot, och jag har hustru och barn her nearly dödande for hunger så jag vett icke var to gå. Bästa herr Consul om ni skulle hafva nogon plast ledig i de brygere blef so vendlly och gef mig som arbete. Jag är en stenhuggare to orket men jag well blifva glad to görra alt wath jag kan Jag har warit in syd afraka för

Johnsson's appeal to the Consul provided neither employment nor money.¹⁹² His subsequent fate is unknown: he sinks from view, one more name in the gallery of Nordic immigrants battered by fate in South Africa; one more Johnsson among all the other Johanssons, Anderssons, Nilssons and Petterssons.

öfwer ten år so jag kan talla dyst och kaffer Jag är endast 32 år gammal och frisk och stark så för Guds skull låt mig icke dö af hungar Bästa herr Consul hjälp mig jag har icke nogon annan to gå to för if jag kan icke få arbete den jag muste dö hungar så for Guds skull hjalp me. vendlingen. John Johnsson mason Lady Grey C.C.”

192 Rosenlund to Johnsson 4.11.1907. RAS GK. Platsökande 1906—13.

4.3. Geographical Recruitment to the Nordic Migration to South Africa

4.3.1. Geographical and Chronological Variation

Where were the migrants recruited for the Nordic migration to South Africa during the three decades under investigation, 1886—1914? The accompanying Maps 3—5 have been drawn up to enable an answer to this question to be attempted, on the basis of the 4 358 emigrations whose place of origin is known.¹ This number comprises 81.4 % of the total number of emigrations during 1886—1914 catalogued for this investigation. The coverage is highest, 93.7 %, for the Finnish migrants; lowest, 74.8 %, for those from Sweden. For the Norwegians the coverage is 79.6 %, and for Denmark it comes to 79.3 %.

For Sweden, Map 3 (1886—94) closely resembles that for migration recruitment during the period 1876—85, Map 2. In both, the areas which stand out are on the one hand the Stockholm region, and on the other the coastal regions of southern and south-western Sweden: the provinces of Malmöhus, Gothenburg & Bohus, and Blekinge. The major change is the emergence of a new, additional area of recruitment further north, in Västernorrland, which stands out, although the absolute numbers are not comparable with the traditional areas, as a striking exception amid the otherwise very low levels of recruitment in Sweden north of Stockholm.

In the examination of the earlier migration to South Africa from Norway, it was noted that as a consequence of the 1882 Marburg Scheme, the recruitment during the ten-year period 1876—85 was heavily concentrated in the Sunnmøre bailiwick in Romsdal Province (Map 2). Map 3, for the period 1886—94, differs very considerably. Although Romsdal Province in general, and indeed

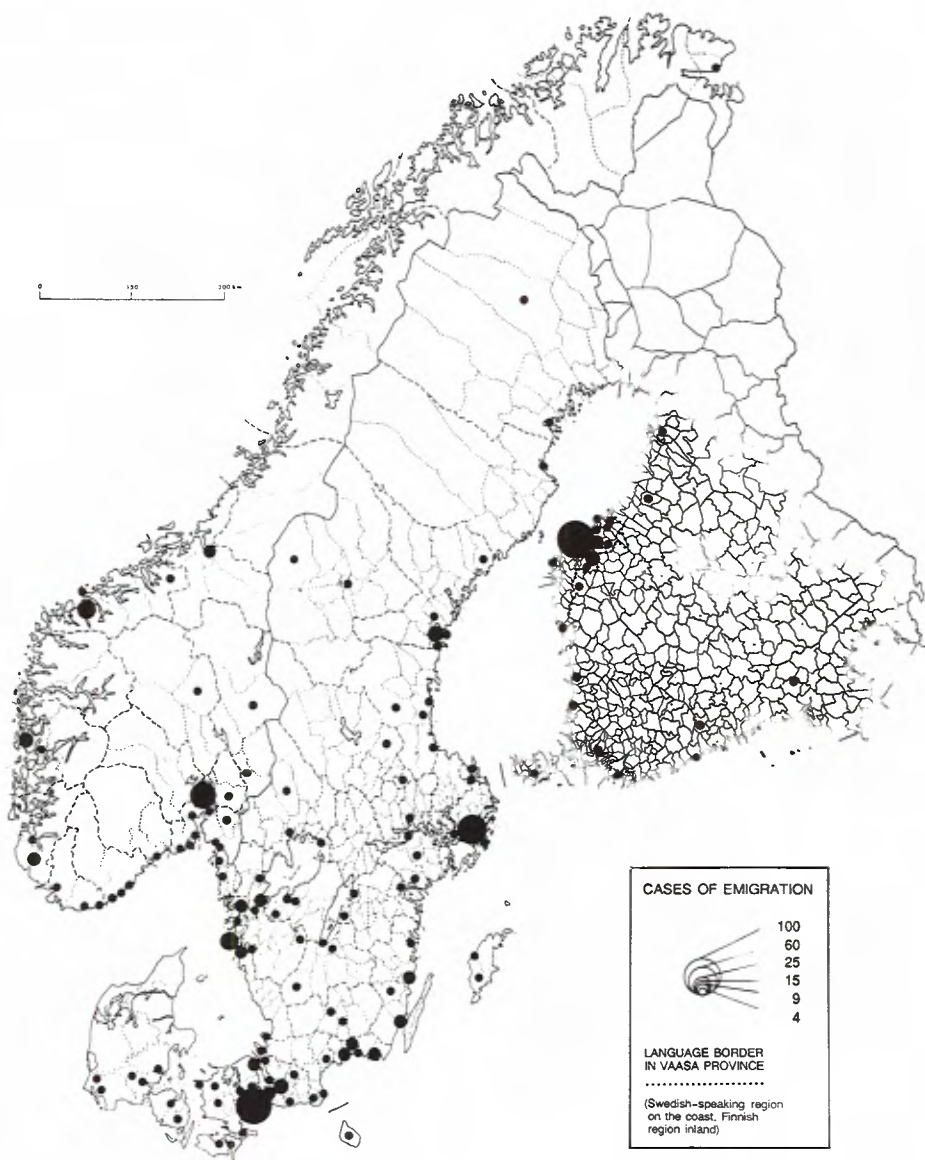
1 The figures for the Boer War Years, 1900—01, have here been combined with those for the preceding period, 1895—99. In the Appendix 3, however, the wartime emigrations are listed by place of origin separately. In Maps 3—5 the emigrations are marked by detailed place of origin in Sweden, Norway and Denmark only for the towns; rural emigrations are given for Norway by bailiwick, for Sweden by court district, and for Denmark by province.

Sunnmøre in particular, do occur as the area of second highest recruitment, the level of recruitment here now lags far behind that for Christiania, the capital. The third highest level of recruitment, after Christiania and Sunnmøre, is Bergen.

With very few exceptions, all the cases of emigration recorded in Norway during the period 1886—94 are located either in the ports along the coast or on the seaboard hinterland. Emigrations are recorded from the southernmost provinces of Norway in a continuous chain from Fredrikshald (Halden) in the east to Lyngdal in the west. The Norwegian migration to South Africa was strongly concentrated in the southernmost third of the country; from the four provinces north of Trondheim, only a single case of emigration to South Africa is recorded during the period under examination.

In the examination of the early period of Nordic migration to South Africa, prior to 1886, it was noted that there was a very significant Danish contribution. On Map 2, covering the period 1876—85, the Danish contingent of over 400 cases was the largest, largely due to the group of more than 330 who travelled to the Cape under the assisted-passage scheme in 1877. As a consequence of the difference in magnitude between the exceptionally high migration during the period 1876—85 and the following period, Map 2 (1876—85) is not strictly comparable with Map 3 (1886—94), which contains only just over a quarter of the number of emigrations from Denmark recorded in Map 2. Nonetheless, the heavy concentration of recruitment to the Danish migration to South Africa (as during 1876—85) in Copenhagen and on the Danish islands can clearly be recognized.

The concentration of the Finnish recruitment to the migration to South Africa in Ostrobothnia, and in particular almost exclusively in the Swedish-speaking area of southern and central Ostrobothnia, is clearly evident in Map 3. There are 112 documented cases of emigration during the period 1886—94 for whom the place of origin is known; of these 100 (89.3 %) were recruited within twelve municipalities in Vaasa Province, with 84 of these cases located within the three municipalities of Munsala, Oravais and Nykarleby Rural Municipality. 62 cases were located in Munsala alone, thus accounting for over half (55.4%) of all migrations from known places of origin during the period 1886—94.



Map 3. Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1894.

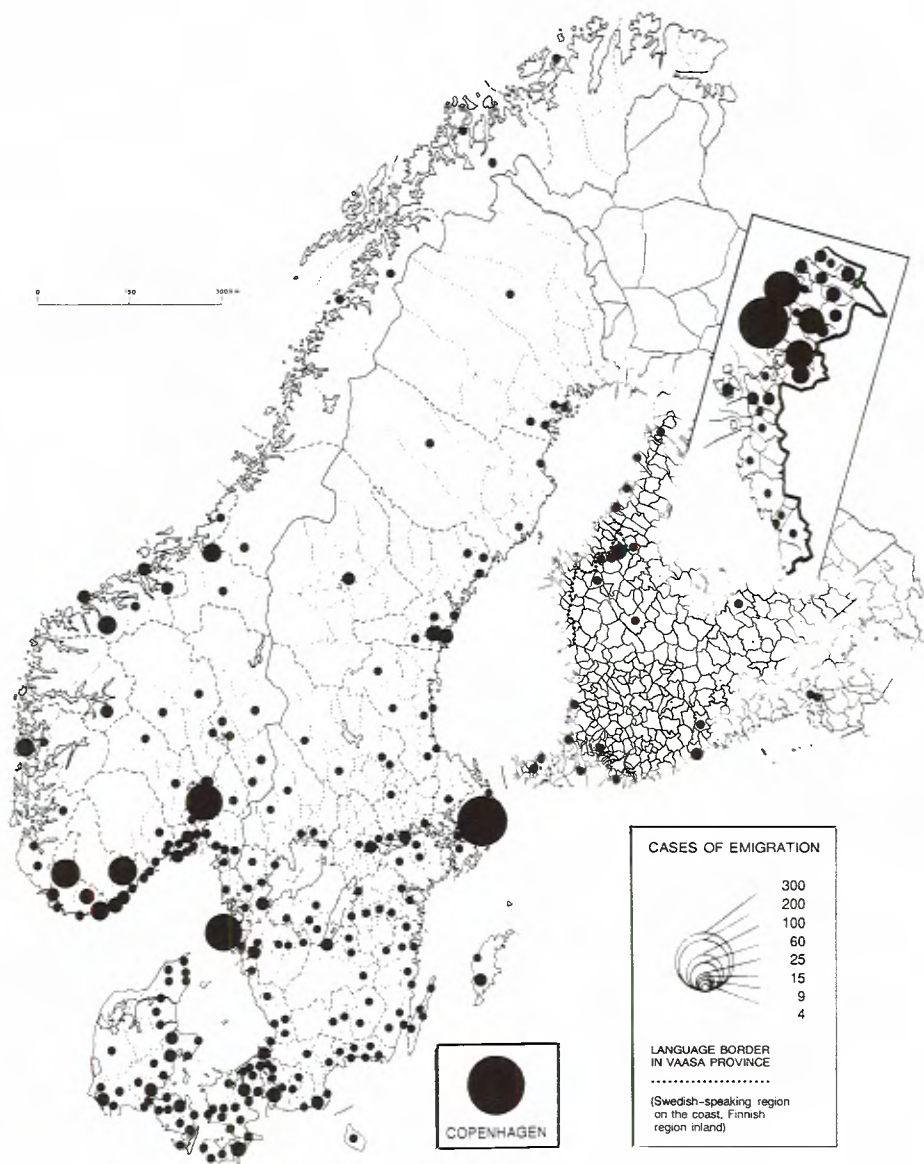
During the period 1895—1901 (Map 4), the Swedish migration to South Africa can be seen to be heavily concentrated around the two largest cities in Sweden, Stockholm and Gothenburg, whereas the volume of emigration from Malmöhus and from Blekinge Provinces did not grow at such a fast rate: these regions, therefore, were now losing their former significance as major sources of recruitment to the Swedish migration to South Africa. The number of migrants from Västernorrland, on the other hand, continued to increase, and this Province now clearly stands out as a major region of recruitment in northern Sweden.

It can also be noted, however, that during the period 1895—1901 recruitment in Sweden to the migration to South Africa had spread more widely; whereas during the period 1886—94 there had been Swedish emigrants to South Africa documented in 76 locations, in the period 1895—1901 the number of locations rises to 136.

There is also a striking shift in the pattern of recruitment between 1886—94 and 1895—1901 in Norway. The volume of migration from Christiania remained constant, but recruitment from two areas at the southern tip of Norway rose alongside that from the capital: Nedenes, in Nedenes Province, and Lister, in Lister & Mandal Province. These are then followed by Sunnmøre in Romsdal Province and by the city of Trondheim, the northernmost centre of recruitment in Norway.

As during the previous period, recruitment continued to be heavily concentrated along the Norwegian coastline, although there was now also an increase in emigration from the interior, and indeed an overall expansion in the geographical recruitment to the migration to South Africa, from the 39 locations recorded during 1886—94 to 96 in the period 1895—1901. Nonetheless, southern Norway continued to dominate, since with only a few exceptions the Norwegian emigrants continued to originate from the southernmost third of the country.

For Denmark, the migrant populations recorded in Maps 2 and 4 are on a similar scale, and Map 4 thus offers a more reliable picture than Map 3 of the long-term development of Danish migration to South Africa. The comparison of Maps 2 and 4 does not offer any basis for conclusions concerning the geographical development of recruitment at the detailed level, although trends on a regional basis can be discerned. Recruitment now took place from a wider



Map 4. Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1895—1901.

range of locations, and Jutland emerges alongside the Danish islands as an important region of recruitment. The geographical expansion in the recruitment emerges particularly clearly from a comparison of the Maps for 1886—94 and 1895—1901, with a rise from 20 to 66 in the number of locations with recorded cases of emigration.

In Finland, too, a significant geographical expansion in the recruitment for the migration to South Africa between 1886—94 and 1895—1901 can be discerned. The number of municipalities with recorded cases of South African emigration rises from 22 to 48. At the same time, however, the recruitment becomes even more heavily concentrated in Vaasa Province. Of the 499 documented cases of migration to South Africa during this period, the place of origin is known in 470 cases, of which 444 (94.5 %) are located in this Province.

The region of recruitment within the Province, on the other hand, expands from 12 to 33 municipalities, with the recruitment now more evenly balanced between them. Although Munsala continues to be the major single location of recruitment, its share has now fallen from 62.0 % to 27.7 %. The migration to South Africa was now attracting persons from a much wider area than in the concentrated recruitment during the period 1886—94 in Munsala and the adjacent municipalities of Oravais and Nykarleby Rural Municipality. The main direction of expansion of recruitment was to the north, although there was also some expansion southwards along the coast and to a lesser extent inland. This pattern of expansion can be seen as an excellent example of the geographical diffusion of innovations, in which Munsala and the surrounding district formed a centre of migration and the municipalities further away were being drawn into the periphery.²

Further evidence of the distinctive concentration of the migration to South Africa from Finland in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia is provided by the low numbers of emigrants from Finnish-speaking areas: a total of only 25 known cases during the period under examination, recruited from seven different

2 On the spread of innovations through migration, see esp. Wester 1977, *passim*.

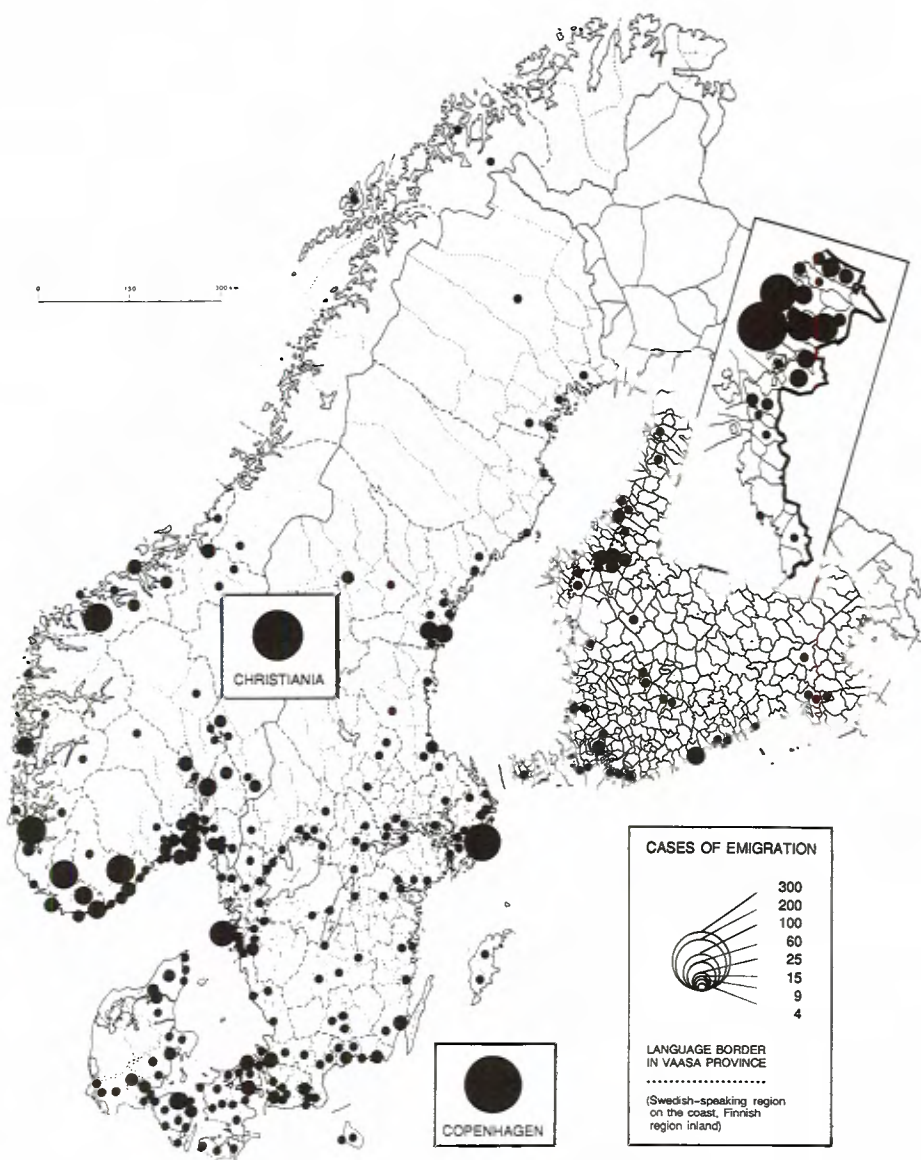
municipalities, and comprising 5.6 % of the total migration to South Africa from Vaasa Province. The highest numbers come from Evijärvi, a Finnish-speaking municipality situated on the language border with the Swedish-speaking area.

The pattern of recruitment to the Nordic migration to South Africa during the period 1902—14 revealed in Map 5 is in many ways virtually identical with that in Map 4 for 1895—1901. In Sweden, Stockholm and Gothenburg continue to form the major centres for recruitment, followed by Västernorrland (where the level of recruitment in Sundsvall and the surrounding area had in fact risen somewhat from the period 1895—1901, to form a distinct third region of Swedish emigration to South Africa). The geographical pattern of recruitment remains almost unchanged, with only a minimal fall in the number of locations with documented cases of migration to South Africa, from 136 in the period 1895—1901 to 128 during 1902—14.

In Norway, recruitment to the migration to South Africa continued to be heavily concentrated in Christiania, followed by four regions with similar levels of recruitment: Nedenes and Lister at the southern tip of the country, Sunnmøre in Romsdal Province, and the city of Stavanger in western Norway. The first three of these had also been strongly represented during the previous period.

As in previous periods examined, the Norwegian migration continued to be heavily concentrated along the seaboard, although migration from locations in the interior shows a slight rise against the period 1895—1901. The overall geographical pattern of recruitment displays expansion, with the number of locations rising to 115. Nevertheless, migration to South Africa from northern Norway was still as rare as before, and there are only isolated cases recorded of emigrants from the four northernmost provinces in the country. The Norwegian migration to South Africa was heavily concentrated in the southernmost third of the country and within that area on the seaboard.

In Denmark, recruitment to the migration to South Africa continued to be concentrated in Copenhagen, which accounts for a far larger proportion of migrants than the next following area of recruitment. As in Sweden, so also in Denmark the number of locations with recorded cases of South African migration, remained virtually unchanged, falling only from 66 to 61.



Map 5. Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1902–1914.

In Finland, as in the other Nordic countries, the end of the Boer War initiated a new phase in the migration to South Africa, with numbers picking up considerably. There are 601 known cases of emigration during the period 1902—14, and the place of origin is known in 563 cases. Of these, 508 (90.2 %) were located in Vaasa Province, representing a fall from the period 1895—1901 in the proportion recruited from Vaasa Province of only about four percentage points. The number of locations with documented cases of emigration to South Africa rose from the figure of 48 for the period 1895—1901 to 58 in the period 1902—14, and this increase is entirely situated outside Vaasa Province, where the number of municipalities remained unchanged at 33 (although there is some change in the municipalities involved). Munsala continues to account for the highest recruitment within one municipality, although there is a further fall in its proportion of the recruitment within Vaasa Province, from 27.7 % for the period 1895—1901, to 20.3 %.

A further shift in the geographical pattern of recruitment is the rise in the emigration from Finnish-speaking municipalities in Vaasa Province, the number of which has now risen from seven to twelve, and the proportion of migrants from 5.9 % to 11.6 %. As during the period 1895—1901, the Finnish-speaking municipalities with the highest rates of recruitment continued, understandably, to be situated on the language border, adjacent to the Swedish-speaking area of heaviest recruitment.

In overall terms, the significance of South Africa within the total flow of Nordic emigration was very low. The total number of cases of migration to South Africa traced for the present investigation from all four Nordic countries combined amounts to 6 676 (Sweden 2 067; Norway 1 848; Denmark 1 415; Finland 1 346). These figures include three groups: the 5 351 cases identified and recorded with certainty as migrating between 1886 and 1914; the 512 cases of emigration which have been identified with certainty as occurring prior to 1900, although not allocable with certainty to the period 1886—1900; and the 813 cases of emigration identified with certainty as occurring prior to 1915, although not allocable with certainty to the period 1886—1914. It is nevertheless extremely probable that the overwhelming majority of these cases did in fact occur during the period 1886—1914, especially for the latter group of 813 emigrations.

Using these figures as a basis to calculate the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the overall Nordic overseas migration during the period 1886—1914, South Africa is found to account approximately for 0.7 % of the Danish migration, 0.5 % of the Norwegian migration, 0.4 % of that from Finland and 0.3 % of that from Sweden; i.e. on average between three and seven emigrants in every thousand chose South Africa as their destination.

Within specified chronological and geographical limits, on the other hand, the significance of the migration to South Africa within the overall Nordic migration changes radically. In Figures 6—9, the migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914 is compared both to the official statistics for total overall overseas migration from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, and also to the overall migration from the areas of especial recruitment to South Africa.³

The curves in Figs. 6—9 correspond to fluctuations in volume not only within the migration to South Africa, however, but also within the overall Nordic migration. This can be illustrated by comparing the two peaks occurring in the diagrams: the first during the later 1890s, and the second following the termination of the Boer War. In terms of total volume, these two peaks do not differ very greatly from each other; but as a consequence of larger-scale fluctuations in the overall overseas migration, their significance within the overall migration pattern differs considerably, as the Figures demonstrate.

As has been pointed out earlier, even in a wider geographical perspective the 1890s formed an abnormal period within the European overseas migration. The depression in the United States led to a fall in total European migration, which not only automatically had the effect of raising the relative proportion represented by South Africa, but actually also brought about a rise in the absolute volume of migration to South Africa. 1896 saw the heaviest annual overseas immigration in South African history up to the end of the Boer War in 1902.

The situation with respect to the Nordic countries is similar. The North American depression hit Nordic migration hard during the 1890s, as can be seen from the figures cited in Appendices

3 The annual migration figures are given in Appendices 4—7.

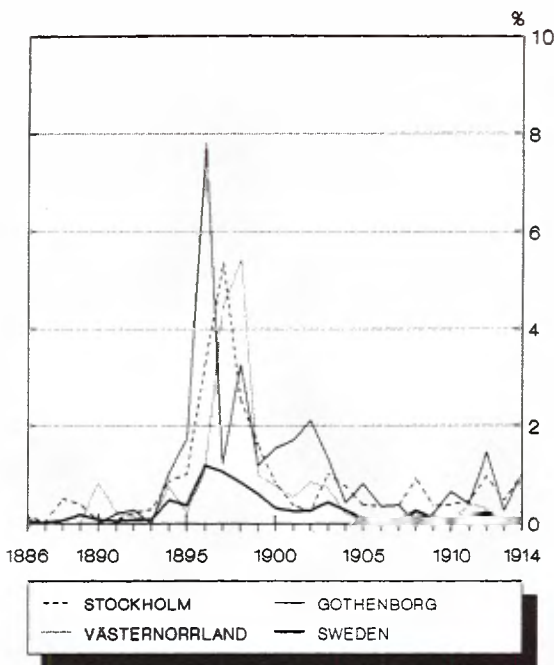


Figure 6. Swedish Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Västernorrland Province, and in Sweden as a Whole, 1886–1914.

4—7. In all four Nordic countries, the South African migration reached peak values relative to the total overseas migration during the exceptional conditions prevailing during the 1890s. The increased migration to South Africa during the boom following the end of the Boer War, however, is not reflected in the Figures in the same way, since the overall migration also experienced rapid growth at the same time.

In Figure 6, the migration to South Africa from Sweden is compared with the overall overseas migration during the period 1886–1914, specifically for Stockholm and Gothenburg and for Västernorrland Province, and for Sweden as a whole. All four curves display similar trends: the South African migration constitutes the highest proportion of the overall migration during the latter 1890s. In 1896 and 1897, migration to South Africa

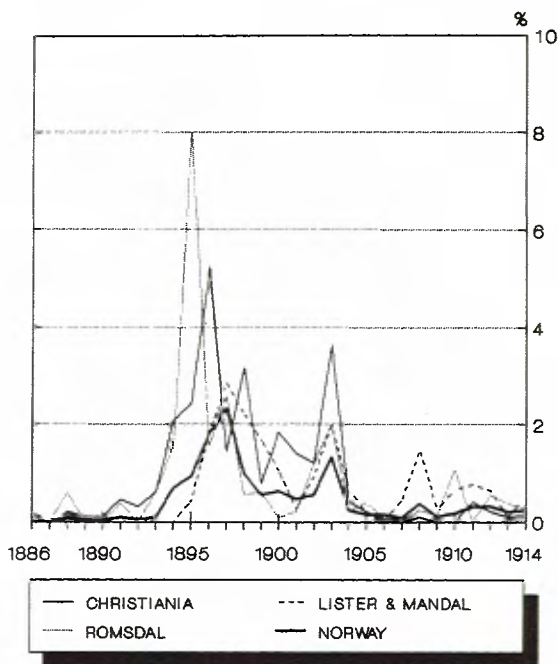


Figure 7. Norwegian Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, in Christiania, Lister & Mandal Province, and in Norway as a Whole, 1886—1914.

accounted for more than 1 per cent of Swedish overseas migration, and even during 1898—99 still accounted for 0.6 — 0.9 %, whereas in the period following the Boer War, it never rises even to 0.5 %.

At its peak, in 1896, migration to South Africa from Gothenburg accounted for 7.8 % of the total emigration from the region; the corresponding peak values for Stockholm and Västernorrland are 5.4 %. In Gothenburg, the peak following the end of the Boer War is also more clearly to be seen, since at that time too migration to South Africa reached the 2 % level.

For Norway, the migration to South Africa has been compared with the figures obtained from the official migration statistics for the period 1886—1914, for the areas of Christiania, Lister & Mandal Province, Romsdal Province, and for Norway as a whole (Fig. 7).

The general trends on all the curves obtained are similar: the highest proportion for the migration to South Africa occurs in the late 1890s, with a second peak coming in the first year of peace following the end of the Boer War. The highest level relative to the overall Norwegian overseas migration is 2.3 %, in 1897. For Romsdal Province, the peak comes slightly earlier, in 1895; for Christiania, in 1896; for Lister & Mandal Province, as for Norway as a whole, not until 1897. The reason for this earlier peak is probably to be found in the density of contacts.

As a consequence of the Marburg settlement, Romsdal Province had access to the best contacts with South Africa; news of the beginning of the Transvaal gold boom and the attendant opportunities thus reached Sunnmøre faster than it did the rest of Norway. Moreover, since so many settlers originally from Sunnmøre were already living in South Africa, the emigration threshold for their friends and acquaintances back home was presumably lower than elsewhere in Norway; as soon as news of the opportunities unfolding in South Africa arrived, there were people ready to set out.

For a brief moment during the 1890s, Sunnmøre in Romsdal Province actually emerged as the major source of recruitment for the Norwegian migration to South Africa. This would hardly justify labelling Sunnmøre as a centre and the rest of Norway as a periphery, however; for such a role, Romsdal was too small and too isolated in relation to southern Norway. A better term might be that of an advance guard station, which was able — thanks to its special contacts with South Africa — to learn of changing conditions within South Africa faster than the rest of Norway, and thus to recruit new emigrants earlier.

At its peak, in 1895, the migration to South Africa from Romsdal Province constituted 8.0 % of the overall migration from the region. In Christiania, the equivalent peak accounted for only 5.3 %, and in Lister & Mandal Province for 2.8 %.

In contrast to the staggered peak during the 1890s, the post-Boer War peak occurred in the same year (1903) for all the regions examined in Norway. In geographical terms, the peak now centred on Christiania, where migration to South Africa in that year accounted for 3.6 % of the total migration, whereas both in Romsdal and in Lister & Mandal Provinces the figure was at 2.0 %.

For Denmark, the migration to South Africa has been compared

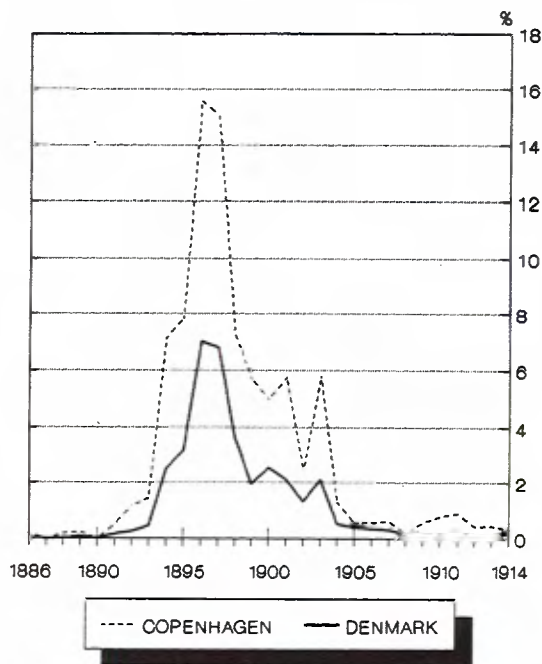


Figure 8. Danish Migration to South Africa (Adult Males) as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, in Copenhagen, and in Denmark as a Whole, 1886—1914.

with the figures obtained from the official migration statistics for the overseas migration from Denmark during the period 1886—1914, with reference to Copenhagen and to Denmark as a whole (Figure 8). As a result of limitations in the statistical data available, the examination is restricted to male migrants aged 15 or over.

The general trends on the two curves obtained are largely similar, which is hardly surprising considering the concentration of the Danish migration to South Africa in Copenhagen. In both cases, the peak both for the years prior to the Boer War and for the period under investigation as a whole occurs in 1896, when South Africa accounted for 7.0 % of the total overseas migration from Denmark, and 15.6 % of the migration from Copenhagen: i.e. one male adult migrant in six from the capital chose South Africa as his destination that year.

The post-War peak in the Danish migration to South Africa is less striking. It came in 1903, when the proportion going to South Africa rose to 2.1 %, but this figure is no higher than during the Boer War, and subsequently fell again very rapidly. By 1904, South African migration accounted for only 0.5 % of the total Danish emigration, and continued at this level or, often, significantly below it, up to the end of the period under investigation.

The pattern for Copenhagen alone is also largely similar. Following the peak in 1896, the post-War peak came in 1903, with the proportion migrating to South Africa rising to 5.8 %. As was noted in the case of Denmark as a whole, the figure is again no higher than during the Boer War, and fell again very rapidly. By 1904, South Africa accounted for only 1.3 %; by 1905, only 0.6 %. Apart from a slight temporary rise in 1910—11, the migration to South Africa accounted for between 0.3 % and 0.6 % of the migration from Copenhagen up to the end of the period under investigation.

For Finland, the figures for the overall overseas migration obtained from the official migration statistics for 1886—1914 have been compared with the available data for Munsala, Vaasa Province, and Finland as a whole (Figure 9). The shifts and changes in the share of the total migration comprised by the migration to South Africa follow, in broad terms, the same lines as those found for the other three Nordic countries above. For Finland, however, the peak in the mid-1890s does not coincide with the international peak in migration to South Africa in 1896 (as the migration from Sweden, Norway and Denmark does), but had in fact already occurred during the preceding year, in 1895.

As in the similar anticipation noted above for Romsdal in Norway, the Finnish case is most probably explicable in the dissemination of information. Good contacts made possible the rapid spread of information on the beginning of the boom in South Africa, and in conjunction with the intense local enthusiasm (the almost epidemic 'Africa fever') created the conditions for a peak in Finnish migration by 1895, with migration to South Africa accounting for 7.8 % of the overall emigration from Finland and 8.7 % of that from Vaasa Province.

The figure of 7.8 %, obtained for the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the Finnish overall migration in 1895, represents in relative terms the peak value within the Nordic migration as a

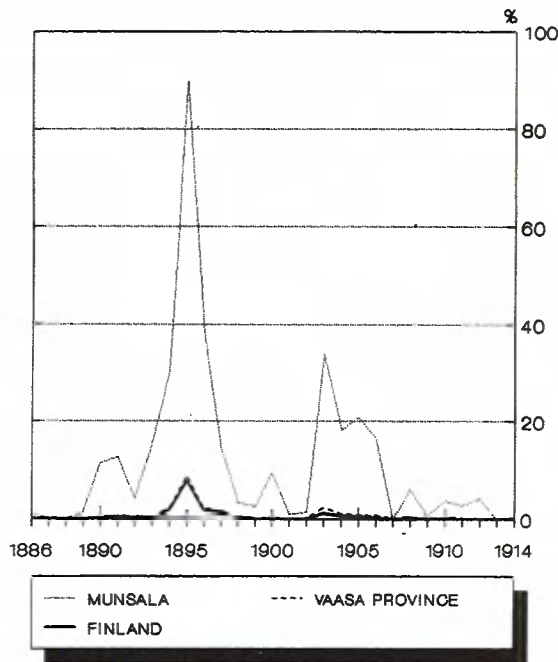


Figure 9. Finnish Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, in Munsala, Vaasa Province, and in Finland as a Whole, 1886—1914.

whole, surpassing the figure of 7.0 % for Denmark in 1896, and being far in excess of the 1897 Norwegian peak figure of 2.3 % or the 1896 Swedish peak figure of 1.2 %.

In the period following on the Boer War, migration to South Africa from Finland, like that from the other Nordic countries, revived in 1903; but in comparison with the earlier peak, the increase was now much smaller. For Finland as a whole, the South African proportion rose to 1.1 %; for Vaasa Province, to 2.3 %: in other words, at the tail-end of the Nordic table.

If the examination of the Finnish migration to South Africa is narrowed down as precisely as possible chronologically and geographically in order to identify the maximum point of impact, this points to Munsala in 1895. The role of the migration to South Africa within overseas emigration from Munsala can also be

clearly seen in Figure 9. The data on the South African migration as a proportion of total overseas migration from Munsala is here based on the figures in the official Finnish emigration statistics on the numbers of emigrants from Munsala during the period 1893—1914, and on the examination by Esa VAINIO and Taru-Terhikki TUOMINEN of passports issued during 1886—92.⁴

The data collated for the present investigation indicate that the total number of persons emigrating from Munsala to South Africa in 1895 was 70; the official Finnish statistics state that the total overall emigration from Munsala in that year amounted to 78 persons.⁵ On the basis of these figures, the South African migration would have accounted for 89.7 % of the total local emigration for 1895; but such is not the case. For whatever reason, the emigration figure stated in the official statistics is not compatible with the passport registers.⁶

Following the adjustments made in this investigation, the total number of emigrants from Munsala during 1895 rises to 124 persons, 56.5 % of whom would be accounted for by the South African migration. If women and children are excluded, the South

4 Vainio, Esa and Tuominen, Taru-Terhikki, *Emigrants from Finland in 1865—1892 According to Passport Lists*. Unpublished MS. TYYH.

5 SVT XXVIII:1, Table IX.

6 The scale of the peak in the Finnish migration to South Africa in 1895 provides an opportunity to analyze the emigration figures in the official Finnish statistics in the light of the data from the passport registers. The use of Munsala for this purpose is fully justified, both demographically and in view of its leading contribution to the Nordic migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914. During 1895, a total of 111 passports for journeys abroad were issued by the Vaasa Province authorities to residents of Munsala, consisting of 74 for America, 17 for Africa, 12 for Sweden, and 8 for 'abroad' (Passport registers for Vaasa Provincial Administration 1895. VMA. No passports are recorded as having been issued for residents of Munsala by the City Administrations in Vaasa Province during 1895). It is thus clear that the figure of 78 in the official statistics is not even enough to cover the passports actually issued for America and Africa combined. Yet in fact even this figure obtained from the passport registers is too low. The issue of a passport is only recorded for 57 of the 70 persons known to have set out for South Africa; for the others, no register of a passport being issued can be traced, at least on the part of the provincial or municipal authorities in Vaasa Province. It is possible that the other emigrants may have travelled on passports issued earlier, or have regarded a passport as unnecessary.

African proportion rises to around two thirds of the total migration in 1895, and the newspaper comment from early that year, that the entire flow of the migration from Munsala was swinging from America to Africa, no longer appears exaggerated.⁷ Similarly, the statement in the *Wasa Tidning* in January 1896 to the effect that over a hundred persons had already emigrated from Munsala to South Africa also appears to be no exaggeration,⁸ since if the calculation is not restricted to 1895, but also includes the years of the early 1890s, the results are of the same order of magnitude as the findings here.

4.3.2. Regional Intensity

Rather than examining the absolute numbers, a more revealing approach to regional variation in the intensity of migration to South Africa is to examine the emigration rate in relation firstly to the local population, and secondly to the local overall migration. In Map 6, the migration rates to South Africa are shown in relation to the mean population for Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and (for Finland) for Vaasa Province.⁹ The figures obtained must not be taken to be very accurate. The numbers of cases of emigration registered for each locality amount even at their best (in Finland) to no more than around nine tenths of the numbers traced for the present investigation; the figures in the data are therefore too small, and this error is compounded by the fact that the numbers

7 'Emigrationsluckten tyckes åter börja wakna i Munsala' (Revival of Emigration). *Vasabladet* 5.2.1895; 'Emigrationen börjar mer och mer att taga riktning till Afrika' (Emigration Heading for Africa More and More). *Wasa Tidning* 24.2.1895.

8 'Våra landsmän i Afrika' (Our Compatriots in Africa). *Wasa Tidning* (half-veckoupplaga) 24.2.1896.

9 Emigration figures are given in relation to mean population, and to the local overall migration for each province in Appendices 8 — 14. In view of the unshaken domination of the Finnish migration to South Africa by Vaasa Province throughout the entire period under investigation, the migration rate to South Africa examined here has not been analyzed at the regional level, as has been done for the other Nordic countries. Instead, as was done earlier for the chronological analysis, an examination will now be made at the level of the municipalities.

traced for the overall overseas migration during the period 1886—1914 are also too low. On the assumption that the impact of such errors will operate in the same direction in different localities, however, Map 6 may be taken as indicative of relative scale.

In Sweden, only in two cases did the volume of migration to South Africa reach 0.02 per thousand of population: in Stockholm City (0.03), and in Gothenburg & Bohus Province (0.02). In a further seven provinces, the South African migration rate amounted to 0.01 per thousand; in the remaining sixteen provinces it was below that level.

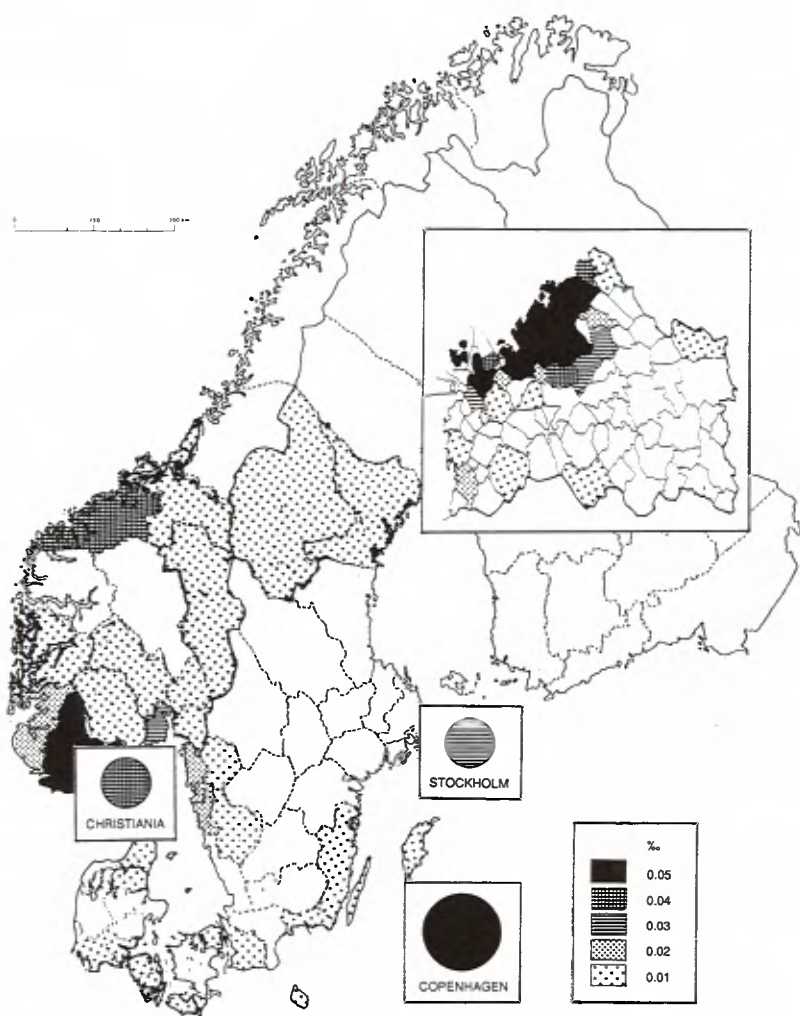
Whereas the demographic index of 0.02 per thousand population was reached in Sweden in only two regions during the period 1886—1914, in Norway there were six regions where this occurred, and the South African migration rate for Norway as a whole was also higher than in Sweden. The peak level of migration to South Africa for Sweden as a whole reached 0.03 per thousand population; in Norway, the figure is three times as high.

The highest demographic indices in the Norwegian migration to South Africa are found in Lister & Mandal Province (0.09 per thousand); but levels of 0.02 per thousand or above were reached also in Nedenes Province (0.06), Christiania (0.04), Romsdal Province (0.04), Jarlsberg & Larvik Province (0.03), and Stavanger Province (0.02). The accuracy of these figures should be treated with reservation, as argued above, but they do indicate at least minimum levels.

The South African migration rate rose to a level of at least 0.01 per thousand population throughout the southernmost third of Norway, with the exceptions of Kristians and Nordre Bergenhus Provinces. North of Trondheim, however, the levels of migration to South Africa were very low, and did not reach 0.01 per thousand in any of the northernmost four provinces.

In the Danish migration to South Africa, Map 6 illustrates a much greater degree of geographical concentration than was the case in either Norway or Sweden. In contrast to the two regions in Sweden and the six in Norway with demographic indices for the South African migration at or above 0.02 per thousand, only one is found in Denmark: Copenhagen, with a rate of 0.05 per thousand population. On the other hand, this is the highest value found for any capital city in the Nordic countries.

The difference in the migration rates for South Africa between



Map 6. Demographic Migration Rates to South Africa in the Nordic Countries, 1886—1914.

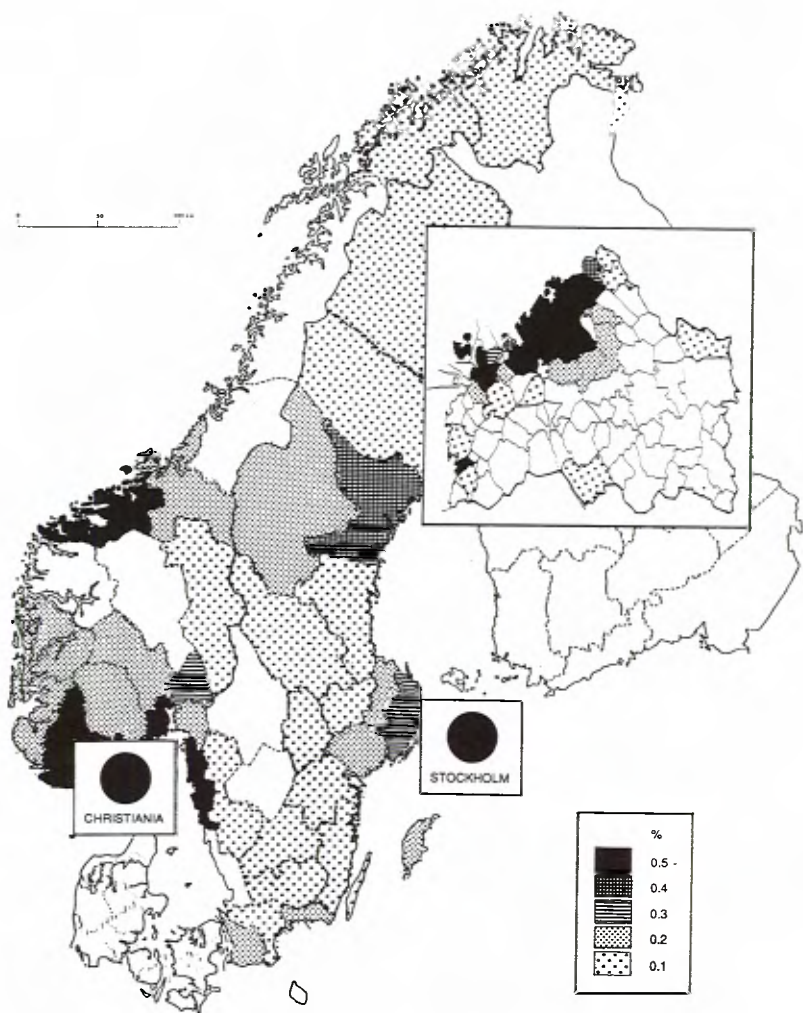
Copenhagen and the Danish provinces is very considerable, for Copenhagen is followed by nine provinces (Frederiksborg, Bornholm, Mariibo, Svendborg, Odense, Vejle, Ålborg, Hjørring and Ribe) in all of which the rate reached only 0.01 per thousand.

Both within Finland, and indeed throughout the Nordic countries, the leading position of Munsala in the geographical pattern of recruitment to the migration to South Africa is very clear, with a demographic index of 2.15 per thousand population. The following levels in Finland are found in Nykarleby Rural Municipality, with 1.24 per thousand; Jeppo, with 0.92; and Pedersöre, with 0.84. The highest urban migration rate to South Africa from the towns in Vaasa Province is found in Nykarleby, with 0.67 per thousand population; the absolute number of migrants was higher in Jakobstad, but constituted a demographic index of only 0.32 per thousand population.

Map 7 provides an examination of the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the overall Nordic overseas migration during the period 1886—1914. The actual values given here should be treated with reservation, as in Map 6, although in this case the error resulting from the under-estimation of the migrant population to South Africa is also offset by a corresponding under-estimation of the total emigrant population: not all emigrants were recorded, as has been established earlier. As in Map 6, however, the values used here may to a large extent be taken as reliably indicative of the relative strengths of migration.

The picture given by Map 7 of regional variation in the migration to South Africa within Sweden is largely concordant with that obtained in Map 6. Once again, two regions dominate the Swedish migration to South Africa: Stockholm City, and Gothenburg & Bohus Province. The two regions' positions relative to each other are changed, however: in terms of the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the total Swedish overseas migration, Gothenburg & Bohus Province is now on a par with Stockholm, since the demographic index obtained for both regions is the same, 0.6 %. In the region of third-highest recruitment, Västernorrland, the South African migration accounted for 0.4 % of the total overseas migration.

In the rest of Sweden outside the three regions of high recruitment to the South African migration (Stockholm, Gothenburg & Bohus Province, and Västernorrland), the migration



Map 7. Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Total Nordic Overseas Migration, 1886—1914.

to South Africa comprised a very low proportion of the total overseas migration: lower, in fact, as a result of the uneven ratio between population and emigration in the regions, than the demographic index in relation to the regional population obtained earlier would lead one to expect. Only in the provinces of Stockholm, Uppsala, Södermanland, Gotland, Blekinge, Malmöhus and Jämtland did the migration to South Africa reach or approach the level of 0.2 % of the total overseas migration; in all of the remaining 15 provinces in Sweden lower levels are found, falling in 3 provinces below 0.1 %.

For Norway, Maps 6 and 7 are very similar, although not fully identical: the figures used as the basis for Map 7 reveal a different hierarchy between the regions. The highest value for the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the total regional overseas migration is found not in Lister & Mandal Province, but in Christiania, with 0.7 %. This is of the same order of magnitude as the value found for Stockholm (0.6 %). Christiania is followed by the provinces of Romsdal and Lister & Mandal (0.6 %), and Nedenes and Jarlsberg & Larvik (0.5 %).

Outside these regions, the migration to South Africa constituted a lower proportion of the total overseas migration: the 0.2 % level is reached in the provinces of Smålenene, Akershus, Buskerud, Bratsberg, Stavanger, Søndre Bergenhus and Søndre Trondhjem, and in the remaining Norwegian provinces lower levels are found, falling below 0.1 % in four cases.

The proportion of the total Danish overseas migration during the period 1886—1914 moving to South Africa cannot on the basis of the available data be established with any great certainty. As was mentioned earlier, the Danish official migration statistics do not list migrants by province, but in terms of a three-way regional division: Copenhagen, the islands, and Jutland, and even this breakdown covers only male migrants aged 15 and over. Nor does the research literature offer help in this respect. In Kristian HVIDT's studies, the migrants are divided by provinces, but his investigation finishes in 1899, and does not distinguish sub-periods within his overall period 1868—99.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hvidt 1971, 97.

The migration to South Africa as a proportion of the total overseas migration during the period 1886—1914 can therefore be calculated for Denmark, but subject to the limitations that only male migrants aged 15 and over are examined, and in terms of the regions recognized in the official Danish statistics. The findings are largely similar to those in the preceding examination of the geographical pattern of recruitment to the migration to South Africa. The statistics are dominated by Copenhagen, where migration to South Africa accounted for 2.1 % of the total overseas migration during the period 1886—1914. The value obtained for the Danish islands is 0.4 %, and that for Jutland 0.2 %; these figures illustrate the impact of regional variations in recruitment, for recruitment to the migration to South Africa was higher also in absolute terms on the islands than in Jutland, whereas for the overall overseas migration, the pattern is reversed.

For Vaasa Province in Finland, the figures used to compare the migration to South Africa with the overall overseas migration during the period 1886—1914 have been derived both from the official Finnish migration statistics for 1893—1914, and from the study of the passport registers over the period 1886—92 by VAINIO and TUOMINEN. The figures obtained for the overall migration from the passport register material alone are somewhat too low, although the resultant error is also to some extent balanced out by passports issued but not used. It may be assumed that the error is of a similar degree for all municipalities, however, and it may therefore be disregarded in considering regional variation. In addition to the general under-reporting of the numbers for emigration arising from the nature of the source materials, a number of technical errors have also been identified in the procedures used in the official statistics.¹¹

In Vaasa Province, the main findings from Maps 6 and 7 are once again broadly similar. In comparison with the overall overseas migration, the migration to South Africa can once again be seen to have been mainly concentrated in the Swedish-speaking areas of a hundred-kilometre strip of the southern and central Ostrobothnian seaboard, lying between the towns of Gamlakarleby

11 On the underestimates and statistical errors in emigration data in the Statistical Yearbooks of Finland for 1893—1914, see esp. Kero 1974, 35—45.

and Vasa. Within the Finnish-speaking areas, the highest recruitment to the migration to South Africa occurred in municipalities adjacent to the language border, but levels of 0.5 % of the overall migration were reached only in the municipalities of Alahärmä, Korttesjärvi and Kälviä.

Munsala, once again, stands in a class by itself, as the sole municipality where the migration to South Africa exceeded ten per cent of the total local overseas migration. The figure obtained here (11.4 %) is four percentage points higher than the value of 7.3 % obtained by Wold. BACKMAN for the migration to South Africa as a proportion of the overall overseas migration from Munsala.¹²

4.3.3. Divergent Geographical Patterns of Recruitment

Throughout the three decades of the period under investigation, clear trends towards concentration can be recognized in all four Nordic countries in the geographical pattern of recruitment to the migration to South Africa. In the following, it will be examined whether this concentration was specific to the migration to South Africa, or reflected trends also identifiable within the overall overseas migration. In Figures 10—12, cases of emigration to South Africa with known places of origin have been compared province by province in Sweden, Norway and Denmark with the figures recorded in the official emigration statistics, for the periods 1886—

12 Backman 1945, 14—15. It is not clear how Backman has obtained these figures by combining the emigration tables for one location and for emigrants in several locations. Backman's figure of 120 is 40 % smaller than the total of 216 emigrants, and 292 emigrations, identified in the course of the present investigation. In view of Backman's research methods, based on house-to-house interviews, the underestimate is however understandable. This method may indeed be regarded as of dubious reliability in investigating emigrations occurring 30—40 years earlier, at least for the purpose of acquiring basic research data, although Backman does also rely on material from parish records and from the official Statistical Yearbook of Finland. The migration to South Africa, however — especially in the 1890s — can only be adequately studied through the consistent combined use of passenger lists, passport registers, and parish records. The discrepancies between the figures obtained from the passport registers and from Backman's methods are in most cases very considerable. Backman's card index lists a total of 1 554 persons

94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14.¹³ In view of the extreme concentration of the recruitment of the Finnish migration to South Africa in Vaasa Province, no analysis by period of the Finnish South African migration has been made by province.

Figure 10 shows that in Sweden the geographical pattern of recruitment differed very considerably between the migration to South Africa and the overall overseas migration. Whereas even at its lowest, during the period 1902—14, the recruitment to the migration to South Africa from Stockholm amounted to 19.7 %, and in the period 1895—1901 reached 23.1 %, the recruitment from Stockholm to the overall overseas migration fluctuated between 5.5 and 6.0 %.¹⁴ Stockholm thus accounted for approximately three to four times as many of the migrants participating in the Swedish migration to South Africa as in the overall migration.

A similar divergence can also be seen for the Gothenburg region. During the period 1886—94, emigrants from Gothenburg & Bohus Province accounted for 16.4 % of the Swedish migration to South Africa. This is their lowest share; in the period 1895—1901 it rises to 21.1 %. Over the same periods, however, this Province accounted for only 4.5—6 % of the total Swedish overseas migration.¹⁵ Here too, therefore, the local contribution to the migration to South Africa was approximately four times higher than in the America-dominated overall migration flow.

Virtually the same phenomenon can also be observed in the case of migration from Västernorrland. Whereas this province supplied

emigrating from Munsala during the period 1871—1915 (Backman 1945, 12); but the passport registers for 1871—92 and the emigration statistics for 1893—1914 list a total of 2 826 emigrations (SVT XXVIII:1—2, Table IX; 11, Table X; passport registers, Vaasa Provincial Administration 1871—92; passport registers, Nykarleby City Administration 1871—74, 1878—92. VMA). This discrepancy is too large to be explained by unused passports or by multiple journeys by the same person (Backman's figure for the latter category is 24.2 %: Backman 1945, 10).

13 Emigration figures for each province are stated in Appendices 15—17.

14 These figures have been calculated from the following statistical sources: *SOS* A XXVIII—XXXII:1, Tab. 18; XXXIII, Tab. 20; XXXIV—XLI:1, Tab. 21; XLIII—XLIV, Tab. 29; XLV—LII, Tab. 31; *SOS* Ut- och invandring 1911—14, Tab. 1.

15 Figures calculated from: *SOS* A XXVIII—XXXII:1, Tab. 18; XXXIII, Tab. 20; XXXIV—XLI:1, Tab. 21; XLIII—XLIV, Tab. 29; XLV—LII, Tab. 31; *SOS* Ut- och invandring 1911—14, Tab. 1.

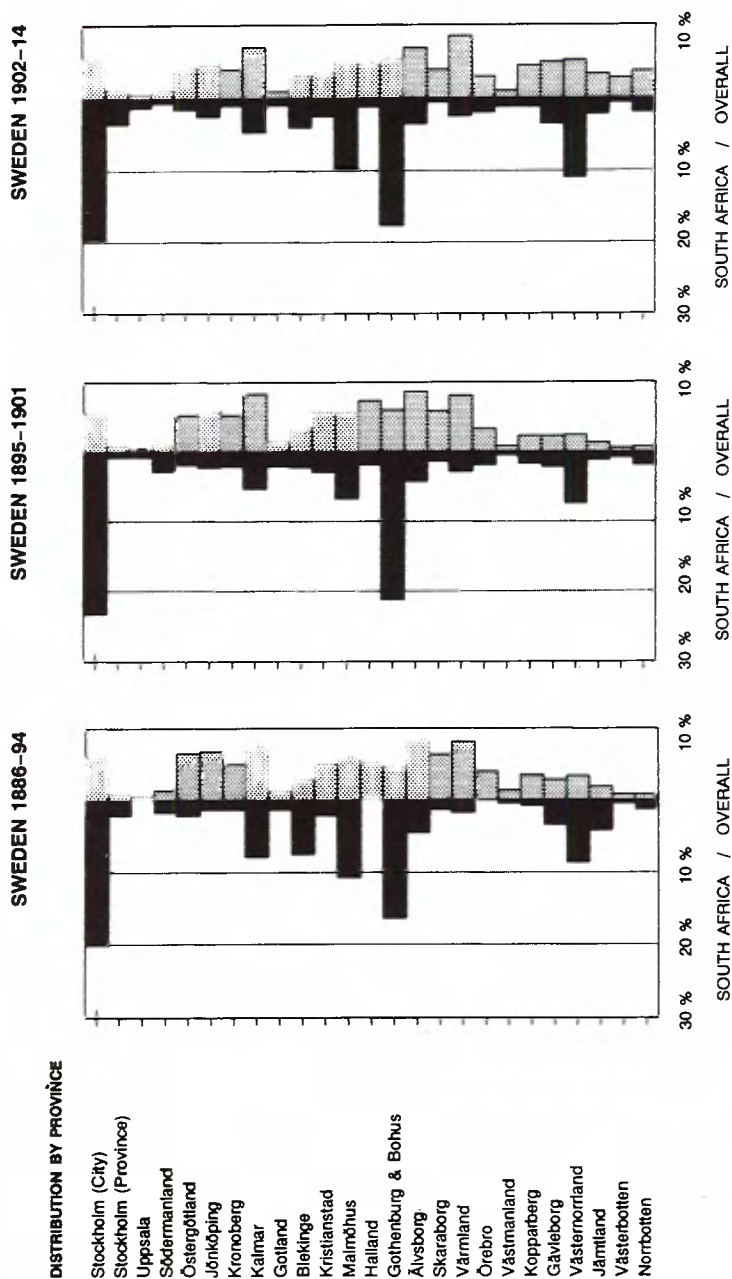


Figure 10. Geographical Pattern of Migration Recruitment in Sweden, to South Africa and Overseas Overall, 1886—1894, 1895—1901 and 1902—1914.

during the periods 1886—94 and 1895—1901 relatively few recruits to the overall Swedish overseas migration (between 2.4 and 3.3 %),¹⁶ it accounted for 7.3—8.6 % of the Swedish migration to South Africa, i.e. three times as many. Even in the period 1902—14, when recruitment from Västernorrland to the overall overseas migration rose to 5.3 %, ¹⁷ the province continued to provide twice the proportion of recruits to the migration to South Africa (10.9 %).

Figure 10 also demonstrates that even in provinces with high overall emigration rates, the migration rate to South Africa might remain low. Throughout the period 1886—1914, when the overall migration rates from the provinces of Älvsborg and Värmland were very high, there was little migration to South Africa from either of these, in particular from Värmland. The proportion of the total Swedish overseas migration recruited from Värmland during the periods under examination varied between 8.0 and 8.4 %;¹⁸ the highest proportion in the migration to South Africa from Värmland, however, in the period 1895—1901, amounted to only 2.7 %. During the period 1902—14, the Värmland contribution to the migration to South Africa was no more than a third and during the period 1886—1894 no more than a fifth of the province's contribution to the overall overseas migration.

In Figure 11, for Norway, the most striking feature in the geographical pattern of recruitment to the migration to South Africa during the period 1886—94 is the domination by two regions, Christiania and Romsdal Province. The combined recruitment from these two regions (25.4 % and 24.6 % respectively) accounts for half of the total Norwegian migration to South Africa during this period. In the overall overseas migration from Norway, on the other hand, these regions played a much

16 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1.

17 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1.

18 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1.

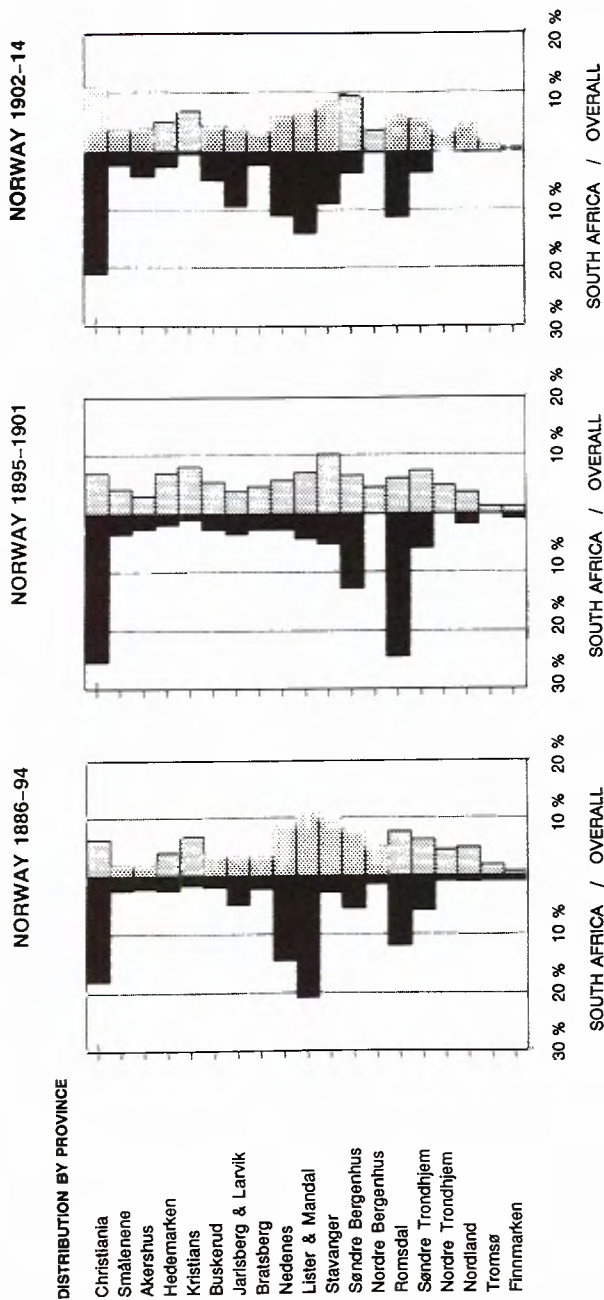


Figure 11. Geographical Pattern of Migration Recruitment in Norway, to South Africa and Overseas Overall, 1886—1894, 1895—1901 and 1902—1914.

smaller role, with only 6.9 % of the total Norwegian overseas migrants being recruited from Christiania, and 6.0 % from Romsdal Province.¹⁹ The contribution of Christiania and Romsdal Province to the South African migration was thus approximately four times higher than that to the overseas migration overall. The divergence in the third region of heavier recruitment to the Norwegian migration to South Africa, Søndre Bergenhus Province, is similar in tendency, although the South African contribution is only double the overall contribution.

Figure 11 also clearly shows the reorientation in the geographical pattern of recruitment to the Norwegian migration to South Africa which occurs in the period 1895—1901. Christiania, Romsdal Province, and Søndre Bergenhus Province, which had dominated the South African migration recruitment during the preceding period, now lose ground to the southern Norwegian coastal region: Lister & Mandal Province now leads, with 20.8 %, and Nedenes Province comes third, with 14.5 %; Christiania has fallen to 18.0 % and Romsdal Province to 11.8 %.

The geographical pattern of recruitment to the Norwegian migration to South Africa during the period 1902—14 both partly continues the trends seen during the period 1895—1901, and also diverges from them. A consistent feature is the heavy recruitment to the migration to South Africa in the southernmost part of the country, although the proportion recruited from Lister & Mandal Province falls to 13.9 %, and that from Nedenes Province to 10.9 %. The lead is taken again (as during the period 1886—94) by Christiania, with 21.4 %. The proportion recruited from Romsdal Province (now third) remains virtually constant with the preceding period, at 11.2 %. The proportions recruited to the overall Norwegian overseas migration from these regions amounted to 10.8 %, 7.2 %, 6.0 %, and 6.0 % respectively;²⁰ thus each of them provided in relative terms approximately double the proportion of migrants for South Africa in comparison with the overall migration.

19 Figures calculated from: *NOS* R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, Tab. 1.

20 Figures calculated from: *NOS* R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

As was noted in the case of Sweden, migration to South Africa might remain at a very low rate or even be totally unrecorded even for regions of Norway with relatively high overall migration rates: in Stavanger and Kristians Provinces, for example, both of which supplied many overseas migrants, there was virtually no migration to South Africa. During the period 1886—94, 10.1 % of the Norwegian overseas migrants set out from Stavanger Province, and 8.0 % from Kristians Province;²¹ the proportion of Norwegian migrants to South Africa from Stavanger Province amounted however to only 5.1 %, i.e. half of the region's contribution to the total overseas migration, while Kristians Province provided a mere 0.8 % of the Norwegian migration to South Africa, which is a tenth of its contribution to the total migration. A similar divergence, although not on the same scale, can be seen in the later periods as well.

The divergences in the geographical pattern of recruitment between the South African and the overall overseas migrations from Norway are striking. The centres of recruitment to the migration to South Africa were, in addition to Christiania, the southern tip of the country (Lister & Mandal, Nedenes, and Jarlberg & Larvik Provinces), and Romsdal Province on the western coast. There was relatively little migration to South Africa from the larger towns on the west coast, Bergen (except during the earliest period) and Stavanger. In the overall Norwegian overseas migration, on the other hand, the pattern is reversed, with heavy recruitment on the western seaboard and a lower migration rate in the south.

A second clear area of divergence between the geographical patterns of recruitment to the Norwegian migration to South Africa and overall overseas migration emerges in the exceptionally low recruitment for South Africa from northern Norway and parts of the interior. The combined contribution of the four northernmost provinces in Norway to the total Norwegian overseas migration during the period 1902—14 amounted to 11.2 %, whereas they provided a mere 0.7 % of the migration to South Africa.²² A similar

21 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. III*: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 301, Tab. 1.

22 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. V*: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; *R. VI*: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

situation applies also in the case of Kristians Province, a region of traditionally high emigration in the Norwegian interior: with 6.7 % of the overall overseas migration, this region had the highest emigration rate of any Norwegian inland province,²³ yet the lowest inland rate in the migration to South Africa, 0.4 %.

In the case of Denmark, difficulties are caused by the fact that the migrants are classified in the Danish official statistics only in terms of a five-way division: Copenhagen, islands towns, Jutland towns, islands rural areas, and Jutland rural areas. No change was made in this classification throughout the period under investigation. In addition, prior to 1903 only male migrants aged 15 or over were classified; after 1903, women were also included, but children aged under 15 continued to be excluded.

These limitations have been taken into account in drawing up Figure 12, which therefore observes the conditions imposed by the data for the overall overseas migration, and is restricted to male migrants aged 15 and over. For the overall migration, it has been necessary to simplify the geographical classification into a three-way division: Copenhagen, the Danish islands, and Jutland. The figures relating to the overall migration for Copenhagen are derived directly from the official Danish statistics, while those for the Danish islands and Jutland represent regional mean values calculated from the official data.

This Figure clearly demonstrates the exceptional concentration of the migration to South Africa in Denmark on the Danish islands, and specifically on Copenhagen. During the period 1886—94, over nine tenths of the Danish migrants to South Africa came from the islands, with a mere 5.7 % coming from Jutland; the proportion coming from Copenhagen rose to 78.2 %. In comparison with the overall Danish overseas migration, where the city provided 17.8 % of the migrants, Copenhagen's share of the migration to South Africa was four times higher. The balance between the islands and Jutland was also quite different in the South African migration from the overall migration, where Jutland accounted for almost half the recruitment (49.5 %).²⁴

23 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. V*: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; *R. VI*: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

24 Figures calculated from: *SSO 11*, Tab. XIX; *SA 1896*, Tab. XIX.

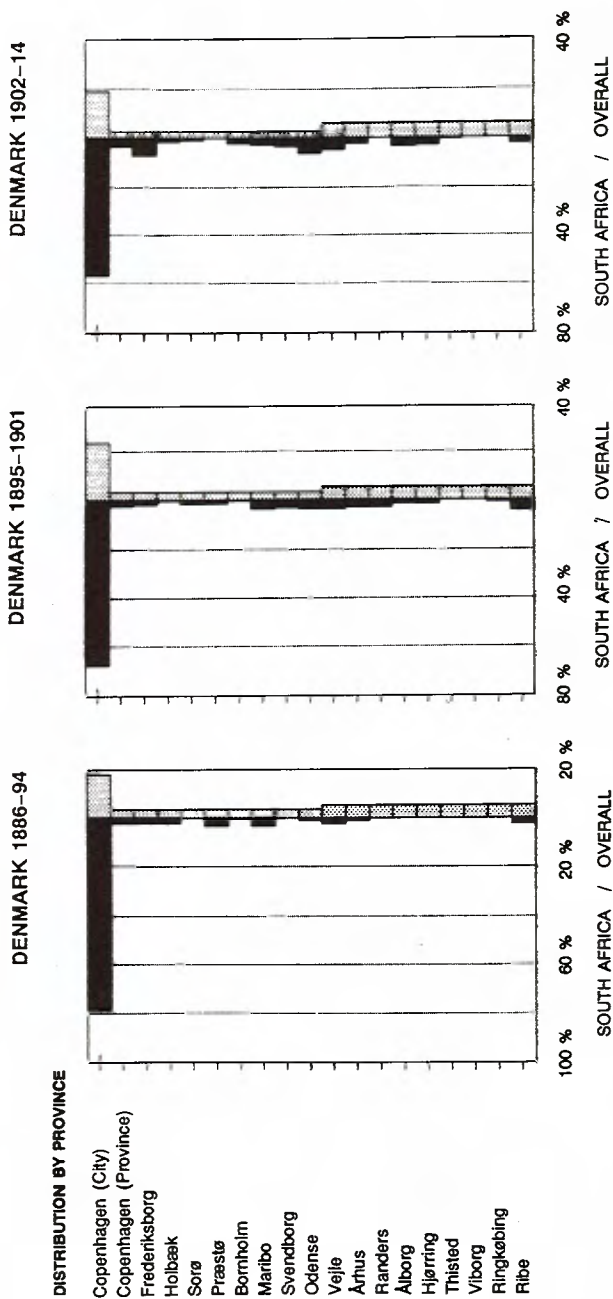


Figure 12. Geographical Pattern of Migration Recruitment (Adult Males) in Denmark, to South Africa and Overseas Overall, 1886-1894, 1895-1901 and 1902-1914.

During the period 1895—1901, however, the divergence between the South African and the overall migration was somewhat reduced. The proportion of South African migrants recruited from Copenhagen falls to 67.6 %, whereas in the overall migration the proportion recruited in Copenhagen had now risen to 23.6 %, thus reducing the extent to which Copenhagen dominated the migration to South Africa more than the overall migration. Similarly, the divergent pattern between Jutland and the islands also changes, with the recruitment of migration to South Africa from Jutland rising from 5.7 % (in the period 1886—94) to 15.6 %, while the proportion of the overall migration drawn from Jutland had fallen to 47.3 %, thus reducing the extent of the divergence.²⁵

In the period 1902—14, Jutland's share of the migration to South Africa stood at 15.8 %, which is consistent with the period 1895—1901. The major change here is the fall in Copenhagen's share, and the gain in the surrounding islands. Recruitment from Copenhagen fell to 56.6 %, which is almost one fifth less than in the period 1895—1901. Again, this means a reduction in the divergence between the South African and overall overseas migrations. Within the overall migration, Copenhagen's share fell from the level held in the period 1895—1901, to 18.9 %, while Jutland's share rose even further, to 53.6 %.²⁶

From 1903 onwards, the official Danish emigration statistics provide data making it possible to study the geographical patterns of recruitment to the migration of women, but in the interests of consistency this has not been done. The inclusion of women would have had little impact on the findings, although some. If both sexes are included, the proportion recruited in Copenhagen rises by 2.9 percentage points, to 59.5 %, and that in Jutland rises by 2.5 percentage points to 18.3 %; in the Danish overall migration, similarly, there is a rise in Copenhagen's share, to 22.2 %, whereas Jutland's falls to 51.3 %;²⁷ in other words the divergence of the pattern in the South African migration, measured in this way remains approximately the same.

25 Figures calculated from: SA 1900, Tab. XVIII.

26 Figures calculated from: SA 1903, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

27 Figures calculated from: SA 1903, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

If the Danish migration to South Africa is noteworthy for the divergent geographical pattern of recruitment concentrated on Copenhagen, then the regional concentration in the Finnish pattern of recruitment is even more striking. Whereas the Finnish migration to America is often thought of as an Ostrobothnian phenomenon, although also affecting other parts of the country, the migration to South Africa was virtually exclusively concentrated in specific municipalities in the Swedish-speaking region of central and southern Ostrobothnia.

It should be noted that the recognition that the Finnish migration to South Africa was concentrated in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia is not a startling new finding, since contemporary comments both in Finland and in South Africa refer to the heavy local concentration of recruitment in this branch of the overseas migration.²⁸

Altogether there are 1 215 cases of emigration from Finland to South Africa catalogued for the present investigation for whom the province of origin is known (90.3 % of all Finnish cases catalogued).²⁹ These are distributed among the Finnish provinces as follows:

Vaasa	1 098 (90.4 %)
Uusimaa	46 (3.8 %)
Turku & Pori	42 (3.5 %)
Viipuri	12 (1.0 %)
Oulu	10 (0.8 %)
Häme	6 (0.5 %)
Mikkeli	1 (0.1 %)
<hr/>	
Total	1 215 (100.0 %)

28 'Emigration till Afrika' (Emigration to South Africa). *Vasabladet* 9.11.1895; 'Från Syd-Afrika' (From South Africa). *Lördagsqvällen* 16.11.1895; 'Från Syd Afrika' (From South Africa). *Svenska Österbotten* 26.11.1896; 'På hemväg från Transvaal' (On the Way Home from the Transvaal). *Vasa Posten* 6.11.1907.

29 This Table is based on the migration data listed in Appendix 3, but also includes those cases of emigration occurring between 1886 and 1914 which cannot be dated more precisely.

The proportion of the Finnish migration to South Africa recruited from Vaasa Province, 90.4 %, diverged sharply from the Province's share in the total Finnish overseas migration, by more than 40 percentage points.³⁰ The domination of Vaasa Province in the Finnish migration to South Africa was truly unshaken.

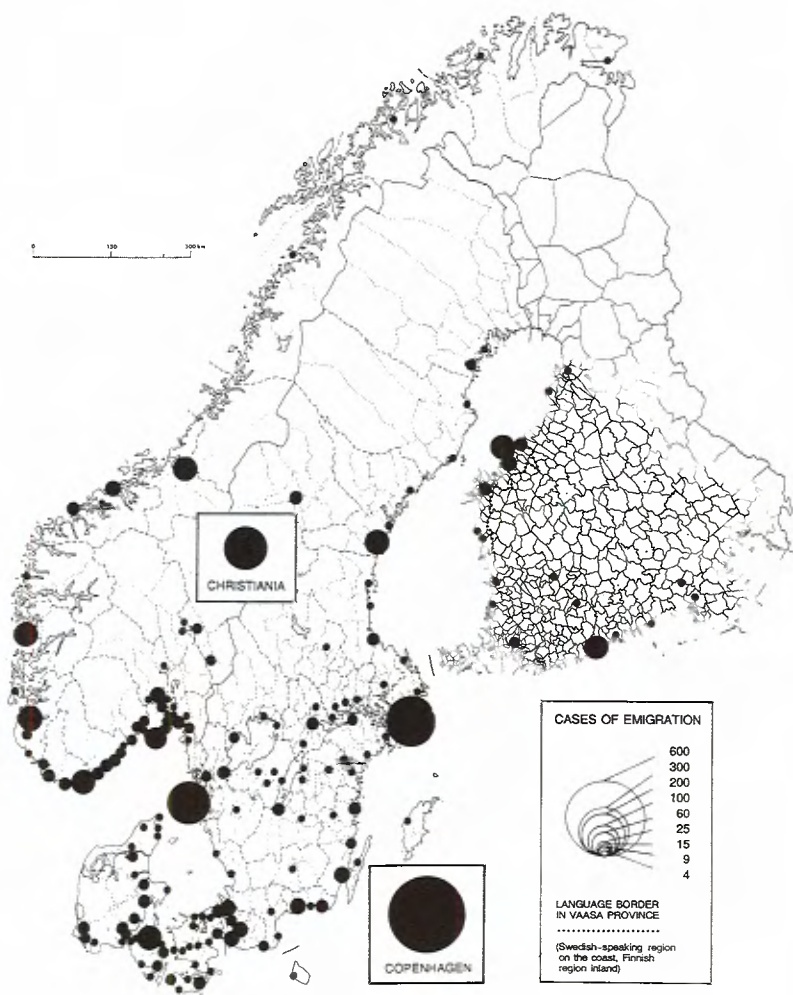
4.3.4. Urban Concentration

The divergence which has been established in the geographical pattern of recruitment between the migration to South Africa and the overall migration becomes more comprehensible if urban and rural migration are treated as distinct phenomena. Maps 8—9 therefore separately examine urban and rural recruitment to the migration to South Africa in the Nordic countries during the period 1886—1914.

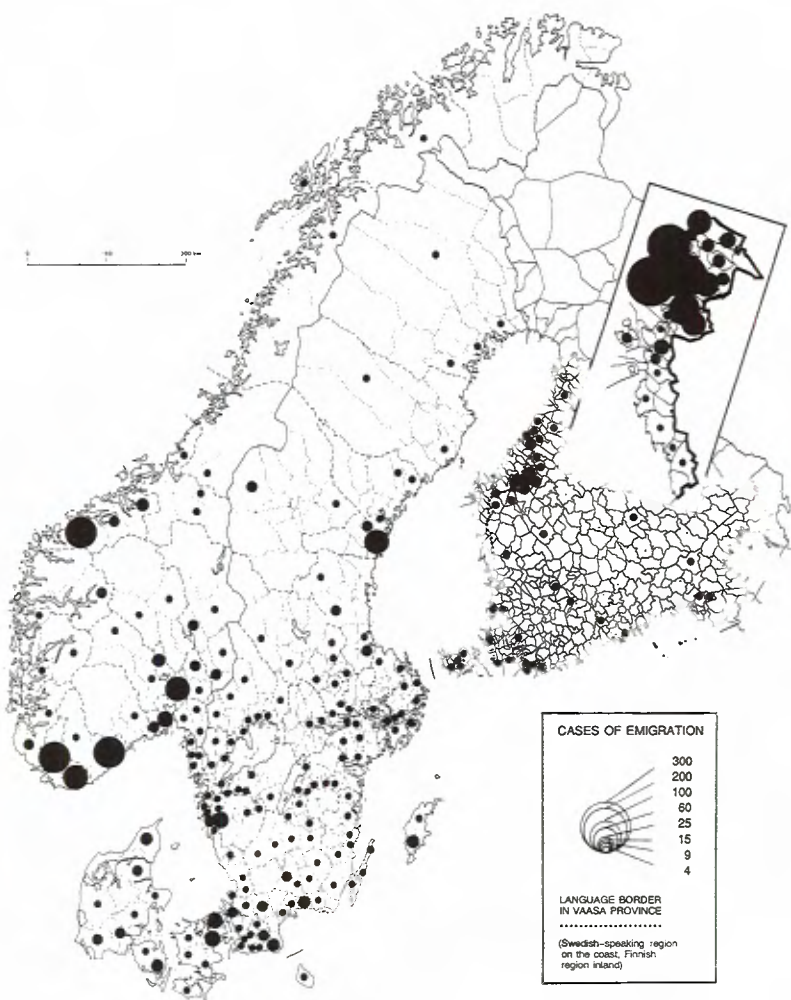
The high degree of urban concentration in the migration to South Africa from Sweden is readily visible from these maps. Urban recruitment is indeed a very marked feature of the Swedish migration to South Africa, for among the thousand-plus migrants allocable with certainty to the period 1886—1914 for whom the place of origin is known, slightly more than two thirds (68.4 %) came from cities and towns.

Since the overall overseas migration from Sweden at this time was essentially a rural movement (only one fifth, 20.6 %, of all overseas migrants from Sweden during the period 1886—1914

30 The total volume of Finnish overseas migration during the period 1886—1914 is estimated at around 313 000 persons (Kero 1974, 26—45). For the emigration from Vaasa Province, figures are available from the Statistical Yearbook of Finland for 1893. For 1886—1892, the number of emigrants can be obtained from the study carried out by Esa Vainio and Taru-Terhikki Tuominen on passports issued to emigrants in 1865—92. By collating these sources, a total figure is obtained of around 149 000 cases of emigration from Vaasa Province during 1886—1914; this represents approximately 47 % of the overall emigration from Finland during the same period. Since the figures quoted here for Vaasa Province are based only on passport register material, they may be too small by a few percentage points; they do however correctly indicate the order of magnitude involved.



Map 8. Nordic Migration to South Africa during the Period 1886—1914: Urban Recruitment.



Map 9. Nordic Migration to South Africa during the Period 1886–1914: Rural Recruitment.

came from urban areas),³¹ it is inevitable that the geographical pattern of recruitment for the migration to South Africa will be divergent from that for the overall migration overseas. If the patterns of recruitment to the South African and the overall migration are examined separately for urban and for rural recruitment, however, a more differentiated picture emerges.

In Figure 13, the geographical patterns of recruitment to the migration to South Africa and to the overall overseas migration from Sweden during the period 1886—1914 have therefore been compared.³² The patterns emerging for the urban migrants are, as can be seen, largely similar: both in the migration to South Africa, and in the overseas migration overall, the major centre of urban recruitment was Stockholm (31.6 % for South Africa and 27.8 % overall), followed by the towns in Gothenburg & Bohus Province (23.1 and 13.7 % respectively) and those in Malmöhus Province (9.0 and 9.7 % respectively).

Even so, the patterns are not completely identical. The fourth region of urban recruitment to the Swedish migration to South Africa, Västernorrland Province (6.5 %), accounted for only 2.4 % of the total Swedish overseas migration during the period 1886—1914;³³ conversely, in the fourth region of urban recruitment to the overall overseas migration, Östergötland, there was little support for the South African migration (a mere 1.6 %).

The divergence between the geographical patterns of recruitment is, however, far greater in the case of rural migrants. In the Swedish overall overseas migration, three provinces emerge as the main centres of recruitment: Värmland, Älvsborg and Kalmar. In the migration to South Africa, on the other hand, the three leading provinces are Västernorrland (14.2 %), Gothenburg & Bohus (10.2 %), and Malmöhus (7.8 %). The three provinces which dominate the overall overseas migration do also display above-average levels of recruitment to the South African migration:

31 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1.

32 Emigration figures are given for each province in Appendix 18.

33 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1.

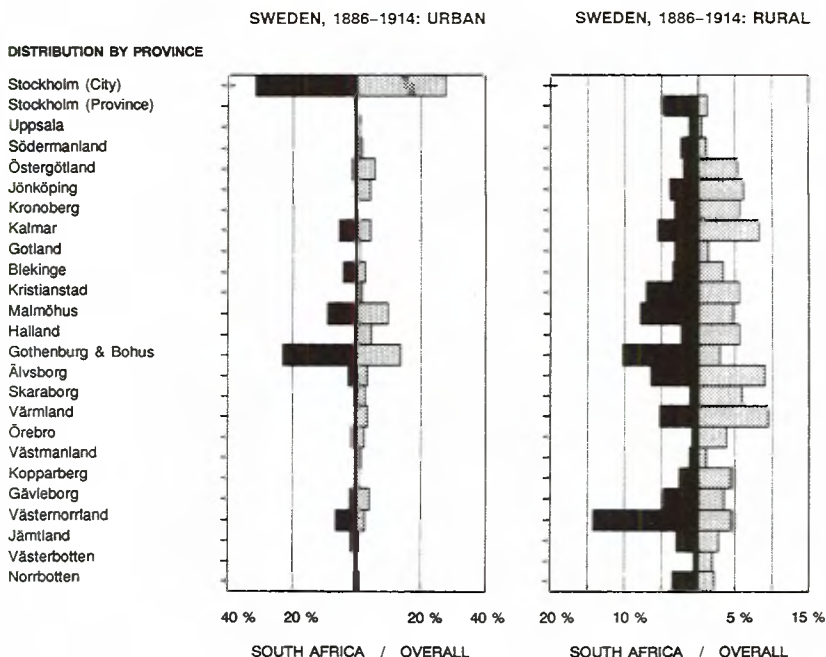


Figure 13. Geographical Patterns of Urban and Rural Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and to the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914, Sweden.

Älvsborg accounted for 6.4 % of the rural migrants to South Africa, Kalmar for 5.5 %, and Värmland for 5.2 %. The other provinces with levels of rural recruitment to South Africa above the average were Kristianstad (7.0 %), Gävleborg (4.7 %), and Stockholm Province (4.6 %).

It has been noted already that the Swedish migration to South Africa was essentially urban in recruitment; from Figure 10, it can be seen that the rural recruitment was also largely concentrated in those provinces which dominated the pattern of urban recruitment as well. The same feature can also be seen in Map 9, with the major concentrations of rural recruitment clustered in the hinterlands of Sundsvall in Västernorrland, and of Gothenburg in Gothenburg & Bohus Province. For the third province in the rural recruitment to the migration to South Africa, however, this does not apply: no

corresponding urban centre can be identified for Malmöhus, and the rural recruitment is scattered relatively evenly through this rather small province.

In the case of Norway, the comparison of Maps 8 and 9 suggests a heavy rural weighting in the migration to South Africa, in view of the strong pattern of rural recruitment in western and southern Norway. This impression is misleading, however; in fact, about three fifths (61.3 %) of the Norwegian migrants to South Africa during 1886—1914 for whom the place of origin is known, comprising over 1 100 cases, came from towns. Outside Christiania, however, the Norwegian recruitment was approximately equally divided between rural and urban.

The overall overseas migration from Norway during the period 1886—1914 was overwhelmingly rural in recruitment, although not to the same extent as in Sweden. Urban migrants made up about one fifth of the Swedish overall migration, and about one third (32.3 %) of that in Norway.³⁴ The balance between urban and rural recruitment in the overall Norwegian overseas migration is thus approximately the inverse of that in the migration to South Africa.

In Figure 14, the geographical patterns of urban and rural recruitment to the migration to South Africa from Norway during the period 1886—1914 are separately compared with those for the overall Norwegian overseas migration.³⁵ In the case of the urban recruitment, the patterns obtained are largely symmetrical, although not quite identical.

In both cases, the urban recruitment is dominated by Christiania, the capital. Thereafter, the patterns for the South African migration and the overall overseas migration diverge to some extent. The differences are however not very great. In the overall migration, Christiania, with 27.5 %, is followed by the provinces of Stavanger (10.7 %), Søndre Bergenhus (9.3 %), Nedenes (7.5 %), Lister & Mandal, and Jarsberg & Larvik (6.7 %).³⁶

34 Figures calculated from: *NOS* R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

35 Emigration figures are given for each province in Appendix 19.

36 Figures calculated from: *NOS* R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

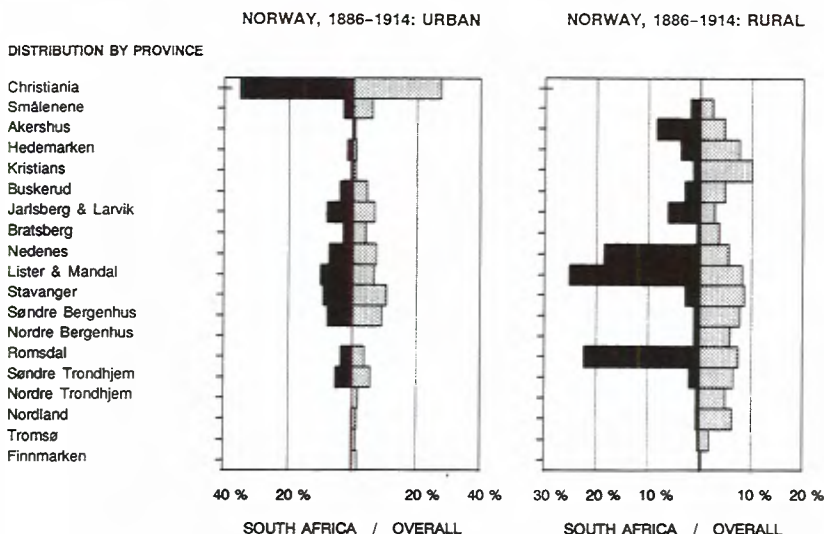


Figure 14. Geographical Patterns of Urban and Rural Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and to the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914, Norway.

In the migration to South Africa, Christiania leads with 35.1 %, followed by the provinces of Lister & Mandal (9.8 %), Stavanger (9.1 %), Jarlsberg & Larvik (8.2 %), Søndre Bergenhus (7.9 %) and Nedenes (7.4 %). Both in the overall overseas migration, and in the migration to South Africa, the urban recruitment in Norway was thus concentrated in the provinces in the southernmost third of the country, although there was some variation in order.

In Norway, as in Sweden, the urban patterns of recruitment thus diverged between the migration to South Africa and the overall overseas migration, but not to a very great extent. In the rural migration, on the other hand, whereas recruitment to the overall migration was spread rather evenly through the country (the highest figure being 10.1 %, in Kristians Province, and ten other provinces having values between 5 and 10 per cent),³⁷ the

³⁷ Figures calculated from: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

rural South African recruitment was heavily concentrated. Almost two thirds (65.9 %) of all cases of rural migration to South Africa came from three provinces: Lister & Mandal (25.2 %), Romsdal (22.3 %), and Nedenes (18.4 %). The only other provinces with significant contributions to the South African migration were Akershus (8.4 %) and Jarlsberg & Larvik (6.2 %).

The Danish migration to South Africa was dominated throughout the period 1886—1914 by recruitment from Copenhagen. Even in comparison with Sweden and Norway, the extent of metropolitan domination by the capital in Denmark is striking. As a consequence, a separate analysis of urban and of rural recruitment in Denmark cannot offer further insights into the geographical pattern of recruitment in the same way as in Sweden and Norway; moreover the limitations of the available data further reduce the value of such an analysis. Since no provincial breakdown of the data for the Danish overall overseas migration is available for the period under investigation,³⁸ a detailed comparison of the recruitment to the South African and the overall migration province by province is not possible.

Comparison of Maps 8 and 9 brings out the unique character of the Danish migration to South Africa not as urban but as metropolitan migration. Although, as the maps show, there was also support for the South African migration in other towns in Denmark, the volume of (non-metropolitan) urban emigration reached only double the level of that from rural districts. Of the cases of emigration to South Africa definitely occurring during the period 1886—1914 and for whom the place of origin is known, numbering just under one thousand, 66.6 % came from Copenhagen; 22.6 % from other towns; and 10.8 % from the rural areas. All in all, therefore, urban recruitment accounted for 89.2 %.

If the analysis is restricted to men, the figures change slightly, to 65.9 %, 23.2 % ja 10.9 % respectively, i.e. a total urban recruitment of 89.1 %. In the Danish overall overseas migration, on the other hand, the corresponding figures for adult male migrants are

38 Kristian Hvidt (1971, 97) has published total figures for each province for 1868—99. Since however most of these cases of emigration date from the period prior to 1886, the validity of proportions calculated on the basis of these for the period 1886—99 would be highly dubious.

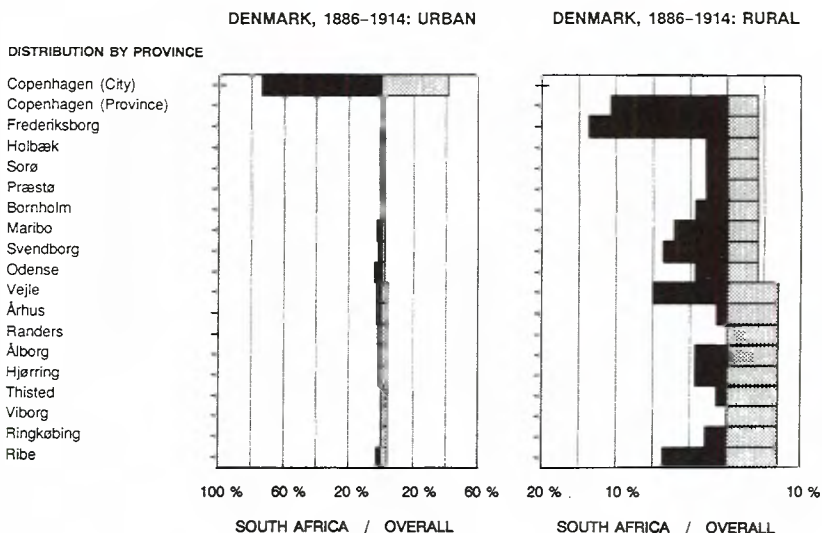


Figure 15. Geographical Patterns of Urban and Rural Recruitment (Adult Males) to the Migration to South Africa and to the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886–1914, Denmark.

19.0 %, 26.3 % ja 54.7 %.³⁹ The total urban recruitment to migration to South Africa was thus double the proportion of urban recruitment in the overall migration; and this is a strikingly high figure, since even in the Danish overall migration the proportion of men recruited in towns was double the corresponding figure for Sweden and around 40 % higher than in Norway. Although the proportion recruited to the South African migration from towns in Sweden and Norway was high — 68.4 % and 61.3 % — the figure of 89.2 % in Denmark is of a different order of magnitude.

Both Map 8, and Figure 15 (referring to men only),⁴⁰ demonstrate clearly the marginality of the migration to South Africa in the provincial towns of Denmark; only in four cases does the number of migrants reach ten or more, and of these, only in Odense

³⁹ Figures calculated from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902–1903, Tab. XVIII; 1904–05, Tab. 19; 1906–1912, Tab. 29; 1913–14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

⁴⁰ Emigration figures are given for each province in Appendix 20.

do the numbers rise above 25, while in Nykøbing (Falster), Århus, and Vejle they are between ten and fifteen.

In the diagram showing the recruitment of men migrants from rural areas, the striking feature is the domination by two provinces, Copenhagen (15.7 %) and Frederiksborg (18.6 %). In other words, these two provinces combined account for a third of the rural recruitment of migrants to South Africa from Denmark. In both provinces, the most likely explanation for this higher intensity of recruitment is the fact that they are in the vicinity of Copenhagen. Although the numbers of rural migrants from the other provinces on Zealand were low, nonetheless the combined recruitment from the provinces of Copenhagen, Frederiksborg, Holbæk, Sorø and Præstø (comprising Zealand and the adjacent islands) accounts for over two fifths (42.9 %) of all the migrants to South Africa from rural Denmark during this period.

A marked difference between the patterns of urban and rural recruitment to emerge from the Figure is the larger role of Jutland in the rural migration. Whereas Jutland accounted for only 12.1 % of the urban recruitment, it provided 32.9 % of the rural migrants. In this respect the migration to South Africa shows the same pattern as in the overall Danish overseas migration, where Jutland played a more important role in rural than in urban migration recruitment: 38.8 % of the overall urban migration, but 62.0 % of that from rural areas.⁴¹

In both cases, the difference reflects the impact on the Danish emigration statistics of the concentration of emigration in metropolitan Copenhagen. Since Copenhagen is included as part of the islands region of Denmark, its high figures have the effect of depressing the proportional share for Jutland. If the capital is separated into a distinct category, the balance between the Jutland mainland and the Danish islands becomes very different, with Jutland now accounting for almost half (46.6 %) of the urban recruitment in the migration to South Africa, and even more (66.8 %) of the overall Danish overseas migration.⁴²

41 Figures calculated from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—1903, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—1912, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

42 Figures calculated from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—1903, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—1912, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

In comparison with the other Nordic countries, Finland represents a major exception. Whereas in all the other Nordic countries the migration to South Africa was essentially urban in nature (urban migrant recruits comprising 68.4 % of the Swedish South African migration, 61.3 % of that from Norway, and 89.2 % of that from Denmark), urban migration accounted in Finland for only a tiny fraction of this. The rural-urban recruitment ratio in Finland is in fact approximately the reverse of the very high urban ratio in Denmark.

Throughout the three decades of the period under investigation, the Finnish migration to South Africa preserved its distinctive character as rural migration from a specific area. The specificity of the recruitment area must be stressed. Rural domination is part of the geographical pattern of recruitment, not the essential nature of the migration to South Africa. This can clearly be seen from Maps 8 and 9. While the major concentration of migration to South Africa from Finland was located in the rural municipalities of southern and central Ostrobothnia, the recruitment elsewhere in Finland was largely concentrated in coastal towns. Within Vaasa Province, urban recruitment accounted for 8.6 % of the migration to South Africa; elsewhere in Finland, for 65.8 %. For the total Finnish migration to South Africa, urban recruitment comprised 14.1 %. As a result of the geographical concentration of the Finnish migration to South Africa, the number of those migrating from the capital, Helsinki, comes to no more than a fraction of the corresponding numbers from the other Nordic capitals. Even in relative terms, the proportion of migrants from the capital in relation to total urban migrants was lower in Finland than in the other Nordic countries.

To some extent, the difference in the urban-rural patterns of recruitment between Vaasa Province and the rest of Finland reflect patterns also found in the overall Finnish overseas migration: the towns in Vaasa Province contributed fewer migrants, relatively speaking, than did the towns elsewhere in Finland. The official migration statistics record that 13.1 % of the emigrants from Finland during the period 1893—1914 came from towns, but only 6.7 % of the emigrants from Vaasa Province, contrasted with 19.2 % of the other Finnish emigrants.⁴³ For Vaasa Province, therefore,

43 Figures calculated from: *SVT* XXVIII:1, 12; XXVIII:11, 2.

the proportion of urban migrants in the migration to South Africa was fairly similar to that in the overall overseas migration (although in fact specifically during the period 1893—1914 the proportion of urban recruits to the migration to South Africa actually rose slightly, to 9.0 %). For Finland as a whole, the South African urban-rural recruitment ratio is fairly close to that of the overall overseas migration; but for the rest of Finland outside Vaasa Province, the urban predominance was three times higher in the migration to South Africa than in the overall overseas migration.

The degree of geographical concentration in the Finnish migration to South Africa does not reach the same level as that in Denmark, where, as noted above, Copenhagen alone accounted for 66.6 % of the migrants during the period 1886—1914 for whom the place of origin is known. Copenhagen and southern Ostrobothnia are not comparable, however, either in terms of population or of occupational structure. Copenhagen comprises its own unique case, which does not detract from the exceptional geographical concentration of the Finnish migration to South Africa in comparison with that from the other Nordic countries. This degree of concentration may be seen from the fact that whereas altogether there have been identified 90 municipalities in Finland with recorded cases of migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914, the five municipalities in Vaasa Province with the heaviest rates of South African migration account for 58.6 % of these, and the top ten for 71.1 %.

4.3.5. Marine Contacts

If the Nordic migration to South Africa from Sweden, Norway and Denmark was primarily an urban phenomenon, why were there such wide regional variations? Why were migrants recruited in some towns, and not in others? What factor distinguishes those towns with heavy recruitment from those with few or no migrants? As can be seen from Map 8, one common factor was the sea. All the Nordic towns of heavy recruitment to the migration to South Africa were coastal towns; migration from towns inland was on a much smaller scale.

This hypothesis does not however explain all the facts. If the

migration recruited from coastal towns, then why not from all coastal towns? If Kalmar, for example, with a population of 13 000, could supply during the period 1886—1914 altogether 20 migrants to South Africa, then why were there only three from Halmstad, with a population of 15 000? Alternatively, if only six migrants left for South Africa from Norrköping — then Sweden's fourth largest city, with a population of 41 000, — then why were there altogether 44 from Sundsvall, where the population numbered only 15 000? All four towns are on the Swedish coast; yet the variations in the volume of South African migration are enormous, and clearly not related to the size of the local population.

Doubtless, there were many factors which contributed to the regional and local variations in the strength of recruitment to the migration to South Africa. In the end, these depend on the ultimate reasons for emigration. Why did people decide to migrate to South Africa specifically? Economic considerations were presumably the most powerful factor; at times, perhaps, the sole one. It was the reports of high wages in South Africa which stimulated migration. Possibly such reports did not circulate evenly throughout the Nordic countries: there could well be regional or local variations in either the nature or the depth of information. Specifically, certain places acquired contacts with South Africa, through which there passed a fuller flow of information, thus stimulating further migration. Once established, migration became self-perpetuating, and thus also guaranteed the continuity of contacts between South Africa and Northern Europe.

What evidence is there available concerning regional variations in the degree of contact with South Africa? In Sweden, the heaviest migration to South Africa occurred in Stockholm; in Norway, in Christiania; in Denmark, in Copenhagen: i.e., understandably, the capital of each country.

The patterns of emigration from Stockholm during 1880—93 have been examined by Fred NILSSON, who found that emigration to destinations outside North America during this period was approximately ten percentage points higher from Stockholm than from elsewhere in Sweden (this figure includes, however, non-overseas migration within Europe as well). NILSSON considers it natural that Stockholm, as the administrative, commercial and cultural centre of the country, enjoyed closer contacts with the rest

of Europe than did other places in Sweden.⁴⁴ By analogy, it may be surmised that Stockholm, Christiania and Copenhagen would also have had closer contacts with South Africa; whereas cultural contacts no doubt were virtually non-existent, commercial contacts would have been stronger. Stockholm and Copenhagen, moreover, had administrative contacts, through their respective consular officials in South Africa.

Further light on the geographical pattern of recruitment to the Nordic migration to South Africa is also provided once the marine contacts between Northern Europe and South Africa are taken into account. For Sweden, a register of Swedish vessels calling at South African ports has been drawn up for this investigation on the basis of the shipping lists maintained by the consular authorities for Sweden-Norway. This register provides a listing and breakdown by home port of Swedish vessels listed by the consular authorities as docking in Cape Town for 1870—95, Port Elizabeth for 1876—95, East London for 1878—95, and Port Natal for 1876—95. The following Table lists the figures by South African port for the leading five Swedish ports in these statistics: the provinces of Gothenburg & Bohus, Västernorrland, Gävleborg, Malmöhus, and the City of Stockholm.

	Cape Town	Port Elizabeth	East London	Port Natal	TOTAL
Gothenburg & Bohus	135	106	28	66	335
Västernorrland	86	99	29	98	312
Gävleborg	80	55	11	63	207
Malmöhus	55	69	28	53	205
Stockhom (City)	42	15	5	7	69 ⁴⁵

The largest group of Swedish vessels visiting these South African ports consists of the 300 from Gothenburg, followed by the 183 from Sundsvall, 159 from Gävle, and the 133 from Hälsingborg. Inclusion of the 129 from Härnösand raises Västernorrland to second place at the level of provinces.

⁴⁴ Nilsson 1970, 37.

⁴⁵ Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1870—95. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor.

The evidence presented here thus indicates that ships registered in the provinces of Gothenburg & Bohus first, and Västernorrland second, were the most frequent Swedish visitors to the South African ports of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Port Natal. On the other hand, the record of a visit to a South African port by a vessel from some specific home port does not necessarily imply close contacts between the ports in question. Some ships in the international freight trade would spend several years sailing continuously from one port to another without ever calling at their home port. Yet even in these cases, contact at some level is suggested.

Swedish commercial vessels were however employed not only in the international freight trade, but also for handling Swedish exports. Consequently, Swedish ports of departure are frequently listed for the Swedish vessels docking in South African ports, and the home ports listed in the Table above are often also cited during the period examined, 1890—95, as the port of departure, although neither with the same frequency nor in the same order of frequency as in the listing of home ports.

In terms of port of departure, the Swedish name cited most often is Sundsvall. During 1890—95, 186 of the Swedish vessels sailing to South Africa had set out from Sundsvall; Gothenburg, with 107 vessels, comes only second, and in terms of regional frequencies, Gothenburg & Bohus Province comes only third, with Västernorrland and Gävleborg provinces leading with 213 and 189 vessels respectively.⁴⁶

This domination by Västernorrland and Gävleborg provinces is simply a natural consequence of the trade between Sweden and South Africa at that time.⁴⁷ Since South Africa had virtually no timber of her own, imports were an absolute necessity for the construction industry. There was thus a constant demand for timber, which Sweden attempted to meet as well as it could. Within Sweden, the region most involved was the north,

46 Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1870—95. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor.

47 On the structure of Swedish exports to South Africa during this period, see the annual consular reports for 1870—95. RAS KA. Skrivelser från konsuler 1870—79, Konsuler: Britt. Riket 1880—90; RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen. Konsulernas årsberättelser 1891—95.

especially Västernorrland and Gävleborg, the provinces with the most extensive stands of timber, and the central area for the timber industry.⁴⁸

An illustration of the activity of the Västernorrland timber industry in South Africa is for example the opening in 1893 of a branch office in Natal by a timber company from Sunsdvall, the Johannesdals Trävaru-Aktie-Bolag.⁴⁹

A heavy concentration of recruitment from the provinces of the coastal zone is also a striking feature of the Norwegian migration to South Africa. The problem is why so much of the migration came from the southern coast, and (with the exception of Romsdal) not from the western coast: why was there migration from the provinces of Lister & Mandal and Nedenes, but not from the provinces of Stavanger, Søndre Bergenhus or Søndre Trondhjem?

Two hypotheses may be advanced to explain this variation: closer contacts with South Africa on the Norwegian southern coast, or more powerful pressures encouraging emigration. Did the southern coast have closer contacts with South Africa, however? A comparison of the numbers of emigrants from various coastal towns suggests rather the opposite. In absolute numbers per town, the next highest volume of emigration after Christiania is found in Stavanger and Bergen on the western coast; the numerical domination of the provinces on the southern coast seen in Fig. 14 derives not from high numbers from single towns but from the large number of towns involved (altogether 23 coastal towns in the seven southern seaboard provinces). On the western coast of Norway, there is a much lower number of towns: Bergen and Trondheim were the only towns in their respective provinces, and even in Stavanger Province there were only seven.

Nor does the available information on early contacts between the towns on the Norwegian western coast and South Africa

48 In 1900, when the average proportion of the population in the Swedish provinces earning their living in the sawmill industry was 3.68 %, the proportion in Västernorrland was 19.49 %. The corresponding proportions in other provinces were: Gävleborg 15.87 %; Jämtland 11.16 %; Västerbotten 10.70 %; Norrbotten 10.67 % (*Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik — Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics*), 215, 227, 238, 248, 259.

49 Annual Consular Reports, Cape Town 1893. RAS KK. Statistiska avdelningen.

suggest weaker links than on the southern coast. As has been noted earlier, Stavanger and Bergen both played a central role in the migration to South Africa during the decades prior to 1886.

This is further confirmed by the information about marine links between Norway and South Africa. The data for the following Table were collated from the shipping lists kept by the consular authorities for Sweden-Norway in South Africa, listing the ports of registration of Norwegian vessels recorded as visiting the three South African ports of Port Elizabeth, East London and Port Natal during the period 1876—86. These data cover approximately three fifths (58.7 %) of all Norwegian vessels calling at South African ports during that period.⁵⁰ The Table lists dockings by vessels from the five ports of registration occurring most often in the data: the provinces of Stavanger, Nedenes, Bratsberg, Jarlsberg & Larvik, and Søndre Bergenhus.

A breakdown of the data by localities shows that the largest number of vessels from one port came from Stavanger (99), followed by Arendal (27), Kragerø (22), Bergen (20), and Christiania and Kristiansund with ten each; all other ports' figures are lower.

	Port Elizabeth	East London	Port Natal	TOTAL
Stavanger	36	11	59	106
Nedenes	26	3	26	55
Bratsberg	13	2	12	27
Jarlsberg & Larvik	12	1	7	20
Søndre Bergenhus	5	5	10	20 ⁵¹

What the data thus indicate is that (measured in terms of vessels calling at South African ports) the contacts of Stavanger with South Africa during the 1870s and 1880s were closer than those of the rest of Norway. None of the towns on the southern coast of Norway comes even near to the figures for vessels registered in Stavanger.

50 Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1878—86. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor.

51 Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1878—86. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor.

In later decades, the situation changes, however, to the advantage of the southern ports. The data for the following Table have been collated from the shipping logs kept by the Consulate General for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, with reference to reports of seamen deserting from Norwegian vessels in harbour in South Africa during the period 1887—1904. The number of vessels from which desertions were reported was 277, comprising 31.0 % of the 892 Norwegian vessels docking in South Africa during this period.⁵² The following Table gives a breakdown by provinces of the vessels reporting desertions.

Nedenes	91 (32.9 %)
Christiania (City)	47 (17.0 %)
Jarlsberg & Larvik	34 (12.3 %)
Stavanger	29 (10.5 %)
Lister & Mandal	23 (8.3 %)
Smålenene	19 (6.9 %)
Bratsberg	16 (5.8 %)
Buskerud	14 (5.1 %)
Søndre Bergenhus	3 (1.1 %)
Søndre Trondhjem	1 (0.4 %) ⁵³

From these findings, it seems evident that during the period 1887—1904 contacts with South Africa from the southern coast of Norway dominated over those from the western coast. 17.0 % of the vessels reporting desertions came from Christiania; 11.9 % from the western coast; but 71.1 % from the southern coast. Naturally, it may be questioned whether desertion reports form a reliable indicator of Norwegian marine traffic, and whether there may have been differences in levels of pay, etc., from one port to another which would have contributed to differing levels of incitement to desertion. While some differences may indeed have existed, however, it would appear improbable that these would have been very significant: Norwegian ships were well-known at that time for their low levels of pay;⁵⁴ and the potential advantages

52 Shipping Logs of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1887—1904. RAS GK. Skeppsdagsböcker.

53 Shipping Logs of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1887—1904. RAS GK. Skeppsdagsböcker.

54 Tønnesen 1951, 155.

to be gained from desertion, especially in Cape Town around the turn of the century, were so great that minor differences in the original levels of pay would not have seriously affected the outcome.⁵⁵

The findings from the desertion data are further confirmed by a sample taken for the year 1900, when of the 73 Norwegian vessels visiting Cape Town, 15 (29.5 %) were from Christiania, five (6.9 %) from the western coast, and 47 (64.4 %) from the southern coast.⁵⁶

What conclusions can be drawn about contacts between the port of registration and South Africa from the number of visits by vessels registered in a particular Norwegian port is a more problematic question, as was noted in the discussion above relating to Sweden. Ships were in some cases for sea for many years at a time without calling at their home ports; and this reservation about the interpretation of the data applies with even more force to the Norwegian than to the Swedish data, since the Norwegian merchant marine specialized more than that of Sweden in the international freight trade. This is confirmed by South African data showing that only 488 (14.1 %) of the 3 465 Norwegian vessels docking in South Africa during the period 1874—1903 were carrying cargoes directly from Norway. On the other hand, Nordic if not Norwegian contacts would have been promoted by the fact that a considerable proportion of the Norwegian ships carrying non-Norwegian cargoes were engaged in the Swedish timber trade: this applies to 585 (25.4 %) of the Norwegian vessels calling at South African ports during the period 1874—97.⁵⁷

Despite the relative scarcity of visits to their home ports by Norwegian ships, however, in the long run it would seem probable that some kind of contacts would be created between the ships' home ports and ports of call. Although the crews were in many cases very international in composition, a geographical bond

55 Kuparinen 1987, 218—219.

56 Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in South Africa for 1900. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor.

57 These figures are derived from the following consular reports: *Uddrag af Consulat-beretninger vedkommende Norges Handel og Skibsfaart* 1874—1876. Capstaden; *Indberetninger om handel og søfart fra de Forenede Rigers Konsuler* 1877—79. Kapstaden; *NOS Uddrag af Aarsberetninger fra de*

between the men's home areas and the ship's home port appears highly probable.⁵⁸

By comparison with Sweden and Norway, the marine contacts between Denmark and South Africa were very weak, as can clearly be seen from Table 5 above, on Nordic marine contacts with South Africa. During the quinquennium 1886—90, for example, a total of 569 Norwegian ships and 348 Swedish ships docked in South African ports, but the number of ships from Denmark amounted only to 56, of which a mere five were registered in Copenhagen, and not in a single case had a ship loaded its cargo in Copenhagen.⁵⁹ In view of the concentration of the Danish migration to South Africa in Copenhagen, this is the only port where there would be any justification to look for marine contacts on a significant scale, and such contacts are not in fact found.

4.3.6. The Significance of Push Factors

Statistics on the numbers of vessels docking in South Africa from specified Nordic home ports or ports of registration cannot however be simply or mechanically used to explain the regional variations found in the Nordic migration to South Africa.

If the mere frequency of visits to South African ports were the sole criterion for migration, for instance, then Gävleborg Province should have come second in the geographical pattern of

forenade Rigers Konsuler 1880—89. Kapstaden; *Berättelser om Handel och Sjöfart från de Förenade Rikenas Konsuler* 1890. Kapstaden; *Utdrag ur Årsberättelser från De Förenade Rikenas Konsuler* 1891—94. Kapstaden; *Beretninger om Handel og Skibsfart. Uddrag af Aarsberetninger fra de forenede Rigers Konsuler* 1895—1898. Kapstaden; *Konsulatsberetninger. Uddrag af aarberetninger fra de norske og svenske konsuler* 1899—1903. Kapstaden.

58 In 1900, for example, desertions by seamen were reported for 23 Norwegian vessels in Cape Town, of which seven were from Christiania, two from the western coast, and 14 from the southern coast. Of the 22 Norwegian seamen reported as deserting, four had been born in Christiania, three on the western coast, and 15 on the southern coast (Shipping Logs for 1900. RAS GK. Skeppsdagsböcker).

59 Shipping Lists of the consuls for Denmark in South Africa for 1886—90. RAK UD. Indkomne skiblister fra konsulaterne.

recruitment for the migration to South Africa from Sweden.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding its local marine traditions and busy sea traffic, however, Gävleborg Province did not in fact belong to the core region of Swedish recruitment to the South African migration. During the period 1886—1914, when South Africa absorbed 0.4 % of the overall overseas migration from Västernorrland Province, it took a mere 0.1 % of the overseas migrants from Gävleborg (a region not only considerably more industrialized, but specifically with a wider industrial base).

It therefore seems likely that close marine contacts were not enough alone to maintain a high migration rate; something more was needed; and it is therefore necessary to turn to the traditional two-way analysis of pressures affecting migration into push and pull factors. Marine contacts could mediate information about the far country, and thus contribute to the pull effect; but this alone is not usually enough. For migration to take place, a push factor operating within the source region is also necessary, and indeed must be regarded as primary. The most common such push factors are economic ones, such as rapid population growth, shortage of farmland, unemployment, etc.

The existence of local push factors contributing to variation in the geographical pattern of recruitment to the Swedish migration to South Africa can, moreover, be demonstrated. The migration to South Africa from Västernorrland supplies in fact a model example of the interaction of push and pull factors in the creation of migration. Local economic pressures created the push; the contribution of the marine contacts was to provide the information which could channel the resultant migration in the direction of South Africa.

It is a striking feature of the South African migration from Västernorrland that almost nine tenths of the migrants (87.6 %) came either from the town of Sundsvall itself or from its immediate

60 The age of this tradition is illustrated by the fact that during 1841—60, altogether 34 of the Swedish ships docking at Cape Town were registered in Gävle. Only 13 ships from Västernorrland visited Cape Town during the same period, 9 of which came from Sundsvall and 4 from Härnösand. The statistics are dominated by Stockholm, with 172 vessels, and Gothenburg, with 121 (Shipping Lists of the consuls for Sweden-Norway in Cape Town, 1841—60. RAS KK. Konsulernas skeppslistor).

hinterland. The Sundsvall district was in many ways anomalous in the context of late 19th-century and early 20th-century Sweden: the surrounding area, which could be considered as the outskirts of Sundsvall itself, comprised the largest industrialized rural area in Sweden at that time. Population density was high in general, but especially so in the Sköns court district (used for demographic purposes), consisting of Sköns, Alnö and Timrå municipalities. The demographic growth rate here was high: during the period 1865—1907, when the population in Sweden overall grew by 31 %, and that in Västernorrland by 2 %, the growth rate in the Sköns court district amounted to 354 %.⁶¹

Similarly, the Sköns court district occurs prominently in the migration statistics. During the period 1891—1900, for example, when the net migration rate (i.e. the emigration rate minus the return migration rate, in relation to the population) for Sweden as a whole amounted to 3.40 per thousand, and that for Västernorrland to 3.76 per thousand, the rate in the Sköns court district reached 9.76 per thousand. Only in three other court districts in Sweden did higher net migration rates occur.⁶² In particular, emigration from the Sköns court district (situated in the timber industry region of Västernorrland) was stimulated by a depression in the sawmill industry, which led to the former positive net demographic index for the Province falling to negative values.⁶³

The Sundsvall region provides the clearest example in Sweden of emigration being channelled to South Africa from a region which had previously experienced rapid population growth; but other examples can also be cited elsewhere. As has been noted earlier, the hinterland of Gothenburg also formed one of the areas of high rural recruitment in the Swedish migration to South Africa. The highest migration rate occurred in the municipality of Örgryte, to which very much the same criteria apply as to Sköns. Örgryte

61 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics), 230—231, Tab. 70, Tab. 81B; see also Tedebrand 1972, 14.

62 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics), Tab. 70.

63 On the impact of the industrial depression, see Tedebrand 1972, 14. See also *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics), 231.

lay on the outskirts of Gothenburg, as Sköns did for Sundsvall, within a region of fast demographic increase. Sävedal court district, to which Örgryte belonged, experienced a growth rate of 268 % during the period 1865—1907.⁶⁴

In both the Gothenburg and the Sundsvall regions, therefore, there is found the interaction of both push and pull factors relating to the migration to South Africa. Close marine contacts with South Africa provided a channel of information, while demographic and economic pressures helped to create a stream of emigration. Once again, however, these criteria must not be applied too mechanically. A high migration rate to South Africa did not necessarily predicate a high overall migration rate; in Gothenburg, for example, the net overall migration rate during the period 1891—1900 amounted to only 3.94 per thousand population.⁶⁵ Conceivably the density of marine contacts in the Gothenburg region was so high that the South African pull effect was sufficient, without the need for the more significant co-occurrence of local push factors. As has been noted earlier, the migration to South Africa frequently involved a powerful economic motive, where the high levels of wages in South Africa created expectations of prosperity. South Africa may well have attracted some with no other motive beyond that of further raising an already relatively advantageous standard of living.

Similar examples of the operation of push factors can also be identified in Norway. The rise of Lister & Mandal Province to dominance within the Norwegian migration to South Africa during 1895—1901 was not a phenomenon separate from the trends in the overall Norwegian overseas migration in this period. Factors affecting these trends include agricultural improvement, and the impact of the consequent fall in farm product prices on the economy in regions less suited to agriculture; and, even more significantly, the structural transformation of Norwegian shipping. The introduction of steam was steadily displacing sailing ships, with a consequent reduction in the number of vessels and falling

64 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics), 126, Tab. 70

65 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga V. Bygdestatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix V: Population Statistics), Tab. 77.

crew musters, but also with disastrous consequences for the many small shipyards on the Norwegian coast. The impact of these changes was at its greatest at the southern tip of Norway, which had been the traditional region of small sail fleets.⁶⁶

These pressures in southern Norway were then reflected in a high emigration rate. During the decade 1891—1900, the annual overseas emigration rate for Norway as a whole had amounted to 4.5 per thousand population; in 1901—10, it rose to 8.2 per thousand. By contrast, the rate for Nedenes Province for the decade 1891—1900 came to 8.8 per thousand, and in 1901—10 it reached 14.9 per thousand. For Lister & Mandal Province, the figures are even higher: 11.4 and 16.6 per thousand respectively. These rates in Lister & Mandal are the highest in Norway for the period in question, followed immediately by those for Nedenes. The emigration rates for the western coast are lower: in Stavanger Province, 7.6 per thousand during 1891—1900, rising to 12.0 per thousand in 1901—10; but the corresponding figures for the city of Bergen are only 3.4 and 9.3 per thousand, and those for the Bergen rural hinterland 3.9 and 7.3 per thousand respectively.⁶⁷

If the analysis is carried out in terms of smaller demographic units, the exceptionally high emigration rate for southernmost Norway emerges even more clearly. At the beginning of the century, when Norway experienced a wave of increased emigration, the highest local rate was that for Lister bailiwick, in Lister & Mandal Province: 20.5 per thousand; third in the list, with 14.2 per thousand, comes Mandal bailiwick, covering the other half of Lister & Mandal Province, while the coastal region in Nedenes Province, Nedenes bailiwick, comes fourth with 13.9 per thousand population.⁶⁸

It is these three bailiwicks which also formed the area of highest migration to South Africa on the southern Norwegian coast. The highest figure in this region, 136 cases, is that recorded for Nedenes bailiwick; the two bailiwicks in Lister & Mandal Province account for 184 (94 and 90 respectively). These three bailiwicks on the southern coast, taken together with the 85 cases recorded for

66 Semmingsen 1950, 207—211, 221—225.

67 NOS R. VII:25, 29.

68 NOS R. VII:25, 29.

Sunnmøre bailiwick on the west coast, account for around two fifths (43.5 %) of all cases of emigration to South Africa from Norway outside Christiania in 1886—1914.

This concentration of emigration to South Africa around the southernmost tip of Norway is thus comparable with the similar concentrations examined for the Sundsvall and Gothenburg regions in Sweden. In both countries, the local interaction of push and pull factors can be identified. Close marine contacts had created links with South Africa for southern Norway just as they had for Sundsvall and Gothenburg, and thus supplied the conditions in which a portion of the emigration pressures arising from the impact of changes in Norwegian agriculture and shipping could be channelled to South Africa.

A further factor which should not be overlooked is the role of cities as centres where potential emigrants gathered. The Norwegian cities provide good examples of this. In Christiania, for example, overall emigration had earlier been very low; the capital had flourished, and had attracted heavy internal migration from within Norway. The onset of a depression in 1899 reversed this net pattern, and Christiania began to shake off surplus population through out-migration. Similar trends can also be identified for the other larger cities in Norway, but the impact of poor employment during the first decade of the 20th century is most clearly to be seen in the capital.⁶⁹

The impact of the rising pressures for emigration on the larger towns in Norway can also be seen in the geographical pattern of recruitment examined in Figure 14. The heaviest overall overseas emigration rates are found in the provinces of Søndre Bergenhus and Stavanger, i.e. in the hinterlands of the largest towns in Norway after Christiania.

It must also be borne in mind that a large population reserve can generate heavy absolute migration figures even without the generation of an exceptionally high emigration rate; this is particularly applicable in the case of Copenhagen. Throughout the three decades under investigation, Copenhagen had the largest population of any capital city in the Scandinavian countries. The mean population of Stockholm for the 1890s, 1900s and 1910s

69 NOS R. VI:55, 61; Semmingsen 1950, 363.

amounts to 296 000; that for Christiania, to 192 000; but the corresponding figure for Copenhagen comes to 384 000. Copenhagen thus had considerably larger population resources available from which to recruit emigrants to South Africa.

Copenhagen generated heavier migration than did the other Nordic capital cities, but not on the basis of higher migration rates. The high figures for Copenhagen are the result of the larger population base for recruitment, and of the lack of rival major regional centres of migration. HVIDT has calculated that Copenhagen's share of the emigration occurring between 1868 and 1899 (192 per thousand emigrants) corresponds almost exactly to the proportion of the national population resident in the capital (195 per thousand population). Although HVIDT himself recognizes deficiencies in the means by which these figures have been calculated, he considers that the general trend which they indicate in emigration rates is valid.⁷⁰

Although the emigration rate in Copenhagen was not especially high, however, it was a large city and therefore had its specific demographic features, employment problems, etc. During this period, Copenhagen was undergoing very rapid growth. Within two decades, between 1890 and 1911, the population of the city grew from 313 000 to 462 000 (or, if Frederiksberg is included, from 360 000 to 559 000). The impact of Danish internal migration can also be seen in the emigration, since although 22.1 % of the Danish emigrants during 1910—14 left from Copenhagen, only 12.3 % of the emigrants had been born there.⁷¹

Both in Sweden and Norway, the migration to South Africa has been identified as primarily an urban movement, and the same observation applies also in the case of Denmark. All the conditions requisite to the emergence and prolongation of migration to South Africa can be found concentrated in Copenhagen: the pull effect of the greater availability than elsewhere in Denmark of information about opportunities in South Africa; the push factors of emigration pressures arising from population growth, unemployment, etc.⁷² Even the occupational structure of Copenhagen may have

70 Hvidt 1971, 98—99.

71 Hvidt 1971, 128.

72 On emigration pressures, see Hvidt 1971, 224, 236.

exercised an effect, for certain occupations were more strongly represented in the capital than in the rest of the country. An examination of the question whether South Africa exercised a more powerful attraction on people in particular occupations, i.e. whether the migration to South Africa was specific to certain occupational groups, is given in Chapter 4. 4. below.

4.3.7. The Significance of Migration Tradition

Emigration pressure, without the availability of prior contacts with South Africa, could not alone generate migration to South Africa on a significant scale. Good examples supporting this are to be seen in the emigration from Kristians Province in Norway, and Värmland in Sweden. Both of these provinces are located inland; both of them provided very heavy recruitment for the overall overseas migration; but in the absence of marine or other South African contacts, neither of them played a significant role in the migration to South Africa. Even if economic pressures are recognized as the primary push factor leading to the emergence of migration, local migration traditions must probably be awarded equal significance in the emigrants' choice of destination. Each area of origin may have its own distinctive tradition of migration to specific destinations.

An excellent example of the impact of local migration traditions in Nordic migration patterns is provided by the major contribution made to the Finnish migration to South Africa by the municipality of Munsala in Ostrobothnia.

It is a striking feature of the Finnish South African migration that right from the earliest years it was dominated by recruitment from a handful of municipalities. The most significant case is that of Munsala, in southern Ostrobothnia, where there was particularly heavy migration to South Africa during the late 1880s and early 1890s. The data show that Finnish migration to South Africa during the period 1886—94 was above all migration from Munsala.

Munsala was in many respects an exceptional area within the context of the recruitment to Finnish emigration at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The 1910 statistics of Finns currently resident abroad place Munsala in second place for

the entire country, with 29.8 % of the registered local population absent on 31 December 1910.⁷³ Similarly, examination of the local emigration rates for 1870—1914 places Munsala very near the top of the table, in fifth place; among Swedish-speaking rural municipalities, Munsala came first.⁷⁴ Moreover, if those currently recorded as resident in Sweden, Russia or America are discounted from the 1910 statistics of absent residents, Munsala also takes first place within Vaasa Province;⁷⁵ in other words, the choice of alternative destinations outside North America also forms an interesting feature of the emigration from Munsala: not only to South Africa, but also to Australia and, especially, to New Zealand. The local migration tradition in Munsala could thus be described as marked by a more global choice of destinations than that found in other municipalities in Vaasa Province.

In the creation or continuation of local traditions, individuals could sometimes play a crucial part. In the initial years of emigration, the impact of a few persons or even a single individual is relatively much greater: the example of one local emigrant's success overseas can offer encouragement to neighbours and acquaintances to follow in his or her tracks. On occasion, emigrants visiting their former homes might set out again accompanied by large parties of new recruits. The best known example of this in the history of Finnish emigration is probably that of Carl Sjödahl, alias Charles Linn, who recruited several dozen new emigrants to the United States from Uusimaa Province in 1869.⁷⁶

There are no known examples in the Finnish migration to South Africa of deliberate recruitment of this type by individuals, but one person who nevertheless played a significant individual role was John Olson from Munsala, who was the leader of a party setting out for South Africa from Munsala and Oravais in the late winter of 1890. Since he had himself formerly lived in South Africa, and was familiar with the local opportunities for employment and similar conditions, he presumably played an important role in the

73 SVT VI:45, 26.

74 Kero 1974, 217—232.

75 SVT VI:45, 308—315.

76 See Kero 1971, 160.

formation of this party, the largest such group travelling to South Africa from Finland in the earlier years of the migration. Although John Olson does not meet the same criteria as Charles Linn, either as an example of personal success abroad or in the scale of his recruitment of new emigrants, he nevertheless stands out clearly from his compatriots. The least that can be said of Olson is that he was the 'primus inter pares' among the relatively small numbers of Finnish migrants to South Africa.⁷⁷

Despite the geographical expansion over the three decades under investigation in the recruitment to the Finnish migration to South Africa, this migration stream persisted as largely specific to a relatively narrowly delimited Swedish-speaking area in central and southern Ostrobothnia, the core of which was throughout the period situated in Munsala, thus providing an outstanding example of the impact of local migration traditions.

A second example of the impact of local migration traditions can be seen in Romsdal Province in Norway, and specifically in Sunnmøre bailiwick in the south of the Province, the centre of recruitment for the Marburg colony in 1882. At least two thirds of the migrants to South Africa from Romsdal Province during the period 1886—1914 came from Sunnmøre.

Following the migration by 1882 party, there must have been many people in Sunnmøre with relatives or acquaintances in South Africa, and these contacts may be presumed to have given a major boost to continuing South African migration. The discrepancy between the Natal destination of the 1882 Marburg Scheme, and the fact that later migration headed for the Transvaal, may be discounted, in view of the internal migration within South Africa, in which large numbers were drawn to Johannesburg from Marburg as well.

77 Johan Hansson Nyby, alias Olsson, farmer and former seamen, born in Munsala 27.11.1851, married 1878. Five-year passport issued for foreign travel, 23.5.1879; five year passport issued for America, 10.6.1882. Travelled to Boston, 1882. Visited South Africa during the 1880s, and went there again in 1890. Employed as a supervisor on the Natal railway, and as a miner in Johannesburg. Returned to Finland in 1897; in 1899, sold his farm in Munsala and returned to South Africa, but returned to Finland again the same year. In April 1902, travelled to the United States, and from there went to South Africa again in September 1902. Contributed traveller's letters to the *Österbottniska*

Nonetheless, the impact of the 1882 Marburg Scheme can account only in part for the heavy migration rate from Sunnmøre to South Africa during the period 1886—1914, and it becomes necessary to enquire why the 1882 Marburg Scheme did in fact attract so many migrants specifically from Sunnmøre. It has been noted earlier that the group who emigrated in 1882 were not in fact the first instance of migration to South Africa from Sunnmøre; rather, they constituted an additional link in the chain, for there had been migration to South Africa from Sunnmøre prior to Marburg. The local migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914 could thus well be regarded as the continuation of a local migration tradition dating further back in time.

Posten during the 1890s and early 1900s. Captain of the victorious Finnish tug-o'-war team in Johannesburg, March 1903. Died in Johannesburg, 17.11.1925 (Parish records, Munsala; passport registers, Vaasa Provincial Administration. VMA; passenger lists, Gothenburg Police Department. LAG; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 12.6.1890; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). Ibid. 1.1.1891; 'Resebref af John Olson' (A Travel Report of John Olson). Ibid. 14.11.1902; 'Resebref af John Olson'. Ibid. 21.11.1902; 'Bref från Johannesburg' (A Letter from Johannesburg). Ibid. 1.5.1903; 'Våra värnepliktige' (Our Conscripts). *Wasa Nyheter* 2.6.1899).

4.4. Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa

4.4.1. Occupational and Social Composition

4.4.1.1. Occupational Classification

When the Nordic migration to South Africa was examined in terms of geographical recruitment, it was noted that the pattern emerging differed, often to a significant extent, from that for Nordic overseas emigration overall. In the following, it will now be examined whether the South African migration also displayed a distinctive composition. It is hoped to draft a picture of the Nordic migrants to South Africa in terms of the occupational and social composition of this population and in terms of age, sex, and marital status.

The population constituted by those migrants whose departure is documented provides excellent opportunities for the closer examination of the occupational and social composition of the Nordic migration to South Africa. Among the 5 351 cases catalogued for this investigation of migrants departing from the Nordic countries during the period 1886—1914, the migrant's occupation or social status is known in 4 543 cases (84.9 %). The sub-population thus obtained is distributed as follows: Norway 1 234 (84.4 %), Sweden 1 181 (81.2 %), Finland 1 093 (89.4 %), and Denmark 1 035 (85.3 %). The proportion of documented migrants for whom occupation or social status is known is thus in excess of 80 % for each of the four Nordic countries.

In classifying the migrants in terms of occupation or social status, the practice used in the official migration statistics of Finland, Sweden, and to some extent of Norway has also been followed here, under which family dependents (wives and children) are allocated to the same occupational classification as the head of their household. Each occupational category thus comprises the entire range of persons deriving their livelihood from the occupation(s) in question, whether directly or indirectly; for the latter, the classification thus in fact denotes social status. One exception in the application of this rule, however (also observed in the Swedish and Norwegian statistics) is that the

(adult) children of farmers and of crofters are allocated to their own distinct categories.

In view of the fact that the period under examination extends over three decades, and over four countries with somewhat differing economic structures, problems are inevitably encountered in the classification. Even where a similar occupational term is in use throughout the Nordic countries, it is not always certain that it refers to the same thing. Even within the same country, the same term may have different meanings in different places, e.g. between rural and urban areas, or in different regions. Moreover, the terminology of occupation or social status also underwent modification in the course of industrialization during these three decades. Finally, there is a degree of imprecision in the terms used; consequently, even where an entry in the passport registers or in the registers of emigrants kept by the police apparently clearly define the occupation or social status of an emigrant at the time of departure, this does not mean that firm conclusions can be drawn about the migrant's social class of origin.¹ In cases where different information has been found in parallel sources concerning an emigrant's occupation or social status, the description closest in time to departure has been taken.

An additional complication in the classification of migrants by occupation or social status arises from the fact that each of the four Nordic countries adopted a differing system of classification in its migration statistics; in some cases, moreover, the system of classification was modified during the period under examination, 1886—1914. In order to achieve comparability in terms of occupational composition between the migration to South Africa and overall patterns of migration, therefore, a unified classificatory structure has here been adopted applicable to both. This classification is based on a five-class division adopted in the official Swedish migration statistics in 1903. The data on emigrants from all four Nordic countries have therefore been coded in accordance with this five-way division, and the overall migration statistics for Denmark, Finland and Norway, together

1 On inconsistency and classification problems in occupational terminology in the Nordic countries, see Svalestuen 1970, 15—20; Hvidt 1972, 210—212; Kero 1974, 81—83; Carlsson 1976, 141, 146; Tedebrand 1972, 167—169.

with those for Sweden for the earlier period 1886—1902, have been reprocessed on the same basis.

The five basic classes employed in this classification are: (I) agricultural occupations, including fishing; (II) industrial and artisan occupations (including mining); (III) occupations in trade and communications; (IV) occupations in public services and the professions; and (V) labourers, servants and those with no specified occupation.

Classes I—III are straightforward, and require no further comment. Classes IV and V, however, are somewhat less clear. Class IV, for example, includes civil servants in national and local government, clergy, teachers, journalists, physicians, and members of the armed forces. Class V incorporates not only labourers with no more precise occupational title, but also domestic servants, and also various persons living on private incomes; in addition, this class also includes students, and migrants travelling under the title 'Master' (i.e. young men) or 'Miss'. Class V is thus to some extent a 'remainders' category, to which have been allocated all those not assignable to one of the other classes. Undeniably, some confusion is caused by the allocation of students and some highly educated persons to the same class as unskilled labourers and domestic servants; unfortunately they would be equally ill at home in any of the other classes. Cases of migrants whose occupation or social status is unknown, including married women whose husbands' occupation or social status is unknown, have been excluded.

The occupational and social composition of the Nordic migration to South Africa, and of the changes which occurred within it, is characterized both by marked internal consistencies and by patterns distinctive from those of the overall migration. In Figures 16—18, the composition of the Nordic migration to South Africa is shown for the three sub-periods 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14; the years 1900—01, covering the Boer War, have been included in the period commencing in 1895.²

As Figures 16—18 indicate, throughout the entire period under investigation the majority of migrants from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark fall into the occupational and social classes II (industrial

² Emigration figures for each occupational class are given in Appendix 21.

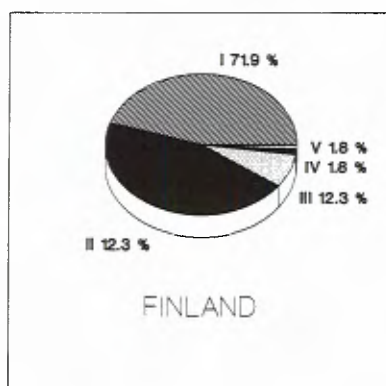
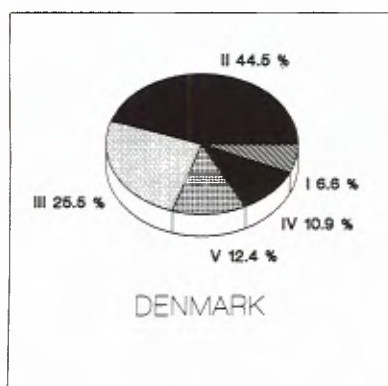
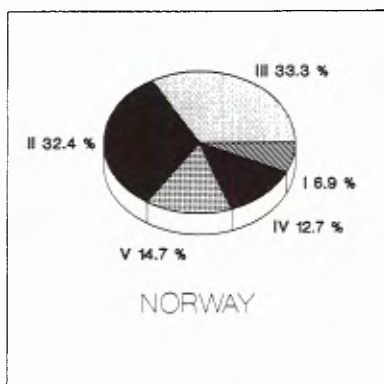
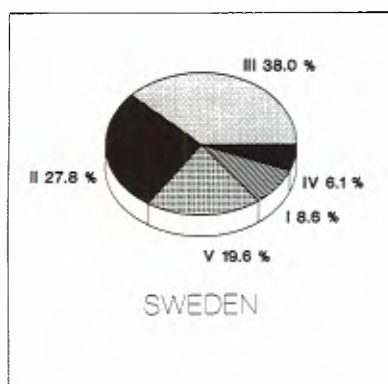


Figure 16. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1894.

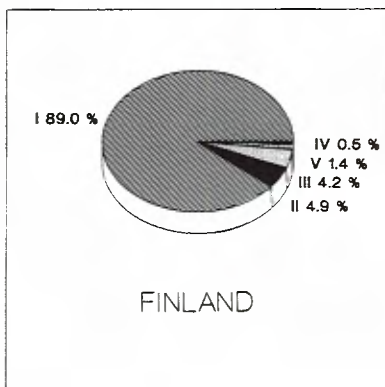
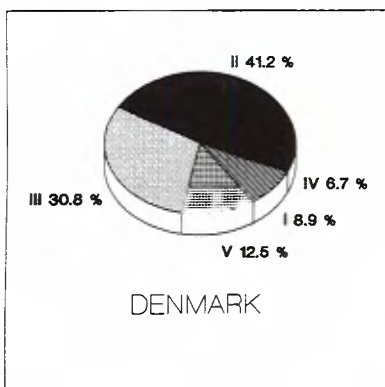
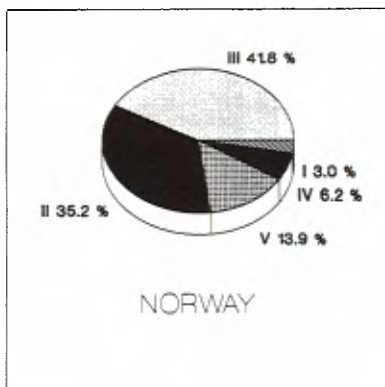
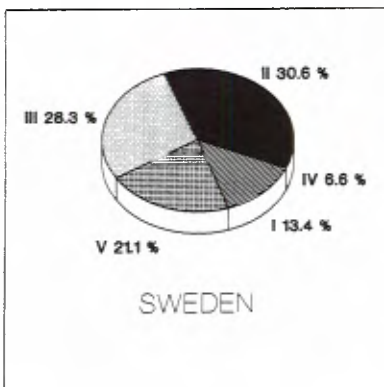


Figure 17. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1895—1901.

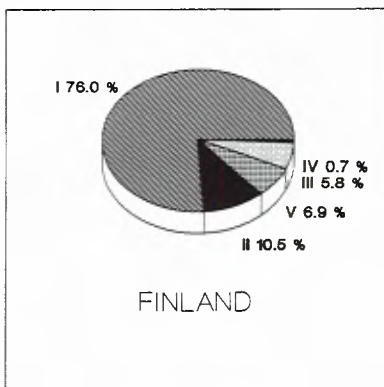
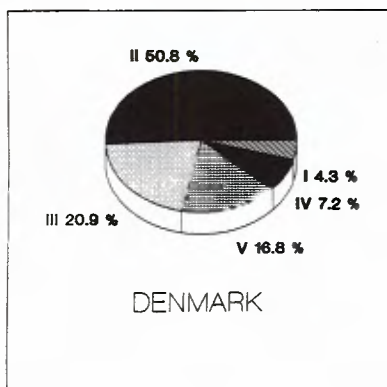
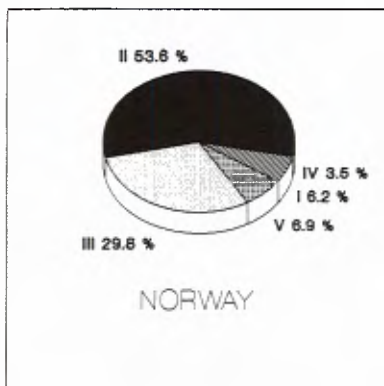
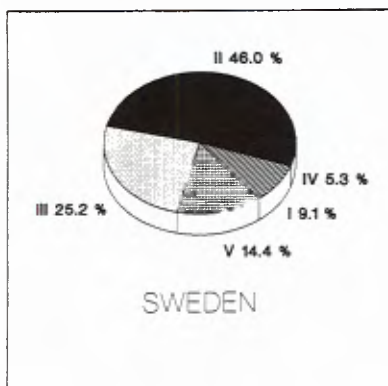


Figure 18. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1902–1914

and artisan occupations) or III (trade and communications). In Sweden, these two classes account for between 58.9 and 71.2 % of all cases; in Norway, for between 65.7 and 83.4 %; and in Denmark, for between 70.0 and 72.0 %. The occupation or social status of the Finnish migrants, on the other hand, represents a strikingly different pattern: in all three periods the majority of Finnish migrants to South Africa (rising in the period 1895—1901 almost to 90 %) were recruited from Class I, the population deriving its livelihood from agriculture.

Fluctuations between the different categories in the occupational and social composition of the migration to South Africa over the period under investigation do not display any consistency between the Nordic countries, nor even among the Scandinavian countries, but reflect distinctive trends within the economic structure of the different countries.

In Sweden, the most striking features are on the one hand the relatively constant proportion allocable to Class IV (public services and the professions), and on the other hand the steady shift in recruitment from Class III (trade and communications) to Classes I, II and V. One contributory factor is a continuous decline in the Swedish migration to South Africa by seamen and their dependents over the total period under investigation, falling from 19.2 % for the period 1886—94, to 7.8 % for the period 1895—1901, and remaining relatively steady at 8.4 % for the period 1902—14. This trend can be seen as an expansion of the Swedish migration to South Africa in the course of the 1890s from the seafaring population, to encompass a wider range of occupations and social statuses.

In the case of Norway, the consistent trend is a rise in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations), matched by a fall in Class V (labourers, servants and those with no specified occupation). For Norway, a decline in the proportion from Class III (trade and communications) occurs not (as in Sweden) between 1886—94 and 1895—1901, but between 1895—1901 and 1902—1914. The Norwegian case cannot however be considered analogous with the Swedish, despite their common origins in seafaring, since the economic structure of the two countries was not identical. Notice has been taken earlier, in conjunction with the analysis of the migration in terms of geographical distribution, of the serious recession in Norwegian shipping caused by the changeover from

sail to steam around the turn of the century. Steam ships were larger, and employed relatively less crew, thus driving redundant seamen into migration.³ The resulting increase in mobility among seamen and their dependents in the Norwegian migration to South Africa can be seen reflected in the rise from 13.7 % for the period 1886—94 to 26.9 % for the period 1895—1901; even in the period 1903—14, when it fell back to 16.3 %, this was still higher than the level for 1886—94.

In Denmark, the changes occurring in the occupational and social composition of the migration to South Africa during different periods were on a very small scale. A slight increase between the first and last sub-periods in the proportion in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations), matched by a slight decrease in that for Class III (trade and communications), indicates somewhat similar trends to those for Sweden and Norway.

In the Finnish migration to South Africa, the occupational and social composition is dominated throughout the period under investigation by recruitment from the agricultural population, accounting even at its lowest level, in 1886—94, for 71.9 %. The peak value here is 89.0 %, for the period 1895—1901: a phenomenon readily explained, since the majority of the migration to South Africa from Finland occurring during the period 1895—1901 took place during the peak year of 1895, when enthusiasm for migration to South Africa in the Swedish-speaking rural areas in Ostrobothnia reached virtually epidemic proportions, as is therefore reflected in the data for the occupational and social composition of the migration.

4.4.1.2. Occupational and Social Composition: Comparison of the Migration to South Africa with Nordic Overseas Emigration Overall

In the Nordic migration to South Africa, distinct national patterns can be observed. The purpose of the following analysis is to examine whether these distinctive patterns were specific to the South African migration, or reflections of the occupational

³ On the impact of the structural changes in the Norwegian shipping industry, see esp. Semmingsen 1950, 221—225.

structures of each of the four countries. Since the official statistical material on the overall migration is not entirely compatible with the occupational and social classification applied here to the South African migration, — and a reprocessing of the official statistics would require the reprocessing of the original material, — this comparison of the overall migration and the migration to South Africa has been carried out only for the entire period under investigation, 1886—1914. The impact of brief fluctuations occurring in the overall migration classifications is thus reduced to a minimum. Comparisons with the official migration statistics must of course be treated with caution, in view of the limitations discussed in Section 1.4. above. Despite its possible inadequacies, however, this material may be regarded as providing a sufficiently accurate picture of overall trends for it to constitute an acceptable basis for comparison.

The structural comparison between the occupational and social composition of the overall migration and the migration to South Africa is given for Sweden in Figure 19.⁴ The pattern for the flow to South Africa differs strikingly from the overall pattern. This is clearly closely related to geographical recruitment, since it is in Class I (agriculture) and Class III (trade and communications) that the major differences are found. In Sweden, the South African migration was for the most part recruited from the towns, and only 10.8 % of the migrants to South Africa came from agricultural backgrounds, whereas in the overall Swedish migration, dominated by the flow to America which was largely rural in recruitment, agricultural occupations accounted for 30.3 %, i.e. a proportion almost three times higher. For recruitment from occupations in trade and communications, the corresponding (inverted) discrepancy is even greater: the proportion recruited from III (trade and communications), which accounted for only 4.6 % in the overall Swedish migration, rises sixfold for the South African migration, to 29.1 %.

The third major difference (comparable in terms of percentage points with that in Class III) occurs in Class V (labourers, servants and those with no specified occupation). In the overall emigration from Sweden, this class accounted for almost half the total volume,

4 Emigration figures for each occupational class are given in Appendix 22.

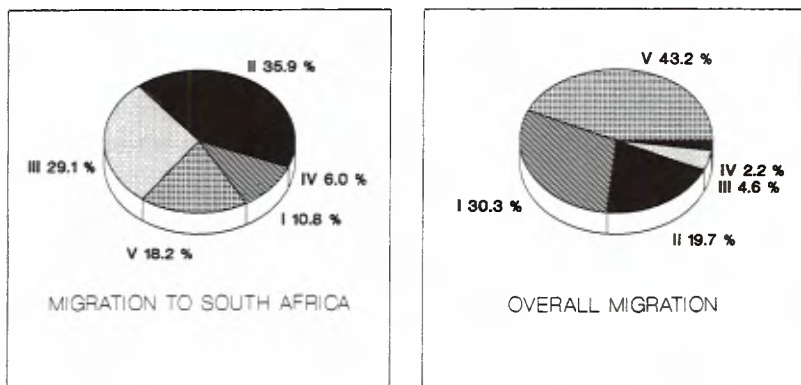


Figure 19. Occupational and Social Composition of the Swedish Migration to South Africa in Comparison with the Swedish Overseas Emigration Overall, 1886—1914.

43.2. %; in the South African migration, however, it comprised only 18.2 %. In Sweden, the migration to South Africa was dominated by the skilled trades to a much greater extent than in the overall migration; unskilled labourers and domestic servants were as rare as agricultural labourers. This bias towards skilled trades and higher levels of education is further confirmed by the fact that Class IV (public services and the professions) accounted in the Swedish migration to South Africa for nearly three times the proportion which it comprised in the Swedish emigration overall. On the other hand Class III (trade and communications) forms an exception to this trend, since neither sales assistants, nor ordinary seamen, can be regarded as more highly skilled than for instance farmers or domestic maids.

The corresponding comparative analysis for Norway is shown in Figure 20.⁵ Due to the different classification used in the migration records in the Norwegian archives, the occupational distribution in the overall Norwegian migration is available here only for male emigrants over the fifteen-year period 1886—1902.

⁵ Emigration figures for each occupational class are given in Appendix 22.

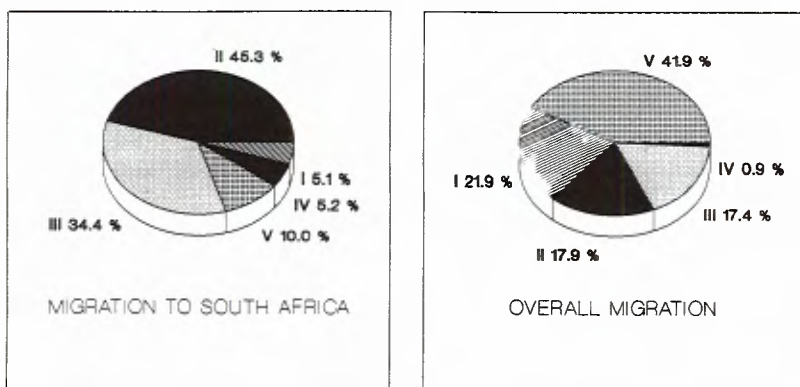


Figure 20. Occupational and Social Composition of the Norwegian Migration to South Africa in Comparison with the Norwegian Overseas Emigration Overall, 1886—1914.

Similarly, the classification used in the Norwegian statistics means that for the years 1903—07 all housewives and dependents have been allocated to Class V; only from 1908 onwards has it been possible to identify these persons and allocate them to the same classification as the head of their households.

In Norway, too, striking differences in occupational composition emerge between the migration to South Africa and the overall migration. Two categories, labourers and servants and those with no specified occupation (41.9 %) and agricultural occupations (21.9 %), account between them for almost two thirds of the overall Norwegian emigration; in the Norwegian migration to South Africa, on the other hand, their combined contribution amounted to less than a quarter of this, at 15.1 %. Almost half of the Norwegian migrants to South Africa (45.3 %) belonged to Class II (industrial and artisan occupations), and a third (34.4 %) to Class III (trade and communications). Even Class IV (public services and the professions) accounted for more than Class I (agriculture). The same phenomenon is thus found in the Norwegian migration to South Africa as in that from Sweden, i.e. a concentration of recruitment from skilled occupations.

The comparative occupational analysis for Denmark is shown in

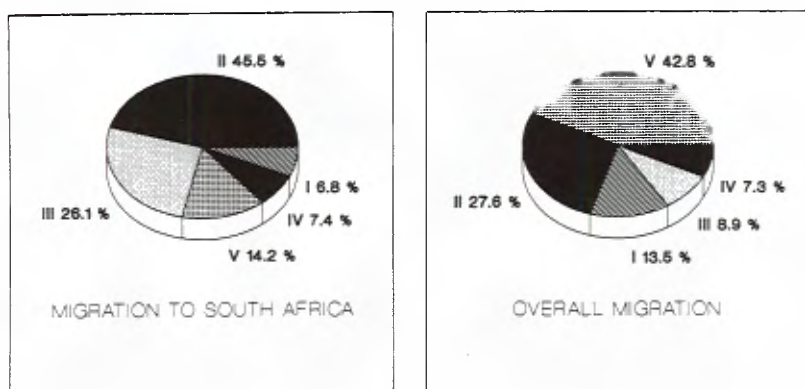


Figure 21. Occupational and Social Composition of the Danish Migration to South Africa in Comparison with the Danish Overseas Emigration Overall, 1886—1914.

Figure 21.⁶ For Danish migrants, it has only been possible to calculate the occupational composition of the overall emigration for male migrants aged over 15. The lack of precision in the Danish migration statistics has also created some difficulties in the application to the Danish overall emigration of the classification needed for comparison with the migration to South Africa. In the official statistics for the period under examination, only six occupational categories were recognized: farmers; labourers and servants; artisans; merchants; seamen; and other occupations. The equation of this last category, 'Other occupations', with Class IV unfortunately includes occupations other than public services and the professions; the figure obtained for Class IV is thus somewhat too high, and that for Class V, correspondingly, too low.

As was noted earlier, the geographical pattern of urban vs rural recruitment for the migration to South Africa is much closer to that for the overall migration in Denmark than was the case in Sweden or Norway. A similar convergence is also found in terms of occupational classification: the discrepancy in the proportional recruitment from agricultural occupations between the South

6 Emigration figures for each occupational class are given in Appendix 22.

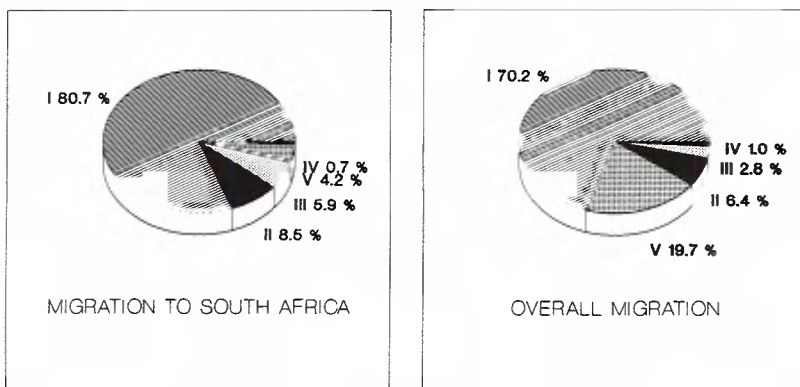


Figure 22. Occupational and Social Composition of the Finnish Migration to South Africa in Comparison with the Finnish Overseas Emigration Overall, 1886—1914.

African and overall migration is much lower in Denmark than in the case of Norway or Sweden.

In Denmark, the greatest discrepancy in occupational and social composition between the migration to South Africa and the overall migration, both in relative and in absolute terms, is found in Class V (labourers and servants and those with no specified occupation). This class accounted for getting on for half of the overall migration (42.8 %), but for only around one seventh of the migration to South Africa (14.2 %). Classes V and I (agricultural occupations) together comprised 21.0 % of the Danish migration to South Africa. This figure is somewhat lower than the corresponding figure for Sweden (29.0 %), but higher than in Norway (15.1 %). In Denmark, as in Sweden and in Norway, the major recruitment for migration to South Africa occurred among the skilled trades, industry, trade and communications. Unskilled labourers were rare, and migrants from agricultural occupations even rarer than those in public services and the professions.

The corresponding analysis of occupational composition for Finland is shown in Figure 22.⁷ The figures for the overall

⁷ Emigration figures for each occupational class are given in Appendix 22.

migration here are based on official data for the period 1893—1914. As was noted above in the more detailed examination of the periods 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14, in the Finnish migration to South Africa there was a strong concentration of recruitment among the agricultural population. This feature is also true, although to a lesser extent, of the overall migration from Finland. The recruitment of Finnish migrants to South Africa from specific rural areas raises the proportion for the agricultural occupations to 80.7 % of the total composition of the South African recruitment, however, whereas in the overall Finnish migration the figure is ten percentage points lower, at 70.2 %. Classes I and V combined account for 84.9 % of the migration to South Africa. This represents a very striking contrast to the occupational composition of the migration to South Africa from the other Nordic countries: in Norway, for instance, the ratio between Classes I and V combined vs Classes II, III and IV combined is inversely proportional; yet the figure is actually lower than that for the overall emigration from Finland, where Classes I and V combined accounted for 89.9 %. The agrarian structure of Finnish society is reflected in the domination by migrants from agricultural occupations, with labourers and servants forming the second largest grouping.

Since Class V accounted for one fifth of the Finnish overall migration, the combined proportion recruited for South Africa from Classes II, III and IV was higher than in the overall migration although the difference is only five percentage points. A similar pattern is found in the other Nordic countries. Despite the fact that the recruitment from these classes in Finland, in comparison with the other Nordic countries, was relatively low, it was nevertheless, with the exception of Class IV (public services and the professions), higher than in the Finnish migration overall. In the case of Class III (trade and communications), the proportion in the migration to South Africa (5.9 %) is actually double that in the overall migration (2.8 %), a result of the high proportion of seamen among the Finnish migrants to South Africa in the earlier part of the period.

In comparison with the migration to South Africa from Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the migration from Finland was considerably more agrarian; yet even so, in comparison with the overall Finnish overseas migration patterns, it is characterized by a higher recruitment among skilled occupations.

4.4.1.3. Class I: Agricultural Occupations

An examination of the occupational and social composition of the migration to South Africa purely in terms of broad occupational categories can provide only a very general picture of the economic structure of the migration. Through a more detailed examination of each of the main classes, colour can be brought into the spectrum of the migrant population.

The following Tables 6—10 offer an analysis of each of the main occupational classes separately.

Table 6. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914: Class I (Agricultural Occupations)

	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
manor owners	6	4.7	2	2.9	1	1.4	3	0.3
independent farmers	45	35.4	22	32.4	4	5.7	237	26.9
children of farmers	26	20.5	5	7.4	—	—	393	44.6
crofters	2	1.6	—	—	—	—	13	1.5
children of crofters	3	2.4	—	—	—	—	22	2.5
farm labourers	20	15.7	13	19.1	46	65.7	211	23.9
fishermen	5	3.9	19	27.9	3	4.3	3	0.3
others	20	15.7	7	10.3	16	22.9	—	—
TOTAL	127	100.0	68	100.0	70	100.0	882	100.0

Within the occupational and social population of the migration, there was thus significant variation between the Nordic nations. The closest structural similarity was between the Swedish and Norwegian migrant populations, in both of which the largest subcategory consisted of independent farmers, whereas in the Danish group the largest single subcategory were the agricultural labourers, and in the Finnish group the children of independent farmers.

Evidently it is only in the case of Denmark that the composition of the migration to South Africa displays a similar weighting to that of the overall national emigration. HVIDT has calculated that independent farmers comprised 2.1 % of the Danish emigration

during the period 1868—99, whereas farm labourers accounted for 27.6 %.⁸ The contrast is not quite so stark in the figures for the South African migration, since in HVIDT's classification the category 'others', including groups such as (market) gardeners, etc., has been combined with that of 'independent farmers'. Even after allowance has been made for this adjustment, however, farm labourers still constituted the largest subcategory within the agricultural occupations class for Denmark. HVIDT's figures are not entirely comparable with those obtained for the migration to South Africa, since the periods examined are different, but the trend that they indicate may be regarded as valid.

In the case of Sweden, the number of farmers and their families among the migrants to South Africa was almost twice as high as the number of farmers' children and their families. In the overall emigration from Sweden, on the other hand, the reverse was true, although fully reliable statistical evidence is not available on this until the early years of the 20th century: prior to the reorganization of the statistical classifications in 1903, the main category cannot be subjected to more detailed analysis. The Swedish migration statistics indicate that among the migrants employed in agricultural occupations and their dependents who departed during the quinquennium 1903—07, the children of farmers accounted with their families for 48.6 %, whereas farmers and their families comprised only 12.4 %.⁹ Similar findings have been put forward by Sten CARLSSON, who argues that farmers and crofters dominated the early wave of emigration from Sweden during the 1840s, but that with the passage of time their share of the emigrant population fell, so that by the period 1901—30 they accounted for a mere 2 % of the total emigration, with the majority of emigrants from agricultural occupations now being recruited among the children of farmers, farmhands and maids.¹⁰

In the case of Norway, too, the internal composition of the migration to South Africa was different from that of the Norwegian emigration overall, at least on the basis of samplings for the periods 1896—1900 and 1903—05. During 1896—1900, of the

8 Hvidt 1971, 212, 214.

9 *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 92.

10 Carlsson 1976, 141—142.

male emigrants aged 15 or over from agricultural occupations, 43.2 % were children of farmers, and only 14.2 % were farmers themselves.¹¹ For the period 1903—05, when women and dependent children are also included in the statistics, the proportion of this category consisting of farmers and their families fell to 9.4 %, while the majority in this category, 62.2 %, were classified as agricultural labourers and their dependents.¹²

For the Nordic migrant population as a whole, the agricultural category is dominated by the Finns. Not only was the Finnish group larger in numbers, however, but also different in composition. In contrast to the other Nordic countries, among the Finnish agricultural migrants the largest subcategory consisted of the children of farmers (44.6 %); and together with the manor owners (0.3 %) and the independent farmers (26.9 %), these accounted for 71.8 % of the population in Class I (agricultural occupations). This diverges strikingly for the corresponding figures for the overall Finnish emigration: among the emigrants in agricultural occupations leaving during the period 1893—1914, independent farmers comprised only 6.5 %, tenant farmers and former independent farmers 1.1 %, and the children of farmers 35.1 %.¹³ In terms of a contrast between wealthier and less wealthy classes, the weighting is thus reversed. In the Finnish overall emigration, the largest single category within Class I (agricultural occupations) consisted of crofters, crofters' children, dependents, and cottagers, whereas in the migration to South Africa, a clear majority (almost three quarters) of the migrants in agricultural occupations were recruited from among the wealthiest agricultural class, the independent farmers.

One factor contributing to this difference in composition was the heavy degree of recruitment to the South African migration from the Swedish-speaking areas of southern and central Ostrobothnia, where the majority of the agricultural population were independent land-owners. In the municipalities with heavy recruitment to South Africa, such as Munsala, Pedersöre, Nykarleby Rural Municipality, Oravais and Jeppo, for example, the proportion of independent farmers' households among the agri-

11 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. IV*: 117, Tab. 34.

12 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. V*: 123, Tab. 43 b.

13 Figures calculated from: *SVT XXVIII*:1, Table VIII; 2—11, Table V.

cultural population in 1901 varied between 63.9 and 79.8 %.¹⁴ This is very striking in comparison with the figure for Finland as a whole (32.5 %) or even for the administrative region within which these municipalities lie, Vaasa Province (42.4 %).¹⁵

One of the factors contributing to the distinctive composition of the South African migration, no doubt, was the high fare for the journey. As was shown in Chapter 4.1. above, during the 1890s and early 20th century a ticket to South Africa cost about twice as much as one to the United States. The larger capital required for the journey to Africa inevitably filtered out the propertyless and less wealthy: without funds, the journey to South Africa was quite simply impossible. The same factor will presumably also have contributed to the distinctively higher proportion of independent farmers among the agricultural population migrating to South Africa from Sweden and Norway, since established farmers would have been more able to accrue the funds needed than would the children of farmers.

On the other hand, this is certainly not the sole factor contributing to the distinctive composition, a more significant one undoubtedly deriving from the economic structure of the region of recruitment. Further counter-evidence against the exclusive impact of the relative wealth factor is also provided by the case of Denmark, where both in the overall migration and also in the migration to South Africa the majority of the migrants from agricultural occupations consisted of farm labourers, with land-owners comprising less than ten per cent.

4.4.1.4. Class II: Industrial and Artisan Occupations

The immediately striking feature in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations) is the domination by two occupational categories which combined account for more than half the migrant population in this class for each of the four Nordic countries. These two categories are, firstly, the construction industry (the most important industrial sector), and secondly, engineers, technicians, line managers and master builders (the major occupational category not specified by industrial sector).

¹⁴ Gebhard 1913, 104—109.

¹⁵ Gebhard 1913, 92.

The proportion of migrants in Class II in construction industry occupations varies for the different Nordic countries between the lowest value, 29.2 % (Sweden), and the highest, 62.4 % (Finland), with Norway (54.4 %) and Denmark (51.0 %) inbetween. The construction occupations most frequently occurring, for all four countries, are carpenters and joiners.

This represents a distribution of occupations somewhat different from that found in the overall migration. For Sweden, the comparative material available indicates that the major industrial sector in the overall migration was not construction but the weaving and clothing industry. Whereas the official statistics prior to 1903 do not permit any analysis by industrial sector, during the quinquennium 1903—07 the statistics for the overall migration in Sweden show 18.6 % for the construction and furniture industry, but 20.9 % for the weaving and clothing industry.¹⁶ These statistics also include women and children, and the dominance of the weaving industry is in part explained by the high proportion of women in that industry's workforce: among the emigrant population in 1903—07, women accounted for 44.4 % of the weaving industry occupations, in contrast to a mere 0.8 % of occupations in construction and furniture. If male migrants are analyzed separately, however, the pattern is reversed: construction and furniture occupations then account for 21.5 %, forming the largest category, while weaving and clothing fall to 16.2 %.¹⁷ This pattern is then closely similar to that in the (male-dominated) migration to South Africa.

For Norway, the classification used in the statistics makes comparison more difficult. In 1903, the system was changed so as to include women and children as well, but at the same time the use of more detailed occupational classification was abandoned; consequently the statistics for 1903—14 cover a wider population, but convey less information. For the period prior to 1903, on the other hand, the industrial and artisans class is analyzed into categories, but refers only to male migrants aged 15 or over.

16 Figures calculated from: *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 93.

17 Figures calculated from: *Emigrationssutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 93.

Table 7. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914: Class II (Industrial and Artisan Occupations)

	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
sawmilling	17	4.0	10	1.8	—	—	1	1.1
mining & minerals ind.	17	4.0	21	3.7	9	1.9	—	—
skilled metalworkers	15	3.6	35	6.2	19	4.0	10	10.8
mechanical engineering	25	5.9	9	1.6	45	9.6	1	1.1
construction								
— bricklayers	19	4.5	79	14.1	74	15.7	3	3.2
— painters	22	5.2	14	2.5	28	5.9	9	9.7
— carpenters	23	5.4	71	12.7	92	19.5	31	33.3
— joiners	57	13.4	117	20.9	34	7.2	15	16.1
— others	3	0.7	24	4.3	12	2.5	—	—
foodstuffs ind.	25	5.9	13	2.3	32	6.8	6	6.5
weaving and clothing ind.	48	11.3	22	3.9	17	3.6	8	8.6
printing	15	3.5	5	0.9	5	1.1	—	—
engineers, technicians, line managers, master builders	92	21.7	103	18.4	74	15.7	8	8.6
machine fitters	9	2.1	11	2.0	6	1.3	—	—
electrical fitters	4	0.9	14	2.5	5	1.1	—	—
skilled industrial occupations (unspecified)	21	5.0	10	1.8	3	0.6	—	—
other industrial sectors and occupations (unspecified)	12	2.8	3	0.5	16	3.4	1	1.1
TOTAL	424	100.0	561	100.0	471	100.0	93	100.0

On the basis of a sample of the Norwegian overall migration taken for the period 1891—1902, it appears that the major concentration occurred in skilled artisan and industrial occupations; artisans alone accounted for 41.2 % of the entire class.¹⁸ No separate category for mechanical engineering is available, rendering an accurate total count for industrial occupations impossible. A feature common both to the overall migration and to the migration to South Africa is the domination of the skilled artisans category by joiners and carpenters, and this would seem a natural consequence of the structural changes taking place in the Norwegian economy during the decades across the turn of the century; the replacement of sail by steam affected employment opportunities not only for seamen, but also in the small shipyards along the Norwegian coast. Joiners and carpenters formerly employed in building wooden sailing ships now had to seek new opportunities elsewhere.

In Denmark, the comparison is more difficult than in the case of Norway, but the findings in HVIDT's research suggest that the construction industry was over-represented in the Danish migration to South Africa. In the overall emigration from Denmark during the period 1868—99, construction occupations (i.e. joiners, carpenters, bricklayers and painters) accounted for approximately 33 % of the migration by artisans.¹⁹ This is around 18 percentage points lower than the proportion of construction industry artisans in the migration to South Africa. HVIDT's figures cover only skilled occupations, however, and exclude factory workers. In contrast to the migration to South Africa, the leading occupational category in the overall migration was not joiners and carpenters, but blacksmiths, although joiners and carpenters were still placed second and third.²⁰

For Finland, the official migration statistics do permit comparison, although only in respect of skilled artisans. As in the case of Sweden, the largest category among the skilled artisans in the overall migration was for the clothing industry. Among the

18 NOS R. IV: 39, Tab. 34; 117, Tab. 34; R. V: 123, Tab. 43 a. This proportion also includes master builders, classified together with carpenters.

19 Hvidt 1971, 227.

20 Hvidt 1971, 227.

migrants departing during the period 1893—1914 in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations), 30.5 % belonged to the category tailors, tanners, cobblers and saddlers. The construction industry category, including joiners, carpenters, turners, painters, upholsterers, and bricklayers, is around ten percentage points lower, at 20.4 %.²¹ Since these statistics classified all factory workers together as a single category, however, no analysis by industry is possible. Moreover, the Finnish statistics did not list migrants' families separately, and no analysis is therefore possible of the impact of sex on possible differences in the occupational composition of the migration to South Africa and the migration overall. It may be assumed that in the case of skilled artisans there will have been little such impact, whereas for factory workers, including the 'cotton angels' of the textile mills, the impact will have been greater.

The concentration of industrial occupations in the construction industry among the Nordic migrants to South Africa reflects on the one hand the push factor operating in the recruitment area (especially in the case of Norway), but also, to at least the same extent, the pull factor exercised by the destination. As has been noted earlier, South Africa was regarded for several decades as especially attractive for artisans and skilled workers; and when waves of migration into South Africa flooded the local labour market, these skilled trades were the last category appended to the index of occupations to whom warnings were applied. The period 1886—1914 was one of enormous economic growth for South Africa, especially during the first two decades of the period. In the wake of the emergence of the Transvaal gold mining industry, South Africa experienced an unprecedented building boom, which makes the preponderance of construction occupations in the migration very understandable. Irrespective of whether construction was directed downwards, in the mines, or upwards, in housing and business building, skilled tradesmen were essential; the resulting demand kept wages high, and thus also contributed to attracting further immigration.

The second major category in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations), consisting of engineers, technicians, line managers

21 Figures calculated from: *SVT XXVIII*:1, Table VIII; 2—11, Table V.

and master builders, varied between a minimum of 8.6 % (for Finland) and a maximum of 21.7 % (for Sweden), with 18.4 % in the case of Norway and 15.7 % in the case of Denmark.

Comparison with the overall migration is considerably more difficult for this category than for the construction industry, and only some general findings can be presented. The Swedish statistics include the classification 'engineers and line managers', which comprised 2.8 % of the migration in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations) during the period 1903—07.²² This figure evidently does not include master builders, who are probably subsumed under the 'others' classification for the construction industry; even allowing for this, however, has little impact on the figures, since the inclusion of master builders with the engineers and line managers would raise their percentage by no more than a few tenths of a percentage point.

In the Norwegian statistics, engineers and line managers are allocated to the same category as industrial managers and office personnel. During the period 1891—1902, the figure for this category is only 1.9 %, i.e. lower than the corresponding one for Sweden, although it also includes industrial supervisors as well.²³ Master builders are not allocated to this category in the Norwegian statistics, but are listed together with carpenters.

For Denmark, a comparison is not strictly possible, even on the basis of HVIDT's figures on the occupational and social composition of the migration during the period 1868—99. Hvidt classified engineers together with the professions, e.g. physicians, lawyers, architects and artists, whereas line managers are listed together with civil servants and clerical personnel. The proportion in the migration during the period 1868—99 given by HVIDT for the professions is 0.1 %, and that for clerical and supervisory staffs 1.9 %.²⁴ Unfortunately, the structure of the statistical classification used does not permit an analysis in terms of industrial and artisan occupations.

22 Figures calculated from: *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 92.

23 Figures calculated from: NOS R. IV: 39, Tab. 34; 117, Tab. 34; R. V: 123, Tab. 43 a.

24 Hvidt 1971, 218.

The official Finnish migration statistics classification does not list a distinct category for engineers or line managers; there is however a category for master builders and supervisors, which accounted for 2.8 % of the migration in Class II (industrial and artisan occupations) during 1893—1914.²⁵

In view of the incompatibilities in statistical classification, caution should be observed in drawing conclusions about differences in terms of occupational and social composition between the overall migration and the migration to South Africa. Despite the limitations of the sources, however, it is clear that the management and supervisory stratum of industrial occupations accounted for a recruitment many times larger in the South African migration than in the migration overall. This is even true for Finland, where the figures in question are much lower than those for the other Nordic countries: the category of engineers, master builders, etc., is not second within Class II for Finland, but third, after construction occupations and blacksmiths.

The impact of the demand for and status of skilled construction workers in the South African boom apply with equal force to engineers, master builders, and the rest of the managerial and supervisory stratum. The growth of the mining and construction industries required large numbers of design and supervisory personnel. South Africa needed skilled labour, which the Nordic countries were able to supply.

4.4.1.5. Class III: Occupations in Trade and Communications

In the class covering occupations in commerce and in communications, there are with minor exceptions two main dominant categories: on the one hand, seamen, and on the other hand commercial occupations (sales assistants, sales representatives, clerks and accountants). In all the Nordic countries except Denmark, seamen form the largest single category; in Denmark, however, seamen comprised only 6.7 % of the population in this class, far behind the percentages for sales assistants, etc. (50.4 %), or shopkeepers (29.3 %), and even less than half the percentage for railway and post office officials.

25 Figures calculated from: SVT XXVIII:1, Table VIII; 2—11, Table V.

In the case of Sweden, seamen formed just over a third of the population in this class, 35.8 %; but here too the class is dominated by commercial occupations, with the sales assistants category comprising almost the same proportion as seamen, and shopkeepers accounting for 18.9 %.

In both Norway and Finland, however, the status of seamen within this Class is very different, comprising just over half of the total numbers in Norway (57.8 %), and rising in Finland to 79.7 %. In the Norwegian migration to South Africa, the proportion of the sales assistants category in this Class amounted to 24.5 %, but in Finland the figure falls to 7.8 %, and the entire commercial sector accounts in the Finnish migration for only 12.5 %.

Table 8. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914: Class III (Trade and Communications)

	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
shopkeepers	65	18.9	45	10.6	79	29.3	3	4.7
sales assistants, sales representatives,								
clerks & accountants	122	35.5	104	24.5	136	50.4	5	7.8
post office & railways officials etc.	23	6.7	18	4.2	18	6.7	3	4.7
seamen	123	35.8	245	57.8	9	3.3	51	79.7
others (e.g. restaurateurs, waiters, hairdressers, coachmen, photographers, etc.)	11	3.2	12	2.8	28	10.4	2	3.1
TOTAL	344	100.0	424	100.0	270	100.0	64	100.0

In comparison with the overall migration, the occupational and social composition of the migration to South Africa in Class III thus diverged very significantly in each of the Nordic countries, although the divergences are to some extent conflicting.

In the Swedish overall migration, the proportions of seamen and of the sales assistants category were of a similar magnitude, at least in a sample taken during the period 1903—07, where seamen

accounted for 26.0 % and the sales assistants category for 27.1 % of the population in this class.²⁶ Both categories are approximately ten percentage points lower than the corresponding figures in the Swedish migration to South Africa, reflecting a heavier concentration in non-seafaring occupations in the Swedish overall migration. This finding almost certainly also reflects the impact of the later date from which it is taken, however, to judge by the statistics available for the relative proportions of marine and commercial occupations in the Swedish migration prior to 1903. The proportion of seamen can be seen to have fallen over time, from 46.0 % of the trade and communications Class for the quinquennium 1890—94, to 41.7 % in the quinquennium 1895—99, and 35.7 % for the quinquennium 1903—07.²⁷ As the flow of migration 'matured', the proportion of seamen fell, as has also been noted for the migration to South Africa above in conjunction with the discussion of Figures 16—18.

For Norway, however, the pattern which emerges is the reverse of that for Sweden. Although the proportion of seamen in the Norwegian migration to South Africa was high (57.8 %), in the Norwegian overall migration it was even higher, accounting for 66.5 % of the population in Class III during the sample period 1903—07.²⁸ The reason for this is not entirely clear; possibly businessmen were attracted more powerfully during the period in question by the rapid expansion of the South African economy than by the already more established economy of the United States. The difference was in any case not very large. As in the consideration of the Swedish data, the impact of the relatively late date of the sample period on recruitment of seamen migrants must also be borne in mind: in the period 1891—1902, seamen had accounted for 82.1 % of the migrant population aged 15 or over in the trade and communications class, whereas by the period 1903—07 this proportion had fallen to 72.6 %.²⁹

26 Figures calculated from: *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 92.

27 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLI*, Tab. 21; *XLV—XLIX*, Tab. 31.

28 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. V*: 34, Tab. 16; 70, Tab. 16; 136, Tab. 22.

29 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. IV*: 39, 117, Tab. 34; *R. V*: 123, Tab. 43 a; 34, Tab. 16; 70, Tab. 16; 136, Tab. 22.

For Denmark, the relative proportions in marine and commercial occupations within the overall migration can only be analyzed for male migrants aged 15 or over. During the period 1886—1914 the official statistics record seamen as accounting for approximately a fifth (20.6 %) of the figures for trade and seafaring combined.³⁰ If the same methods are applied to the Danish migration to South Africa, seamen account for only 4.0 %, i.e. just below one fifth of the corresponding proportion in the overall migration.

The fact that the data for the overall migration refer only to male migrants produces a slight distortion in comparing them with the South African migration data; but the impact of this distortion is reduced by the heavy male domination of the migration to South Africa. It is thus evident that in Denmark seamen comprised a considerably smaller proportion of this Class in the migration to South Africa than in the overall migration.

If the proportion of seamen migrants in the total migration figures are examined, on the other hand, a somewhat different picture emerges. During the period 1886—1914 seamen comprised 0.8 % of the total migration from Denmark to South Africa, and 1.0 % of the overall Danish migration;³¹ in this perspective, the divergence was relatively small. In other words, the data need to be interpreted differently: the proportion of seamen in the Danish migration to South Africa was in fact very close to that in the Danish overall migration; the non-seafaring occupations classified in Class III, on the other hand, were in relative terms heavily over-represented in the South African migration from Denmark.

What the analysis of the occupational and social composition of this Class thus reveals is the powerful attraction of the business sector in South Africa. Despite repeated warnings issued against clerks, accountants, and the like attempting to enter the overcrowded labour market in South Africa, there were always young people with ambitions to try their fortune. An additional factor

30 Figures calculated from: SSO No. 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

31 Figures calculated from: SSO No. 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

affecting the relative proportions of migrants in marine and in commercial occupations was no doubt the low volume of sea traffic between Denmark and South Africa; as has been noted above, Danish ships were much less common visitors to South African ports than were Swedish or Norwegian vessels.

In Finland, Class III was considerably more heavily dominated by seamen in the migration to South Africa than in the overall migration. The proportion of seamen listed among the occupations under Class III in the Finnish statistics (i.e. householders, tradesmen and shopkeepers, and seamen) for the period 1893—1914 in the overall migration amounted to 46.0 %, ³² whereas in the migration to South Africa the corresponding figure (79.7 %) was over thirty percentage points higher. This divergence in the occupational and social composition of the migration reflects, on the one hand, the important role of seamen in the initiation and expansion of Finnish migration to South Africa, and on the other, the strikingly local nature of the recruitment, concentrated in the immediate rural hinterland of the central western coast, where links with the sea were as natural as links with business were alien.

Examination of the data for Class III thus reveals the impact both of the powerful attraction exerted by the rapidly expanding South African economy on those in the Nordic countries engaged in business, and, equally, the role of sea transport in maintaining links between the Nordic countries and South Africa. The balance of the impact of these two factors varied, however, between the different Nordic countries. The role of the commercial sector was at its strongest in Denmark, where recruitment to the migration to South Africa was concentrated in the metropolitan centre of Copenhagen, and at its weakest in Finland, where recruitment was highest in the rural seaboard and the numbers of seamen in the migration inversely proportional.

4.4.1.6. Class IV: Public Services and the Professions

In comparison with the three foregoing classes, the migrant population classified under Class IV (public services and the professions) was relatively small. As has been pointed out earlier,

32 Figures calculated from: SVT XXVIII:1, Table VIII; 2—11, Table V.

the low numbers in this class are common to both the overall migration and the migration to South Africa.

In view of the small numbers of migrants in the professions and service occupations, no analysis of this Class in terms of subcategories has been attempted: the findings would inevitably be of a random nature, especially since classification by the occupation of heads of households is here being used to classify the occupational or social status of their dependents as well, so that in a small population the occurrence of even a single family larger than usual could distort the statistics.

Table 9. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914: Class IV (Public Services and the Professions)

	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
civil servants	9	12.3	3	4.7	7	9.0	3	37.5
clergy	4	5.5	2	3.1	—	—	—	—
military officers	5	6.8	8	12.5	10	12.8	1	12.5
non-commissioned officers and men	12	16.4	3	4.7	1	1.3	—	—
physicians	12	16.4	8	12.5	5	6.4	—	—
nursing and pharmacy personnel	12	16.4	2	3.1	12	15.4	1	12.5
teachers, etc.	14	19.2	5	7.8	12	15.4	1	12.5
journalists	2	2.7	7	10.9	6	7.7	—	—
lawyers	—	—	2	3.1	10	12.8	1	12.5
architects	2	2.7	19	29.7	8	10.2	—	—
artists	1	1.4	5	7.8	7	9.0	1	12.5
TOTAL	73	100.0	64	100.0	78	100.0	8	100.0

For similar reasons, no attempt has been made to compare the occupational and social composition with that of the overall migration, since random occurrences in the South African migrant population would be over-emphasized. In addition, the statistical material needed for such a comparative analysis is lacking. Even at its best (in the cases of Sweden and Norway), the breakdown by

occupation within the professions and service occupations is too imprecise in the records to permit detailed comparisons.

On the other hand, Table 9 does provide a good basis for overall national comparisons. The data in the Table clearly illustrate the geographical dichotomy in the migration to South Africa noted earlier, between the predominantly urban recruitment from Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and the predominantly rural recruitment from Finland. Consequently, in Table 9, whereas the populations in Class IV for Denmark, Norway and Sweden are approximately similar in size, the figures for Finland are a mere fraction of these. Neither the professions nor the public service occupations, being mainly concentrated in towns, occurred frequently in the Finnish migration to South Africa; for many of the occupational categories in Class IV, not a single case of migration from Finland is recorded.

4.4.1.7. Class V: Labourers, Servants and Those with No Specified Occupation

Class V is composed mainly of labourers with no specified trade and of servants. In accordance with the practice followed in the official Swedish migration statistics, those persons who could not be allocated to any of the preceding classes have also been included in Class V, such as those travelling simply under the title 'Miss' or 'Child', and pensioners and widows or widowers with no occupational status specified.

Table 10 shows that there were major differences in the composition of Class V between the Nordic nations. The closest similarity is that between the populations in this Class from Norway and Finland, both of which were dominated by servants, although for Finland servants comprised virtually two thirds of this population, whereas for Norway the proportion amounted only to just over 49 %. For Sweden, the largest category were labourers, comprising almost 50 %, but in Denmark, the largest group (around 70 %) consisted of those travelling under titles such as 'Miss' or 'Child'.

The relationship between these weightings and those in the overall migration can only partly be determined on the basis of the official migration statistics. The material gathered for the present investigation does suggest, however, that in all four Nordic

countries the overall migration was, to a greater or lesser degree, more dominated by labourers than was the migration to South Africa.

Table 10. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914: Class V (Labourers, Servants and Those with No Specified Occupation)

	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
labourers								
(unspecified trades)	101	48.1	22	17.7	8	5.6	4	12.1
servants	39	18.6	55	44.4	9	6.3	21	63.6
students	23	11.0	12	9.7	17	11.8	4	12.1
young persons and								
unmarried ladies	35	16.7	35	28.2	102	70.8	2	6.1
others	12	5.7	—	—	8	5.6	2	6.1
TOTAL	210	100.0	124	100.0	144	100.0	33	100.0

In the overall migration from Sweden during the quinquennium 1903—07, labourers made up 63.1 % of the population in Class V.³³ The difference from the corresponding figure for the migration to South Africa is approximately 15 percentage points.

The overall migration from Norway was more dominated by labourers than that from Sweden. During the sample period 1891—1902, the proportion of labourers with no specified trade among the migrants in Class V rose to 90.0 %.³⁴ This figure is over five times larger than the corresponding proportion in the Norwegian migration to South Africa.

In the Danish migration statistics, labourers and servants have been amalgamated into one and the same category, and it is not possible to distinguish them. The Danish records also do not permit the allocation of the miscellaneous occupational and status groups to Class V; the miscellaneous category to which they are

33 Figures calculated from: *Emigrationsutredningen. Bilaga IV. Utvandringsstatistik* (Emigration Report. Appendix IV: Emigration Statistics), Tab. 92.

34 Figures calculated from: NOS R. IV: 39, 117, Tab. 34; R. V: 123, Tab. 43 a.

allocated in the Danish statistics, 'Other sources of livelihood', has in fact been dealt with already, since for the most part it comes closest to Class IV. Nonetheless, some of those allocated to this category in the Danish statistics would in fact be better allocated to Class V, and a slight distortion is thus produced in the relative strengths of these two classes.

The proportion of labourers in the Danish overall migration cannot be calculated from HVIDT's study of the period 1868—99, since he too treats urban servants and labourers as a single category. He also, however, expands the category of unskilled labourers to include domestic servants, and allocates those travelling under descriptions such as 'Child', 'Girl', etc., to this class. Labourers and servants combined then account for just over half of this class (53.5 %).³⁵ These figures suggest that the proportion of labourers and servants in the Danish overall migration was many times larger than that in the migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914, although care should be taken to avoid drawing extensive conclusions, since the periods examined do not match, and the occupational base for this class in HVIDT's classification is narrower.

In the case of Finland, as in Sweden, in the overall migration the composition of this class is dominated by labourers. In the Finnish migration statistics for 1893—1914, the category 'Labourers and vagrants' amounted to 61.1 % of the sum of the categories 'Labourers', 'Servants' and 'Others'; and if the somewhat vague category 'Others' is excluded, the proportion for labourers rises to 65.2 %.³⁶ In either case, the proportion of labourers is many times higher than that in the Finnish migration to South Africa, where unskilled labourers were rare: no more than 12.1 % of the migrants in this class can be allocated to this category. In the migration from Denmark, the proportion of unskilled labourers in this class was even smaller (5.5 %).

It is difficult to say whether there was as much variation between the Nordic countries in terms of the composition of the domestic population falling under these categories as has been found here. The data for the migration may be affected by

³⁵ Hvidt 1972, 232.

³⁶ Figures calculated from: *SVT XXVIII*:1, Table VIII; 2—11, Table V.

imprecisions occurring in the migrants' occupational descriptions; in some cases, for example, skilled craftsmen may have been classified as unskilled labourers here simply because of an imprecise or inadequate description. This source of error applies equally, of course, both to the migration to South Africa and to the overall migration. An additional factor applicable to the Nordic migration to South Africa is that in Class V, as in the other classes, even one or two large families could distort the results, since the populations concerned are so small.

4.4.1.8. Nordic versus International Migration to South Africa

The question as to what extent the occupational and social composition of the Nordic migration to South Africa may have been similar to or divergent from that of the overall international migration to South Africa can be answered only in very general terms on the basis of the available source material. No comparable demographic studies are available of the occupational and social composition of the migration to South Africa from any other country at the end of the 19th century or beginning of the 20th century. In view of the nature of the source materials, this is fully understandable.

A limited amount of information can be extracted from the passengers' occupations recorded in the passenger lists of the shipping lines which operated between the United Kingdom and South Africa. This material needs to be treated with great caution, however, both because it includes all passengers rather than migrants only, and because its reliability is highly questionable.³⁷

The collated data from the passenger lists are available for South Africa from 1903. Occupational descriptions are stated separately for men and for women. The passengers are also divided into two statistical groups: British and Irish, and foreigners. All passengers aged 12 or over are included.

The women passengers are divided into three groups in terms of occupation: (I) domestic and farm servants, (II) milliners, dress-

37 The information on occupations in these passenger lists has been examined for 1895. All the passengers in several large Finnish parties were entered as 'miners', irrespective of their former occupations in Finland (Passenger lists, outward. PRO. Board of Trade, Statistical Department).

makers, needlewomen, etc., and (III) governesses, clerks, and other professions. In the statistics for 1903—11, the proportion of the adult female migrants for whom occupation is stated amounted to 62.8 % among the British, and 31.1 % among the foreigners in Group I; the corresponding proportions were 12.2 % and 28.5 % for Group II, and 25.0 % and 40.4 % for Group III.³⁸

On the basis of these figures, it would initially appear that the foreign female migrants were more highly educated or skilled than the British. The evidence is however inadequate to support such a conclusion, since these figures cover only a small proportion of the total number of travellers. Only for a small minority of the adult female passengers to South Africa during the period 1903—11 is occupation stated: the number for whom no occupation is known is 90.0 % for the British, and 87.2 % for the foreigners.³⁹

The occupations of the male passengers listed in the statistics are divided into four groups: (I) agriculture, (II) gentlemen, professional men, merchants, etc.; (III) skilled artisans, and (IV) labourers. In contrast to the data for the women passengers, the comprehensiveness of the data on the men's occupations is of very different order, covering 54.4 % of the British and 68.8 % of the foreigners. Moreover, those not allocated to one of the four groups stated here include not only those for whom no occupation is stated, but also those in the category of 'Other trades and professions'.⁴⁰

The proportions of British passengers in Classes I—IV amount to 3.6 %, 31.1 %, 62.6 %, and 2.7 % respectively; for foreigners, the corresponding figures are 3.0 %, 41.2 %, 52.2 %, and 3.6 %.⁴¹ The major divergence to emerge from these data concerns the proportions in commerce, the professions, and that for skilled artisans. Commerce and the professions are less well represented among the British than among the foreigners, whereas skilled artisans were more strongly represented. The higher level of

38 See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903—05, VII; 1906—09, V; 1910—11, VII.

39 See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903—05, VII; 1906—09, V; 1910—11, VII.

40 See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903—05, VII; 1906—09, V; 1910—11, VII.

41 See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903—05, VII; 1906—09, V; 1910—11, VII.

education among the foreigners, — i.e. the higher proportion in commerce and more especially in the professions, — might be interpreted as a reflection of a relatively higher migration threshold. South Africa was, primarily, part of the British colonial empire. Without language skills or exceptional occupational skills, a foreigner stood a relatively smaller chance of success in South Africa, as was repeatedly argued both in the Nordic consuls' annual reports, and in the pages of the Nordic press. Knowledge of the British domination of the labour market in South Africa may therefore well have exercised an effect on the composition of the international migration.

In view of the limitations mentioned above concerning the reliability of the sources, the figures cited here, and the apparent differences emerging from these, should therefore be regarded with caution. Nonetheless, it does appear that on the international level, too, there was a stronger skilled component in the migration to South Africa. In other words, the composition of the migration to South Africa diverged from the overall migration in a parallel manner both in the Nordic countries and elsewhere in Europe: persons in agricultural occupations, and unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, occur relatively rarely, with the exception that agriculture accounts for a relatively higher proportion of the Finnish migrants.

The exceptional appeal of migration to South Africa for skilled workers can also be confirmed by a comparison of the occupational distributions among the passengers for South Africa and for the United States in the UK statistics for 1903—11. The proportion of the population from Classes II and III, consisting of those with higher education or skills, amounted in the migration to South Africa to 93.7 % for the British and 93.4 % for the foreigners, whereas the corresponding figures for the migration to the United States came to 51.3 % and 22.2 % respectively; conversely, the proportions in Classes I and IV in the migration to America were 18.6 % and 30.2 % for the British, and 6.8 % and 71.0 % for the foreigners, respectively.⁴² What is particularly striking in the

42 See *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ...*, 1903—05, VII; 1906—09, V; 1910—11, VII. Of the British passengers travelling to the United States via United Kingdom ports in 1903—11, 77.6 % belonged to Classes I — IV; for foreign travellers, the figure was 80.9 %.

figures for the migration to the United States is the proportion of labourers, who made up just under a third of the British migrants, and over two thirds of the foreigners. Against this background, the divergent composition of the migration to South Africa can very clearly be seen.

4.4.2. Age and Sex Composition

The source materials available offer excellent opportunities for the analysis of the migration in terms of age and sex distribution. In the register of migration prepared for this investigation, the migrants' age is known in a total of 4 845 cases, i.e. 90.5 % of the register population. These are distributed geographically as follows: Sweden 1 249 (85.9 %); Norway 1 323 (90.5 %); Denmark 1 144 (91.8%); and Finland 1 129 (92.4 %). The sex of the migrants registered is known in virtually every case: 100 % in the case of Norway, and close to that for the other Nordic countries (Sweden 99.8 %, Denmark 99.3 %, and Finland 97.2 %).

The age and sex composition of the Nordic migration to South Africa is examined on the basis of these data in Figures 23—25.⁴³ As above, in the examination of the occupational and social composition, the Boer War years 1900—01 have been amalgamated with the period 1895—99.

Comparison of the age and sex distributions in the migration to South Africa from the several Nordic countries in Figs. 23—25 reveals both common transnational features and divergent national patterns. The striking common feature is male domination.

Notwithstanding considerable national differences in the extent of this domination, men make up a clear majority of the migrants to South Africa from all four Nordic countries. The highest proportion of women occurred in the Swedish migration, where they comprised 29.4 % of the migrant population for the period 1886—1914. If adult females only (aged 15 or over) are counted, the proportion falls to 26.8 %. Similar figures are obtained for the Danish migration: 27.6 % inclusive of children, and 25.8 % if they are excluded. The proportion of women was somewhat smaller in

43 Emigration figures by age and sex are given in Appendices 23—25.

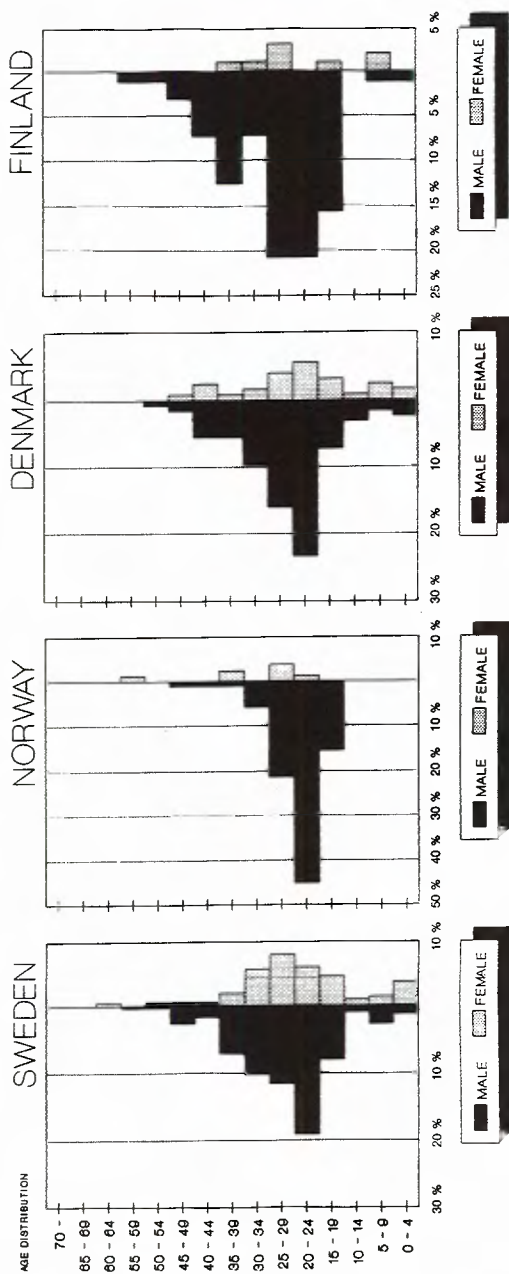


Figure 23. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—1894.

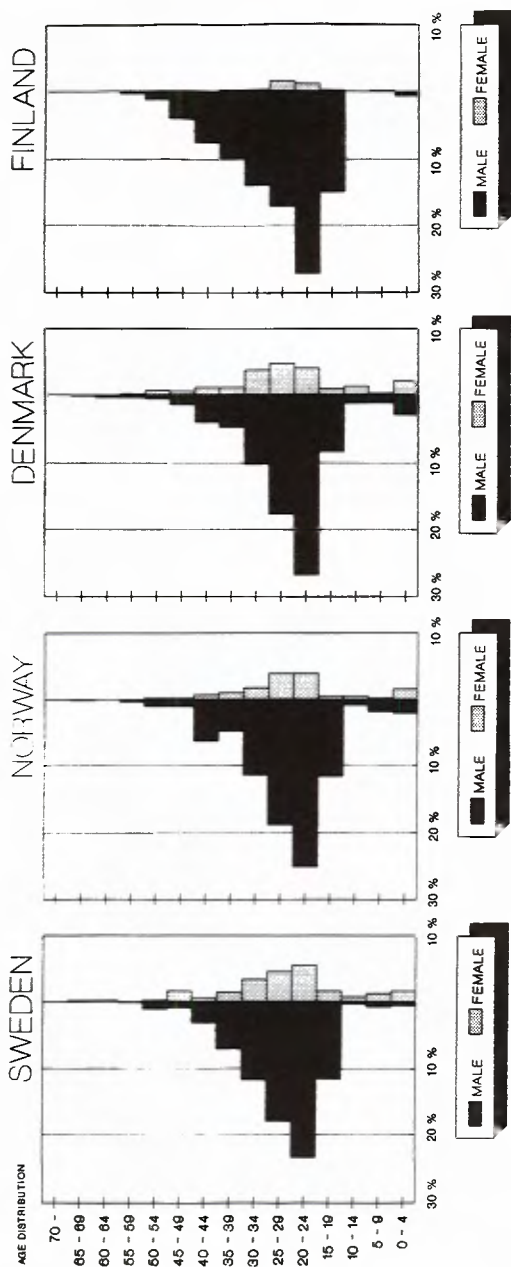


Figure 24. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1895—1901.

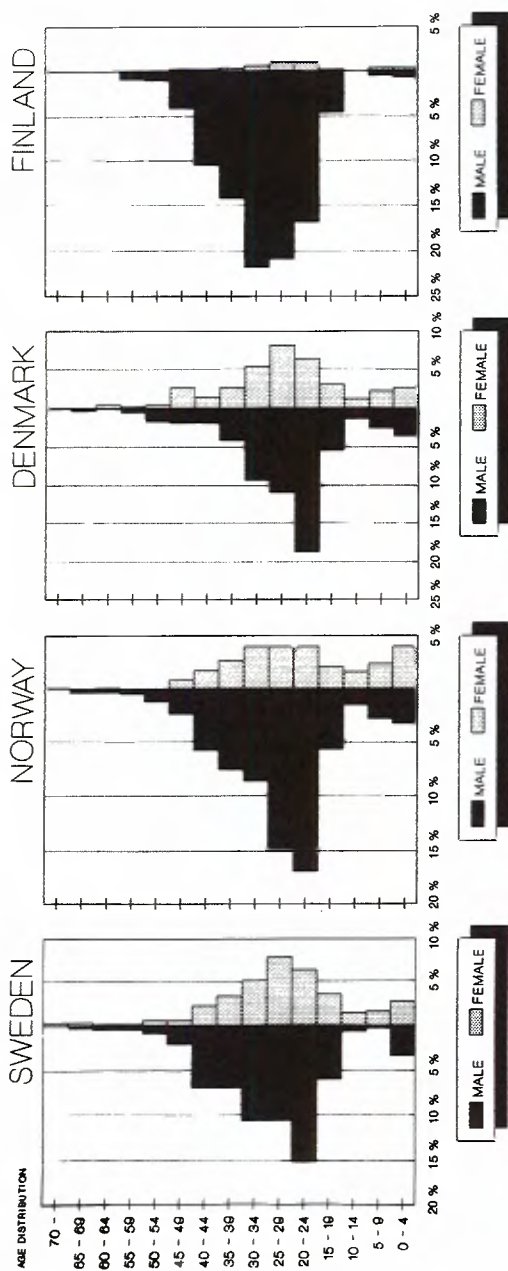


Figure 25. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1902—1914.

the case of Norway: 21.8 % of migrants of all ages, and 18.4 % of those aged over 15.⁴⁴

As has been noted earlier, the Finnish migration to South Africa differed in a number of respects from that from the other Nordic countries, and this is again true of the sex composition. Whereas for the other Nordic countries, the proportion of females is in the region of twenty to thirty per cent, in the Finnish migration the figure is far smaller: 4.2 % of migrants of all ages, and a mere 3.7 % of those aged 16 or over.⁴⁵

The proportion of females in each Nordic country's migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914 can be seen to be in direct proportion to the length of time over which the migration had continued. The proportion of females was highest among the Swedes, whose settlement in South Africa was the oldest, and lowest among the Finns, whose migration to South Africa had really only started in the period after 1886. The allocation of the Danes in second place, after the Swedes, is also justified, since although Norwegian migration had initially 'discovered' South Africa before the Danes did, it was not until the Marburg Scheme in the 1880s that Norwegian migration expanded significantly, i.e. subsequently to the Danish expansion in the 1870s.

No standard pattern emerges between the Nordic countries in the chronological development of female migration to South Africa in 1886—1914; each country displays a unique configuration, except that for three of them the peak of female migration occurs during the period 1902—14. Having started as male mobility, in the course of time the migration stabilizes, and family migration emerges, as wives and fiancées join their menfolk in South Africa.

44 If the sex distribution is calculated for all known cases (i.e. including cases of emigration prior to 1915 but not allocable with absolute certainty to the period 1886—1914), the result is slightly different. The highest proportion of females is then found for Denmark: 26.0 %, or 24.3 % for adult migrants only. The corresponding figures for Sweden are 23.2 % and 21.0 % respectively, and for Norway 18.1 % and 16.6 % respectively.

45 The Finnish statistics, unlike those in other Nordic countries, counted as adult those who had reached the age of 16. The proportion of women remains unchanged, however, even if the age of 15 is applied as in the other Nordic countries. When calculated for all known cases, the sex distribution figures for Finland remain virtually unchanged: 4.2 % of all cases, and 3.6 % of adult migrants.

The Finnish migration, however, once again displays a divergent pattern, with the peak for female migration occurring in the period 1886—94. It must be borne in mind that with small populations, the presence even of a few women causes an exaggerated effect. Nevertheless, there is an undeniable fall-back in female migration in the periods following 1886—94. Whereas in comparison with the period 1886—94 the number of male migrants increased fivefold by the period 1895—1901, and sixfold by 1902—14, the number of female migrants were only doubled and tripled respectively. The peaks of Finnish migration to South Africa, in the mid-1890s and immediately after the Boer War, were above all peaks of male mobility.

A similar pattern of male-dominated migration is also revealed by the sex distribution for 1895—1901 for the Danish migration, and even more so for that from Sweden: the total volume of migration grew, but the proportion of women failed to expand at the same rate. In the Norwegian migration, although the proportion of women did in fact grow between 1886—94 and 1895—1901, the rate of growth was still low in comparison with that for 1902—14.

This male domination of the Nordic migration to South Africa stands in sharp contrast to the overall migration, as can be seen in the diagrams displaying age and sex distribution for the migration to South Africa and the overall overseas migration in Figure 26.⁴⁶ The statistics for Finnish overall migration concerning age and sex distribution cover the period 1900—14 only, since the migration statistics were started fairly late and in the early years the classification by age was very imprecise. The age distribution in the Figures is classified in five-year steps, but because of the classification used in the Danish statistics, Danish migrants aged under 15 and aged 30—39 and 40—59 are stated in larger age bands; the five-year numbers in the diagrams therefore consist of the mean values for the respective age groups. This Figure is based on the migration during the periods 1885—99 (based on HVIDT's calculations) and 1903—14 (derived from the official statistics). A similar qualification also applies to the Finnish statistics for migrants under 16. The age distribution in the Finnish overall migration also diverges from that for the other Nordic countries.

46 Emigration figures by age and sex are given in Appendix 26.

The official statistics show that 43.9 % of the migration from Sweden to destinations outside Europe during the period 1886—1914 consisted of females; the corresponding percentages for Norway, Denmark and Finland were 39.3 %, 38.8 % ja 37.0 % respectively. If children are discounted, the female percentages are slightly reduced, to 43.5 % for Sweden, 37.8 % for Norway, 36.8 % for Denmark and 35.4 % for Finland.⁴⁷

The smallest divergence in terms of sex distribution between the migration to South Africa and the overall migration is 11.2 percentage points, in Denmark. This small differential is the result both of the relatively high proportion of females in the migration to South Africa, and of a very low female component in the overall migration (5.1 percentage points lower than the peak figures, those for Sweden).

The sharpest distortion in sex distribution in the South African migration occurred in Finland, where the divergence from the female proportion in the overall migration amounted to 32.8 percentage points (31.8 percentage points for migrants aged 16 and over).

The age distribution in the migration to South Africa also shows both transnational features and distinctive national characteristics. The most striking transnational features in Figs. 23—25 is the concentration of migrations in the age range 20—24, although there is also wide variation in the size of this group at different periods. With the exception of the Finnish migration to South Africa in 1886—94 and 1902—14, however, the 20—24-year-olds clearly form the largest age group.

The heaviest concentration in the 20—24 age group occurs in

47 *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31, *SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 5; *NOS R. III*: 276, Tab. 31; 211, 117, Tab. 33; *R. V*: 123, Tab. 39; 136, 187, 209, Tab. 23; *R. VI*: 17, Tab. 23; 51, 66, 83, Tab. 20. *SSO* No 11, Tab. XIX; *SA* 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23; *SVT XXVIII*:1, 18—19; 2, Tables II and III; 3—11, Table III. For Finland, the proportion of women is stated only for 1893—1914. The corresponding distribution is also available in the official Finnish statistics for Vaasa and Oulu Provinces for 1886—92. When these are taken, the proportion of women falls to 35.7 % (*SVT XXVIII*:1, 10). If the calculations are based on passenger lists, the proportion of women for the entire period 1886—1914 amounts to 35.7% (Kero 1974, 92).

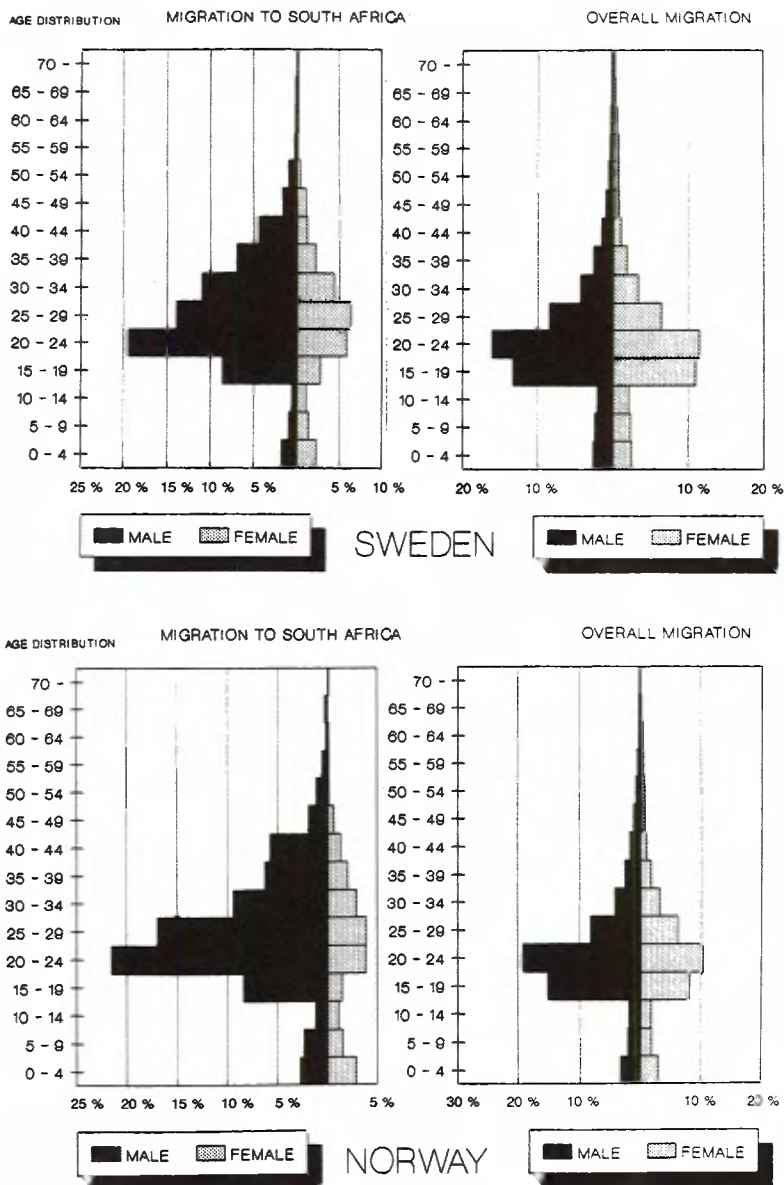
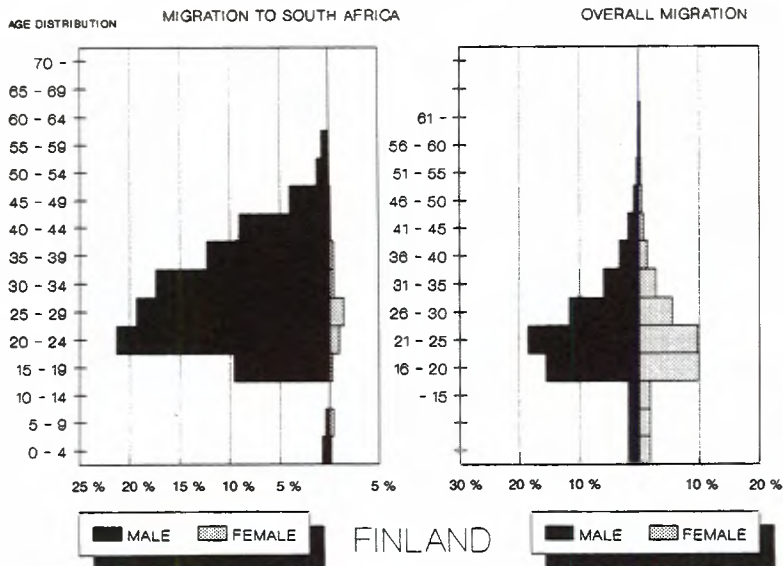
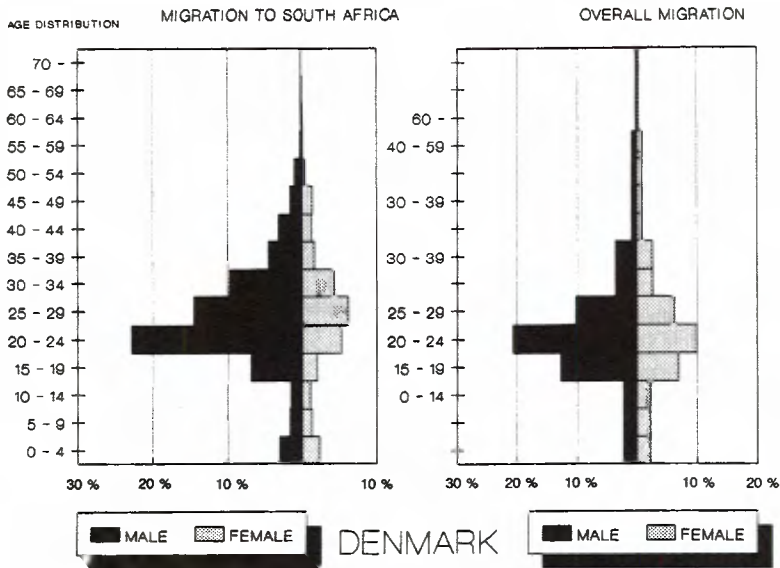


Figure 26. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1894.



the Norwegian migration to South Africa during the period 1886—94, where it comprised 46.4 %. Moreover, and in contrast to the other Nordic countries, in Norway the largest proportion of migrants was in the 20—24 age group even in the earliest stage of the migration, whereas for all three other Nordic countries the peak for this age group occurred in the period 1895—1901, during the first major wave of migration, when 20—24-year-olds comprised 28.8 % of the migrants from Sweden, 30.7 % of those from Denmark, and 28.2 % of those from Finland.

As the Nordic migration to South Africa matured, the age distribution pattern also to some extent changed. In 1902—14, in contrast to the period 1895—1901, growth can be seen both in the proportion of migrants aged under 15 and in those aged 25 and over. In Sweden, the proportion of migrants aged under 15 rose from 4.9 % to 9.8 %; in Norway, from 7.1 % to 15.8 %; in Denmark, from 8.8 % to 13.7 %; and in Finland, from 0.9 % to 1.9 %. The rise in the proportion of those aged 25 and over, on the other hand, was sharpest in Finland, from 55.9 % to 75.6 %; the corresponding figures rose in Sweden from 53.4 % to 59.6 %, and in Norway from 51.7 % to 55.6 %. The smallest increase occurred in Denmark, from 51.4 % to 52.8 %.

Between the periods 1895—1901 and 1902—14, two opposite trends can be seen in the mean age of the migrants: with the expansion of family migration, the proportion of children increased; on the other hand, the major concentration shifts to older age groups. Between the sample years 1895 and 1905, the mean age of the total migrant population from Sweden to South Africa rose from 26.3 to 29.9 years; in Finland, the mean age rose from 27.3 to 32.4 years. For Norway and Denmark, however, the opposite trend obtained: the large number of children in the Norwegian migration brought the mean age down from 22.5 to 19.5 years, and for Denmark, from 25.9 to 21.7 years.

If migrants aged under 15 are discounted, the mean age of the migrants rose in all four Nordic countries: in Sweden from 27.2 to 32.3 years; in Norway from 23.6 to 27.8 years; in Denmark from 26.6 to 29.4 years; and in Finland from 27.5 to 32.4 years. Over an interval of ten years, the mean age of migrants thus rose by an average of 4.2 years.

This rise in the mean age of migrants was a feature specific to the migration to South Africa; the changes occurring in the age

distribution in the overall migration do not support any generalization of this trend, and in fact rather display the opposite. In Sweden, the mean age of overseas migrants fell between the sample years 1895 and 1905 from 23.1 to 23.0 years, and for those aged 15 and over, from 25.6 to 25.3 years;⁴⁸ in Norway, from 24.8 to 21.8 years, and for those aged 15 and over, from 27.7 to 24.4 years.⁴⁹ Similar trends can be identified for Denmark and Finland, although only incomplete evidence is available. In 1882, the average age of emigrants from Finland, calculated from the data in the passport registers, was 26.7 years, and from the data in passenger lists, 27.4; by 1903, the corresponding figures had fallen to 23.5 and 14.1 years.⁵⁰ In Denmark, the proportion of migrants aged 25 and over during the ten-year period 1890–99 amounted to 45.3 %, but by 1905 had fallen to 34.6 %.⁵¹

Factors contributing to the higher mean age in the migration to South Africa than in the overall migration may include the South African migrants' higher level of education, the male domination, and (in the cases of Sweden, Norway and Denmark) urban recruitment.

The sex distribution does not in all cases help to explain the high mean age: in Sweden, for instance, the mean age of men migrants overseas in 1895 was 23.0 years, and that of women 23.2 years; the corresponding figures for 1905 were 23.0 and 23.1 respectively.⁵²

A similar trend is found in Denmark. HVIDT has calculated that the average age of female migrants aged 15 and over during the period 1868–99 was between 1.6 and 1.9 years higher than that of the males, depending on the population concerned.⁵³ Similarly, the proportion of men migrants aged 25 or over was 33.5 %, whereas the corresponding proportion for women was 36.6 %.⁵⁴

48 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXXVII*, Tab. 23; *XVLII*, Tab. 33.

49 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. III*: 311, Tab. 22; *R. V*: 123, Tab. 39. For statistical reasons, it has been necessary to use instead of the mean age for the year 1905 the mean age for the period 1901–05.

50 Kero 1974, 113.

51 Proportions calculated on the basis of numbers in Hvidt 1971, 165, and on the statistical sources in *SA 1906*, Tab. 29.

52 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXXVII*, Tab. 23; *XVLII*, Tab. 33.

53 Hvidt 1971, 184.

54 Figures calculated from: *SA 1906*, Tab. 29.

In Norway and Finland, on the other hand, the opposite trend obtains. In 1895, the mean age of male migrants from Norway was 25.0, and that of females 24.5 years. Ten years later, the corresponding figures were 22.5 and 20.6 years.⁵⁵ For Finland, the differential was even larger: in 1882, the mean age of male migrants (depending on the sources used) is calculated at 3.7–5.2 years older than that of females, and in 1905 the differential was 2.4–2.9 years.⁵⁶

In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, a factor which provides a better fit with the high mean age is the urban focus of recruitment, since migrants from towns were on average somewhat older than those from rural areas. One explanation offered for this is that many of the urban migrants were 'etappe' migrants, originally born in rural areas, and only emigrating after having spent several years in towns.⁵⁷ KERO also suggests the availability of employment as a factor affecting the age structure of the migration: he argues that there was a higher demand for younger labour in the towns, thus creating relatively more pressure to migrate on older generations.⁵⁸

In all four Nordic countries, the migrants from towns were in fact somewhat older than those from rural backgrounds: in Sweden, for instance, the age differential both in 1895 and in 1902 was 1.5 years.⁵⁹ In Norway, the mean age of urban and rural migrants was in 1895 identical, but during the period 1901–05 the migrants from towns were on average 1.5 years older.⁶⁰ In Denmark, HVIDT has calculated that during the period 1868–99 the male migrants from towns were on average 1.0 years older than those from rural areas, and for female migrants the differential was 0.7 years.⁶¹ In Finland, KERO has calculated the differential for 1905 as 0.8 years.⁶²

With the exception of Finland, where recruitment to the

55 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. III*: 311, Tab. 22; *R. V*: 123, Tab. 39. For statistical reasons, it has been necessary to use instead of the mean age for the year 1905 the mean age for the period 1901–05.

56 Kero 1974, 114.

57 Hvidt 1971, 184; Kero 1974, 117.

58 Kero 1974, 117–118.

59 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXXVII*, Tab. 23; *XVLII*, Tab. 33.

60 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. III*: 311, Tab. 22; *R. V*: 123, Tab. 39.

61 Hvidt 1971, 184.

62 Kero 1974, 117.

migration to South Africa was mainly rural, urban recruitment therefore does provide a factor partially explaining the high mean age of the migrants, although only to a limited extent, in view of the size of the differentials cited above. Greater weight should therefore be given to the impact of the higher levels of education and skills among the South African migrants.

On the other hand, this factor fails to explain why the mean age rose from the 1890s to the decade following 1900; the explanation for this may be taken to lie in the special nature, small scale, and historical development of the migration to South Africa.

One of the phenomena evidenced by the register of migration drawn up for the present investigation is the recurrence in the migration to South Africa of the same persons. This is especially true for Finland, but cases of persons travelling to South Africa more than once are not uncommon in all the Nordic countries. There are historical reasons for this. As has been established above, two periods of high immigration stand out in the economic development of South Africa during 1886—1914: the first half of the 1890s, and the period immediately following the end of the Boer War. The half-decade between these was a phase of low immigration, starting with the saturation of the Transvaal labour market during the first peak wave of immigration, and continuing with the Boer War. In the post-war boom, however, many of the settlers whom the depression and the War had driven back home to the Nordic countries, returned to South Africa.

Cases of such re-migration are especially common in the Finnish population. In Munsala municipality, of the 167 migrants who sailed to South Africa during the 1880s and 1890s, 40 (24.0 %) sailed again during the period 1902—14. In Pedersöre municipality, the corresponding figures are 15 out of 67 (21.7 %). In both municipalities, the mean age of the re-migrants was 9.5 years higher than at the time of their first departure prior to the Boer War. Similarly, in the sample year 1905, when 87 migrants sailed for South Africa, 12 (13.8 %) had already been there during the 1890s.

The recurrence within the Finnish migration to South Africa of the same persons has the effect not only of raising the migrants' mean age during the period 1902—14, but actually of shifting the centre of gravity in the age composition structure. During the preceding period 1895—1901, the largest age group in the migrant

population had been those aged 20—24 (28.2 %). This age group now falls to 17.8 %, reaching third place in the age composition table; the leading age groups are now those aged 30—34 and 25—29, with 22.3 % and 21.9 % respectively. In the other Nordic countries, on the other hand, although re-migration raised the migrants' mean age between the periods 1895—1901 and 1901—14, the centre of gravity remains unaltered.

The question as to possible similarities or divergences in terms of age and sex composition between the migration to South Africa from the Nordic countries and the migration to South Africa overall can on the basis of the available source material be answered only in part.

The port records of the United Kingdom do not provide information on the basis of which the age composition of the overall migration to South Africa could be calculated. Since migration statistics were not started in South Africa until relatively late, however, the port records do provide the major source for determining the sex distribution pattern.

During the period 1886—1911, the proportion of females among passengers sailing from UK ports to South Africa varied between 20.7 % and 45.4 %, reaching its lowest levels during the peak migration years 1889, 1895 and 1896, and its highest level during the period 1904—11, when it remained consistently above 40 %.⁶³

Since the passenger statistics are dominated by British travellers, the sex distribution among the British largely determines the sex distribution of the South African migration overall. The proportion of women was however lower among the passengers of other nationalities than among the British travellers, with values in the port records varying between 16.7 % and 41.9 %. Once again, the lowest values occur during the peak migration wave in the mid-1890s, and the highest value during the year of the Transvaal mine strike, 1907.⁶⁴

For the period after the Boer War, the South African immigration statistics provide a further source of information concerning the migrants' sex distribution. SARON gives the

63 *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ... 1886—1911.*

64 *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ..., 1886—1911.*

proportion of women among immigrants of various nationalities landing in South Africa in 1907 as follows:⁶⁵

Russians	45 %
Germans	38 %
Austrians	26 %
Spanish and Portuguese	24 %
Greeks and Italians	15 %
Asians	3 %

The high proportion of women among the Russian migrants is largely explained by the fact that this population consisted mainly of Lithuanian Jews; SARON considers that of all the migrants to South Africa, the Jews were the group who had most clearly decided to make the country their new homeland.⁶⁶

The opposite situation applies to the Asians (i.e. Indians), and also to the migrants from southern Europe, especially the Greeks and Italians. These mainly migrated temporarily for the purpose of earning, retaining their homes and families intact at home; and similar characteristics clearly also apply to the Finnish migration to South Africa.

For all the Nordic countries, the proportion of women migrants was low in comparison with the Germans, for instance, in the sample cited above; but in a larger perspective, relatively high.⁶⁷ The proportion of women migrants from Finland, however, diverges from that for the other Nordic countries so strikingly that the Finnish migration can be classified as being of a different type. The migration from the countries of Scandinavia, despite some features characteristic of temporary migrant labour, was for the most part migration proper: settling in a new home, putting down new roots. The Finnish migration to South Africa, on the other hand, partook much more of the nature of migrant labour, and displays relatively few features of migration and settlement in the proper sense.

65 Saron 1955, 99—100.

66 Saron 1955, 100.

67 It should be borne in mind that the migrant statistics for South Africa at the time of the miners' strike in 1907 may overstate the proportion of women; the figures for this year should therefore only with reservations be generalized to the whole of the period 1886—1914.

4.4.3. Marital Status

Information on the occupational and social composition, and the sex and age distribution, is easier to assemble than information concerning the migrants' marital status, at least as far as the Nordic migration overall is concerned. Denmark, unlike the other Nordic countries, kept no records of migrants' marital status; the official migration statistics thus offer no assistance in studying the marital composition of the Danish migration to South Africa. As a consequence of the central role of the official statistics, it has thus only been possible to establish the marital status of 25.0 % of the Danish migrants aged 15 and over. Since this is too small a proportion to allow conclusions to be drawn concerning the Danish migration to South Africa as a whole, Denmark has been excluded from the following discussion.

For the remaining Nordic countries, information on marital status is available to approximately the same extent as information on the age distribution. In Sweden, marital status is known for 880 (65.0 %) of the migrants aged 15 or over documented as having migrated during the period 1886—1914; in Norway, for 901 (69.0 %). In Finland, as was the case with age distribution, information on marital status is available for a larger proportion of migrants: altogether 1 001 cases, constituting 83.4 % of the Finnish South African migrants aged 16 or over.

Table 11 has been drawn up on the basis of these populations, providing an analysis of marital status both over the period under investigation as a whole (1886—1914), and separately for each of the shorter periods examined. In view of the small numbers migrating during the Boer War years (1900—01), these have been amalgamated with the preceding period, 1895—99.

The marital status data in Table 11 display both consistencies and striking contradictions. One clear consistent trend is the fall in the proportion of unmarried persons from the 19th to the 20th centuries. The pioneer stage in the migration to South Africa (1886—94) and the major wave of migration in the mid-1890s (1895—1901), noted above as the most male-dominated periods in the male-dominated migration to South Africa (at least in comparison with 1902—14), were both dominated by unmarried persons. As the migration to South Africa matured, the proportion of families, and simultaneously of married men, grew. Similarly, a

factor contributing to the rise in the proportion of married migrants may be assumed to be the rise in mean age. As has been pointed out earlier, the migrants sailing for South Africa during the period 1902—14 were somewhat older than those sailing during the period 1895—1901.

Both for Sweden and for Norway, during all the periods under examination, the proportion of unmarried migrants was larger than that of married ones. In the Finnish migration, a different pattern emerges once again. Apart from the early period (1886—94), the reverse trend obtained: even in 1886—94, moreover, the proportion of single migrants was a mere five percentage points larger than that of married migrants.

Table 11. Marital Status of Migrants to South Africa from Sweden, Norway and Finland, 1886—1894, 1895—1901 and 1902—1914.

	1886—1894		1895—1901		1902—1914		TOTAL	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Sweden								
— single	143	79.9	280	81.4	239	66.9	662	75.2
— married	36	20.1	58	16.9	112	31.4	206	23.4
— widowed	—	—	6	1.7	6	1.7	12	1.4
Norway								
— single	30	62.5	154	61.8	330	54.6	514	57.0
— married	18	37.5	91	36.6	269	44.5	378	42.0
— widowed	—	—	4	1.6	5	0.8	9	1.0
Finland								
— single	48	51.6	160	40.9	176	34.0	384	38.4
— married	43	46.2	228	58.3	333	64.4	604	60.3
— widowed	2	2.2	3	0.8	8	1.6	13	1.3

To what extent does this divergence between the patterns for the Scandinavian countries and that for Finland reflect trends in the overall migration from these countries, or to what extent was it a distinguishing feature specific to the migration to South Africa?

In Sweden, migration was dominated by unmarried migrants, not only to South Africa, but also overall. Unmarried persons

comprised 80.7 % of the total numbers over the entire period under investigation, 1886—1914. Within the shorter periods examined, the proportion came to 78.4 % (1886—94), 85.0 % (1885—1901), and 81.5 % (1902—14).⁶⁸ In the migration from Sweden, both overall and to South Africa, the peak proportion of unmarried persons occurred in 1895—1901, during a recession in the overall migration, but a partial peak in the migration to South Africa.

In Norway the numerical difference between the marital status distribution in the overall migration and the migration to South Africa was greater. The marital status distribution for the Norwegian overall migration can be calculated only from 1888 onwards: for the total period 1888—1914 the proportion of unmarried migrants was 77.7 % (fluctuating between 76.3 % for 1888—94, 77.6 % for 1895—1901, and 78.3 % for 1902—14).⁶⁹ In the Norwegian migration to South Africa over the period 1886—1914, on the other hand, the proportion of unmarried migrants was no more than 57.1 %, constituting a difference from the figure for the overall migration of just over twenty percentage points, while the proportion of married migrants in the migration to South Africa was double that in the Norwegian overall migration.

Why then was the proportion of married persons higher in the Norwegian migration to South Africa than in either the South African migration from Sweden, or indeed in the Norwegian overall migration? In the latter case, the higher mean age of the migrants to South Africa offers a partial explanation, but this is inadequate alone; no fully convincing explanation is in fact available.

Secondly, did family migration play a larger role in the South African migration from Norway than from Sweden? This is also difficult to ascertain from the available source materials, since families did not always necessarily travel together; but the larger proportion of children migrating to South Africa from Norway

68 Figures calculated from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 23; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 31; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 35, *SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 7.

69 Figures calculated from: *NOS R. III*: 131, 155, 167, Tab. 21; 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 22; *R. IV*: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 22; *R. V*: 2, Tab. 14; *R. VI*: 17, Tab. 23; 51, 66, 83, Tab. 20; *R. VII*: 25, Tab. IV b.

than from Sweden would possibly support this hypothesis. The proportion of children aged under 15 travelling to South Africa from Sweden during the period 1886—1914 was 8.0 %, whereas the figure in Norway amounted to 11.7 %. Similarly, the proportion of women was somewhat higher in the Norwegian than in the Swedish migration to South Africa: the proportion of women migrants travelling to South Africa from Sweden during the period 1886—1914 who were married was 36.0 %, but the figure for Norway was 48.2 %. The question also then arises in this connection as to whether the proportion of women in the Norwegian migration to South Africa was in fact higher than in the Swedish migration, even though the available sources relating to the migrant population appear rather to support the opposite conclusion.⁷⁰

For Finland, the official migration statistics offer comparative material on the marital status composition of the overall migration for the period 1902—14. The proportion of unmarried persons was 75.4 %, and of married persons 23.4 %.⁷¹ In the Finnish migration to South Africa, on the other hand, the proportions are almost inverted.

What reasons can be found for such a wide divergence between the marital status composition of the Finnish migration to South Africa on the one hand, and that of both the overall Finnish migration and the migration to South Africa from the other Nordic countries on the other?

Certainly the mean age of the Finnish migrants to South Africa was relatively higher than in the overall migration; in 1905, this differential (depending on the source materials used) was in the order of 8—9 years, as has been discussed above. In Finland, however, an even higher proportion of the migrants to South Africa in the 20th century belonged to older age groups than was

70 This conclusion is indicated by the data in the 1926 Census on persons landing in South Africa from the Nordic countries during the period 1886—1915 and still resident in 1926. Among the Norwegians, there were 470 men and 287 women recorded, giving a female/male ration of 1:1.6, whereas among the Swedes there were 438 men and 188 women, giving a female/male ratio of 1:2.3 (*Fourth Census of the population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 80—81).

71 Figures calculated from: SVT XVIII:1—11, Table IV.

the case in Sweden or Norway; consequently, a comparison of the mean ages found for 1905 does not tell the whole story.

Although the age structure may well have contributed to the higher proportion of married migrants, this is not a convincing total explanation. It is therefore worth examining whether any of the other divergences in the Finnish migration may help to explain this phenomenon. In comparison with both the overall migration from Finland itself, and the migration to South Africa from Sweden or Norway, the Finnish migration to South Africa was more male-dominated; and in comparison with Sweden and Norway, it was also recruited much more heavily from the countryside.

The domination of the Finnish migration to South Africa by males does not in fact apparently offer any explanation for the divergent marital status composition, since the proportion of married men among the adult males in the Finnish overall migration during the period 1902–14 is a mere 0.1 percentage points higher than that of adult males in general in the total emigrant population for whom marital status is known.⁷² Nor does the male domination explain the divergence from the figures for Norway and Sweden, since in these countries it was precisely the domination by males which contributed to the high proportion of unmarried migrants. Among the males who left for South Africa during 1886–1914 from Sweden, 61.0 % were single and 36.0 % were married. The corresponding figures for Norway were 50.0 % and 48.2 %; this means that the proportion of married males was 12.6 percentage points higher in Sweden and 8.0 percentage points higher in Norway than in the total research population. In Finland, on the other hand, even among the women the proportion of married persons amounted to only 50 %, which was actually 10.3 percentage points lower than in the total research population.

To what extent can the divergent marital status composition of the Finnish migration to South Africa be explained in terms of recruitment from urban and rural areas? In order to answer this question, and to examine the impact in general of geographical recruitment on the marital status composition of the migration, Table 12 sets out the proportions of migrants recruited in towns and the countryside respectively.

72 Figures calculated from: SVT XXVIII:1–11, Table IV.

This table displays both consistent and contradictory trends. The consistent finding is that urban or rural recruitment does not exercise any impact on the priority of either married or unmarried migrants: if the recruitment from the towns is dominated by unmarried emigrants, this applies to the rural emigrants as well; and conversely, in the case of Finland, married persons dominated the recruitment both from towns and country.

The contradictory trend in Table 12 is an inconsistency in the marital status composition. Both in Norway, and in Finland, the proportion of married persons among the urban migrants was higher than among those from the country; but in Sweden, the opposite is true. In view of the higher mean age of migrants from towns, the former trend would seem the more natural, and it is possible that the contrary finding in the Swedish case is a result of imprecision in the definition of urban and rural recruitment. In many cases, where migrants set out from an area of heavy emigration, they may have been recorded as coming from rural areas when in practice they were living on the outskirts of a city: e.g., in Sweden, the migration from the areas immediately surrounding Sundsvall or Gothenburg.

Table 12. Marital Status Distribution among Migrants to South Africa from Norway, Sweden and Finland, by Urban vs Rural Recruitment, 1886—1914.

	Towns		Country	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Sweden				
— unmarried	447	79.8	195	73.9
— married	105	18.8	67	25.4
— widowed	8	1.4	2	0.8
Norway				
— unmarried	254	56.3	204	61.5
— married	193	42.8	123	37.0
— widowed	4	0.9	5	1.5
Finland				
— unmarried	35	31.5	349	39.2
— married	75	67.6	529	59.4
— widowed	1	0.9	12	1.4

The evidence examined here shows therefore that heavy rural recruitment cannot provide an explanation for the divergent marital status composition of the migration to South Africa from Finland. Since male domination has also been ruled out as the cause, some other explanation must be sought; and a factor which may well have affected both the marital status distribution and the higher average age is the migrant labour aspect of the Finnish migration to South Africa. In comparison with both the Finnish overall migration, and the migration to South Africa from the other Nordic countries, the Finns who went to South Africa did so more often on a temporary basis.⁷³ They went to earn cash, not to settle; and this married men were as likely to do as unmarried, retaining their links with the home country intact.

It must also be borne in mind that since the Finnish migration to South Africa was largely recruited from a very restricted area, the recruitment may well have been influenced by unique local factors. The migrants may well have been not those with the loosest ties to their native community, but those who in one way or another became convinced of the possibilities of earning good money in South Africa and had access to funds to cover the expensive journey to Africa.

The degree of similarity or divergence between the Nordic migration and the overall migration to South Africa can be examined only by reference to the British port records. It can be seen from these that a majority of male British passengers (aged 12 and over) to South Africa (varying over the period 1886—1907 between 55.7 % and 84.0 %) were unmarried; the corresponding figures for foreigners fluctuated between 55.3 % and 87.2 %. The highest proportion of unmarried persons is found at the peak period of migration in 1889, and in the mid-1890s, i.e. coinciding with the lowest proportions of women passengers. The opposite peaks occur during the periods of low migration in the 1880s and 1890s, but also during the peak of migration immediately following the Boer War.⁷⁴ In the latter case, the South African post-War recovery appears to have stimulated a wave of family

73 This is discussed further in Chapter 4.5.

74 *Emigration and Immigration. Copy of Statistical Tables Relating ..., 1886—1907.*

migration, which can be recognized in the higher proportion of women in general and of married women in particular.

The Scandinavian component in the Nordic migration to South Africa (i.e. from Norway and Sweden) can thus be seen to have displayed a similar composition in terms of marital status to that of the main flow of the South African migration, whereas the Finnish migration, once again, followed a divergent pattern.

4.5. Return Migration

The act of emigration did not always necessarily mean the irrevocable abandonment of one's native country. Once an emigrant's objective had been achieved, e.g. accumulating a substantial amount of money, he or she might return home again. Alternatively, they might also return home if the new country failed to live up to their expectations. Reasons such as these, in conjunction with many other more private and individual ones, constantly brought about the reversal of a part of the flow of migration, and maintained return migration.

Return migration is not strictly speaking within the scope of the present study; it is a distinct topic for investigation, and an accurate picture could be achieved only through the use of source materials collated specifically for that purpose. In the present study, no attempt has been made to gather such material for the whole of the Nordic region. For Finland, however, the return migration is such an integral aspect of the migration as a whole that it cannot be excluded without weakening the total picture of the Finnish migration to South Africa and the ways in which this diverged from the migration from other Nordic countries.

The first general point to be made is that there is far less material available relating to the Nordic return migration from South Africa than for the original emigration. Data from official migration statistics are available only for Sweden and Finland.

For Sweden, one such source is the series of parish reports (the 'Condensed Population Reports'), which list both departing and returning emigrants. For the examination of the return migration from South Africa, however, these reports are unfortunately as

incomplete for the return migration from South Africa as they are for the original emigration.

In the case of Finland, official statistics are to be found in lists of returning migrants kept by the District Courts. These lists date from 1894, and were initiated at the request of the Central Bureau of Statistics; but the information was recognized as being so incomplete that the official statisticians themselves regarded them as unreliable.¹ A few tables of return migrants during the period 1894—1939 were published in the Finnish Statistical Yearbook.² In the published tables, the location from which these migrants were returning is stated only for 1895—1916 (for 1894, there is no 'Africa' column); but examination of the materials submitted to the Central Bureau of Statistics makes a geographical analysis also possible for 1917—24. Altogether, a total of 133 cases of return from Africa are recorded in this material over the period 1895—1924, including 113 from Vaasa Province and 20 from the rest of Finland.³ Since the African category covers the whole continent, this list also includes missionaries returning from Amboland (Namibia), and the 'machinist migrants' from the Congo River.

As listed in the official statistics, only just over a hundred migrants returned to Finland from South Africa. This would represent less than ten per cent of the total number of migrants from Finland to South Africa catalogued for the present investigation. In view of the comments which appeared in the press about the Finnish migration to South Africa, however,⁴ such a figure is evidently of the wrong order of magnitude, and this impression is confirmed by reference to the primary materials. The migrants returning from South Africa have been listed here on the basis of the parish records. Because of the geographical distribution of the migration to South Africa within Finland, a more detailed examination has been confined to Vaasa Province;

1 SVT XXVIII:1, 9.

2 STV 1897—1940, Tables relating to return migration.

3 Demographic returns from the registers in the court districts to the Central Bureau of Statistics on migrants returning during the period 1894—1924. VA Siirtolaistilastojen perusmateriaali.

4 Cf. a report dated 6 Feb 1896 on the arrival in Hangö of a party of 47 migrants from South Africa. '52 emigranter till Hangö' (52 Emigrants to Hangö). *Wasa Nyheter* 8.2.1896.

Table 13. Ratio between the Number of Emigrations and of Persons Emigrating, in the Finnish Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914^a

Municipality	emigrations	migrants	difference (%)
Nykarleby	21	18	3 (16.7 %)
Jakobstad	35	32	3 (9.4 %)
Gamlakarleby	19	16	3 (18.8 %)
Mustasaari	17	16	1 (6.3 %)
Vörå	45	41	4 (9.8 %)
Oravais	83	68	15 (22.1 %)
Munsala	292	216	76 (35.2 %)
Nykarleby Rural Municipality	120	100	20 (20.0 %)
Jeppo	62	45	17 (37.8 %)
Pedersöre	151	128	23 (18.0 %)
Purmo	12	12	0 (0.0 %)
Esse	14	14	0 (0.0 %)
Kronoby	12	12	0 (0.0 %)
Larsmo	15	14	1 (7.1 %)
Gamlakarleby Rural Municipality	29	24	5 (20.8 %)
Nedervetil	24	23	1 (4.3 %)
Kälviä	10	10	0 (0.0 %)
Evijärvi	10	10	0 (0.0 %)
Kortesjärvi	16	12	4 (33.3 %)
Alahärmä	14	14	0 (0.0 %)
Total	1 001	825	176 (21.3 %)

a: This Table incorporates all recorded cases of emigration from the municipalities concerned, including cases traced in the passport registers but not identified from the parish records.

the migrants from other parts of Finland have already been noted as comprising a mere ten per cent of the total Finnish migration to South Africa. Since it has not been practicable to examine the parish records from all parishes in Vaasa Province, the examination has been concentrated on the twenty municipalities where migration to South Africa is known from the passport registers to have been at its highest during the period under investigation.

A catalogue listing permanent emigration, permanent return, and temporary returns has been drawn up covering the migrants comprising the population for the investigation. In contrast to the methods adopted in earlier chapters, a distinction is here made between persons and emigrations: in some cases, over several years the same person actually emigrated a number of times. It is therefore essential to distinguish between these two concepts in order to establish accurately the volume and composition of the return migration. In the following the scale of this differential is examined with reference to the population under investigation.

As can be seen from Table 13, the total number of emigrations recorded was 21.3 % higher than the total number of persons recorded as emigrating; and these figures still do not allow for 11 persons whose names occur over the years in the records of more than one municipality. When the figures are adjusted to allow for these, the total number of persons emigrating falls to 814, increasing the differential between emigrations and persons emigrating to 21.6 %.

The municipalities including the major number of cases contributing to the size of this differential were Munsala, Pedersöre, Nykarleby, Oravais and Jeppo. The most significant of these was Munsala, where a high emigration rate in general coincides with a 35 % excess of emigrations over persons emigrating. The sheer scale of this excess brings out even more clearly the distinctive character of the emigration from Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia; and in the case of Munsala, it confirms the unique character of the local emigration, since multiple emigrations by the same person were no rarity in Munsala. The corresponding excess in the overall migration from Munsala has been calculated on the basis of BACKMAN's material (for the period from the 1830s to the 1940s) as 28.0 %.⁵ For the overall migration from Finland as a whole, Keijo VIRTANEN, in his study of the Finnish return migration, cites the total number of departures in the overseas migration as being in the order of ten per cent higher than the total number of persons emigrating.⁶

The findings quoted here thus indicate that the excess of total emigrations over total persons emigrating was in Finland about

5 Backman 1945, 10—11.

6 Virtanen 1979, 50—51.

twice as high in the migration to South Africa as in the overall migration. In reality, the difference was probably not so great. The evidence from the passport registers and similar sources suggests that in fact the numbers of emigrations and of persons emigrating from municipalities other than those sampled here were more in balance. Nevertheless, even if in all other known cases of migration from Finland the numbers of emigrations and persons emigrating were at par, the migration to South Africa would still constitute an exception, since the excess of emigrations over persons emigrating would still amount to about 17 %.

In addition to those migrants who settled in South Africa, and those who returned to Finland either permanently or temporarily, a third category also must be taken into account: those who moved on from South Africa to some third country. A total of 52 such cases have been traced from the parish registers in the population under investigation: 48 re-migrated to America, and four to New Zealand.⁷ About one third of these persons subsequently returned to Finland. In examining the ratio between migrants who settled permanently in South Africa and those who returned to Finland, migrants who moved on to third countries, even if they did not actually return to Finland, have been included with return migrants, since they must also be taken into account in examining the opportunities open for migrants within South Africa. To a certain extent, return to the home country and re-migration to a third country are alternative strategies open to the migrant facing disappointment in the country of immigration.⁸

In order to define more precisely the ratio between migrants who remained in South Africa and those who returned, a search has been made in the parish records to trace every one of the 814 cases identified here. The sources utilized consisted of the main parish registers of each of the twenty parishes, the registers of persons not resident, the registers of persons recorded as resident again, and the registers of deaths, up to the 1950s. Altogether 724

7 For the United States, it is possible to identify Finns returning from America from 1899 onwards: during the period 1899—1910 they totalled 17 (*Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 3, 74).

8 See e.g. 'Från Afrika höras dåliga Nyheter' (Bad News from Africa). *Svenska Österbotten* 31.12.1895; 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottnis-ka Posten* 7.3.1896.

(88.9 %) of the persons were traced, and they are distributed as follows:

Settled permanently in South Africa	128 (17.7 %)
Disappeared en route	12 (1.7 %)
Re-migrated to third countries	52 (7.2 %)
Returned home	532 (73.5 %)
<hr/>	
Total	724 (100.0 %)

As can be seen, the number settling permanently in South Africa comprise no more than a minority of the total; taken in conjunction with those recorded as having disappeared en route, they account for a combined share of no more than one fifth; in other words, four fifths of the Finnish migrants to South Africa subsequently left again, either to return to Finland or to move on elsewhere. This ratio is thus the inverse of that for the Finnish overall migration, since the proportion of returning migrants identified by VIRTANEN amounts to around one fifth.⁹ If the population is examined from the specifically Finnish perspective, the proportion of returning migrants was 75.6 % (inclusive of migrants re-migrating from South Africa to some third country, but subsequently returning to Finland: approximately 2.2 % of the total migration).

No essential difference can be traced in terms of return migration between those recruited from rural or urban backgrounds. Among the urban migrants, 76.4 % returned to Finland;

9 Virtanen 1979, 65—67. This distribution is thus virtually the inverse of that obtained for Sweden for the period 1886—1914 from the Condensed Population Reports (26.7 %). However, these figures should be regarded with caution, in view of the deficiencies already noted in the source materials. An attempt to assess the return migration rate for the total migration to South Africa may be attempted on the basis of the UK port records, but this too is problematic. The volume of the outward traffic covered by the volume of return migration for the period 1886—1914 was 75.2 % for the British travellers, and 46.2 % for the foreigners (*International Migrations* Vol. II, 628—629, 636—637, 640—641). Since these statistics however include large numbers of non-migrants, e.g. officials, tourists, etc., they must be regarded with serious reservations, especially with regard to the British travellers, who may be presumed to have included a larger proportion of non-migrants visiting South Africa from the mother country of the Empire.

19.6 % remained in South Africa; and 2.0 % moved on to the United States. The ratio between those settling permanently and those returning home is thus very similar to that in the total population under examination, which was heavily dominated by the rural areas listed above, although it must be borne in mind that the total numbers of urban recruitment in this population consist of only 51 persons.

During the three decades under investigation, considerable changes took place in the conditions prevailing in South Africa, which are also reflected in the flow of migration. The following Table explores whether these changing conditions had any impact on the migrants' decision to settle or to return home. The figures here refer to the total number of persons migrating during each period, not to the number of emigrations. The date of return is not restricted to any specified time.

There are very striking differences to be seen between different groups of migrants. The proportion of those who either settled in South Africa, or disappeared en route, was highest in the earliest period. The disappointments encountered during the wave of heavy migration in 1895—96, and the drift of the country into the Boer War, are reflected in the large numbers of persons moving on to third countries during the period 1895—1901; similarly, the proportion returning home had now risen above 50 %, and during the final period, was to rise over 70 %.

Table 14. Numbers of Persons in the Migration to South Africa Returning to Finland, Settling in South Africa, Disappearing en Route, and Re-migrating to Third Countries of Immigration, 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14.

	1886—1894		1895—1901		1902—1914	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Settling in South Africa	19	22.4	53	14.3	42	9.9
Disappearing en route	5	5.9	5	1.3	2	0.5
Moving to third countries of immigration	4	4.7	36	9.7	11	2.6
Returning temporarily	33	38.8	81	21.8	60	14.1
Returning permanently	24	28.2	196	52.8	310	72.9
Total	85	100.0	371	100.0	425	100.0

Migrants have been recorded as 'Returning temporarily' in the foregoing Table only if the re-emigration occurred during a different period. It is however also worth examining the overall numbers returning temporarily, since this provides additional evidence supporting the interpretation that the Finnish migration was different in character. Of the 724 migrants identified from the parish records, 20.9 % travelled to South Africa more than once. If the 89 unidentified cases of emigration are also included, the proportion known to have travelled more than once falls to 18.6 %; yet even so, it is approximately double the proportions calculated by KERO (7—8 %) or VIRTANEN (around 10 %) with reference to the overall emigration from Finland.¹⁰

The municipality in which the highest proportion of persons emigrated more than once was Munsala, where 27.3 % of the total number of known emigrations were cases of re-emigration. This figure is slightly higher than the corresponding value calculated by BACKMAN for the overall migration: he states that during the period up to the 1930s, 21.3 % of the emigrants had emigrated more than once.¹¹ At the other end of the scale are Alahärmä, Evijärvi, Kronoby, Kälviä, Purmo and Esse, where no cases of re-emigration are recorded.

The total proportion of cases of return from South Africa to Finland which led to re-emigration was 25.4 %;¹² the proportion among urban migrants was slightly lower, at 19.5 %. The ratio of re-emigrations to returns was somewhat lower in the migration to South Africa than in the overall migration, to judge by VIRTANEN's findings in his study of return migration. The proportion of persons re-emigrating varied among the six municipalities in his sample between 52.3 % and 26.9 %, with the highest values in the towns.¹³ The pattern in the migration to South Africa is thus divergent. It must however be borne in mind that the population of urban migrants to South Africa is

10 Kero 1974, 46—47; Virtanen 1979, 70.

11 Backman 1945, 11.

12 In the Finnish migration to South Africa, a total of 736 cases of return migration are recorded, including 187 temporary and 532 permanent returns. The latter figure also includes 16 cases of migrants returning to Finland via other regions of immigration.

13 Virtanen 1979, 71.

relatively small, which could also affect the finding.¹⁴

Table 15 examines the date at which migrants returning temporarily from South Africa subsequently re-emigrated.

As can be seen, most of the migrants who re-emigrated did so fairly soon after their return: over half (55.8 %) emigrated again within two years of having returned, although there were also 29.7 % who re-emigrated only five years or more after their return. This distribution diverges to some extent from the pattern found by VIRTANEN for the Finnish overall migration in his six sample municipalities. The proportion re-emigrating within two years after their return was lower in the migration to South Africa, the differential amounting to 27.5 and 23.7 percentage points in the case of the sample municipalities Jokioinen and Kristinestad, although only to between 4.2 and 13.4 percentage points in the case of the other municipalities.¹⁵

Correspondingly, the proportion re-emigrating after a lapse of five years or more was higher in the migration to South Africa. The differential in the case of Jokioinen and Kristinestad was 29.7 and 22.9 percentage points respectively; in the case of the other municipalities, the rate was in one case 0.3 percentage points lower, and larger in the remaining cases by differentials varying between 8.7 and 18.2 percentage points.¹⁶

The cause for this divergent pattern of distribution can be seen in the course of events within the migration to South Africa, with a concentration of high movement around the two peaks in the mid-1890s and immediately following the Boer War. There were many who tried their luck during both of these two peak periods, but spent the intervening years at home in Finland, thus contributing to the longer lapse seen in Table 15.

Not all of those who re-emigrated to South Africa made only two journeys; there were also those who travelled back and forth several times between the two countries. Among the 150 persons travelling to South Africa more than once, 119 did so twice; 26 on three occasions; 4 on four occasions; and one person made five

14 The total number of cases of return migration in the towns in the region under examination (Nykarleby, Jakobstad and Gamlakarleby) amounts to 48, including ten temporary returns.

15 Virtanen 1979, 72.

16 Virtanen 1979, 72.

Table 15. Lapse of Time between Return and Re-emigration by Migrants Returning Temporarily from South Africa to Finland.^a

Less than 1 year	27	(16.4 %)
1 year	46	(27.9 %)
2 years	19	(11.5 %)
3—4 years	24	(14.5 %)
5—10 years	45	(27.3 %)
over 10 year	4	(2.4 %)
<hr/>		
Total	165	(100.0 %)

a: This Table includes all cases among the 187 cases of temporary return migration where the lapse of time between return and re-emigration can be determined precisely. The lapse of time has been stated to the nearest year.

journeys. The record holder is Wilhelm Johansson Söderman, a farmer from Pedersöre, who was also delegate for his municipality in the Grand Delegation of 1899 to St Petersburg. He travelled to South Africa in 1895, 1896, 1903, 1906 and 1910, but returned after this fifth journey to Finland.

Söderman's case is unique. In the larger groups, it is possible to examine whether there were any differences in the degree of permanent return between those who emigrated once or more than once.

Table 16. Variation in the Degree of Permanent Return in the Finnish Migration to South Africa, 1886—1914, between Persons Migrating Once or More than Once.^a

	Departing	Returning
Once	574	419 (73.0 %)
Twice	119	104 (87.4 %)
Three times	26	21 (80.8 %)
Four times	4	3 (75.0 %)
Five times	1	1 (100.0 %)
<hr/>		
Total	724	548 (75.7 %)

a: The figure for return migrations also includes 16 cases of migrants returning to Finland via other regions of immigration

The figures in Table 16 demonstrate that those who migrated twice were relatively more likely to return permanently than those who emigrated only once; and the figures for those emigrating three times or more also point in the same direction, although in view of the small size of the populations in question, no firm conclusions can be drawn.

This finding is in agreement with VIRTANEN's finding for persons re-emigrating from his six sample municipalities. He suggests that the reason for this was that persons who returned to Finland and attempted to re-adapt to conditions at home, but failed, were nevertheless more likely to respond ultimately to the urge to return than were those who emigrated only once.¹⁷ It is of course also possible that emotive factors of this sort were also operative in the migration to South Africa; but in view of the many differences which have been demonstrated between the overall migration and the migration to South Africa (not least with reference to the return migration), structural reasons may justifiably also be sought within the composition of the migration.

Comparison of the occupations, age, and marital status of the persons migrating more than once with the corresponding data for the total migration to South Africa from Vaasa Province reveals both similar and divergent trends. It is of course natural that the average age of those who re-emigrated was higher than that of first-time emigrants: the weighting in the re-emigrants' age composition falls heavily above 30 years, since two thirds of them were aged 31 or more, whereas the equivalent proportion of total migration to South Africa from Vaasa Province amounted only to two fifths. The occupational and social composition of both groups was approximately the same, however. As a consequence of the higher average age, the proportion of farmers was higher than that of farmers' children among the re-emigrants, whereas in the total group from Vaasa Province this pattern is reversed.

The most significant difference between the composition of the two groups, however, occurs in terms of marital status: 83.5 % of the re-emigrants were married, in comparison to 62.2 % of the control group, a difference of over 20 percentage points. This structural difference in the marital status composition may be

17 Virtanen 1976, 81—82.

assumed to have had a significant effect, since married emigrants will have felt stronger ties to the home country.

As has been seen, the Finnish migration to South Africa was characterized both by a high return migration rate and low permanent settlement rate in the country of immigration. Since this flow of migration was motivated to a large degree by opportunities for earning (a fact also supported by the abnormal sex distribution), this migration was of a markedly temporary character. The following Table therefore examines whether this interpretation is supported by data on the duration of residence in South Africa.

Table 17. Duration of Residence in South Africa by Migrants Returning to Finland.^a

	Returning permanently	Returning temporarily	All migrants returning
Less than 1 year	72 (14.3 %)	32 (18.0 %)	104 (15.3 %)
1 year	189 (37.6 %)	53 (29.8 %)	242 (35.6 %)
2 years	85 (16.9 %)	37 (20.8 %)	122 (17.9 %)
3—5 years	91 (18.1 %)	36 (20.2 %)	127 (18.7 %)
6—10 years	54 (10.8 %)	18 (10.1 %)	72 (10.6 %)
over 10 years	11 (2.2 %)	2 (1.1 %)	13 (1.9 %)
Total	502 (100.0 %)	178 (100.0 %)	680 (100.0 %)

a: These figures exclude cases for which the duration of the migrants' residence abroad could not be determined: there were 39 of these, including 30 cases of permanent return.

As can be seen from Table 17, the duration of residence in South Africa by migrants returning permanently or temporarily was very similar: in both cases, over two thirds of those who returned to Finland did so before the end of their second year of residence in South Africa, and the majority within the first year. Among those who returned permanently, 51.9 % had done so by the end of the first year; among those who returned temporarily, the proportion was only slightly smaller, 47.8 %. Both percentages, and the similarity between them, reflect the impact of the peak of migration in 1895, when Johannesburg proved in many ways to be

a disappointment, and a speedy return home was for many migrants the most felicitous solution. During 1895, however, enthusiasm for migration to South Africa had spread far beyond the core municipalities of recruitment; and in the case of these persons, a return home was not followed by subsequent re-emigration, but represented a permanent decision.

Comparison of the duration of residence in the country of immigration with the Finnish overall migration confirms very clearly the exceptional nature of the migration to South Africa. According to the official statistics, among persons returning from emigration during the period 1894—1916, only 29.5 % had been resident abroad for two years or less, the remainder all having been abroad for longer.¹⁸ Due to changes over the years in the statistical classification used, the groups in the data overlap somewhat, and figures for comparison for residence abroad of less than two years over the entire period under investigation are unobtainable. Among the migrants returning during the period 1901—06, only 1.1 % are recorded as resident abroad for less than one year,¹⁹ although the deficiencies noted earlier in the source materials must also be borne in mind. All in all, however, the tendency in the migration to South Africa for shorter periods of residence abroad than in the overall migration is indisputable. Further supporting evidence is found from a comparison of the migrants returning permanently from South Africa with the corresponding figures for the overall migration in VIRTANEN's examination of the six sample municipalities; the difference is very striking, for the proportion in the latter data of migrants resident abroad for two years or less varied between 20.3 % and 44.0 %.²⁰

Further evidence supporting the brevity of residence in South

18 Figures calculated from: *STV* 1897, Table 110; 1898, Table 121; 1899—1900, Table 116; 1901, Table 119; 1902, Tables 119 and 120b; 1903—04 Table 45B; 1905, Table 46B; 1906—08, Table 45B; 1909, Table 47B; 1910, Table 50B; 1911, Table 47B; 1912, Table 50B; 1913, Table 57B; 1914—15, Table 60B; 1916, Table 64B; 1917—18, Table 65B.

19 Figures calculated from: *STV* 1903—04 Table 45B; 1905, Table 46B; 1906—08, Table 45B; 1909, Table 47B; 1910, Table 50B; 1911, Table 47B; 1912, Table 50B; 1913, Table 57B; 1914—15, Table 60B; 1916, Table 64B; 1917—18, Table 65B.

20 Virtanen 1979, 80.

Africa is provided in Runar C. ÖHMAN's study of sufferers from pneumoconiosis (pulmonary silicosis) among migrants returning to the Swedish-speaking region of Ostrobothnia. ÖHMAN has data on the length of residence for nearly two hundred migrants returning after working in the mines in South Africa; the duration of their employment in the mines, he found, was usually short, averaging two to three years, and in many cases consisting of less than one year.²¹ Among the 57 cases subjected to more detailed medical examination by ÖHMAN, there were 31 whose duration of employment abroad had been one year or less.²²

ÖHMAN's data refer strictly speaking to duration of employment in mining, not to total residence: time spent by these miners in other employment, or by those employed in other occupations, is therefore not included. In view of the central importance of employment in mining, however, these figures can be taken as indicative. ÖHMAN's data also exclude the unemployed, moreover; many disillusioned migrants left South Africa again as soon as they could if this was at all possible.²³

In the Finnish overall migration, return migration affected only a minority; the majority settled abroad. In the migration to South Africa, as has been seen, this pattern is reversed: the majority of the migrants sooner or later returned home. What were the minority of migrants who settled permanently in South Africa like? Did their occupational and social composition or age and marital status composition differ from those predominating in the total migration to South Africa from Vaasa Province?

The only significant difference in terms of occupational and social composition is in the relative sizes of the categories of farmers and of farmers' children. In the total migration to South Africa from Vaasa Province, these two categories were approximately equal in size (29.4 % and 31.4 %); among those who settled permanently in South Africa, however, the figures were 16.2 % and 45.6 % respectively; in other words (since there were so few women in the Finnish migration to South Africa),

21 Öhman 1927, 89.

22 Öhman 1927, 31—35, 99—119.

23 See e.g. 'Bref från Afrika' (A Letter from Africa). *Österbottniska Posten* 7.3.1896.

almost half of the Finnish permanent settlers in South Africa were sons or sons-in-law of farmers.²⁴

There is also a clear difference between the age compositions of the permanent settlers and the control group. Whereas among the total emigrants from Vaasa Province the largest single category consisted of those aged 21—25, the largest category among the permanent settlers were those aged 16—20; and whereas the combined categories of persons aged 16—25 comprised 36.8 % of the control group, they accounted for as many as 54.0 % of the permanent settlers.

In terms of marital status, too, the permanent settlers differed from the control group: unmarried and married persons comprised 36.7 % and 62.2 % respectively in the control group, but the relative weightings are reversed among the permanent settlers, where unmarried and married persons comprised 57.2 % and 41.2 % respectively.

These findings show that the permanent settlers did not constitute a representative cross-section of the total Finnish migration to South Africa, but a population with distinctive characteristics, the primary aspects being a tendency towards the younger and unmarried, with looser ties to their native region (e.g. the lower proportion of farmers, as against farmers' sons). On the three factors of age, property (a farm), and family ties, the composition of the permanent settlers in South Africa diverges clearly from that of those temporarily returning.

A further point to be borne in mind is that not all cases of migrants not returning from South Africa depended on personal choice; mining accidents, infectious diseases, or unhealthy climate might decide the question on the migrants' behalf.²⁵ There are 104 cases in the population under investigation whose death in South Africa is documented; for 83 of these, the lapse of time between emigration and death is known. Of these, 8 died within less than a year, 15 within one year, and 4 within two years from emigration; 45 died within five years. Death thus drastically thinned the ranks

24 Among the population under investigation, there were only 8 women disappearing without trace en route, of whom four were farmers' daughters and two were farmers' wives.

25 On health problems relating to the Finnish migration to South Africa, see Kuparinen 1980, 174—195.

of the migrants in South Africa. Of the 104 cases of documented deaths, 85 are known to have taken place during 1891—1914, and 14 during 1915—26.

1926 is also the date of the earliest South African Census in which the Finns are listed as a distinct category, and the Census data further confirm the differences between the migration to South Africa from Finland and that from the other Nordic countries. Although there was little difference in scale between the Nordic countries in the migration to South Africa during the period 1886—1914 (in not one case even double), and even allowing for the fact that the research population may include only part of the total migration from the Nordic countries during the period under investigation, the 1926 Census presents a very different picture of the relative sizes of the communities of settlers remaining in South Africa. Of the Nordic immigrants who had landed in South Africa during the period 1886—1915, the 1926 Census records as still resident 438 male and 188 female Swedes, 470 male and 287 female Norwegians, and 356 male and 172 female Danes; the corresponding numbers for the Finns, however, are 59 males and 12 females.²⁶ The Finnish men remaining in South Africa thus comprised no more than one sixth or one seventh of the numbers remaining from the other Nordic countries, and the Finnish women a mere 1/15—1/19. Within a decade of the termination of the period under investigation here, return migration in conjunction with unhealthy climatic and environmental conditions, accidents, etc., had resulted in the survival among the white population of South Africa of a mere six dozen persons from three decades of Finnish migration.

²⁶ *Fourth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa 1926*, Part VII, 80—81.

5. Conclusions

The Nordic migration to South Africa was one of the smaller substreams in the vast flow of overseas migration. It commands attention neither on the basis of large recruitment, nor of ideology, nor of an impressive community contribution to the country of destination. From the perspective both of overall Nordic migration, and of overall migration to South Africa, the Nordic migration to South Africa is of very minor significance. During the peak period of the Nordic South African migration, 1886—1914, South Africa absorbed numbers in the region of 3—7 per thousand of the total number of emigrants from the various Nordic countries, while the Nordic contribution to immigration to South Africa amounted to just under one per cent. What does attract attention is a number of unique features in comparison with most of the overseas migration.

The primary motive underlying Nordic migration to South Africa was economic, i.e. the wish to benefit from high wage levels. In this sense, the Nordic South African migration is a classic example of a reaction to positive 'pull' factors operating in the area of destination. With the exception of a few recruitment and colonization schemes in the earlier years, Nordic migration to South Africa was a matter of individual initiative. No incentives for immigration were offered by South Africa, in contrast to the publicity circulated by shipping companies and their agents; on the contrary, at several times the South African authorities attempted to discourage the migration.

The pull factors operating from South Africa did not operate alone, however; they were reinforced by 'push' pressures within the region of origin, and in most cases the migration rate to South Africa was highest where push and pull factors coincided. Push factors on their own, on the other hand, were insufficient to

maintain migration to South Africa; a high overall regional emigration rate did not necessarily entail correspondingly high emigration to South Africa.

Throughout the period under investigation, Nordic migration to South Africa operated on a very small scale. This feature offers strong confirmation for LEE's hypothesis that the volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles. In the migration to South Africa, the major intervening obstacles were the great distance between the areas of origin and destination, and as a direct consequence, the expense of the journey.

Expense is no doubt also one reason for the low volume of the South African migration; but this is certainly not the only reason, for great weight needs to be attached in interpreting the migration to South Africa to the spread of innovation and to migration tradition. South Africa did not attract migration from all areas, but only from those affected by the innovation which it represented. One of the most important channels for the spread of this innovation was through marine contacts.

Tradition also played a particularly significant role in the maintenance of the migration to South Africa, which emerged very strongly in certain areas and was virtually non-existent in others. The outstanding example of the impact of migration tradition in the Nordic migration to South Africa is in Finland, where the bulk of the migration rose, flourished and declined within a specific Swedish-speaking rural area in Ostrobothnia.

Despite the fact that the curve described by the Nordic migration to South Africa during the century between 1815 and 1914 contains two peaks, viewed in its entirety it does nevertheless follow ÅKERMAN's growth curve theory. The early phase, continuing up to the 1880s, represents ÅKERMAN's introductory phase; from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s there follows the phase of growth; the turn of the century represents saturation, and the final period, 1903—14, is marked by rapid regression. There are slight divergences in the timing of these phases between the different Nordic countries. The early history of the South African migration differed in the four Nordic countries, producing divergent curves. Disregarding 'Seamen migration' (which had no doubt occurred to at least some extent even during the period of the Dutch East India Company's rule), Swedish artisans had been

moving to the Cape since the 1830s and 1840s, and Norwegian missionary artisans had arrived in Natal in the 1850s, whereas it was not until the 1870s that the Danish migration 'discovered' South Africa, and that from Finland a decade later still.

Both in the total flow of international migration to South Africa, and in the Nordic stream, two peaks can be seen: one in the mid-1890s, and the other immediately following the end of the Boer War. Both peaks coincide with boom periods in the South African economy, thus according with LEE's hypothesis that the volume of migration varies with fluctuations in the economy.

The earlier peak of migration in South Africa, in the mid-1890s, offers an excellent illustration of the way the region functioned as an alternative destination in the international stream of migration. Migration to South Africa was boosted not only by a boom in the South African economy, but also by a simultaneous depression in North America, resulting in the expansion to a record level of the South African share of the international flow of migration. Throughout the period under investigation, South Africa offered an alternative destination for a small proportion of migrants; during the mid-1890s, it also offered many a substitute destination in place of America.

Although in some ways the Nordic migration to South Africa was highly homogeneous, this mainly applies to the Scandinavian component; the Finnish migration differed in many respects. On the other hand, in all four Nordic countries the migration to South Africa during the period under investigation displays a profile significantly different from that of their respective overall overseas migration.

Throughout the Nordic region, the mass emigration during the peak period 1886—1914 of migration to South Africa, was overwhelmingly rural in recruitment; but the Scandinavian migration to South Africa was heavily recruited from the towns. In the case of Sweden, the proportion of urban migrants was over three times as high, in Denmark double and in Norway nearly double that in the overall overseas migration.

In this respect, the Finnish recruitment forms a sharp contrast: around 85 % of the Finnish migrants came from rural areas, and within Vaasa Province slightly over 90 %, a pattern largely similar to that in the Finnish overseas migration overall. Outside Vaasa Province, on the other hand, the urban/rural ratio is as high in

Finland as in Norway or Sweden, and the recruitment to the migration to South Africa is concentrated along each country's seaboard. As a result of the geographical concentration of the Finnish migration to South Africa, the number of those migrating from the capital, Helsinki, comes to no more than a fraction of the corresponding numbers from the other Nordic capitals.

The heavy rural recruitment to the Finnish migration is reflected in its occupational composition: whereas in the Scandinavian countries the majority of the migrants were persons whose income was derived from employment in industry, skilled trades, commerce and communications, four fifths of the Finnish migrants came from an agricultural background. Both of these occupational and social compositions represent extremes. In comparison to each country's overall overseas migration, the migrants to South Africa from Sweden, Norway and Denmark were more highly skilled and more highly educated, whereas the composition of the South African migration from Finland was even more intensely recruited from the farming population than the already heavily agrarian occupational patterns of the overall Finnish overseas migration. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark the occupational composition of the South African migration confirms LEE's hypothesis that a high level of intervening obstacles will increase the positive selection among the migrants. Whereas in Finland the occupational composition is in strong conflict with this.

In all four Nordic countries, the migration to South Africa was more male-dominated than the overall overseas migration, although to considerably differing extents. The proportion of females was highest among the Swedes, whose settlement in South Africa was the oldest, and lowest among the Finns, whose migration to South Africa had really only started in the period after 1886. The proportion of women among the Finnish migrants to South Africa was in fact noticeably lower than in the other Nordic countries; whereas women comprised between just over a fifth and just under a third of the Scandinavian recruitment, in Finland they made up only just over four per cent.

A further point of contrast between the South African and overall migration patterns was in terms of age: the mean age of migrants to South Africa was higher. Factors contributing to this were the very low proportion of family migration, and in the cases

of Sweden, Norway and Denmark the heavy urban recruitment rate and higher level of education among the migrants. A feature unique to the South African migration is also the rise in mean age between the 1890s and early 1900s, which is a reflection of the division within the stream of migration into two phases: the 1890s peak, and the post-Boer War period. Many of those who had been in South Africa before the outbreak of the War returned once it was over, thus causing a statistical rise in the migrants' mean age at migration.

Also linked with the high average age, moreover, is the divergent composition of the migration to South Africa in terms of marital status. In Norway and Sweden, the proportion of married migrants was several percentage points higher in the South African migration than in the overall overseas migration, although in both cases unmarried migrants were in the majority. In Finland, however, the pattern is reversed, with three fifths of the migrants to South Africa being married, a proportion three times higher than in the overseas migration as a whole. The reason suggested for this divergence in the Finnish migration is the predominance of temporary migration: more of the South African migrants, both married and unmarried, were on a short trip abroad to earn money fast, rather than to settle, and their links with the home country remained intact.

The high return migration rate is a further feature highly characteristic of the Finnish migration to South Africa. In the overall overseas migration from Finland, the proportion of migrants returning home came to about one fifth; from South Africa, the proportion returning was around four fifths. This feature is in conflict with LEE's hypothesis that the efficiency of migration streams will be high if the intervening obstacles are great, since the proportion of migrants purchasing the expensive ticket back home from South Africa was much higher than from America. Similarly, the duration of stay in the area of destination was considerably shorter than in the overall Finnish overseas migration, with over two thirds of the migrants returning home within two years of having set out, the majority of these within the first year.

These features, then, provide the basis for a division between the Scandinavian and Finnish patterns of migration to South Africa. The migration from the Scandinavian countries, although it

also included an element of temporary labour migration, was largely an example of migration proper, i.e. re-settlement in a new country, whereas the Finnish migration to South Africa was overwhelmingly temporary labour migration. This difference in the nature of the migration movement is then reflected in a wide range of ways in the composition and movement of the migrant population.

Equally, this divergence is reflected in a dichotomy visible in the relations between the patterns of the Nordic and international migration to South Africa, where this can be tested.

The evidence of the port records from the United Kingdom indicates that the proportions of highly educated persons, and of those employed in commerce or in the professions, were higher among non-British than among British migrants to South Africa, while migrants in industrial or agricultural occupations were fewer. The exceptional attraction of highly skilled or educated persons to the migration to South Africa can be confirmed by comparing the occupational and social composition of the South African and American streams of migration. In this respect too, the Scandinavian migration to South Africa reflects the predominant international pattern, realized in the recruitment of a relatively highly educated migrant population, among whom the Finnish migrants, with their agricultural background, stand apart.

The second, equally striking distinctive feature of the Finnish migration in comparison with the main European stream of migration to South Africa is its domination by males. Whereas the sex distribution in the Scandinavian migration is approximately similar to that in the recruitment from central Europe, the male-dominated migration of the Finns is most similar in terms of sex composition to the South African immigration from India, and for a similar reason: temporary labour migration.

A similar dichotomy can be observed in the comparison of the Nordic and international migrations to South Africa in terms of marital status. The British port records indicate that the majority of the passengers travelling to South Africa were unmarried, as were also the majority of the Scandinavians, whereas the great majority of the Finns were married.

Within the limits set by the material available for comparison, the Scandinavian migration to South Africa can thus be seen to have followed similar patterns to those in the international stream

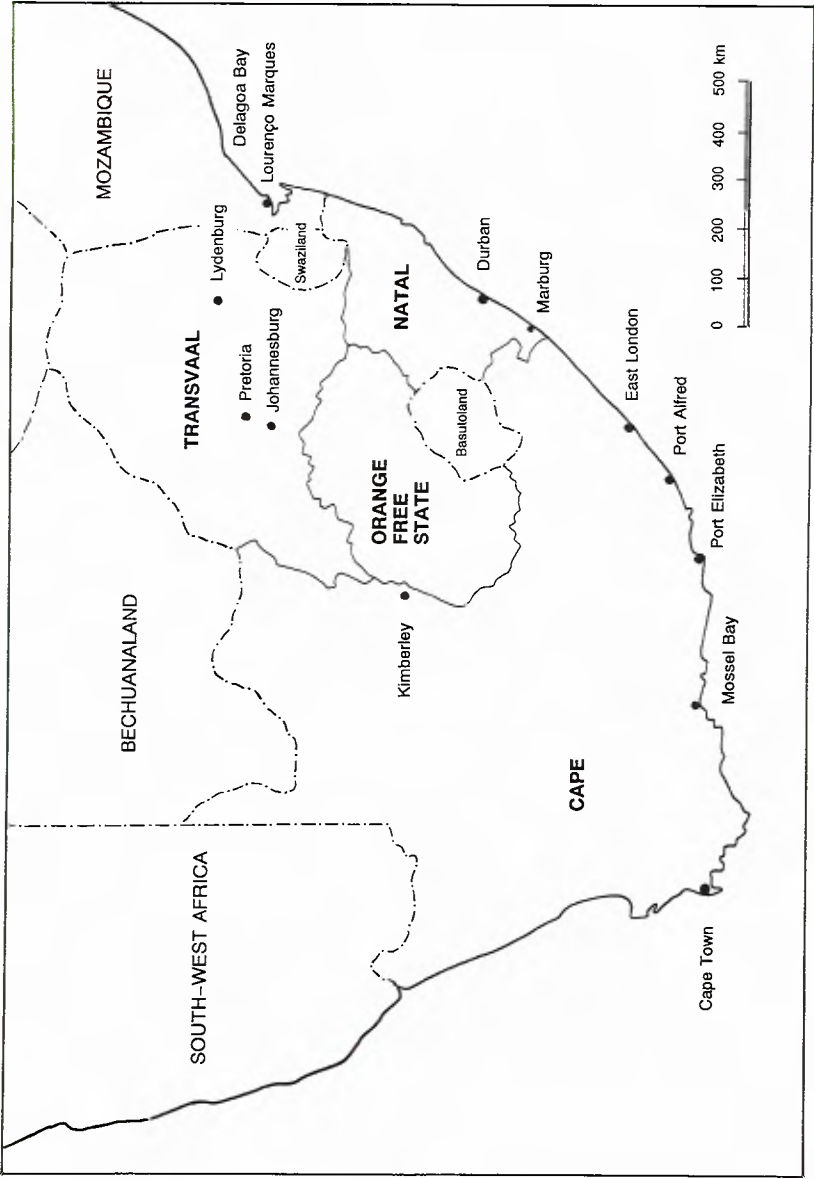
of South African migration, whereas the Finnish migration emerges as divergent in comparison both with the Scandinavian and with the international patterns.

During the period of mass migration to South Africa, the high numbers of migrants reflect the high expectations set on the region. High enthusiasm also led to excess, especially at the peaks of migration in the mid-1890s and in the aftermath of the Boer War, when South Africa attracted more immigrants than the labour market of the region could in fact absorb. Repeated warnings to intending migrants against the consequent mass unemployment can be found in the pages both of consular reports and of the press.

It is difficult to assess what impact these warnings may have had on the overall volume of Nordic migration to South Africa. It is, however, clear that at no period was the flow of South African migration completely dammed: throughout the period under investigation, there was a continuous supply of at least some migrants with sufficient belief in the opportunities offered by South Africa and in their own abilities to benefit from these. Indeed, the Finnish migration to South Africa appears to demonstrate an extreme optimism of faith in South Africa's opportunities: for whereas the majority of the Scandinavians who set out for the southern tip of Africa possessed a higher level of skills and education than these countries' overseas migrants in general, most of the Finns who went to South Africa had neither education nor language skills, travelling in many cases as members of a larger group of like-minded adventurers. Finnish farmhands with neither special skills nor the ability to speak the local languages stood little chance of succeeding, however, in a situation where large numbers even of those with training and linguistic skills were walking the streets without a job.

Appendices

Cartographic Appendix 1. South Africa with Political Frontiers.



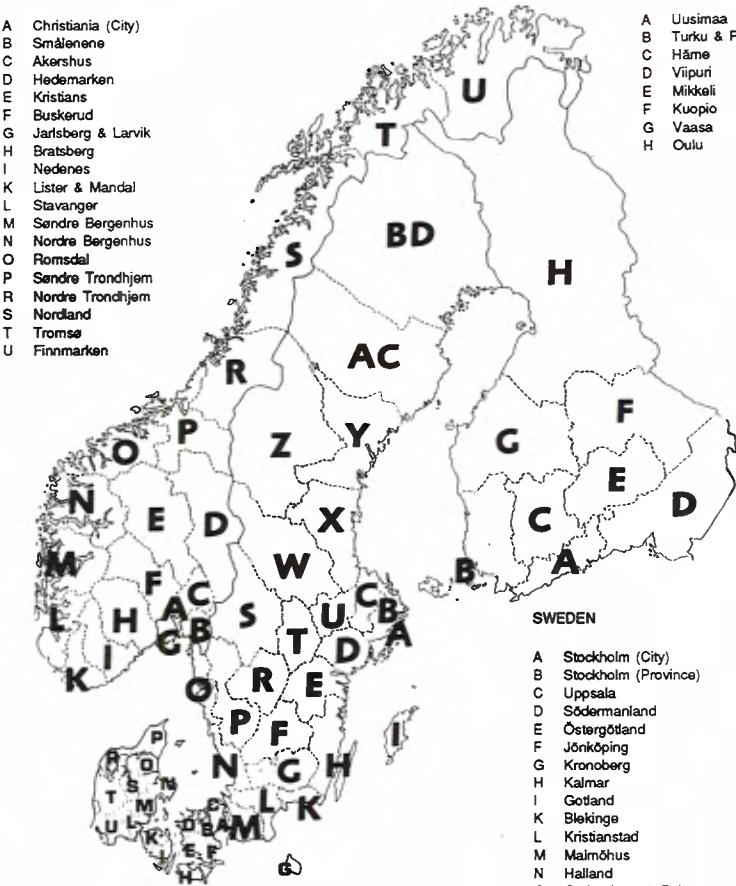
Cartographic Appendix 2. Provincial Boundaries in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

NORWAY

- A Christiania (City)
- B Smålenene
- C Akershus
- D Hedemarken
- E Kristians
- F Buskerud
- G Jarlsberg & Larvik
- H Bratsberg
- I Nedenes
- K Lister & Mandal
- L Stavanger
- M Søndre Bergenhus
- N Nordre Bergenhus
- O Romsdal
- P Søndre Trondhjem
- R Nordre Trondhjem
- S Nordland
- T Tromsø
- U Finnmarken

FINLAND

- A Uusimaa
- B Turku & Pori
- C Häme
- D Viipuri
- E Mikkeli
- F Kuopio
- G Vaasa
- H Oulu



SWEDEN

- A Stockholm (City)
- B Stockholm (Province)
- C Uppsala
- D Södermanland
- E Östergötland
- F Jönköping
- G Kronoberg
- H Kalmar
- I Gotland
- K Blekinge
- L Kristianstad
- M Malmöhus
- N Halland
- O Gothenburg & Bohus
- P Älvsborg
- R Skaraborg
- S Värmland
- T Örebro
- U Västmanland
- W Kopparberg
- X Gävleborg
- Y Västernorrland
- Z Jämtland
- AC Västerbotten
- BD Norrbotten

DENMARK

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| A Copenhagen (City) | L Vejle |
| B Copenhagen (Province) | M Århus |
| C Frederiksborg | N Randers |
| D Holbæk | O Ålborg |
| E Sorø | P Hjørring |
| F Præstø | R Thisted |
| G Bornholm | S Viborg |
| H Maribo | T Ringkøbing |
| I Svendborg | U Ribe |
| K Odense | |

Appendix 1. Numbers of Passengers Sailing from United Kingdom Ports for South Africa, 1871—1914.^a

	British	Foreign ^b	Total
1871	..	..	1 070
1872	..	..	1 842
1873	..	..	2 838
1874	..	..	4 025
1875	..	..	5 628
1876	..	..	6 634
1877	4 834	487	5 321
1878	4 337	593	4 930
1879	6 895	770	7 665
1880	9 059	744	9 803
1881	12 905	1 324	14 229
1882	12 063	1 551	13 614
1883	5 742	971	6 713
1884	3 954	745	4 699
1885	3 268	692	3 960
1886	3 897	762	4 659
1887	4 909	749	5 658
1888	6 466	1 239	7 705
1889	13 884	1 787	15 671
1890	10 321	1 762	12 083
1891	9 090	1 596	10 686
1892	9 891	1 750	11 641
1893	13 097	3 061	16 158
1894	13 177	3 583	16 760
1895	20 234	5 754	25 988
1896	24 594	11 246	35 840
1897	21 109	7 692	28 801
1898	19 756	5 879	25 635
1899	14 432	4 431	18 863
1900	20 815	4 703	25 518
1901	23 143	5 410	28 553
1902	43 206	8 680	51 886

a: *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 628—629, 636—637.

b: Persons of unidentified nationality have been counted as foreigners.

1903	50 206	12 618	62 824
1904	26 818	5 460	32 278
1905	26 307	4 859	31 166
1906	22 804	3 519	26 323
1907	20 925	2 339	23 264
1908	19 568	2 376	21 944
1909	22 017	2 632	24 649
1910	27 297	3 541	30 838
1911	30 767	3 761	34 528
1912	28 216	3 672	31 888
1913	25 855	3 851	29 706
1914	21 124	2 675	23 799
<hr/>			
1871—1914	656 982	129 264	808 281
<hr/>			

Appendix 2. Annual South African Net Migration Gain in Passenger Traffic between South Africa and the United Kingdom (calculated from numbers of passengers), 1886—1914.^a

	British	Foreign	Total
1886	55	137	192
1887	1 823	211	2 034
1888	2 985	614	3 599
1889	9 015	951	9 966
1890	3 814	662	4 476
1891	3 337	436	3 773
1892	3 744	703	4 447
1893	6 066	1 817	8 423
1894	6 311	2 496	8 807
1895	11 930	4 243	16 173
1896	10 433	9 281	19 714
1897	6 158	4 921	11 079
1898	5 664	2 901	8 565
1899	-6 189	792	-5 397
1900	7 417	901	8 318
1901	8 937	1 928	10 865
1902	28 044	7 135	35 179
1903	28 017	9 901	37 918
1904	-833	1 690	857
1905	3 221	1 895	5 116
1906	-3 160	-323	-3 483
1907	-4 787	-1 072	-5 859
1908	-4 780	-162	-4 942
1909	2 478	389	2 867
1910	8 314	1 463	9 777
1911	7 527	1 448	8 975
1912	4 233	3 672	7 905
1913	377	3 851	4 228
1914	-3 229	2 375	-854
1886—1914	147 462	65 256	212 718

a: *International Migrations*. Vol. II, 640—641.

Appendix 3. Cases of Migration from the Nordic Countries to South Africa with Known Places of Origin, 1815—1914.

(Places of origin are listed by province, with cities and towns first in capitals. Rural origin has been analyzed on the basis of the local government units used in the migration records kept in each Nordic country, i.e. in Denmark the *sogn*, in Finland the *maalaiskunta/landskommun*, in Norway the *herred* and in Sweden the *socken*. In most cases, civic boundaries coincide with those of the ecclesiastical parishes.)

D E N M A R K 1815—75 76—85 86—94 95—99 00—01 02—14

COPENHAGEN 1 268 98 247 68 228

COPENHAGEN PROVINCE

— FREDERIKSBERG	—	27	1	4	—	—
— KØGE	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Brønshøj	—	3	—	—	—	—
— Tårnby	—	1	1	—	—	—
— Kastrup	—	—	1	1	—	2
— Hvidovre	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Herlev	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Gentofte	—	9	—	—	—	1
— Ørdrup	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Skovshoved	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Charlottenlund	—	—	—	—	—	3
— Hellerup	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Lyngby	—	3	1	—	—	—
— Fårerbæk	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Brøndby Øster	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Glostrup	—	1	—	—	—	1
— Ballerup	—	—	—	1	—	—
— St.Jørgenbjerg	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Kirkerup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Sæby	—	2	—	—	—	—

FREDERIKSBORG PROVINCE

— HELSINGØR	—	1	7	1	—	2
— HILLERØD	—	—	—	2	—	2
— FREDERIKSVÆRK	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Hellebæk	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Asminderød	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Karlebo	—	—	—	—	—	1

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Birkerød	—	1	—	1	—	3
— Hørsholm	—	—	—	1	—	9
— Esbønderup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Valby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Blistrup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Alsøderup	—	3	—	—	—	—
— Lillerød	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Veksø	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	1	—	—	—	—
HOLBÆK PROVINCE						
— HOLBÆK	—	—	—	1	—	—
— NYKØPING	—	3	—	—	—	1
— KALUNDBORG	—	—	1	—	—	1
— Tølløse	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Odden	—	—	1	—	—	—
SORØ PROVINCE						
— RINGSTED	—	2	—	1	—	1
— SORØ	—	1	1	1	—	—
— SLAGELSE	—	2	—	1	—	3
— KORSØR	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Haraldsted	—	4	—	—	—	—
— Jystrup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Terslev	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Haslev	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Tårnborg	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Flakkebjerg	—	5	—	—	—	—
— Hyllinge	—	—	—	1	—	—
PRÆSTØ PROVINCE						
— NÆSTVED	—	—	—	1	—	—
— STEGE	—	1	2	1	1	—
— Lyderslev	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Spjellerup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Fakse	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Mern	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Damsholte	—	1	—	—	—	—

BORNHOM PROVINCE

— RØNNE	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vester Marie	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Øster Larsker	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Åker	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	—	—	2

MARIBO PROVINCE

— NYKØBING	—	2	1	5	6	3
— NYSTED	—	2	—	—	—	—
— SAKSKØBING	—	—	1	—	—	—
— RØDBY	—	—	—	—	1	—
— NAKSKOV	—	5	—	3	1	3
— Vestenskov	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Tillitse	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Søllested	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Købelev	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Halsted	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Vesterborg	—	—	—	—	2	—
— Vejleby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Ønslev	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	1	—	—	—

SVENDBORG PROVINCE

— NYBORG	—	2	—	1	—	5
— SVENDBORG	—	—	—	3	1	2
— FÅBORG	—	—	—	—	—	1
— MARSTAL	—	—	—	—	1	1
— Strynø	—	—	1	—	—	4
— Diernæs	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Brahetrolleborg	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Sønder Broby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Flødstrup	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	2	—	1

ODENSE PROVINCE

— ODENSE	—	5	1	13	2	16
— KERTEMINDE	—	—	—	—	—	1
— BOGENSE	1	1	—	1	1	—
— MIDDELFART	—	—	—	—	—	3
— ASSENS	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Kærum	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Orte	—	—	—	—	—	1

VEJLE PROVINCE

— VEJLE	—	2	1	5	—	5
— FREDERICIA	—	1	—	4	—	2
— KOLDING	—	—	—	2	—	1
— Vejle Rural Parish	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Stouby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Uth	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Barrit	—	11	—	—	—	—
— Glud	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Daugård	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Engum	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Vinding	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Sønder Vilstrup	—	3	—	—	—	—
— Almind	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vonsild	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Ødis	—	—	—	1	—	—

ÅRHUS PROVINCE^a

— ÅRHUS	1	7	—	4	1	9
— HORSSENS	—	3	1	3	—	2
— Odder	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Hammel	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Them	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Tolstrup	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Kjellerup	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

a: The provincial boundaries used are those on force during 1867—1914, i.e. with Gamle Skanderborg Province incorporated into Århus Province.

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RANDERS PROVINCE

— HOBRO	—	—	—	1	—	—
— RANDERS	—	1	—	5	—	3

— GRENÅ	—	—	—	4	—	—
— EBELTOFT	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Laurbjerg	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Knebel	—	1	—	—	—	—

ÅLBORG PROVINCE

— ÅLBORG	—	5	—	—	1	8
— NIBE	—	2	—	—	—	—
— NØRRE SUNDBY	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Nørre Tranders	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Gunderup	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Års	—	—	—	1	1	—
— Vester Hassing	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	—	—	1

HJØRRING PROVINCE

— SKAGEN	—	—	—	—	1	2
— FREDERIKSHAVN	—	—	—	1	—	3
— HJØRRING	—	—	—	1	—	—
— SÆBY	—	2	—	1	—	1
— Sæby Rural Parish	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Høllum	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Lyngby	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vrå	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Aggersborg	—	—	—	—	—	8
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	—	—	2

VIBORG PROVINCE

— VIBORG	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Hornbæk	—	1	—	—	—	—

RINGKØPING PROVINCE

— Nørlem	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Skarrild	—	5	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

RIBE PROVINCE

— RIBE	—	—	1	2	—	1
— ESBJERG	—	—	—	6	1	—
— VARDE	—	—	1	3	1	2
— Hørne	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Fåborg	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Skast	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Nordby	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vamdrup	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vester Vedsted	—	1	—	—	—	—

URBAN ORIGIN	3	346	117	333	88	320
Rural origin	—	86	7	23	8	57
Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	1	1	4	—	4
Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	—	—	2
TOTAL	3	433	125	360	96	383

UUSIMAA PROVINCE

— HELSINKI/ HELSINGFORS ^a	1	—	3	5	2	24
— BORGÅ/PORVOO	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Bromarv	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Mäntsälä	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Pernå	1	—	—	—	—	1

TURKU & PORI PROVINCE

— TURKU/ÅBO	—	—	1	2	—	5
— PORI	—	—	1	—	—	—
— RAUMA	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Jomala	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Sund	—	—	—	3	—	—
— Vårdö	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Lumparland	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Kivimaa (Kustavi)	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Korpo	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Nagu	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Kimito	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Dragsfjärd/ Dragsfjärdi	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vestanfjärd	—	—	1	—	—	1
— Hitis	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Maaria	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Lappi	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Rauma Rural Municipality	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Honkajoki	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	1	—	2	—	—

HÄME PROVINCE

— HÄMEENLINNA	—	—	—	—	—	1
— TAMPERE	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Lempäälä	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Hattula	—	—	—	—	—	2

- a: The Swedish and Finnish names of the rural localities are in the list, if both Swedish and Finnish languages were used in the beginning of the 20th century in the locality and if the lingual minority was at least 20 % of the total population. The Finnish names of towns whose Finnish-speaking minority was smaller than 20 % of the total population have also been included.

VIIPURI PROVINCE

— VIIPURI	—	—	—	2	1	2
— LAPPEENRANTA	—	—	1	—	—	—
— KOTKA	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Ruokolahti	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Viipuri Rural Municipality	—	1	—	—	1	1
— Heinjoki	—	—	—	—	—	1

MIKKELI PROVINCE

— Pieksämäki	—	—	—	1	—	—
--------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

VAASA PROVINCE

— NIKOLAINKAUPUNKI (VASA/VAASA)	—	1	—	8	—	6
— KASKÖ/KASKINEN	—	—	—	—	—	1
— KRISTINESTAD/ KRISTIINAN- KAUPUNKI	—	—	1	2	—	—
— NYKARLEBY/ UUSIKAARLEPY	—	1	—	2	—	17
— JAKOBSTAD/ PIETARSAARI	—	—	2	2	—	30
— GAMLAKARLEBY/ KOKKOLA	—	1	—	4	1	8
— Lappfjärd/ Lapväärtti	—	1	—	1	—	2
— Kristinestad Rural Municipality	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Närpes	—	2	—	1	—	—
— Korsnäs	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Ylistaro	—	—	—	3	—	—
— Vähäkyrö	—	—	—	—	—	3
— Laihia	—	—	2	—	—	1
— Malax	—	—	—	1	—	3
— Solf	—	—	—	2	1	2
— Korsholm	—	—	—	6	1	9
— Replot	—	1	3	4	1	—
— Kevlax	—	—	—	4	—	—
— Maxmo	—	—	—	—	—	3

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Vörå	—	—	3	25	—	16
— Kauhava	—	—	—	—	—	8
— Ylihärmä	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Alahärmä	—	2	—	1	—	13
— Oravais	—	—	13	45	3	19
— Munsala	1	1	62	111	12	103
— Nykarleby						
Rural Municipality	—	—	9	54	2	52
— Jeppo	—	—	—	5	1	49
— Jakobstad Rural						
Municipality						
(Pedersöre)	—	—	—	69	—	78
— Purmo	—	—	1	6	—	5
— Esse	3	1	—	14	—	—
— Kronoby	—	—	1	7	—	4
— Larsmo	—	1	2	8	—	5
— Gammlakarleby						
Rural Municipality	—	—	1	2	—	23
— Nedervetil	—	—	—	11	—	14
— Kälviä	—	—	—	—	—	9
— Lohtaja	—	—	—	4	—	—
— Himanka	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Kannus	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Kaustinen	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Veteli	—	—	—	3	—	—
— Evijärvi	—	—	—	10	—	—
— Kortesjärvi	—	—	—	3	—	13
— Lappajärvi	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Virrat	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Place of origin						
unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—
OULU PROVINCE						
— OULU	—	—	1	1	—	1
— RAAHE	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Kalajoki	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ylivieska	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Paavola	—	—	—	—	—	1

1815—75 76—85 86—94 95—99 00—01 02—14

URBAN ORIGIN	1	3	11	30	4	98
Rural origin	5	11	101	413	23	465
Place of origin unknown	—	1	—	3	—	—
TOTAL	6	15	112	446	27	563

NORWAY	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
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CHRISTIANIA	5	9	30	47	25	148
-------------	---	---	----	----	----	-----

SMÅLENENE PROVINCE^a

(Present name: Østfold Province)

— FREDRIKSHALD	—	—	1	2	—	3
— SARPSBORG	—	—	—	—	—	1
— FREDRIKSTAD	—	—	2	3	1	6
— MOSS	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Berg	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Skjeberg	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Råde	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vaaler	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Onsø	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Rakkestad	—	—	1	—	—	—

AKERSHUS PROVINCE

— DRØBAK	1	—	—	—	—	2
— Ås	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Aker	—	—	2	3	1	8
— Bærum	—	—	—	1	—	10
— Urskog	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Høland	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Skedmo	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Lillstrøm	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Nes	—	—	—	—	—	3
— Eidsvold	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Hurdalen	—	—	—	—	—	1

HEDEMARKEN PROVINCE

(Present name: Hedmark Province)

— HAMAR	—	—	—	1	2	4
— KONGSVINGER	—	—	1	2	—	2
— Odalen	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Vinger	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Grue	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Åsnes	—	—	—	1	—	—

a: In cases where the names of provinces have subsequently been changed, the modern names are given in parentheses.

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Elverum	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Stor-Elvedalen	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Ringsaker	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Nes	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Vang	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Furnes	—	—	—	—	—	3
— Romedal	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Stange	—	—	—	—	—	1

KRISTIANS PROVINCE

(Present name: Oppland Province)

— LILLEHAMMAR	—	—	—	1	1	1
— GJØVIK	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Ringebu	—	—	—	1	1	—
— Fåberg	—	—	1	—	—	1
— Søndre Aurdal	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Østre Slidre	—	—	—	1	—	—

BUSKERUD PROVINCE

— HØNEFOSS	—	—	—	—	—	2
— DRAMMEN	1	—	3	3	1	11
— KONGSBERG	—	—	—	—	—	9
— Flå	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Hole	—	—	—	—	—	11
— Modum	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

JARLSBERG & LARVIK PROVINCE

(Present name: Vestfold Province)

— SVELVIK	1	—	—	—	—	1
— HOLMESTRAND	—	1	—	—	—	5
— HORTEN	—	—	—	1	—	2
— TØNSBERG	—	—	1	1	2	4
— SANDEFJORD	—	1	2	—	2	5
— LARVIK	—	—	1	4	2	25
— Sande	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Hof	—	—	—	1	—	4
— Ramnes	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Stokke	—	—	—	1	—	3

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Sem	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Nøtterø	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Tjømø	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Tjølling	—	—	—	—	—	—
— Brunlanes	—	—	—	1	—	2
— Hedrum	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Lardal	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

BRATSBERG PROVINCE

(Present name: Telemark Province)

— KRAGERØ	—	—	3	1	1	3
— BREVIK	—	—	—	—	—	1
— PORSGRUND	—	—	—	—	1	6
— SKIEN	—	—	—	—	2	3
— Hollen	—	—	—	—	1	1
— Bø	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	2	—	—

NEDENES PROVINCE

(Present name: Aust-Agder Province)

— RISØR	—	—	—	2	—	2
— TVEDESTRAD	1	—	—	2	—	3
— ARENDAL	—	1	1	1	2	10
— GRIMSTAD	—	—	1	5	2	7
— LILLESAND	—	—	1	6	5	3
— Vegårsheien	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Søndeled	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Dybvåg	—	—	—	3	—	6
— Holt	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Barbu	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Tromø	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Hisø	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Øiestad	—	—	—	1	—	2
— Fjære	—	—	—	6	3	16
— Landvik	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Vestre Moland	—	—	—	8	—	7
— Høvåg	—	—	—	9	—	3
— Birkenes	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Evje	—	—	—	—	—	1

LISTER & MANDAL PROVINCE
(Present name: Vest-Agder Province)

— KRISTIANSAND	—	—	2	13	3	20
— MANDAL	2	—	—	4	—	9
— FARSUND	—	—	—	2	1	10
— FLEKKEFJORD	—	—	—	5	1	—
— Oddernes	—	—	—	1	—	7
— Hægeland	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Søgne	—	—	2	2	3	8
— Halså	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Holme	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Nordre Undal	—	—	—	2	—	5
— Søndre Undal	—	—	—	3	—	—
— Spangereid	—	—	—	1	1	—
— Vanse	—	1	—	10	1	10
— Herred	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Spind	—	—	—	5	—	5
— Austad	—	—	—	6	—	7
— Lyngdal	—	1	1	11	4	12
— Kvås	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Fede	—	—	—	1	—	—

STAVANGER PROVINCE
(Present name: Rogaland Province)

— SOGNDAL	—	—	—	—	—	1
— SANDNES	—	—	—	—	—	6
— STAVANGER	16	7	1	4	—	52
— HAUGESUND	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Heskestad	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Egersund	—	—	1	2	—	—
— Varhaug	—	—	2	—	—	—
— Time	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Håland	—	7	—	1	—	—
— Vikedal	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Nerstrand	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Sand	—	—	—	1	1	—
— Skåre	—	—	—	1	—	—

SØNDRE BERGENHUS PROVINCE
(Present name: Hordaland Province)

— BERGEN	7	20	14	8	12	22
— Fjelberg	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Tysnes	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Eidsfjord	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Askøen	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Aarstad	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Alversund	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Lindås	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	—	1	—

NORDRE BERGENHUS PROVINCE
(Present name: Sogn & Fjordane Province)

— FLORØ	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Gulen	—	—	—	5	—	—
— Ytre Holmedal	—	1	—	—	—	—

ROMSDAL PROVINCE
(Present name: Møre & Romsdal Province)

— ÅLESUND	—	101	2	5	—	2
— MOLDE	—	—	—	—	—	1
— KRISTIANSUND	—	—	—	5	—	11
— Vannelven	—	—	1	—	—	2
— Sande	—	—	—	—	—	5
— Herø	5	16	1	—	—	3
— Volden	—	—	—	13	—	12
— Ørsten	1	—	—	1	—	4
— Hjørundfjord	—	2	5	1	—	—
— Norddalen	—	—	4	1	—	—
— Søkkelven	—	2	4	3	—	—
— Skodje	—	—	3	—	—	—
— Borgund	—	—	2	4	—	1
— Haram	—	—	3	—	1	2
— Vestnes	—	—	—	1	—	3
— Grytten	—	—	—	1	—	1

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Frænen	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Sandø	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Eide	—	—	—	—	—	4
— Øre	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Tingvold	—	—	—	3	1	—
— Rindalen	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Halse	—	—	—	5	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Place of origin unknown	—	100	3	1	1	21

SØNDRE TRONDHJEM PROVINCE
(Present name: Sør-Trøndelag Province)

— TRONDHEIM	—	13	7	16	2	12
— Soknedalen	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Hølandet	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Børsen	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Buviken	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Å	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Frøya	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	1	1	7

NORDRE TRONDHJEM PROVINCE
(Present name: Nord-Trøndelag Province)

— LEVANGER	—	6	—	—	—	—
— Størdalen	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Skogn	—	—	—	—	2	—
— Levanger Rural Municipality	—	7	—	—	—	—
— Egge	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	—	1	—

NORDLAND PROVINCE

— BODØ	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Saltdalen	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Øksnes	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	2	1	—	—

1815—75 76—85 86—94 95—99 00—01 02—14

TROMSØ PROVINCE

(Present name: Troms Province)

— TROMSØ	—	—	—	2	—	1
— Bjarkøy	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Karlsøy	—	—	—	—	1	—

FINNMARKEN PROVINCE

(Present name: Finnmark Province)

— HAMMERFEST	—	—	—	—	1	—
— VADSØ	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

URBAN ORIGIN	34	159	74	150	69	420
Rural origin	10	42	39	145	24	240
Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	1	—	2
Place of origin unknown	—	100	5	7	4	28

TOTAL	44	301	118	303	97	690
-------	----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----

S W E D E N	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
STOCKHOLM	26	38	49	93	11	81
STOCKHOLM PROVINCE						
— SÖDERTÄLJE	—	—	—	—	—	3
— NORRTÄLJE	—	—	—	—	—	1
— VAXHOLM	—	1	—	—	—	—
— ÖREGRUND	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Börstil	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Almunge	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vaddö	—	—	—	1	—	3
— Söderby-Karl	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Frötuna	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Lovö	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Munsö	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Järfälla	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Bromma	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Sollentuna	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Danderyd	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Solna	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Värmdö	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Västerhaninge	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Nacka	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	2	1	1	—	—	—
— UPPSALA PROVINCE						
— UPPSALA	—	1	—	1	—	1
— ENKÖPING	—	1	—	1	1	—
— Häggeby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Veckholm	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Tierp	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Älvkarleby	—	—	—	—	—	2
SÖDERMANLAND PROVINCE						
— NYKÖPING	—	3	—	—	—	1
— ESKILSTUNA	—	—	2	5	2	—
— Tunaberg	—	—	1	—	—	—
— St.Nikolai	—	—	—	—	—	1

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Västra Vingåker	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Malmköping	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Forsa	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Fors	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Tumbo	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Kloster	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Place of origin unknown —	—	—	1	—	—	—

ÖSTERGÖTLAND PROVINCE

— LINKÖPING	11	—	—	—	—	2
— NORRKÖPING	2	—	3	1	—	2
— VADSTENA	3	—	—	—	—	—
— SÖDERKÖPING	1	—	—	—	1	—
— SKÄNNINGE	—	—	—	1	—	—
— MOTALA	2	—	1	—	—	1
— Mjölby	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Åtvid	—	—	—	—	1	—
— St.Lars	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Ringarum	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Hällestad	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Kvilleinge	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Svanshals	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Heda	2	—	—	—	—	—
— Ödeshög	1	—	1	—	—	—
— Västra Tollstad	2	—	—	—	—	—
— Bjälbo	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Väderstad	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Motala Rural Parish	—	—	—	1	—	—

JÖNKÖPING PROVINCE

— JÖNKÖPING	—	1	1	2	4	2
— EKSJÖ	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Barnarp	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Vireda	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Norra Solberga	—	—	—	—	—	3
— Vetlanda	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Vallsjö	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Tofteryd	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Fryele	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Värnamo	—	—	—	—	—	1

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Reftele	—	—	1	—	—	—
KRONOBERG PROVINCE						
— VÄXJÖ	—	—	—	3	—	1
— Nöbbele	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Algutsboda	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Alvesta	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Urshult	—	—	1	—	—	1
— Stenbroholt	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vislanda	—	1	—	3	—	—
— Skatelöv	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	1	—	—	—
KALMAR PROVINCE						
— KALMAR	23	2	7	2	1	10
— VÄSTERVIK	—	1	4	1	2	4
— OSKARSHAMN	—	1	5	2	1	—
— VIMMERBY	—	—	—	1	—	—
— BORGHOLM	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Lofta	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Hjorted	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Gladhammar	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Pelarne	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Misterhult	1	—	—	1	—	—
— Målilla	—	3	—	—	—	—
— Högsby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Fliseryd	—	—	1	2	—	—
— Förlösa	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Bäckebo	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Ålem	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Mönsterås	—	5	—	—	—	1
— Söderåkra	1	1	—	1	—	—
— Madesjö	1	—	—	—	—	1
— Hossmo	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Böda	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Högby	—	—	—	3	—	—
— Gärdslösa	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Runsten	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Repplinge	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Torslunda	—	—	—	1	—	—

1815—75 76—85 86—94 95—99 00—01 02—14

— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	1	2	—	—	—

GOTLAND PROVINCE

— WISBY	—	2	1	2	—	—
— Othem	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Hörsne	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Ardre	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Tofta	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Sanda	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Fröjel	—	—	2	3	—	—
— Rone	—	—	—	—	—	1
— När	—	2	—	—	—	—
— Etelhem	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	2	—	—

BLEKINGE PROVINCE

— KARLSKRONA	—	2	5	2	—	5
— RONNEBY	—	4	1	1	—	2
— KARLSHAMN	—	9	6	4	—	6
— Aspö	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ölgehult	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Asarum	—	7	6	—	—	2
— Mörrum	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Jämshög	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Kyrhult	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Ysane	—	—	—	—	—	1

KRISTIANSTAD PROVINCE

— KRISTIANSTAD	—	1	—	—	—	1
— SIMRISHAMN	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Örkeljunga	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Östra Ljungby	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Gråmanstorp	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Rebbelberga	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Båstad	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Vinslöv	—	1	—	—	—	—

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Röke	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Verum	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Farstorp	—	2	—	3	—	1
— Åhus	—	—	1	—	—	2
— Nosaby	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Spjutstorp	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ullstorp	—	—	2	5	—	4
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

MALMÖHUS PROVINCE

— MALMÖ	2	10	5	7	3	5
— LUND	1	3	11	2	—	3
— LANDSKRONA	1	4	3	1	—	1
— HÄLSINGBORG	1	11	3	3	—	13
— YSTAD	—	—	—	3	1	3
— Hyllie	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Välluv	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Raus	—	1	1	—	1	—
— Hälsingborg Rural Parish	—	1	—	1	—	—
— Allerum	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Väsby	—	1	—	1	3	1
— Kattarp	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Västra Sallerup	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Stävie	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Håstad	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Burlöv	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Hyby	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Hör	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Hammarlunda	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Skurup	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Södra Åsarum	—	—	—	—	—	9
— Bjäresjö	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	1	—	1	—	—

HALLAND PROVINCE

— HALMSTAD	—	1	—	1	—	2
— VARBERG	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Tjärby	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Enslöv	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ljungby	—	—	—	—	2	—
— Morup	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Tvååker	1	—	—	—	—	—
— Fjärås	—	—	—	—	2	—
— Vallda	—	—	—	1	—	—

GOTHENBURG & BOHUS PROVINCE

— GOTHENBURG	12	12	25	64	17	59
— LYSEKIL	—	1	—	—	—	—
— UDDEVALLA	—	2	5	1	—	—
— STRÖMSTAD	—	3	1	—	—	—
— Fässberg	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Västra Frölunda	—	—	4	—	—	1
— Styrsö	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Öckerö	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Örgryte	—	—	1	7	—	9
— Romelanda	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Norum	—	3	1	—	—	—
— Resteröd	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Skee	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Tjärnö	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Tanum	—	—	1	—	—	1
— Kville	—	—	—	—	2	—
— Mo	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	1	1	—	1	—	—

ÄLVSBERG PROVINCE

— VÄNERSBERG	1	5	6	6	1	1
— BORÅS	—	1	—	1	—	—
— ÅMÅL	—	—	—	1	—	4
— Trollhättan	—	1	1	—	—	—
— Stora Mellby	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Stora Lundby	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Bergum	—	—	—	—	1	—

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Nödinge	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Grovare	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Hällstad	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ljushult	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Åsarp	—	—	1	2	—	—
— Smula	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Ör	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Gunnarsnäs	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Holm	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Torp	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Högsäter	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Råggård	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Ånimskog	2	—	—	—	—	1
— Laxarby	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Steneby	—	—	—	1	—	2
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	1	—	—	1

SKARABORG PROVINCE

— LIDKÖPING	1	—	—	—	—	—
— SKARA	—	—	1	—	—	—
— SKÖVDE	—	—	—	—	1	—
— HJO	—	—	—	—	—	1
— FALKÖPING	—	—	—	2	—	1
— Agnetorp	—	—	—	—	1	—
— Ås	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Karaby	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Vara	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Bitterna	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ova	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	—	1	—

VÄRMLAND PROVINCE

— KARLSTAD	1	—	—	—	—	1
— KRISTINEHAMN	—	—	1	1	—	2
— Nordmark	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Väse	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Alster	—	—	—	1	—	1
— Övre Ullerud	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Karlstad Rural Parish	—	—	—	1	—	—

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Grava	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Nor	—	—	2	—	—	—
— Säffle	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Töcksmark	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Skillingmark	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Arvika	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Järnskog	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Sunne	2	—	1	—	—	—
— Östra Ämtervik	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Västra Ämtervik	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Place of origin unknown	—	1	—	3	—	—

ÖREBRO PROVINCE

— ÖREBRO	1	2	—	5	1	4
— ASKERSUND	—	1	—	—	—	1
— LINDESBERG	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Glanshammar	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Vintrosa	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Axberg	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Ramsberg	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Fellingsbro	—	1	—	—	—	—

VÄSTMANLAND PROVINCE

— VÄSTERÅS	—	—	1	—	—	—
— KÖPING	—	—	—	—	—	2
— ARBOGA	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Dingtuna	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Kolbäck	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Kung Karl	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Västervåla	—	—	—	1	—	—

KOPPARBERG PROVINCE

— FALUN	—	—	—	2	—	2
— Sundborn	—	—	1	—	—	2
— Vika	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Grytnäs	—	—	1	—	—	—
— Mora	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Nås	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Malung	—	—	—	1	—	—

	1815—75	76—85	86—94	95—99	00—01	02—14
— Norrbärke	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	—	—	1	—	—

GÄVLEBORG PROVINCE

— GÄVLE	1	2	2	3	—	7
— SÖDERHAMN	—	—	1	1	—	—
— HUDIKSVALL	—	1	—	—	—	1
— Hille	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Vallbo	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Österfärnebo	—	—	—	1	—	2
— Alfta	—	—	3	—	—	—
— Ovanåker	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Bollnäs	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Skog	—	1	1	1	—	—
— Jättendal	—	3	—	—	—	—
— Ljusdal	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Place of origin (rural) unknown	—	—	1	—	—	—

VÄSTERNORRLAND PROVINCE

— HÄRNÖSAND	—	—	—	1	—	2
— SUNDSVALL	1	2	13	11	3	16
— ÖRNSKÖLDSVIK	—	—	—	—	1	1
— Tuna	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Njurunda	—	—	1	—	—	3
— Sköns	—	1	1	9	—	9
— Alnö	—	—	1	1	—	—
— Timrå	—	—	—	—	—	10
— Hässjö	—	—	3	—	1	1
— Tynderö	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Gudmundrå	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Resele	—	1	—	—	—	—
— Själevad	—	—	—	2	—	—
— Arnäs	—	—	1	1	1	—
— Gideå	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Place of origin unknown	—	1	1	—	—	1

JÄMTLAND PROVINCE

— ÖSTERSUND	—	—	3	3	2	6
— Ragunda	—	—	—	—	—	2
— Stugun	—	—	—	—	—	1
— Mörsil	—	—	7	—	—	—

VÄSTERBOTTEN PROVINCE

— UMEÅ	—	1	—	—	—	2
— SKELLEFTEÅ	—	1	1	1	—	1
— Umeå Rural Parish	—	—	—	1	—	—
— Lycksele	—	—	—	—	1	—

NORRBOTTEN PROVINCE

— LULEÅ	—	—	—	2	—	—
— PITEÅ	—	1	2	1	—	2
— Piteå Rural Parish	—	—	—	1	—	2
— Nederluleå	—	2	—	—	2	2
— Nederkalix	1	—	—	—	—	1
— Gällivare	—	—	1	2	—	1

URBAN ORIGIN	91	131	171	249	53	270
Rural origin	22	70	66	116	20	138
Place of origin						
(rural) unknown	—	1	1	1	—	2
Place of origin						
unknown	3	6	6	10	1	2
<hr/>						
TOTAL	116	208	244	376	74	412

Appendix 4. Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Stockholm, Gothenburg, Västernorrland Province and Sweden Overall.^a

	STOCKHOLM			GOTHENBURG		
	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent
1886	1 427	2	0.1 %			
1887	2 348	1	0.0 %			
1888	2 163	11	0.5 %			
1889	1 514	6	0.4 %			
1890	1 936	1	0.1 %			
1891	3 139	2	0.1 %	1 006	2	0.2 %
1892	2 647	6	0.2 %	1 076	3	0.3 %
1893	2 439	7	0.3 %	1 008	—	—
1894	692	6	0.9 %	386	4	1.0 %
1895	994	10	1.0 %	576	10	1.7 %
1896	783	26	3.3 %	423	33	7.8 %
1897	616	33	5.4 %	325	4	1.2 %
1898	511	13	2.5 %	275	9	3.3 %
1899	683	11	1.6 %	417	5	1.2 %
1900	829	7	0.8 %	456	7	1.5 %
1901	1 061	4	0.4 %	585	10	1.7 %
1902	1 630	4	0.2 %	805	17	2.1 %
1903	1 864	19	1.0 %	818	11	1.3 %
1904	1 055	8	0.8 %	469	2	0.4 %
1905	1 023	4	0.4 %	488	4	0.8 %
1906	1 154	4	0.3 %	579	2	0.3 %
1907	1 085	4	0.4 %	509	2	0.4 %
1908	546	5	0.9 %	272	—	—
1909	1 097	4	0.4 %	473	1	0.2 %
1910	1 532	6	0.4 %	602	4	0.7 %
1911	1 093	5	0.5 %	505	2	0.4 %
1912	822	8	1.0 %	410	6	1.5 %
1913	1 034	5	0.5 %	375	1	0.3 %
1914	506	5	1.0 %	196	2	1.0 %
1886—1914 ^b		7			24	
TOTAL	38 223	234	0.6 %	13 034	165	1.3 %

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: *SOS* A XXVIII—XXXII:1, Tab. 18; XXXIII, Tab. 20; XXXIV—XLII:1, Tab. 21; XLIII—XLIV, Tab. 29; XLV—LII, Tab. 31; *SOS*: Ut- och invandring 1911—14, Tab. 1. The migration statistics for Gothenburg are not listed separately in the *SOS* until 1891 and thereafter.

b: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

VÄSTERNORRLAND PROVINCE

SWEDEN, TOTAL

	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent
1886	212	—	—	28 342	11	0.0 %
1887	529	—	—	46 638	9	0.0 %
1888	812	—	—	45 943	28	0.1 %
1889	373	—	—	29 141	53	0.2 %
1890	358	3	0.8 %	30 215	26	0.1 %
1891	1 673	4	0.2 %	38 318	18	0.0 %
1892	2 818	4	0.1 %	41 275	28	0.1 %
1893	2 895	2	0.1 %	37 504	31	0.1 %
1894	536	4	0.7 %	9 678	46	0.5 %
1895	434	1	0.2 %	15 104	57	0.4 %
1896	360	4	1.1 %	15 175	182	1.2 %
1897	179	8	4.5 %	10 314	110	1.1 %
1898	184	10	5.4 %	8 683	74	0.9 %
1899	301	3	1.0 %	12 028	73	0.6 %
1900	380	3	0.8 %	16 434	53	0.3 %
1901	549	3	0.5 %	20 464	54	0.3 %
1902	1 757	15	0.9 %	33 477	92	0.3 %
1903	2 282	17	0.7 %	35 975	157	0.4 %
1904	1 016	2	0.2 %	18 968	54	0.3 %
1905	890	1	0.1 %	20 862	25	0.1 %
1906	1 129	1	0.1 %	21 692	20	0.1 %
1907	1 080	1	0.1 %	19 818	18	0.1 %
1908	462	1	0.2 %	9 246	25	0.3 %
1909	1 101	—	—	18 894	23	0.1 %
1910	1 429	—	—	24 647	23	0.1 %
1911	739	3	0.4 %	16 770	26	0.2 %
1912	653	2	0.3 %	14 689	34	0.2 %
1913	952	—	—	17 224	19	0.1 %
1914	429	1	0.2 %	10 006	10	0.1 %
1886—1914 ^c		4			75	
TOTAL	26 512	97	0.4 %	667 524	1 454	0.2 %

c: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

Appendix 5. Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Provinces of Christiania, Lister & Mandal, Romsdal and Norway Overall.^a

	CHRISTIANIA			LISTER & MANDAL PROVINCE		
	Overall migration	South African migration	South African component	Overall migration	South African migration	South African component
1886	1 126	2	0.2 %	780	—	—
1887	1 716	—	—	1 568	—	—
1888	1 581	3	0.2 %	1 506	1	0.1 %
1889	820	1	0.1 %	727	1	0.1 %
1890	887	1	0.1 %	890	—	—
1891	886	4	0.5 %	1 040	1	0.1 %
1892	1 010	3	0.3 %	1 126	1	0.1 %
1893	987	6	0.6 %	1 180	—	—
1894	336	7	2.1 %	675	—	—
1895	496	12	2.4 %	983	4	0.4 %
1896	400	21	5.3 %	877	16	1.8 %
1897	277	4	1.4 %	740	21	2.8 %
1898	252	8	3.2 %	540	12	2.2 %
1899	252	2	0.8 %	957	16	1.7 %
1900	602	11	1.8 %	1 050	11	1.0 %
1901	997	14	1.4 %	1 120	3	0.3 %
1902	2 060	25	1.2 %	1 530	14	0.9 %
1903	2 582	94	3.6 %	1 606	32	2.0 %
1904	2 650	11	0.4 %	1 648	11	0.7 %
1905	2 459	5	0.2 %	1 567	3	0.2 %
1906	2 676	2	0.1 %	1 699	—	—
1907	2 701	—	—	1 549	7	0.5 %
1908	1 050	1	0.1 %	406	6	1.5 %
1909	1 568	—	—	1 145	3	0.3 %
1910	1 686	—	—	614	4	0.7 %
1911	1 244	5	0.4 %	936	7	0.7 %
1912	1 021	2	0.2 %	796	5	0.6 %
1913	990	1	0.1 %	909	1	0.1 %
1914	798	1	0.1 %	640	3	0.5 %
1886—1914 ^b		3			1	
TOTAL	36 112	249	0.7 %	31 510	184	0.6 %

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

b: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

	ROMSDAL PROVINCE			NORWAY, TOTAL		
	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent
1886	852	—	—	15 158	3	0.0 %
1887	1 270	—	—	20 741	3	0.0 %
1888	1 382	8	0.6 %	21 452	14	0.1 %
1889	622	—	—	12 642	5	0.0 %
1890	517	—	—	10 991	3	0.0 %
1891	797	3	0.4 %	13 341	13	0.1 %
1892	1 092	—	—	17 049	8	0.0 %
1893	1 330	8	0.6 %	18 778	19	0.1 %
1894	257	4	1.6 %	5 642	39	0.7 %
1895	312	25	8.0 %	6 207	57	0.9 %
1896	387	6	1.6 %	6 679	121	1.8 %
1897	272	7	2.6 %	4 669	109	2.3 %
1898	354	2	0.6 %	4 859	48	1.0 %
1899	680	4	0.6 %	6 699	37	0.5 %
1900	956	1	0.1 %	10 931	68	0.6 %
1901	1 015	2	0.2 %	12 745	58	0.4 %
1902	1 181	14	1.2 %	20 343	112	0.5 %
1903	1 452	29	2.0 %	26 784	360	1.3 %
1904	932	2	0.2 %	22 264	54	0.2 %
1905	789	3	0.4 %	21 059	31	0.1 %
1906	1 119	1	0.1 %	21 967	32	0.1 %
1907	1 542	1	0.1 %	22 135	17	0.1 %
1908	462	1	0.2 %	8 497	31	0.4 %
1909	1 354	2	0.1 %	16 152	18	0.1 %
1910	1 530	16	1.0 %	18 912	33	0.2 %
1911	1 502	—	—	12 477	37	0.3 %
1912	560	3	0.5 %	9 105	28	0.3 %
1913	548	2	0.4 %	9 876	20	0.2 %
1914	376	1	0.3 %	8 522	20	0.2 %
1886—1914 ^b		8			62	
TOTAL	25 227	153	0.6 %	406 676	1 460	0.4 %

c: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

Appendix 6. Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, Copenhagen Alone and Denmark Overall, 1886—1914.^a

	COPENHAGEN			DENMARK, TOTAL		
	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion	South African compo- nent
1886	617	1	0.2 %	3 192	2	0.1 %
1887	823	—	—	4 625	—	—
1888	586	1	0.2 %	4 560	1	0.0 %
1889	825	2	0.2 %	4 613	3	0.1 %
1890	939	—	—	4 973	1	0.0 %
1891	834	4	0.5 %	5 061	8	0.2 %
1892	869	10	1.2 %	5 018	13	0.3 %
1893	909	13	1.4 %	4 434	20	0.5 %
1894	435	31	7.1 %	1 835	46	2.6 %
1895	408	32	7.8 %	1 675	53	3.2 %
1896	353	55	15.6 %	1 415	99	7.0 %
1897	345	52	15.1 %	1 120	76	6.8 %
1898	303	22	7.3 %	1 190	43	3.6 %
1899	318	18	5.7 %	1 434	28	2.0 %
1900	422	21	5.0 %	1 857	47	2.6 %
1901	506	29	5.7 %	2 552	54	2.1 %
1902	689	17	2.5 %	3 781	50	1.3 %
1903	901	52	5.8 %	4 708	100	2.1 %
1904	1 005	13	1.3 %	4 963	26	0.5 %
1905	888	5	0.6 %	4 636	18	0.4 %
1906	870	5	0.6 %	4 770	16	0.3 %
1907	814	5	0.6 %	4 461	14	0.3 %
1908	547	1	0.2 %	2 404	4	0.2 %
1909	867	5	0.6 %	3 868	10	0.3 %
1910	908	7	0.8 %	5 082	13	0.3 %
1911	895	8	0.9 %	4 808	14	0.3 %
1912	938	4	0.4 %	5 230	8	0.2 %
1913	861	4	0.5 %	5 162	7	0.1 %
1914	614	2	0.3 %	3 398	7	0.2 %
1886—1914 ^b		7			28	
TOTAL	20 289	426	2.1 %	106 825	809	0.8 %

a: These figure comprise only male migrants aged 15 or over. Figures derived from: *SSO* 11, Tab. XIX; *SA* 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

b: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

Appendix 7. Migration to South Africa as a Proportion of the Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Munsala, Vaasa Province and Finland Overall.^a

	MUNSALA			VAASA PROVINCE		FINLAND, TOTAL			
	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent		Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent		
1886	76	1	1.3 %	1 465	3	0.2 %	3 324	3	0.1 %
1887	96	—	—	3 690	1	0.0 %	7 857	5	0.1 %
1888	90	—	—	2 417	—	—	4 862	—	—
1889	73	1	1.4 %	2 607	2	0.1 %	5 204	2	0.0 %
1890	79	9	11.4 %	3 985	12	0.3 %	6 011	12	0.2 %
1891	102	13	12.7 %	2 704	17	0.6 %	5 095	20	0.4 %
1892	120	5	4.2 %	3 999	14	0.4 %	6 528	17	0.3 %
1893	118	18	15.3 %	5 714	24	0.4 %	9 117	26	0.3 %
1894	30	9	30.0 %	879	20	2.3 %	1 380	25	1.8 %
1895	78	70	89.7 %	3 088	269	8.7 %	4 020	312	7.8 %
1896	65	25	38.5 %	3 782	84	2.2 %	5 185	96	1.9 %
1897	48	7	14.6 %	1 359	22	1.6 %	1 916	29	1.5 %
1898	62	2	3.2 %	2 630	9	0.3 %	3 467	16	0.5 %
1899	166	4	2.4 %	8 658	18	0.2 %	12 075	18	0.1 %
1900	119	11	9.2 %	6 715	17	0.3 %	10 397	20	0.2 %
1901	108	1	0.9 %	7 316	5	0.1 %	12 561	8	0.1 %
1902	142	2	1.4 %	11 111	18	0.2 %	23 152	23	0.1 %
1903	127	43	33.9 %	6 977	162	2.3 %	16 964	193	1.1 %
1904	66	12	18.2 %	5 150	52	1.0 %	10 952	74	0.7 %
1905	77	16	20.8 %	8 453	76	0.9 %	17 427	87	0.5 %
1906	85	14	16.5 %	8 133	57	0.7 %	17 517	62	0.3 %
1907	99	—	—	7 375	12	0.2 %	16 296	14	0.1 %

a: Figures for overall migration 1886—92: Vainio, Esa, & Tuominen, Taru-Terhikki: *Siirtolaisuus Suomesta vuosina 1865—1892 passiluetteloiden mukaan* (Emigrants from Finland in 1865—1892 According to Passport Lists); 1893—1914: SVT XXVIII:1—2, Tab. IX; 11, Tab. X.

	MUNSALA			VAASA PROVINCE			FINLAND, TOTAL		
	Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent		Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent		Overall migra- tion	South African migra- tion/ South African compo- nent	
1908	17	1	5.9 %	2 567	14	0.5 %	5 812	19	0.3 %
1909	149	1	0.7 %	8 300	8	0.1 %	19 144	14	0.1 %
1910	109	4	3.7 %	8 054	38	0.5 %	19 007	41	0.2 %
1911	75	2	2.7 %	3 819	11	0.3 %	9 372	11	0.1 %
1912	71	3	4.2 %	4 200	13	0.3 %	10 724	19	0.2 %
1913	74	—	—	7 490	13	0.2 %	20 057	14	0.1 %
1914	33	—	—	2 237	10	0.4 %	6 474	14	0.2 %
1886— 1914 ^b		18			23			28	
TOTAL	2 554	292	11.4 %	144 874	1024	0.7 %	291 897	1222	0.4 %

b: Migrants during the period 1886—1914, whose precise date of departure is unknown.

Appendix 8. Migration Rate to South Africa, 1886—1914: Sweden.

	Migrants	Mean population ^a	Rate per thousand per year
Province			
Stockholm (City)	234	297 467	0.03
Stockholm (Province)	22	184 916	0.00
Uppsala	8	124 725	0.00
Södermanland	19	166 995	0.00
Östergötland	19	280 082	0.00
Jönköping	23	203 731	0.00
Kronoberg	16	159 127	0.00
Kalmar	62	229 533	0.01
Gotland	16	53 111	0.01
Blekinge	44	146 088	0.01
Kristianstad	28	223 054	0.00
Malmöhus	95	411 778	0.01
Halland	13	141 672	0.00
Göteborg & Bohus	208	338 756	0.02
Älvsborg	44	265 149	0.01
Skaraborg	11	243 142	0.00
Värmland	26	255 915	0.00
Örebro	16	194 834	0.00
Västmanland	8	147 214	0.00
Kopparberg	14	216 343	0.00
Gävleborg	31	232 921	0.00
Västernorrland	99	230 528	0.01
Jämtland	24	109 987	0.01
Västerbotten	7	142 628	0.00
Norrbotten	19	133 451	0.00
TOTAL	1 106	5 133 147	0.01

a: Mean population calculated from the population in 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Appendix 9. Migration Rate to South Africa, 1886—1914: Norway.

	Migrants	Mean population ^a	Rate per thousand per year
Province			
Christiania	250	191 572	0.04
Smålenene	28	124 976	0.01
Akershus	40	113 354	0.01
Hedemarken	29	124 653	0.01
Kristians	10	113 590	0.00
Buskerud	43	104 400	0.01
Jarlsberg & Larvik	87	93 637	0.03
Bratsberg	26	92 524	0.01
Nedenes	136	74 422	0.06
Lister & Mandal	184	74 179	0.09
Stavanger	78	116 273	0.02
Søndre Bergenhus	62	186 363	0.01
Nordre Bergenhus	6	88 655	0.00
Romsdal	153	129 383	0.04
Søndre Trondhjem	55	127 480	0.01
Nordre Trondhjem	4	81 660	0.00
Nordland	8	147 956	0.00
Tromsø	5	71 796	0.00
Finnmarken	4	31 293	0.00
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TOTAL	1 208	2 088 166	0.02

a: Mean population calculated from the population in 1891, 1900 and 1910.

Appendix 10. Migration Rate to South Africa, 1886—1914: Denmark.

	Migrants	Mean population ^a	Rate per thousand per year
Province			
Copenhagen (City)	641	416 698	0.05
Copenhagen (Province)	25	275 620	0.00
Frederiksborg	32	90 776	0.01
Holbæk	6	100 138	0.00
Sorø	12	95 240	0.00
Præstø	7	104 228	0.00
Bornholm	7	40 845	0.01
Maribo	29	107 077	0.01
Svendborg	26	128 518	0.01
Odense	41	151 410	0.01
Vejle	28	125 798	0.01
Århus	24	185 004	0.00
Randers	17	119 981	0.00
Ålborg	20	126 154	0.01
Hjørring	23	119 994	0.01
Thisted	—	72 387	—
Viborg	—	109 370	—
Ringkøbing	2	113 652	0.00
Ribe	24	95 779	0.01
TOTAL	964	2 578 669	0.01

a: Mean population calculated from the population in 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Appendix 11. Migration Rate to South Africa, 1886—1914: Vaasa Province.

	Migrants	Mean population ^a	Rate per thousand per year
Town			
Nikolainkaupunki (Vasa/Vaasa)	18	15 071	0.04
Kaskö/Kaskinen	2	915	0.08
Kristinestad/ Kristiinankaupunki	3	2 769	0.04
Nykarleby/Uusikaarlepyy	21	1 088	0.67
Jakobstad/Pietarsaari	35	3 761	0.32
Gamlakarleby/Kokkola	19	2 664	0.25
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TOTAL	98	26 268	0.13
Rural Municipality			
Lappfjärd/Lapväärtti	3	6 024	0.02
Kristinestad Rural Municipality	1	1 381	0.02
Närpes	1	10 453	0.00
Korsnäs	2	4 667	0.01
Kauhajoki	1	3 608	0.01
Ylistaro	3	8 937	0.01
Vähäkyrö	3	4 244	0.02
Laihia	3	6 985	0.01
Malax	4	4 466	0.03
Solf	6	3 147	0.07
Korsholm	17	8 273	0.07
Replot	8	2 853	0.10
Kevlax	4	3 574	0.04
Maksmo	3	1 913	0.05
Vörå	45	7 963	0.19
Kauhava	8	7 788	0.04
Ylihärmä	2	3 328	0.02
Alahärmä	14	5 606	0.09

a: Mean population calculated from the population in 1890, 1900 and 1910.

Oravais	83	3 853	0.74
Munsala	292	4 687	2.15
Nykarleby Rural Municipality	120	3 349	1.23
Jeppo	62	2 325	0.92
Jakobstad Rural Municipality (Pedersöre)	151	6 191	0.84
Purmo	12	2 536	0.16
Esse	14	2 441	0.20
Kronoby	12	3 216	0.13
Larsmo	15	2 231	0.23
Gamlakarleby Rural Municipality	29	4 997	0.20
Nedervetil	24	2 054	0.40
Kälviä	10	3 530	0.10
Lohtaja	4	3 200	0.04
Himanka	1	2 723	0.01
Kannus	1	3 917	0.01
Kaustinen	2	3 141	0.02
Veteli	3	3 507	0.03
Evijärvi	10	4 235	0.08
Kortesjärvi	16	3 771	0.15
Lappajärvi	5	5 252	0.03
Virrat	2	8 373	0.01
Pihtipudas	1	4 304	0.01
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TOTAL	997	179 043	0.19
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GRAND TOTAL	1 095	205 311	0.18

Appendix 12. Volume of Migration to South Africa in Relation to Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Sweden.

Province	Migration to South Africa	Overall migration ^a	South African component
Stockholm (City)	234	38 223	0.6 %
Stockholm (Province)	22	7 376	0.3 %
Uppsala	8	3 996	0.2 %
Södermanland	19	8 033	0.2 %
Östergötland	19	36 258	0.1 %
Jönköping	23	38 500	0.1 %
Kronoberg	16	30 566	0.1 %
Kalmar	62	48 994	0.1 %
Gotland	16	8 016	0.2 %
Blekinge	44	21 007	0.2 %
Kristianstad	28	31 019	0.1 %
Malmöhus	95	38 257	0.2 %
Halland	13	35 720	0.0 %
Gothenburg & Bohus	208	34 011	0.6 %
Älvsborg	44	52 356	0.1 %
Skaraborg	11	35 335	0.0 %
Värmland	26	54 749	0.0 %
Örebro	16	23 137	0.1 %
Västmanland	8	7 419	0.1 %
Kopparberg	14	24 579	0.1 %
Gävleborg	31	24 058	0.1 %
Västernorrland	99	26 512	0.4 %
Jämtland	24	15 756	0.2 %
Västerbotten	7	10 474	0.1 %
Norrbottn	19	13 173	0.1 %
TOTAL	1 106	667 524	0.2 %

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab 1. These figures include 486 cases of migration within Europe or to 'unknown destinations', which cannot be separated from the figures for the overseas migration.

Appendix 13. Volume of Migration to South Africa in Relation to Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Norway.

Province	Migration to South Africa	Overall migration ^a	South African component
Christiania	250	36 112	0.7 %
Smålenene	28	14 549	0.2 %
Akershus	40	13 796	0.3 %
Hedemarken	29	22 370	0.1 %
Kristians	10	28 919	0.0 %
Buskerud	43	19 091	0.2 %
Jarlsberg & Larvik	87	16 306	0.5 %
Bratsberg	26	15 572	0.2 %
Nedenes	136	25 230	0.5 %
Lister & Mandal	184	31 510	0.6 %
Stavanger	78	37 867	0.2 %
Søndre Bergenhus	62	33 673	0.2 %
Nordre Bergenhus	6	16 337	0.0 %
Romsdal	153	25 227	0.6 %
Søndre Trondhjem	55	25 111	0.2 %
Nordre Trondhjem	4	16 003	0.0 %
Nordland	8	19 324	0.0 %
Tromsø	5	6 679	0.1 %
Finnmarken	4	3 000	0.1 %
TOTAL	1 208	406 676	0.3 %

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

Appendix 14. Volume of Migration to South Africa in Relation to Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Vaasa Province.

Town	Migration to South Africa	Overall migration ^a	South African component
Nikolainkaupunki (Vasa/Vaasa)	18	4 751	0.4 %
Kaskö/Kaskinen	2	206	0.1 %
Kristinestad/ Kristiinankaupunki	3	897	0.3 %
Nykarleby/ Uusikaarlepyy	21	791	2.7 %
Jakobstad/Pietarsaari	35	1 478	2.4 %
Gamlakarleby/Kokkola	19	766	2.5 %
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TOTAL	98	8 889	1.1 %
Rural Municipality			
Lappfjärd/Lappväärtti	3	2 654	0.1 %
Kristinestad Rural Municipality	1	129	0.8 %
Närpes	1	4 306	0.0 %
Korsnäs	2	2 312	0.1 %
Kauhajoki	1	3 573	0.0 %
Ylistaro	3	4 404	0.1 %
Vähäkyrö	3	1 914	0.2 %
Laihia	3	3 039	0.1 %
Malax	4	1 649	0.2 %
Solf	6	1 085	0.6 %
Korsholm	17	3 606	0.5 %
Replot	8	718	1.1 %
Kvevlax	4	1 462	0.3 %
Maksmo	3	725	0.4 %
Vörå	45	3 596	1.3 %
Kauhava	8	3 734	0.2 %
Ylihärmä	2	1 314	0.1 %
Alahärmä	14	2 768	0.5 %

a: Figures for overall migration 1886—92: Vainio, Esa, & Tuominen, Taru-
Terhikki: *Siirtolaisuus Suomesta vuosina 1865—1892 passiluetteloiden
mukaan* (Emigrants from Finland in 1865—1892 According to Passport Lists);
1893—1914: SVT XXVIII:1—2, Tab. IX; 11, Tab. X.

	Migration to South Africa	Overall migration	South African component
Oravais	83	1 633	5.1 %
Munsala	292	2 554	11.4 %
Nykarleby Rural Municipality	120	1 385	8.7 %
Jeppo	62	1 279	4.8 %
Jakobstad Rural Municipality (Pedersöre)	151	1 983	7.6 %
Purmo	12	1 076	1.1 %
Esse	14	494	2.8 %
Kronoby	12	890	1.3 %
Larsmo	15	445	3.4 %
Gamlakarleby Rural Municipality	29	1 150	2.5 %
Nedervetil	24	586	4.1 %
Kälviä	10	997	1.0 %
Lohtaja	4	1 082	0.4 %
Himanka	1	761	0.1 %
Kannus	1	1 161	0.1 %
Kaustinen	2	1 203	0.2 %
Veteli	3	1 455	0.2 %
Evijärvi	10	2 046	0.5 %
Kortesjärvi	16	1 912	0.8 %
Lappajärvi	5	2 302	0.2 %
Virrat	2	1 371	0.1 %
Pihtipudas	1	766	0.1 %
TOTAL	997	71 519	1.4 %
GRAND TOTAL	1 095	80 408	1.4 %

Appendix 15. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14: Sweden.^a

1886—1894				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration ^b	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Stockholm (City)	49	20.1	18 305	6.0
Stockholm (Province)	5	2.0	2 927	1.0
Uppsala	—	—	1 852	0.6
Södermanland	4	1.6	3 930	1.3
Östergötland	5	2.0	19 818	6.5
Jönköping	3	1.2	20 458	6.7
Kronoberg	3	1.2	14 855	4.8
Kalmar	19	7.8	22 615	7.4
Gotland	3	1.2	4 025	1.3
Blekinge	18	7.4	8 826	2.9
Kristianstad	5	2.0	15 609	5.1
Malmöhus	26	10.7	18 405	6.0
Halland	—	—	15 994	5.2
Gothenburg & Bohus	40	16.4	13 733	4.5
Älvsborg	11	4.5	26 212	8.5
Skaraborg	3	1.2	19 060	6.2
Värmland	4	1.6	24 807	8.1
Örebro	—	—	11 890	3.9
Västmanland	1	0.4	3 953	1.3
Kopparberg	2	0.8	10 461	3.4
Gävleborg	8	3.3	8 433	2.7
Västernorrland	21	8.6	10 206	3.3
Jämtland	10	4.1	5 535	1.8
Västerbotten	1	0.4	2 561	0.8
Norrbottn	3	1.2	2 584	0.8
TOTAL	244	100.0	307 054	100.0

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: *SOS* A XXVIII—XXXII:1, Tab. 18; XXXIII, Tab. 20; XXXIV—XLII:1, Tab. 21; XLIII—XLIV, Tab. 29; XLV—LII, Tab. 31; *SOS*: Ut- och invandring 1911—14. Tab. 1.

b: These figures include 486 cases of migration within Europe or to 'unknown destinations', which cannot be separated from the figures for the overseas migration.

1895—1901

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Stockholm (City)	104	23.1	5 477	5.6
Stockholm (Province)	3	0.7	1 009	1.0
Uppsala	3	0.7	511	0.5
Södermanland	12	2.7	1 322	1.3
Östergötland	8	1.8	5 237	5.3
Jönköping	10	2.2	5 829	5.9
Kronoberg	9	2.0	5 195	5.3
Kalmar	24	5.3	8 140	8.3
Gotland	9	2.0	1 543	1.6
Blekinge	10	2.2	3 727	3.8
Kristianstad	13	2.9	5 653	5.8
Malmöhus	30	6.7	5 579	5.7
Halland	8	1.8	7 218	7.4
Gothenburg & Bohus	95	21.1	5 862	6.0
Älvsborg	19	4.2	8 446	8.6
Skaraborg	6	1.3	5 787	5.9
Värmland	12	2.7	7 841	8.0
Örebro	8	1.8	3 380	3.4
Västmanland	2	0.4	825	0.8
Kopparberg	7	1.6	2 294	2.3
Gävleborg	9	2.0	2 258	2.3
Västernorrland	33	7.3	2 387	2.4
Jämtland	5	1.1	1 365	1.4
Västerbotten	3	0.7	619	0.6
Norrbottn	8	1.8	698	0.7
TOTAL	450	100.0	98 202	100.0

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Stockholm (City)	81	19.7	14 441	5.5
Stockholm (Province)	14	3.4	3 440	1.3
Uppsala	5	1.2	1 633	0.6
Södermanland	3	0.7	2 781	1.1
Östergötland	6	1.5	11 203	4.3
Jönköping	10	2.4	12 213	4.7
Kronoberg	4	1.0	10 516	4.0
Kalmar	19	4.6	18 239	7.0
Gotland	4	1.0	2 448	0.9
Blekinge	16	3.9	8 454	3.2
Kristianstad	10	2.4	9 757	3.7
Malmöhus	39	9.5	14 273	5.4
Halland	5	1.2	12 508	4.8
Gothenburg & Bohus	73	17.7	14 416	5.5
Älvsborg	14	3.4	17 698	6.8
Skaraborg	2	0.5	10 488	4.0
Värmland	10	2.4	22 101	8.4
Örebro	8	1.9	7 867	3.0
Västmanland	5	1.2	2 641	1.0
Kopparberg	5	1.2	11 824	4.5
Gävleborg	14	3.4	13 367	5.1
Västernorrland	45	10.9	13 919	5.3
Jämtland	9	2.2	8 856	3.4
Västerbotten	3	0.7	7 294	2.8
Norrbottn	8	1.9	9 891	3.8
TOTAL	412	100.0	262 268	100.0

Appendix 16. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14: Norway.^a

1886—1894				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Christiania	30	25.4	9 349	6.9
Smålenene	4	3.4	5 526	4.1
Akershus	3	2.5	4 082	3.0
Hedemarken	2	1.7	9 355	6.9
Kristians	1	0.8	10 887	8.0
Buskerud	3	2.6	7 332	5.4
Jarlsberg & Larvik	4	3.4	5 092	3.7
Bratsberg	3	2.6	6 268	4.6
Nedenes	3	2.6	7 709	5.7
Lister & Mandal	5	4.2	9 492	7.0
Stavanger	6	5.1	13 718	10.1
Søndre Bergenhus	15	12.7	8 682	6.4
Nordre Bergenhus	—	—	5 984	4.4
Romsdal	29	24.6	8 119	6.0
Søndre Trondhjem	7	5.9	9 750	7.2
Nordre Trondhjem	—	—	6 546	4.8
Nordland	2	1.7	4 770	3.5
Tromsø	—	—	1 684	1.2
Finnmarken	1	0.8	1 449	1.1
TOTAL	118	100.0	135 794	100.0

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

1895—1901

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Christiania	72	18.0	3 276	6.2
Smålenene	9	2.3	1 131	2.1
Akershus	8	2.0	1 013	1.9
Hedemarken	9	2.3	2 033	3.9
Kristians	6	1.5	3 461	6.6
Buskerud	7	1.8	1 992	3.8
Jarlsberg & Larvik	19	4.8	1 853	3.5
Bratsberg	8	2.0	1 784	3.4
Nedenes	58	14.5	4 520	8.6
Lister & Mandal	83	20.8	6 267	11.9
Stavanger	11	2.8	5 182	9.8
Søndre Bergenhus	22	5.5	4 248	8.0
Nordre Bergenhus	5	1.3	2 663	5.0
Romsdal	47	11.8	3 976	7.5
Søndre Trondhjem	23	5.9	3 230	6.1
Nordre Trondhjem	3	0.8	2 289	4.3
Nordland	4	1.0	2 560	4.8
Tromsø	3	0.8	946	1.8
Finnmarken	3	0.8	365	0.7
<hr/>				
TOTAL	400	100.0	52 789	100.0

1902—1914

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Christiania	148	21.4	23 487	10.8
Smålenene	15	2.2	7 892	3.6
Akershus	29	4.2	8 701	4.0
Hedemarken	18	2.6	10 982	5.0
Kristians	3	0.4	14 571	6.7
Buskerud	33	4.8	9 767	4.5
Jarlsberg & Larvik	64	9.3	9 361	4.3
Bratsberg	15	2.2	7 520	3.4
Nedenes	75	10.9	13 001	6.0
Lister & Mandal	96	13.9	15 751	7.2
Stavanger	61	8.8	18 967	8.7
Søndre Bergenhus	25	3.6	20 743	9.5
Nordre Bergenhus	1	0.1	7 690	3.5
Romsdal	77	11.2	13 132	6.0
Søndre Trondhjem	25	3.6	12 131	5.6
Nordre Trondhjem	1	0.1	7 168	3.3
Nordland	2	0.3	11 994	5.5
Tromsø	2	0.3	4 049	1.9
Finnmarken	—	—	1 186	0.5
TOTAL	690	100.0	218 093	100.0

Appendix 17. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14: Denmark.^a

1886—1894				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Copenhagen (City)	68	78.2	6 837	17.8
Copenhagen (Province)	2	2.3	Danish islands without Copenhagen	
Frederiksborg	2	2.3		
Holbæk	2	2.3		
Sorø	—	—	12 495	32.6
Præstø	3	3.4		
Bornholm	1	1.1		
Maribo	3	3.4		average 3.6 % / Province
Svendborg	—	—		
Odense	1	1.1		
Vejle	2	2.3	Jutland	
Århus	1	1.1		
Randers	—	—		
Ålborg	—	—	18 977	49.5
Hjørring	—	—		
Thisted	—	—		
Viborg	—	—		average/ 5.5 % / Province
Ringkøbing	—	—		
Ribe	2	2.3		
TOTAL	87	100.0	38 309	100.0

a: These figures comprise only male migrants aged 15 or over. Figures derived from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

1895—1901

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Copenhagen (City)	242	67.6	2 655	23.6
Copenhagen (Province)	7	2.0	Danish islands without Copenhagen	
Frederiksborg	6	1.7		
Holbæk	1	0.3		
Sorø	5	1.4	3 267	29.1
Præstø	4	1.1		
Bornholm	1	0.3		
Maribo	13	3.6		average
Svendborg	10	2.8		3.2 % /
Odense	13	3.6		Province
Vejle	12	3.4	Jutland	
Århus	9	2.5		
Randers	9	2.5		
Ålborg	4	1.1	5 321	47.3
Hjørring	5	1.4		
Thisted	—	—		
Viborg	—	—		average
Ringkøbing	2	0.6		5.3 % /
Ribe	15	4.2		Province
TOTAL	358	100.0	11 243	100.0

1902—1914

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Copenhagen (City)	111	56.6	10 797	18.9
Copenhagen (Province)	7	3.6	Danish islands without Copenhagen	
Frederiksborg	14	7.1		
Holbæk	3	1.5		
Sorø	2	1.0		
Præstø	—	—	15 746	27.5
Bornholm	4	2.0	Jutland	average 3.1 % / Province
Maribo	5	2.6		
Svendborg	7	3.6		
Odense	12	6.1		
Vejle	9	4.6		
Århus	4	2.0	30 670	53.6
Randers	—	—		
Ålborg	7	3.6		
Hjørring	6	3.1		
Thisted	1	0.5		
Viborg	—	—		average 6.0 % / Province
Ringkøbing	—	—		
Ribe	4	2.0		
TOTAL	196	100.0	57 213	100.0

Appendix 18. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Sweden, Urban and Rural Recruitment.^a

URBAN				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Stocholm (City)	234	31.5	38 223	27.8
Stockholm (Province)	5	0.7	1 055	0.8
Uppsala	4	0.5	1 550	1.1
Södermanland	10	1.3	1 957	1.5
Östergötland	12	1.6	7 669	5.6
Jönköping	10	1.3	5 709	4.2
Kronoberg	4	0.5	722	0.5
Kalmar	41	5.5	5 576	4.1
Gotland	3	0.4	1 186	0.9
Blekinge	32	4.3	3 324	2.4
Kristianstad	3	0.3	2 025	1.5
Malmöhus	67	9.0	13 328	9.7
Halland	5	0.7	6 049	4.4
Gothenburg & Bohus	172	23.1	18 849	13.7
Älvsborg	20	2.7	4 553	3.3
Skaraborg	6	0.8	3 449	2.5
Värmland	5	0.7	4 436	3.2
Örebro	13	1.7	3 173	2.3
Västmanland	4	0.5	1 765	1.3
Kopparberg	4	0.5	1 445	1.0
Gävleborg	15	2.0	5 310	3.9
Västernorrland	48	6.5	3 322	2.4
Jämtland	14	1.9	936	0.7
Västerbotten	5	0.7	401	0.3
Norrbotten	7	0.9	1 244	0.9
TOTAL	743	100.0	137 256	100.0

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 18; *XXXIII*, Tab. 20; *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 21; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 29; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 31; *SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 1. These figures include 486 cases of migration within Europe or to 'unknown destinations', which cannot be separated from the figures for the overseas migration.

RURAL

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Stockholm	16	4.6	6 321	1.2
Uppsala	4	1.2	2 446	0.5
Södermanland	8	2.3	6 076	1.1
Östergötland	7	2.0	28 589	5.4
Jönköping	13	3.8	32 791	6.2
Kronoberg	11	3.2	29 844	5.6
Kalmar	19	5.5	43 418	8.2
Gotland	11	3.2	6 830	1.3
Blekinge	12	3.5	17 683	3.3
Kristianstad	24	7.0	28 994	5.5
Malmöhus	27	7.8	24 929	4.7
Halland	8	2.3	29 671	5.6
Gothenburg & Bohus	35	10.2	15 162	2.9
Älvsborg	22	6.4	47 803	9.0
Skaraborg	4	1.2	31 886	6.0
Värmland	18	5.2	50 313	9.5
Örebro	3	0.9	19 964	3.8
Västmanland	4	1.2	5 654	1.1
Kopparberg	9	2.6	23 134	4.4
Gävleborg	16	4.7	18 748	3.5
Västernorrland	49	14.2	23 190	4.4
Jämtland	10	2.9	14 820	2.8
Västerbotten	2	0.6	10 073	1.9
Norrbotten	12	3.5	11 929	2.2
TOTAL	344	100.0	530 268	100.0

Appendix 19. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Norway, Urban and Rural Recruitment.^a

URBAN				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Christiania	250	35.1	36 112	27.5
Smålenene	21	2.9	7 644	5.8
Akershus	2	0.3	663	0.5
Hedemarken	12	1.7	1 395	1.1
Kristians	4	0.6	1 124	0.9
Buskerud	29	4.1	5 702	4.3
Jarlsberg & Larvik	58	8.2	8 727	6.7
Bratsberg	21	2.9	5 299	4.0
Nedenes	53	7.4	9 841	7.5
Lister & Mandal	70	9.8	8 828	6.7
Stavanger	65	9.1	14 045	10.7
Søndre Bergenhus	56	7.9	12 187	9.3
Nordre Bergenhus	1	0.1	37	0.0
Romsdal	26	3.7	4 644	3.5
Søndre Trondhjem	37	5.2	7 360	5.6
Nordre Trondhjem	—	—	2 284	1.7
Nordland	2	0.3	1 881	1.4
Tromsø	3	0.4	1 409	1.1
Finnmarken	3	0.4	2 019	1.5
TOTAL	713	100.0	131 201	100.0

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from the following statistical sources: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

RURAL

Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Smålenene	7	1.6	6 905	2.5
Akershus	38	8.4	13 133	4.8
Hedemarken	17	3.8	20 975	7.6
Kristians	6	1.3	27 795	10.1
Buskerud	14	3.1	13 389	4.9
Jarlsberg & Larvik	28	6.2	7 579	2.8
Bratsberg	3	0.7	10 273	3.7
Nedenes	83	18.4	15 389	5.6
Lister & Mandal	114	25.2	22 682	8.2
Stavanger	13	2.9	23 822	8.6
Søndre Bergenhus	5	1.1	21 486	7.8
Nordre Bergenhus	5	1.1	16 300	5.9
Romsdal	101	22.3	20 583	7.5
Søndre Trondhjem	9	2.0	17 751	6.4
Nordre Trondhjem	3	0.7	13 719	5.0
Nordland	3	0.7	17 443	6.3
Tromsø	2	0.4	5 270	1.9
Finnmarken	—	—	981	0.4
TOTAL	451	100.0	275 475	100.0

Appendix 20. Geographical Pattern of Recruitment to the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914: Denmark, Urban and Rural Recruitment.^a

URBAN				
Province	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Copenhagen (City)	421	74.0	20 289	41.9
Copenhagen (Province)	3	0.5	Danish islands without Copenhagen	
Frederiksborg	9	1.6		
Holbæk	4	0.7		
Sorø	5	0.9		
Præstø	5	0.9	9 338	19.3
Bornholm	3	0.5		average 2.1 % / Province
Maribo	16	2.8		
Svendborg	11	1.9		
Odense	23	4.0		
Vejle	16	2.8	Jutland	
Århus	13	2.3		
Randers	9	1.6	18 788	38.8
Ålborg	8	1.4		average 4.3 % / Province
Hjørring	8	1.4		
Thisted	—	—		
Viborg	—	—		
Ringkøbing	—			
Ribe	15	2.6		
TOTAL	569	100.0	48 415	100.0

a: These figure comprise only male migrants aged 15 or over. Figures derived from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX. SA 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

RURAL

	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration	
Province	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Copenhagen	11	15.7	Danish islands	
Frederiksborg	13	18.6		
Holbæk	2	2.9	22 170	38.0
Sorø	2	2.9		
Præstø	2	2.9		
Bornholm	3	4.3		
Maribo	5	7.1		
Svendborg	6	8.6	average 4.2 % / Province	
Odense	3	4.3		
Vejle	7	10.0	Jutland	
Århus	1	1.4		
Randers	—	—	36 180	62.0
Ålborg	3	4.3		
Hjørring	3	4.3		
Thisted	1	1.4		
Viborg	—	—		
Ringkøbing	2	2.9	average 6.9 % / Province	
Ribe	6	8.6		
TOTAL	70	100.0	58 350	100.0

Appendix 21. Occupational and Social Composition of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—94, 1895—1901 and 1902—14.

1886—1894	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Agriculture (I)	21	8.6	7	6.9	9	6.6	82	71.9
Industrial and artisan occu- pations (II)	68	27.8	33	32.4	61	44.5	14	12.3
Trade and commu- nications (III)	93	38.0	34	33.3	35	25.5	14	12.3
Public services and the profes- sions (IV)	15	6.1	13	12.7	15	10.9	2	1.8
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occu- pation (V)	48	19.6	15	14.7	17	12.4	2	1.8
TOTAL	245	100.0	102	100.0	137	100.0	114	100.0
1895—1901	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Agriculture (I)	65	13.4	13	3.0	43	8.9	382	89.0
Industrial and Artisan occu- pations (II)	148	30.6	154	35.2	198	41.2	21	4.9
Trade and commu- nications (III)	137	28.3	183	41.8	148	30.8	18	4.2
Public services and the profes- sions (IV)	32	6.6	27	6.2	32	6.7	2	0.5
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occu- pation (V)	102	21.1	61	13.9	60	12.5	6	1.4
TOTAL	484	100.0	438	100.0	481	100.0	429	100.0

1902—1914	Sweden		Norway		Denmark		Finland	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Agriculture (I)	41	9.1	43	6.2	18	4.3	418	76.0
Industrial and artisan occu- pations (II)	208	46.0	372	53.6	212	50.8	58	10.5
Trade and commu- nications (III)	114	25.2	207	29.8	87	20.9	32	5.8
Public services and the profes- sions (IV)	24	5.3	24	3.5	30	7.2	4	0.7
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occu- pation (V)	65	14.4	48	6.9	70	16.8	38	6.9
TOTAL	452	100.0	694	100.0	417	100.0	550	100.0

Appendix 22. Occupational and Social Composition of the Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration from the Nordic Countries, 1886—1914

SWEDEN	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration ^a	
Agriculture (I)	127	10.8 %	206 210	30.3 %
Industrial and artisan occupations (II)	424	35.9 %	134 216	19.7 %
Trade and commu- nications (III)	344	29.1 %	31 377	4.6 %
Public services and the professions (IV)	71	6.0 %	15 020 ^b	2.2 %
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occupation (V)	215	18.2 %	294 606	43.2 %
TOTAL	1 181	100.0 %	681 429	100.0 %

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from: *SOS A XXVIII—XXXII*:1, Tab. 19; *XXXIII*, Tab. 21, *XXXIV—XLII*:1, Tab. 22; *XLIII—XLIV*, Tab. 30; *XLV—LII*, Tab. 37, 39; *SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14*, Tab. 9. Since it is only possible to separate migrants within Europe from these figures for 1891—1903, they include 56 317 cases of migration within Europe (8.3 % of the total migration during the period 1886—1914).

b: Class IV has in part been calculated. Up to 1891, occupations in public service and in the professions were allocated, together with those whose occupations were unknown, under 'miscellaneous occupations'. Since the majority of these miscellaneous cases consisted of those with occupations unknown, this grouping could not be incorporated as such into Class IV. A figure has therefore been calculated from the total miscellaneous grouping for 1886—90 on the basis of the ratio of 84.7 % obtained between unknown occupations and public service and professional occupations for the period 1891—95.

NORWAY	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration ^c	
Agriculture (I)	63	5.1 %	64 891	21.9 %
Industrial and artisan occupations (II)	559	45.3 %	52 935	17.9 %
Trade and commu- nications (III)	424	34.4 %	51 649	17.4 %
Public services and the professions (IV)	64	5.2 %	2 672	0.9 %
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occupation (V)	124	10.0 %	124 066 ^d	41.9 %
TOTAL	1 234	100.0 %	296 213	100.0 %

DENMARK	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration ^e	
Agriculture (I)	70	6.8 %	14 344	13.5 %
Industrial and artisan occupations (II)	471	45.5 %	29 424	27.6 %
Trade and commu- nications (III)	270	26.1 %	9 487	8.9 %
Public services and the professions (IV)	77	7.4 %	7 729	7.3 %
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occupation (V)	147	14.2 %	45 571	42.8 %
TOTAL	1 035	100.0 %	106.555	100.0 %

c: Figures for the overall migration derived from: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, Tab. 22; 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 23; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 23; R. V: 2, Tab. 15; 34, 70, Tab. 16; 136, Tab. 22; 187, Tab. 25; 209, Tab. 24; R. VI: 17, Tab. 24; 51, 66, 83, Tab. 21. The figure for the overall migration for 1886—1902 includes only male migrants aged 15 or over.

d: For 1903—07, all housewives and housekeepers have been allocated to Class V, whereas for 1908—14 they are classified in terms of the occupation of the male head of the family.

e: Figures for the overall migration derived from: SSO 11, Tab. XIX; SA 1902—03, Tab. XVIII; 1904—05, Tab. 19; 1906—12, Tab. 29; 1913-14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23. The figure includes only male migrants aged 15 or over.

FINLAND	Migration to South Africa		Overall migration ^f	
Agriculture (I)	882	80.7 %	174 815	70.2 %
Industrial and artisan occupations (II)	93	8.5 %	15 965	6.4 %
Trade and commu- nications (III)	64	5.9 %	6 860	2.8 %
Public services and the professions (IV)	8	0.7 %	2 367	1.0 %
Laborers, servants and those with no specified occupation (V)	46	4.2 %	49 133	19.7 %
TOTAL	1 093	100.0 %	249 140	100.0 %

f: Figures for the overall migration derived from: *SVT* XXVIII:1, Tab. VII; 2, Tab. V; 3—11, Tab. VI. These figures refer only to the period 1893—1914.

Appendix 23. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1886—94.

Numbers (N) and proportional component

Age	SWEDEN				NORWAY			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—69	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—64	—	—	1	0.4	—	—	—	—
55—59	1	0.4	—	—	—	—	1	1.2
50—54	1	0.4	1	0.4	—	—	—	—
45—49	6	2.7	1	0.4	1	0.2	—	—
40—44	4	1.8	1	0.4	1	0.2	—	—
35—39	16	7.1	4	1.8	1	0.2	2	2.4
30—34	23	10.2	13	5.8	5	6.0	—	—
25—29	26	11.6	18	8.0	18	21.4	3	3.6
20—24	43	19.1	14	6.2	38	45.2	1	1.2
15—19	18	8.0	10	4.4	13	15.5	—	—
10—14	2	0.9	2	0.9	—	—	—	—
5—9	6	2.7	3	1.3	—	—	—	—
0—4	3	1.3	8	3.6	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	149	66.2	76	33.8	77	91.7	7	8.3

Age	DENMARK				FINLAND			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—69	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
55—59	—	—	—	—	1	1.1	—	—
50—54	1	0.8	—	—	1	1.1	—	—
45—49	2	1.6	1	0.8	3	3.1	—	—
40—44	7	5.6	3	2.4	7	7.3	—	—
35—39	7	5.6	1	0.8	12	12.5	1	1.1
30—34	12	9.6	2	1.6	7	7.3	1	1.1
25—29	20	16.0	5	4.0	20	20.8	3	3.1
20—24	29	23.2	7	5.6	20	20.8	—	—
15—19	9	7.2	4	3.2	15	15.6	1	1.1
10—14	4	3.2	1	0.8	—	—	—	—
5—9	2	1.6	3	2.4	1	1.1	2	2.1
0—4	3	2.4	2	1.6	1	1.1	—	—
TOTAL	96	76.8	29	23.2	88	91.7	8	8.3

Appendix 24. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1895—1901.

Numbers (N) and proportional component

Age	SWEDEN				NORWAY			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—69	—	—	1	0.2	1	0.2	—	—
60—64	—	—	1	0.2	—	—	—	—
55—59	1	0.2	—	—	2	0.4	—	—
50—54	6	1.1	1	0.2	5	1.1	1	0.2
45—49	5	0.9	8	1.5	5	1.1	1	0.2
40—44	17	3.2	2	0.4	29	6.3	3	0.6
35—39	38	7.1	7	1.3	22	4.8	4	0.9
30—34	62	11.7	17	3.2	53	11.5	8	1.7
25—29	95	17.9	23	4.3	87	18.8	18	3.9
20—24	125	23.5	28	5.3	116	25.1	18	3.9
15—19	61	11.5	8	1.5	54	11.7	2	0.4
10—14	2	0.4	3	0.6	4	0.9	2	0.4
5—9	4	0.8	6	1.1	9	1.9	1	0.2
0—4	3	0.6	8	1.5	10	2.2	7	1.5
TOTAL	419	78.8	113	21.2	397	85.9	65	14.1

Age	DENMARK				FINLAND			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—69	1	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—64	2	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
55—59	2	0.4	1	0.2	2	0.4	—	—
50—54	3	0.6	3	0.6	6	1.3	—	—
45—49	8	1.5	2	0.4	18	4.0	—	—
40—44	21	4.0	5	1.0	34	7.5	—	—
35—39	25	4.8	5	1.0	45	9.9	1	0.2
30—34	53	10.2	20	3.8	63	13.9	1	0.2
25—29	92	17.7	25	4.8	77	17.0	7	1.5
20—24	139	26.7	21	4.0	123	27.1	5	1.1
15—19	43	8.3	4	0.8	67	14.8	1	0.2
10—14	7	1.3	6	1.2	—	—	—	—
5—9	6	1.2	1	0.2	—	—	1	0.2
0—4	15	2.9	11	2.1	3	0.7	—	—
TOTAL	417	80.0	104	20.0	438	96.5	16	3.5

Appendix 25. Age and Sex Distribution of the Nordic Migration to South Africa, 1902—14.

Numbers (N) and proportional component

Age	SWEDEN				NORWAY			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	2	0.4	—	—	1	0.1
65—69	1	0.2	2	0.4	3	0.4	—	—
60—64	2	0.4	1	0.2	2	0.3	1	0.1
55—59	2	0.4	1	0.2	4	0.5	—	—
50—54	4	0.8	3	0.6	9	1.2	—	—
45—49	10	2.0	3	0.6	19	2.4	7	0.9
40—44	34	6.9	11	2.2	45	5.8	14	1.8
35—39	34	6.9	16	3.3	59	7.6	21	2.7
30—34	52	10.6	25	5.1	67	8.6	31	4.0
25—29	52	10.6	38	7.7	118	15.2	31	4.0
20—24	74	15.1	31	6.3	131	16.9	31	4.0
15—19	29	5.9	17	3.5	44	5.7	16	2.1
10—14	3	0.6	7	1.4	12	1.5	13	1.7
5—9	1	0.2	8	1.6	22	2.8	19	2.4
0—4	16	3.3	13	2.7	26	3.3	31	4.0
TOTAL	314	63.8	178	36.2	561	72.2	216	27.8

Age	DENMARK				FINLAND			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	1	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—69	2	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—64	1	0.2	2	0.4	—	—	—	—
55—59	3	0.6	1	0.2	5	0.9	—	—
50—54	9	1.8	2	0.4	6	1.0	—	—
45—49	10	2.0	13	2.6	24	4.1	1	0.2
40—44	10	2.0	7	1.4	61	10.5	1	0.2
35—39	21	4.2	13	2.6	82	14.2	2	0.3
30—34	46	9.2	27	5.4	126	21.8	3	0.5
25—29	54	10.9	41	8.2	121	20.9	6	1.0
20—24	93	18.7	32	6.4	97	16.8	6	1.0
15—19	27	5.4	15	3.0	26	4.5	1	0.2
10—14	7	1.4	6	1.2	—	—	—	—
5—9	13	2.6	11	2.2	3	0.5	2	0.3
0—4	18	3.6	13	2.6	4	0.7	2	0.3
TOTAL	315	63.3	183	36.7	555	95.9	24	4.1

Appendix 26. Age and Sex Distribution in the Nordic Migration to South Africa and Overall Overseas Migration, 1886—1914.

Numbers (N) and proportional component								
SWEDEN	Migration to South Africa				Overall migration ^a			
Age	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	2	0.2	1 176	0.2	1 476	0.2
65—69	1	0.1	3	0.2	1 422	0.2	1 994	0.3
60—64	2	0.2	3	0.2	1 938	0.3	3 179	0.5
55—59	4	0.3	1	0.1	2 733	0.4	3 946	0.6
50—54	11	0.9	5	0.4	4 144	0.6	4 115	0.6
45—49	21	1.7	12	1.0	6 589	1.0	4 972	0.7
40—44	55	4.4	14	1.1	10 663	1.5	7 202	1.0
35—39	88	7.0	27	2.2	17 729	2.6	12 170	1.8
30—34	137	11.0	55	4.4	29 372	4.3	22 572	3.3
25—29	173	13.9	79	6.3	57 549	8.4	43 771	6.4
20—24	242	19.4	73	5.8	110 694	16.1	78 244	11.4
15—19	108	8.6	35	2.8	91 790	13.3	74 731	10.9
10—14	7	0.6	12	1.0	13 598	2.0	14 466	2.1
5—9	11	0.9	17	1.4	16 282	2.4	15 519	2.3
0—4	22	1.8	29	2.3	17 653	2.6	17 068	2.5
TOTAL	882	70.6	367	29.4	383 332	55.7	305 425	44.3

a: Figures for the overall migration derived from: SOS A XXVIII—XXXII:1, Tab. 18; XXXIII, Tab. 20; XXXIV—XLII:1, Tab. 21; XLIII—XLIV, Tab. 29; XLV—LII, Tab. 31; SOS: Ut- och invandring 1911—14, Tab. 1. These figures include 21 294 (7.0 %) cases of migration within Europe or to 'unknown destinations'.

NORWAY	Migration to South Africa				Overall migration ^b			
Age	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	1	0.1	584	0.1	524	0.1
65—69	4	0.3	—	—	685	0.2	794	0.2
60—64	2	0.2	1	0.1	1 161	0.3	1 549	0.4
55—59	6	0.5	1	0.1	1 818	0.4	2 175	0.5
50—54	14	1.1	1	0.1	2 900	0.7	2 671	0.7
45—49	25	1.9	8	0.6	4 390	1.1	2 952	0.7
40—44	75	5.7	17	1.3	6 907	1.7	4 082	1.0
35—39	82	6.2	27	2.0	10 480	2.6	6 433	1.6
30—34	125	9.4	39	2.9	17 066	4.2	12 434	3.1
25—29	223	16.9	52	3.9	33 452	8.2	24 713	6.1
20—24	285	21.5	50	3.8	77 770	19.1	41 720	10.3
15—19	111	8.4	18	1.4	61 300	15.1	32 723	8.0
10—14	16	1.2	15	1.1	7 582	1.9	6 983	1.7
5—9	31	2.3	20	1.5	7 977	2.0	7 429	1.8
0—4	36	2.7	38	2.9	12 890	3.2	12 395	3.0
TOTAL	1 035	78.2	288	21.8	246 962	60.7	159 577	39.3

b: Figures for the overall migration derived from: NOS R. III: 100, 110, 131, 155, 167, 211, 234, 280, 302, 311, Tab. 1; R. IV: 6, 8, 17, 42, 64, Tab. 1; R. V: 2, 34, 70, 136, 187, 209, Tab. 1; R. VI: 17, 51, 66, 83, Tab. 1.

DENMARK		Migration to South Africa				Overall migration ^c		
Age	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	1	0.1	—	—				
65—69	3	0.3	—	—	(60—)			
60—64	3	0.3	2	0.2	1 155	0.7	1 291	0.8
55—59	5	0.4	2	0.2				
50—54	13	1.1	5	0.4				
45—49	20	1.7	16	1.4	(40—59)			
40—44	38	3.3	15	1.3	5 867	3.4	5 518	3.4
35—39	53	4.6	19	1.7	(30—39)			
30—34	111	9.7	49	4.3	12 067	7.0	8 745	5.1
25—29	166	14.5	71	6.2	17 462	10.2	10 610	6.2
20—24	261	22.8	60	5.2	35 536	20.7	16 986	9.9
15—19	79	6.9	23	2.0	21 908	12.7	11 833	6.9
10—14	18	1.6	13	1.1				
5—9	21	1.8	15	1.3	(0—14)			
0—4	36	3.1	26	2.3	11 771	6.8	11 182	6.5
TOTAL	828	72.4	316	27.6	105 766	61.5	66 165	38.5

c: The overall figures for Denmark refer to 1885—1899 and 1903—1914. The figures for 1885—99 are from Hvidt 1971, 540—541; Those for 1903—14, from SA 1904—1905, Tab. 19; 1906—1912, Tab. 29; 1913—14, Tab. 21; 1915, Tab. 23.

FINLAND		Migration to South Africa				Overall migration ^d			
Age	Men		Women		Age	Men		Women	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)		(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
70—	—	—	—	—		..	..	..	..
65—69	—	—	—	—		..	..	..	..
60—64	—	—	—	—	60—	286	0.1	445	0.2
55—59	8	0.7	—	—	56—60	439	0.2	433	0.2
50—54	13	1.2	—	—	51—55	867	0.4	582	0.3
45—49	45	4.0	1	0.1	46—50	1 929	0.9	895	0.4
40—44	102	9.0	1	0.1	41—45	3 753	1.8	1 441	0.7
35—39	139	12.3	4	0.4	36—40	6 877	3.2	2 793	1.3
30—34	196	17.4	5	0.4	31—35	12 847	6.0	5 700	2.7
25—29	218	19.3	16	1.4	26—30	24 748	11.6	12 045	5.6
20—24	240	21.3	11	1.0	21—25	39 665	18.5	20 725	9.7
15—19	108	9.6	3	0.3	16—20	33 252	15.5	21 291	9.9
10—14	—	—	—	—	—15	11 505	5.4	11 664	5.4
5—9	4	0.4	5	0.4		..	..	..	..
0—4	8	0.7	2	0.2		..	..	..	..
TOTAL						136 168	63.6	78 014	36.4

d: Figures for the overall migration derived from: SVT XXVIII:1—2, Tab. IX; 11, Tab. X. The overall migration figures for Finland refer only to 1900—14.

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Abbreviations

EIW	Emigrantinstitutet i Växjö (The House of Emigrants, Växjö)
KBS	Kungliga Biblioteket (Royal Library), Stockholm
KKA	Kungliga Krigsarkivet (Royal Military Archives), Stockholm
KSM	Svenska Kyrkans Missions arkiv (Church of Sweden Mission Archives), Uppsala
LAG	Landsarkivet i Göteborg (Provincial Archives of Gothenburg)
LAS	Landsarkivet i Sjælland (Zealand Provincial Archives), Copenhagen
LAS PU	LAS, Københavns politi's udvandringssager (Copenhagen Police Department, Emigration Records)
NOS	<i>Norges Offisielle Statistikk</i> (Norwegian Official Statistics)
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RAK	Rigsarkivet (Danish National Archives), Copenhagen
RAK KJ	RAK, Konsulatsarkiv Johannesburg (Records of the Danish Consulate, Johannesburg)
RAK UD	RAK, Udenrigsministeriet (Foreign Ministry Records)
RAS	Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives), Stockholm
RAS GK	RAS, Generalkonsulatet i Kapstaden (Records of the Swedish General Consulate, Cape Town)
RAS KA	RAS, Kabinett för utrikes brevväxlingen (Records of the Office for Foreign Correspondence)
RAS KJ	RAS, Konsulatet i Johannesburg (Records of the Swedish Consulate, Johannesburg)
RAS KK	RAS, Kommerskollegium (Records of the Board of Trade)
RAS UD	RAS, Utrikesdepartementet (Foreign Ministry Records)
SA	<i>Statistiske Aarbog</i> (Danish Statistical Yearbook)
SLA	Suomen Lähestysseuran Arkisto (Archives of Finnish Missionary Society), Helsinki
SOS	<i>Bidrag till Sveriges Officiella Statistik</i> (Supplement to the Swedish Official Statistics)
SSA	Stockholms Stadsarkiv (Stockholm City Archives)
SSO	<i>Sammendrag af statistiske oplysninger</i> (Danish Statistical Summaries)
STV	<i>Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja</i> (Statistical Yearbook for Finland)
SVT	<i>Suomen Virallinen Tilasto</i> (Finnish Official Statistics)
TYYYH	Turun yliopiston historian laitoksen tutkimusarkisto (Research Archives for Migration History, Department of History, University of Turku)
UDO	Det Konglige Norske Utenrigsdepartement (Foreign Ministry), Oslo
VA	Valtionarkisto (Finnish National Archives), Helsinki
VMA	Vaasan maakunta-arkisto (Vaasa Provincial Archives)

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Esse

Evijärvi

Gamlakarleby

Gamlakarleby Rural Parish

Jakobstad

Jeppo

Korsholm

Kortesjärvi

Kronoby

Kälviä

Larsmo

Munsala, 1860—1950

Nedervetil

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