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### *What did Remigration Mean for the Numerical Growth of the Free Church Movement in Norway in the Early Twentieth Century?*<sup>1</sup>

Norwegian emigration in the 1800s and early 1900s was predominantly to the United States. From the late 1800s, return migration to Norway became a widespread phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> Most of the returnees had emigrated between 1906 and 1910.<sup>3</sup> The opportunities for emigration and return migration were greater for these groups of migrants than earlier groups. Moreover, these recent emigrants had not yet managed to become well established in the new country. This could be an explanation for return migration if conditions changed.

The study of the cultural significance of this phenomenon is looking for possible American impulses on Norwegian society. In this article, American influences on the dissenter movement are in focus.<sup>4</sup> There are many interesting aspects concerning American influences on the dissenter movement in Norway. Can we see influences from the religious adherence and worldview of the returned Norwegian Americans on the religious climate in Norway? I will dwell with some aspects connected to the religion variable in the census records, the religious situation in Norway, as well as Norwegian migration up to 1910. In the 1910 census, returning migrants from America for the first time were mentioned, and they were treated as a separate group in the census.

#### The ~~Censuses~~ ~~censuses~~ and their ~~P~~urpose in ~~S~~ome ~~C~~ountries

The first systematic attempt to obtain an overview of the population in the Danish kingdom, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, was carried out already at the beginning of the 1660s, with name, age and condition of all men living in the country. As for the male census of 1701,<sup>5</sup> the background for the censuses were fiscal; the purpose was to facilitate the collection of taxes and the mustering of soldiers.<sup>6</sup> The first enumeration in the Nordic countries for the whole population was held in Iceland in 1703. In Norway, the ~~census of~~ 1769 Census for the first time included the entire Norwegian population.<sup>7</sup> This census and the censuses from 1815-1855 were statistical only.<sup>8</sup> The questionnaires reported only quantitative information, without names or other personal characteristics on the individual level.<sup>9</sup> The 1801 census was the first nominative census in Norway as it included the name of each individual.

The main purpose for the censuses was about tax income and recruitment to the military, and religious affiliation belonged to the more marginal census variables that may or may not be included in any given census.<sup>10</sup> Religion did not become a variable in censuses around the world -until the mid-nineteenth century. In Norwegian censuses a question about religion was introduced after the question on ethnicity; whereas ethnicity was reported for the first time in 1845, religion was introduced in 1865.<sup>11</sup> Religion was not included before the censuses were aimed at individual levels. Questions about religion are individual and individuals give the answers. The one to bring religion as a field in a census was the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet in the 1840s.<sup>12</sup> Quetelet wanted to explain fluctuations in population developments, and he wanted to consider cultural factors besides material factors.

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**Kommentert [TMHJ1]:** Kari: You should add, for example in an endnote, that the next nominative censuses in Norway were taken in 1865, 1875, 1891, and every ten years from 1900.

Religion as a cultural factor interested him, and he included questions about religious affiliation in the census.<sup>13</sup>

The recently enacted religious freedom in many western societies introduced a new situation. Governments therefore could be interested in an overview over religious affiliation in the population.<sup>14</sup> What were people asked about in the censuses? Questions about religion may include several aspects, about faith, religious practice or about affiliation. The census questions usually are based upon the last definition, not about faith or practice.<sup>15</sup>

### **Religion in the Scandinavian Censuses**

In Denmark, the question about religion was included in the [census-of-1855-1855 Census](#) and in the censuses that followed, but it was discontinued after 1955. The variable was admittedly not tabulated after World War II.<sup>16</sup> In Sweden, the first nominative census was held in 1860. The Swedish censuses however did not ask for religious affiliation before 1890 because of a special methodology.<sup>17</sup> From 1860 to 1945, pastors from the Lutheran State Church constructed the Swedish censuses on the basis on parish records, in Swedish referred to as *husförhörslängder* (catechetical registers).<sup>18</sup> In addition, there was a register in Stockholm from 1878 to 1926 which included questions about religion, for example in a non-territorial parish (a Catholic parish).<sup>19</sup> This explains the lack of information about religion in Swedish enumerations. Furthermore, it explains why the Swedish census tradition never adhered to the Quetelet tradition.<sup>20</sup> In Norway, religious affiliation was part of the censuses dating from the nominative census in 1865. The Norwegian census tradition was thus part of the Quetelet tradition.

The Norwegian censuses from 1865 to 1980 provide unprecedented information about specific religious affiliation in the country, and the censuses provide an excellent opportunity for observing changes in the religious climate.<sup>21</sup> It is one of the world's longest continuous series of questions about religion.<sup>22</sup> Canada, too, has included religion among the census variables since 1851, thus having the world's longest statistical series with nominative and aggregated information on the population's religion.<sup>23</sup>

In the Norwegian censuses, the religion question varied with small changes. In 1970 and in 1980 the classification was simplified by only checking a few boxes. After 1980, however, there is a break from the statistical series. Today authorities obtain data from a combination of popular registers. Due to both the cost of form-based census taking and the concerns about the collection of sensitive personal data, the alternative option of obtaining information about the religious groups directly from the religious communities themselves has become the solution.<sup>24</sup>

Many countries performed enumerations with questions about religion from the mid-nineteenth century, but by the time they were left out of most of the censuses.<sup>25</sup> After 1970, many have found questions about religion as being sensitive and private, and some countries have therefore omitted them, as in Scandinavia. Questions about religious affiliation have never been included in US censuses.

### **Norwegian Americans and Religion in the Norwegian [Census of 1910 Census](#)**

The Norwegian censuses are the only European censuses to ask about remigration. In the Norwegian 1910 [Census](#), the most recent Norwegian census to be published, questions appear for the first time about return migration, about the remigrants. The census of

1920 followed up the 1910 [Census](#). In 1910, an entire section was devoted to the Norwegian Americans, about civil life as well as religion. The group of remigrants registered in the census consist of about 20 000 persons.<sup>26</sup> Up to 1910, we know little about the religious sympathies of the Norwegians who returned from the United States. It is interesting therefore, to combine this new information with what we already know about the dissenter activities in Norway from the mid-1800s. After repealing the ban on alternative religions in the 1840s, we know there was a slow spread of dissenter movement.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, several churches and religious organizations were established. We also know that preachers and religious movements in the United States motivated non-conformist activities in Norway after 1900.<sup>28</sup> One can ask if the migrants that returned had been in contact with revival movements in the United States, either through consulting or accidentally meeting them. Is it possible that they brought new religious experiences back to the homeland?

First, we look at the group of migrants returning from the United States before 1910. Two questions seem essential in order to describe the group of remigrants in 1910. How large was the group compared to the number of remigrants from other countries? For how long did they stay in the [United States](#) before returning? We know that more than 25 percent of the Norwegian migrants returned to their country of origin between 1891 and 1940,<sup>29</sup> and about 22 percent of the Scandinavians as a total.<sup>30</sup> This is far less than migrants who returned to Southern or Eastern Europe. For example, more than 50 percent of all emigrants from Italy returned and from Poland between 30 and 40 percent of the migrants returned. Even in Norway, though the percentage was lower, remigration became a considerable movement that could make an impact on society.

The length of time that emigrants remained in the United States is crucial in terms of American influence. We see various patterns of interaction among Norwegian migrants in different periods. The mass migration from Norway is categorized as part of the Old Immigration, a migration movement from Northern and Western Europe starting before 1880.<sup>31</sup> The Norwegian migrants in the Old Immigration usually came from the countryside. Moreover, they migrated with the family and settled down as farmers in the Upper Midwest. Many people migrating toward the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s were from urban areas. This has implications regarding attitudes toward religious belief. Secularization was far more common among urban migrants around 1900 than for migrants who came from farming districts in the mass migration following the American Civil War. Furthermore, many became city dwellers and settled down in the Upper Midwest, as well as on the east and west coasts.

Of the about 20 000 persons registered as returned, a majority lived for less than five years in the United States.<sup>32</sup> Thus, we can conclude that most of the returning migrants had emigrated after 1900. The return migration shows a peak in 1907. The age of most emigrants was 20-29 years when they left (55 percent) with an offset when they returned; about 30 percent were between 20 and 29 years old, and about 30 percent between 30 and 39 years old. The returning women were a little younger than the returning men. One can ask how important the American influence was on the returning migrants who stayed less than five years. We also know that most of the remigrants went back to their place of origin and most of the men, about 40 percent, preferred to return to the farm home, regardless of what they had been doing in the United States.

The religious situation in Norway is of great importance when talking about the remigrants. They left a state church system with practically mandatory participation and returned to the same. Up to the 1970s, membership in the state church was still about 96 percent of the population, and sociologist and mathematician Johan Galtung has characterized the Norwegian society as a “non-pluralistic,” “singularistic” society.<sup>33</sup> The numerically slow growth of the dissenter movement is a result of a feature of the layman’s movement in Norway, i.e. most members of the movement remained members of the official state church, even if their loyalty was not very strong. It is also a result of the privileged position of the State church in the Constitution and the use of pastors for administrative duties, in training, and education. This made any competition difficult.

The stable membership in the State church slowed the secularization process in Norway compared to the other Nordic countries. Peter Berger defines secularization as follows: “By secularization we mean the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols.”<sup>34</sup> This definition focuses on qualitative features as we can observe them in society. Statistical information gives exact information about adherence. After 1970, there has been a considerable reduction in membership. In 2015, about 72.9 percent of the Norwegian population were members of the Norwegian church.<sup>35</sup> The decline is partly the result of immigration. Among the non-Christian immigrants, Islam is the dominant religion.<sup>36</sup> However, the remigration in 1910 affected movements within a dominant state church in Norway, which was still a non-pluralistic society.

**The Situation for Believers Outside the Church of Norway**

We must look back to the end of the eighteenth century to get an understanding of the development of the dissenter movement in Norway. After the dissolution of the union with Denmark in 1814, Norway created its own constitution. The new Constitution stated that the Evangelical Lutheran religion should be the religion of the country and that the State church should organize religious life among the people.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the official church continued to hold a privileged status in the independent country, [Norway was not independent until 1905] as it had had in the union with Denmark. This was the situation up to 1845. Consequently, the period from 1814 to 1845 meant no religious freedom for anyone other than those who adhered to the official religion. The repeal of the Conventicle Act (from 1741) in 1842 provided the basis for freedom of association for laity within the church. In 1845, the Dissenters Law allowed people outside the State church to establish free churches. This was the beginning of religious pluralism in Norway. In 1843, the Roman Catholic Church had been rehabilitated in Norway. In 1891 non-Christian religious groups were granted the right to organize, and the Jewish community established a synagogue in 1893, as the first non-Christian organization, and in 1896 the Unitarian Society was established. These were steps toward full religious freedom in Norway.<sup>38</sup>

By 1910, sixteen different non-conformist churches/organizations had established congregations in Norway. As shown in Figure 1, much of the organizational activity occurred in the years between 1846 and 1856 and in the years after 1872.

Figure 1 Non-conformist Churches and Organizations established before 1910 in Norway.

Organization	Year
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	<b>Established</b>
The Quaker Society	1846
The Catholic Church	1843
Mormons (Ch. of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)	1852
The Methodist Church	1856
Lammers' Movement (The Free Apostolic Christian Church)	1856
The Evangelical Lutheran Church (Jarlsbergske menighet)	1872
The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church (Frikirken)	1877
The Baptist Church, first congregation 1860	1879
The Adventist Church	1879
The Mission Covenant Church of Norway (Det norske Misjonsforbund)	1884
The Society, a congregation (Samfunnet)	1890
The Mosaic Religious Community	1891
The Unitarian Church (d. 1937) <sup>39</sup>	1895
Brunstad (Smith's friends, Norway)	1900
Jehovah's Witnesses	1904
The Pentecostal movement, Kristiania	1906

The Salvation Army also established societies during the period. They are not included in this overview since their members were still members of the State church. The Army members baptized their children in the State church.

The first to establish a dissenter organization in Norway was the Norwegian pastor Gustav Adolph Lammers (1802-1878).<sup>40</sup> He was concerned about State church theology regarding absolution and baptism. Lammers established the first free congregation outside of the State church in Skien in 1856, The Free Apostolic Christian Church. In Tromsø the second Free Apostolic Christian Congregation was founded the same year. Many of later dissenter movements built on movements that Lammers established, such as The Baptist Society and The Mission Covenant Church of Norway (Det norske Misjonsforbund).

Mormons came from the United States to Norway, to Brevik, Fredrikstad, [and](#) Bergen, through Denmark. Many of the Norwegian Mormons later left for Salt Lake City, Utah, the world headquarters for their church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Utah is the only American state with a majority population belonging to a single denomination.<sup>41</sup> Many Norwegian emigrants that were inspired by the movement, had experienced persecution in Norway, and therefore left for Utah.

The Norwegian-American pastor Ole Peter Petersen from Fredrikstad was the founder of the Methodist Church in Norway and cofounder of Danish-Norwegian Methodism in the United States. He had been inspired from preaching he heard in the state of South Carolina and returned to Norway to establish the denomination in several cities and towns in southeastern Norway.<sup>42</sup>

The Danish preacher and sailor Frederick L. Rymker established the Norwegian Baptist Society. He had been in New York where he underwent a conversion experience and returned to Denmark. He later came to Norway. Inspired by his preaching, followers

established congregations in cities primarily along the Norwegian coast.<sup>43</sup> Some of the new members in the Baptist movement in Skien and Tromsø came from the Lammers' movement (The Free Apostolic Christian Church), mentioned above. The Lammers' movement invited the Swedish preacher Fredrik Franson to their congregations, the Free Apostolic congregations. Franson had been in the United States where he met the world-renowned Dwight L. Moody from Chicago, Illinois. After his confessional meetings, The Mission Covenant Church of Norway (Det norske Misjonsforbund) established congregations in many cities in southeastern Norway, first in Oslo, later in the cities of Skien and Porsgrunn in the district of Grenland and in cities along the southern coast of Norway, including Kristiansand.

The Danish-American preacher John Gottlieb Matteson (1835-1896) established The Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Adventistkirken) in Christiania in 1879. Later, most Norwegian cities had an Adventist Church. The Census in 1910 classified the Adventists with the Baptists. In the census of 1920, however, they have their own category.

Thomas Ball Barratt brought Pentecostalism to Norway and Kristiania in 1907. He was born in England and grew up in Norway. He was first ordained as a Methodist minister. He later broke with Methodism and established Pentecostal movements in several European countries, including Sweden and England, besides Norway.

As we can see, most of the churches outside the State church in Norway were established by Norwegians or Scandinavians coming back from the United States with new inspiration. The Christian world in the second half of the nineteenth century was a truly transnational world.<sup>44</sup> Religious relations, membership, activities and organizations represent one of the oldest spheres of long-distance connectivity.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, these long-distance connections had a profound and a long-lasting impact on the development of global traditions.<sup>46</sup> Migrants returning from the United States strengthened the transatlantic and the transnational ties. Many non-conformists went to the United States and returned inspired with new beliefs, as did leaders in the lay movements in Norway in the beginning of the twentieth century. Not rarely, Norwegian non-conformist movements received financial support from their sister organizations in the United States. This underlines the strong religious transnational links between Norway and the United States.

In the new homeland, the Norwegian immigrants met a new mentality with acceptance of all sorts of faith or no faith at all. If they chose to be religiously active, they would most likely be members of organized free churches. Most likely, it would be a Lutheran church, but it might be a Methodist or Baptist church as well. Another possible strategy for religious activity was to select denominations that served as substitutes for the Norwegian State church, and when returning they joined the State church or most probably were still members.

#### **The Norwegian Census of 1910 Census and Return ~~return migration~~ Migration**

In the ~~Census of~~ 1910 Census, questions about people returning from the United States were included in Section 4.<sup>47</sup> The Census asked about year of emigration, year of return, residence in Norway before migration and after returning, residence in the USA, as well as employment in Norway and in the United States. This was one of the two sets of information. The other was the question about religious affiliation that had been a part of the survey since the nominative census of 1865, as mentioned above.

On the question of religious adherence, about 18,000 answered they were members of the State church in Norway. Another 919 persons, about 5 percent of the respondents, said

**Kommentert [TMHJ2]:** Harry: Should it read «The Norwegian 1910 Census and Return Migration» ....?

they stood outside the State church; some said they were Lutheran, some Methodist, some were members of United Church, USA, some of Norwegian Synod, USA, some of Jarlsbergske menighet, Norway. Some were non-conformists, and some said they were non-believers (figure 2).<sup>48</sup> The answers **give** a variety of 90 different alternatives. The Norwegian census committee provided a standard list with fifteen alternatives for interpreting replies. Most probably, many of those questioned were still members of the State church. How many, we may ask, had resigned from the State church in Norway at that time? The census reveals that of the 2,391,782 inhabitants in Norway in 1910, 44,501 were dissenters and 17,466 had no religious affiliation at all. **All told the two groups numbered** a total of 61,967 persons, who **made** up about 2.6 percent of the population. Twice the percentage of the returned migrants stayed outside the State church as compared with the general population in Norway. Perhaps this demonstrates another aspect of the mentality of migrating people compared with people who remained in Norway. More people stood outside the church and more were probably non-believers. **The** question also arises: is it possible that this change of thinking in the group of return migrants would give effects on religious environments in Norway?

**Kommentert [TMHJ3]:** Utilize the past tense. ...use «gave.»

**Kommentert [TMHJ4]:** Do you mean people in Norway or in the United States? Please clarify in the text.

To see any effect from remigration, we must look at the development of the numerical growth in different non-conformist societies after 1865. In the table below (Fig. 2), the numbers of the return-migrants are included. We may assume that the 919 persons, in the answers they provided, wished to indicate they were not active, non-believers, or specifically active members of non-conformist churches.

Figure 2. Members of Congregations and Churches outside the State Church 1865-1930 in Organizations, established before 1910.<sup>49</sup>

Census	1865	1875	1890	1900	1910	1910 Return migrants W. - M. <sup>50</sup>	1920	1930
Dissenters								
Quakers	473	403	231	175	143	20 (6 + 14)	73	81
Methodists	987	2 775	8 187	10 286	10 986	85 (41 + 45)	11 455	12 207
Baptists	354	819	3 382	4 540	6 127 (7 659) <sup>51</sup>	69 (27 + 42)	7 214	7 788
Luth. Free Church, Norw.		197	5 024	8 727	11 131 (15 287) <sup>52</sup>	57 (39 + 18)	13 256	15 972
Free C., USA+ Luth. Free Soc. <sup>53</sup>						31 (17 + 14)		
Free Mission			1 609	2 902	3 093	3 (3 M)	2 031	2 871
Roman	(200)	460	1 004	1 969	2 046	4 (2 + 2)	2 612	2 827

Catholic								
Jews	25	34	214	642	1 045	3 (1 + 2)	1 457	1 359
Unitarians						7 (2 + 5)		69
Mormons	1 038	544	348	501	714	3 (1 + 2)	464	667
Jehovah's Witnesses								130
Pentecostal movement								7 858
Adventists		80	846	1 134	(1 532) <sup>54</sup>	25 (13 + 12)	1 928	3 325
None		31	5 095	13 279	11 342	311 (81 + 230) = 1/3	16 999	24 813
Dissenters Urban*		1,01%	2,95 %	3,02 %	3,24% (4,54%) <sup>55</sup>	320 W 599 M	3,38%	3,86%
Dissenters Rural*		0,26%	0,75 %	1,17 %	1,30% (1,83%) <sup>56</sup>	Total 919	1,43%	1,80%

All told, 320 men and 599 women considered themselves as dissenters. If dissenter here means outside the State church, this is probably not the situation for all of them. About 200 of the 919 "dissenters" fit in the category "Lutherans." They would probably not stay outside the State church when living in Norway.

It is often problematic when attempting to interpret the answers in the census. Some of the answers refer to the American organizations of the Protestant movement, others to denominations in Norway, ~~as including the~~ Jarlsbergske menighet. When specific names of churches or synods are mentioned in the census, it refers to organizations within Norwegian-American Lutheranism. The churches/organizations meant a lot to church affiliated Norwegian Americans. The Norwegian immigrant churches were well known for their church-related discussions. -Norwegian immigrants organized their churches in more different Lutheran synods than any other ethnic Lutheran church in America. In 1910, Norwegian American Lutheranism was divided into four synods.<sup>57</sup> Over the years, Norwegian Americans became involved in establishing fourteen different Lutheran synods.<sup>58</sup>

Back home many of the remigrants claiming to be dissenters in the census, most probably attended the umbrella organization The Norwegian State Church (Den norske kirke), as those who claimed to be Haugeans.<sup>59</sup> Hans Nielsen Hauge had urged his followers to respect pastors and their ecclesiastical duties.<sup>60</sup> He wanted his movement to stay within the fold of the State church. In the United States, the immigrants may have been part of organizations that cultivated a layman's understanding of Scripture to the extent that they no longer felt an association to the State church. Even so, Lutherans established no new organization in Norway in the years after 1910. It is therefore most likely that these



immigrants would join the State church in Norway or perhaps the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church, a Lutheran church outside the State church. Some said in the census that they were Free Church members, Lutheran Free Church or American Free church. They as well may have attended the Norwegian Lutheran Free church or joined the State church. When interpreting and using these categories, one must choose. I based the categorization on which churches they most probably would enroll in back in Norway. Far from all the 919 people were likely to join a non-conformist organization. Less than half of them were potential members of dissenter organizations. Three hundred and eleven had already resigned, and about 200 would probably join the State church, according to what they claimed about religious affiliation.

Where did remigrants who claimed they were not established church members settle down? The answer might give an indication if they were dissenters before they left.

Fig. 3 Non-conformist supporters among the remigrants distributed by counties in 1910.

Counties <sup>61</sup>	Ø/ K	H, O. B.	V 81	T 5	A A	VA 104	R 124	H 5	S F	M R	TT 46	N 28	TF 38	Total 919
Number of dissenters	156	82		2	5			2	2	44	23		8	
Resigned, no memb. <sup>62</sup>	67	22	39	13	15	27 <sup>63</sup>	46	20	5	20	18	7	12	311
Lutheran <sup>64</sup>	25	34	4	10	-	13	36	16	15	14	18	2	7	190
Methodist	12	9	10	13	11	18	2	2	2	2	2	2		85
Norw. Luth. Free Church	5	2		6	16	16	2	2		2	1	2	2	57
Unitar	4												3	7
Catholic	3	1												4
Cath. Apos			4											4
Baptists	6	4		5	2	4	3			1	14	13	17	69
Adventists	6		1	1		5	10	1			1		2	25
Jarlsberg <sup>65</sup>	1		8											9
Mosaists	3													3
L. Free C <sup>66</sup>	4	2	10 <sup>67</sup>		1	7	1	3						28
Christ's S/ God's S <sup>68</sup>	4				9		2			1				15
Uncert. <sup>69</sup>	4	2	2		2	5	3	2	3		3		2	26
Mormons	1			1		1								3
Inner M <sup>70</sup>		5												5
Haugean		1	1	1		2	2	3			8			18

Free Ch US <sup>71</sup>			2				6	1			1			10
Quakers						8 <sup>72</sup>	9	2		1				20
Few mb <sup>73</sup>	11	4		2		1	2			3	3	2	1	29
Total	156	86	81	5	5	107	124	5	2	44	69	28	46	919
				2	6			2	5					

According to the commentary to the [Census in 1920](#), [Census](#)<sup>74</sup>, the total number of people who do not belong to the State church had increased from census to census, but less in the period 1901-1910 than in the preceding years. In 1875 these individuals constituted 0.4 percent of the population (7180 persons), in 1890: 1.53 percent of the population (30 685 persons), in 1900: 2.35 percent of the population (52 714), in 1910: 2.62 percent of the population (62 553), and in 1920: 2.68 percent of the population (71 062). About the situation today, see above.

Membership outside the State church is more frequent in an urban environment (in the cities) than in a rural environment, respectively 4.54 percent and 1.83 percent in 1910 and 2.02 percent and 4.26 percent in 1920.

Referring to Figure 3, I would like to point out some aspects of the religious practice of the Norwegian returning migrants: Many remained loyal to their local religious community, even in the United States, as to the congregation of Jarlsberg, the congregation of God's Society of Vegårdshei and to the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church. Those remigrants had been members of a significant local religious community before they left. What their church loyalties were in the United States we do not know, but when they returned, they identified themselves with their local religious affiliation. The Norwegian Free Church established its first congregation in Arendal, in Aust-Agder. Many migrants from Aust-Agder and Vest-Agder who returned to the two Agder counties were members of the Free Church (32 persons), as they probably were when they left. Again, their stay in the United States does not appear to have significantly affected their religious affiliation.

The number of Baptists in North Norway is remarkable. Is it possible to see some effect of remigration in this connection? We perhaps can see some effects here. In Morgan Park, Illinois, near Chicago, Scandinavian Baptists established a pastor's seminary for young men. Many Norwegian pastors received their education there between 1884 and 1910.

In the Census of 1910, 13 persons of the remigrants claimed they were/had been pastors. Six of the pastors were Baptists. Some of these individuals may have served as missionaries when they came back.

Figure 4 Evangelists, priests, pastors outside Norwegian church returning before 1910.

	Congregation/Church in the <a href="#">United States</a>	Occupation	Settled city, Norway	Name
1	Lutheran Free Church, Hoboken, New Jersey	Evangelist	Kristiansand	Aadne Findreng
2	United Church, Blackduck, Minnesota	Priest	Tuddal	Ole Bondahl Olsen
3	No society, Boston, Massachusetts	Evangelist	Drammen	Kristian Olsen

4	No society, Brooklyn, New York	Preacher	Nøtterøy	Oscar Halvorsen
5	Unitarian, Walpole, Massachusetts	Priest	Kristiania	Herman Haugerud
6	Mormon, Wisconsin	Preacher	Porsgrunn	Peder Muceus
7	Ex(?) - Methodist, Michigan	Methodist priest	Sogndal	Sivert Ulnes
8	Baptist, Chicago, <del>pastor</del>	Pastor	Tromsø	M. Bergethon Pedersen
9	Baptist, Morgan Park, Duluth? Chicago?	Preacher	Verdalen	(?) Halseth
10	Baptist, Gelbertsville, New York,	Priest	Kristiania	Adolf Stensland
11	Baptist, North Dakota	Priest	Bjarkøy	Peder Overgaard
12	Baptist, Fosston, Minnesota	Preacher	Jøssund	Gerhard Ovesson Moe
13	Baptist, Boston, Massachusetts	Pastor	Molde	Ingvald Ellingsgård

Here we Figure 4 lists well-known names of pastors and their churches, such as Aadne Findreng, pastor in the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church, and the leader for the Norwegian Unitarian Society, Herman Haugerud, who died in 1937 and with him the society.

We know that several Baptist congregations were established in Troms and Finnmark before 1880, in Tromsø, Bjarkøy, Kvæfjord, Aune, Sommarøy, Balsfjord, Vardø. To see if the return migration had effects on the dissenter movement, on the Baptist church in Northern Norway, it is necessary to go to the local congregational minutes. The censuses from 1900 and 1910, however, show many new members in the decade mentioned in Kvæfjord (from 51 to 86), in Trondenes (from 68 to 140), in Bjarkøy (from 71 to 90) in Hillesøy (from 60 to 89), and in Balsfjord (from 95 to 182). It would be very interesting to see what congregational minutes might reveal about the increase. We know that Baptist congregations have a long history in the region. On the other hand, we also know that the increase of membership for Baptists in the country from 1900 to 1910 was greater (4,540 up to 6,127) than from 1910 to 1920 (6,127 up to 7,214). In some of the communities mentioned above the increases in memberships was explosive. From 1900-1910 the numbers were doubled, as in Trondenes and Balsfjord. Remigration must have had great consequences for the religious situation in the communities. We do not know why people migrated or why they came back, but the figures tell a story about a strong and vibrant religious life in the area and many of the remigrants were Baptists, as they perhaps were when they left. The pastor mentioned in Figure 4 may have had an impact on development, an important increase in the number of members.

Some significant results from Figure 2 and Figure 3 also require some comments: the increase of membership in the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church in the two counties of Agder and that remigrants who claimed to be Lutheran Free Church members went to Arendal. This might be a signal of American influence, to organize religious life within free churches, without the support or control of authorities. Another explanation is that those who remigrated and claimed to be members of the Lutheran Free Church were members before they left. A large congregation was established in Arendal, and the congregation in Arendal had a central position in the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church in the end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s.

The category “resigned/no membership” represents about one third of the remigrants outside the State church, 311 persons. This group might be regarded as non-believers, as secularized. This group is much stronger than the equivalent in Norwegian society at the time. What influence the group “resigned, no membership” had on the religious climate in Norway, we know little about. One can assume that the “members” had resigned before they left

Norway and not in the United States. If that is correct, it implies that secular mentality in the group of remigrants is more of a Norwegian mentality than an American mentality. The American influence on the Norwegian society cannot be very important with this group. If their resignation was due to their stay in the United States, American impulses may explain their withdrawal. We might also find another explanation. Historian Edvard Bull Sr. explains radicalization of the labor movement at the beginning of the 1900s, namely, that the migrants to the cities were easy to influence because they had left their native environment.<sup>75</sup> Could something similar be relevant for those who left the State church and the homeland in that they increasingly felt free and could choose to resign or stay outside religious organizations? To answer the question, it is necessary to seek out individuals and see their religious situation before they left. This may give a partial answer, but it will reveal nothing about feelings or faith content.

An interesting question for further investigation would be to see if the large number of Haugeans in Trøndelag had anything to do with a later local, conservative branch of the layman's movement in Trøndelag that was very active in the 1960s and 1970s.

Sixteen dissenter movements had organized themselves by 1910. Some preachers and members went back and forth to the United States to get inspiration. Some of them could be in the group of pastors in Figure 4. Their influence on society may have been significant. To confirm that, other sources are needed as well, such as protocols and membership lists in churches and organizations in question.

A strong transnational link between the United States and Norway is confirmed in the censuses. When asked about religious adherence, the answers tell about loyalty and feelings. Some feel a strong need for a local congregation in Norway. That membership gave them identity, even in the United States. Some had strong feelings for a congregation in the United States, and that membership gave them their identity in Norway as well. What religious practices these remigrants developed we do not know, but we know that there were strong ties between Norway and the United States within the dissenter movement and the Lutheran layman's movement.

The history of censuses in Norway is special. The quality of the censuses is good, as for all the Scandinavian countries. The long series with information about religion combined with the information about remigrants in 1910 (Norwegian Americans) provide a remarkable possibility to analyze American impulses on dissenter movements. In no other country, do censuses give the same opportunity. To take full advantage of the empirical data, however, it would have been an advantage to use also other sources, as minutes and congregational protocols.

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<sup>1</sup>I thank cand. philol. Veslemøy Steensnæs Omenaas for help with translation from Norwegian to English.

<sup>2</sup>Østrem, Nils Olav, *Norsk utvandringshistorie* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 2014), 47. [CHECK PAGE NUMBER.](#)

<sup>3</sup>*Norges Offisielle Statistikk* (NOS), Serie VI. 077, *Folketellingen i Norge i Desember 1910. §4: Nationalitet og fødesteder. Hjemvendte norsk-amerikanere* (Avsnitt (Section) 4., §4: *Hjemvendte norsk-amerikanere.* (Kristiania: Det statistiske Centralbyrå, 1916), 48. <https://www.ssb.no/a/nos/>

<sup>4</sup>The word dissenter has mainly been used pejoratively, and it was removed from laws concerning religion in 1969. In this article, however, it is used because the term free church movement easily can be mixed with the Lutheran Free Church, also called the Free Church.

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<sup>5</sup>This census counted male and male children from the age of one year old.

<sup>6</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, «“An International Perspective on Scandinavia’s Historical Censuses,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 2007, Volume 32:3 (2007), (3) s-237-257, 238.

<sup>7</sup>This census took place in the ~~Norwegian Danish~~-kingdom, ~~Denmark Norway~~ as well as in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. For the first time the census included the entire population.

<sup>8</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, “Ut av Statskirken - en oversikt fra 1865 til 1980,” *Historisk tidsskrift* 94 (2015), 29-50, 30.

<sup>9</sup>Thorvaldsen 2007 «“An International Perspective on Scandinavia’s Historical Censuses,” 246.

<sup>10</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, “Religion in Census,” *Social Science History* 38 (Summer 2014), 203-220.

<sup>11</sup>Goyer, Doreen S. and Gera E. Draaijer, *The Handbook of national population censuses. Europe* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992), 362.

<sup>12</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, “Religion in Census,” *Social Science History* 38 (Summer 2014), 203-220. **In Questions about religion in census records was introduced 1842 for Brussels in 1842 and in 1846 for the whole of Belgium.**

<sup>13</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, “Denomination of faith in the Census,” *Diskus: The Journal of the British Association for the Study of Religions* ([www.basr.ac.uk](http://www.basr.ac.uk)), 16.2 (2016), 5-21, [www.basr.ac.uk](http://www.basr.ac.uk).

<sup>14</sup>Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, “Religion in Census,” 205.

<sup>15</sup>Sherif, Jamil, “A Census Chronicle- reflections on the campaign for a religion question in the 2001 Census for England and Wales,” *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, 32:1 (April 2011), 1-18, [esp. 4](#).

<sup>16</sup>Goyer and Draaijer, *The Handbook of national population censuses. Europe*, 123.

<sup>17</sup>Goyer and Draaijer, *The Handbook of national population censuses. Europe*, 442.

<sup>18</sup>Edvinsson, Søren, “The Demographic Data Base at Umeå University: A Resource for Historical Studies,” in Hall, Patricia Kelly; McCaa, Robert; Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, eds. *Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research*, (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2000), 231-248, 234.

<sup>19</sup>Geschwind, Anna and Fogelvik, Stefan, “The Stockholm Historical Database,” in Hall, Patricia Kelly; McCaa, Robert; Thorvaldsen, Gunnar eds., *Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2000), 207-231, 208, 227.

<sup>20</sup>Thorvaldsen “Religion in Census,” 207.

<sup>21</sup>Thorvaldsen “Ut av Statskirken—en oversikt fra 1865 til 1980,” 2015.

<sup>22</sup>Thorvaldsen “Denomination of faith in the Census,” 10.

<sup>23</sup>Goyer and Draaijer *The Handbook of national population censuses. Europe*, 361ff.

<sup>24</sup>Thorvaldsen “Denomination of faith in the Census,” 12.

<sup>25</sup>Thorvaldsen “Religion in Census,” 203, Abstract.

<sup>26</sup>Julie E. Backer, demographer and statistician, claims this was a minimum number. Many failed to state that they had lived in the United States for some time. She argues that there may have been more than twice as many as mentioned in the census. **See** Backer, Julie E, *Ekteskap, fødsler og vandringer i Norge 1856-1960. Marriages, Births and Migration in Norway 1856-1960*. Samfunnsøkonomiske Studier nr. 13, *Statistisk Sentralbyrå*, (Central Bureau of Statistics of Norway) (Oslo, 1965), 179 ff.

<sup>27</sup>Thorvaldsen “Ut av Statskirken —en oversikt fra 1865 til 1980”.

<sup>28</sup>Hempel, Kari Guttormsen, “---Vekkelsens opphavsmann, en hjemvendt amerikaner---” in Kalvig, A. and Solevåg, A. R., eds., *Levende religion. Globalt perspektiv- lokal praksis* (Stavanger: Hertervig Akademisk, 2015), 67.

<sup>29</sup>Østrem, Nils Olav, *Norsk utvandringshistorie* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 2014), 47. **CHECK PAGE NUMBER IN 2014 EDITION.**

<sup>30</sup>Wyman, Mark, *Round-trip to America. The immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 10.

<sup>31</sup>Wyman, *Round-trip to America. The immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*, 100 ff.

<sup>32</sup>In the Norwegian census of 1910, 19,323 persons are stated to have returned from the USA. Of those 1,635 were born in the USA. (*Norges Offisielle Statistikk NØS-VI.77*, *Folketellingen i Norge i Desember 1910*: 48-50).

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<sup>33</sup>For more than one hundred years, from 1850-1970, the increase of the dissenter movement rose with a very low percentage, from 1% ~~percent~~ to 4% ~~percent~~.

<sup>34</sup>Berger, Peter, *The sacred canopy: Elements of a sociological theory of religion*. (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), 107.

<sup>35</sup>Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB), ~~2016~~, "Den norske kirke, 2015" (2016), [https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/kirke\\_kostraaar/2016-05-04](https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/kirke_kostraaar/2016-05-04). Accessed 01.04.2020.

<sup>36</sup>Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB), 2016, "Trus- og livssynssamfunn utanfor Den norske kyrkja," 148,189 Muslims in Norway in 2016 account for 2.9 percent of the population. <https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/06326/tableViewLayout1/>. Accessed 01.04.2020.

<sup>37</sup>The Norwegian Constitution of 1814, Article 2.

<sup>38</sup>Breistein, Ingun Folkestad, "Har staten bedre borgere?" *Dissenternes kamp for religiøs frihet i Norge 1891-1969* (Oslo, Trondheim; Tapir Akademisk Forlag, 2004), 69.

Full religious equality was not obtained in Norway before 1969. The term dissenter disappeared at the same time from Norwegian legislation. It was replaced with the concept of religious communities (trossamfunn). Before 1969, dissenters were excluded from positions as public officials.

<sup>39</sup>The very last pastor of the denomination in Norway, Herman Haugerud, died in 1937.

<sup>40</sup>Gundersen, Knut T., *Visjon og vekst: framveksten av de frivillige kristelige organisasjonene 1816-1940* (Volda: Møreforskning, 1996), 42.

<sup>41</sup>Utah is the only American state with a majority population belonging to a single denomination.

<sup>42</sup>Ole Peter Petersen established Methodist congregations in ~~fr~~ Fredrikstad, Sarpsborg, Halden and Porsgrunn.

<sup>43</sup>In Porsgrunn, Skien, Larvik, Eidsvoll, Arendal, Kristiania, Trondheim, Bergen and Tromsø.

<sup>44</sup>Transnationalism here refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states.

<sup>45</sup>Vertovec, Steven, *Transnationalism*, (London: Routledge, 2009), 26.

<sup>46</sup>Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 145.

<sup>47</sup>Norges Offisielle Statistikk (NOS), Serie VI. 077, *Folketellingen i Norge i Desember 1910*. ~~Avsnitt~~ (Section) 4 (Returning Norwegian Americans).

<sup>48</sup>I use the number 919 in the article, which is based on 20,000 remigrants, even though Julie E. Backer says 20,000 is far too low. See note 6. ~~Comment to the author: Check if this is the correct endnote.~~ Now this is the only ~~existing~~ number of remigrants claiming to be dissenters ~~we have~~.

<sup>49</sup>Figures taken from Ingunn Folkestad Breistein "Har staten bedre borgere?" *Dissenternes kamp for religiøs frihet i Norge 1891-1969*. Where there are differences, in 1910, the figures from census are set with parentheses below.

<sup>50</sup>Figures from return migration in this column ~~including~~ Women and Male ~~migrants~~.

<sup>51</sup>The census has combined figures from Baptists and Adventists.

<sup>52</sup>The census has put all Lutheran free churches together. Membership, 6,127, taken from Lutheran Free Church's own statistics.

<sup>53</sup>These members, the Free Church, Norway, and the Free Church, United States and the Lutheran Free Church, might share the same theological views. They most probably are all Lutheran. Up to 1920 Norwegian authorities put all Lutheran free organizations in the same category. The last two categories might have been put in a category "Lutherans."

<sup>54</sup>The Adventists ~~did not show, were not included (?)~~ in the census.

<sup>55</sup>Newer calculation of the share of the population outside the State church (urban) shows lower percentage than census. From Knudsen, Jon P., *Kulturspredning i et strukturelt perspektiv. Eksemplifisert ved politisk og religiøs endring under moderniseringen av det norske samfunn* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1994).

<sup>56</sup>Newer calculation of the share of the population outside the State church (rural) shows lower percentage than census. From Knudsen *Kulturspredning i et strukturelt perspektiv*. see above.

<sup>57</sup>Hempel, Kari Guttormsen, "Is not a sin in one place a sin in another?" *Menighetsliv i norskamerikanske immigrantmiljø 1870-1920*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tromsø, Norway (2012), 107ff.

<sup>58</sup>Lovoll, Odd, *Det løfterike landet*. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1983), 99.

<sup>59</sup>Followers of the Norwegian ~~revival~~ lay preacher, ~~revival preacher~~ Hans Nielsen Hauge.

<sup>60</sup>Aarflot, Andreas, "Hans Nielsen Hauge", *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, accessed 01. April 2020, [https://nbl.snl.no/Hans\\_Nielsen\\_Hauge](https://nbl.snl.no/Hans_Nielsen_Hauge). Accessed 01. April 2020.

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<sup>61</sup>The counties: with abbreviations are, as follow: Østfold/Kristiania (Ø/K), Hedmark/Oppland/Buskerud (H.O.B.), Vestfold (V), Telemark (T), Aust-Agder (AA), Vest-Agder (VA), Rogaland (R.), Hordaland (H), Sogn and Fjordane (SF), Møre and Romsdal (MR), Sør-Trøndelag/Nord-Trøndelag (TT), Nordland (N), Troms/Finnmark (TF).

<sup>62</sup>“Resigned, no membership-” is a category; that was often given as an answer.

<sup>63</sup>“Uttrådt Guds menighet,” (resigned from God’s congregation), withdraw-membership withdrawal.

<sup>64</sup>Lutheran was not a category in the census, but many of the dissenters claimed to be Lutherans.

<sup>65</sup>A local Lutheran congregation in Vestfold, outside the State church. Not included in the census.

<sup>66</sup>Lutheran Free Church may be identical to the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church.

<sup>67</sup>Ten persons of the same family, living in Horten, Norway, returning from Toronto, Canada.

<sup>68</sup>Christ’s Society and God’s Society, Vegårdshei.

<sup>69</sup>Difficult to interpret the answer or the answer is a “?”

<sup>70</sup>Inner Mission, probably a Norwegian layman’s organization.

<sup>71</sup>Frikirken, Amerika. Comment Harry: I think that we should include the source translated into English words as well (The Lutheran Free Church, America).

<sup>72</sup>Members of the category are listed in Kvinesdal, Lista, and Søgne.

<sup>73</sup>Organizations with less than three members are collected in this group.

<sup>74</sup>Norges Officielle Statistik (NOS), Serie VII. 40, *Folketelling i Norge i desember 1920*, Annet Hefte: *Trossamfund* (Kristiania, Det statistiske Centralbyrå, 1922), 1. [https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos\\_vii\\_040.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/histstat/nos/nos_vii_040.pdf)

<sup>75</sup>I find this argument in the article of Gunnar Thorvaldsen (2015) and it seems to fit my empirical data as well.

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