Surnames as proxies for place of origin in the 1801 census for Norway

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Abstract As part of a three-volume publication on the history of immigration to Norway, Solvi Sogner writes about the period before 1815. The 1801 nominative census is the period's major cross-sectional source for population studies, but regrettably it gives no direct information on birthplace. In order to compensate for this, the family names in the digital version have been grouped according to onomastic criteria, and non-Norwegian names classified by national origin. On this basis, a tentative regional distribution of immigrants during early modern times has been mapped.

Keywords: IMMIGRATION, SURNAMES, HISTORICAL METHODS, NORWAY.

The Norwegian Immigration Project 900–2000

At present, a project on the immigration history of Norway 900–2000 is under way. For the period before 1800 the source situation is less than ideal. The idea arose to try to use the 1801 census for this purpose. The census is exceedingly rich in information for its time, and it is computerized. But, alas, it does not supply place of birth. This paper outlines a tentative procedure to work around this problem.

Place of Birth and the Census of 1801

Denmark-Norway in 1801 has frequently been described as a conglomerate state because it consisted of very disparate parts. Danes, Norwegians, people from the duchies of Slesvig and Holsten — who to a considerable extent were Germans — as well as people from the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland lived within the state's boundaries. People born inside the state had innfødsrett, birthright. Place of birth might seem an important piece of information: In 1776 by decree persons not born within the realm could no longer hold important state offices. Evidently, affected persons were identified by other means than census information. Collecting such information in a conglomerate state may have been considered provocative. In 1769, when the first census was held, all information supplied was
regarded as sensitive state secrets! The decree of 1776 was directed towards the strong German influence in state affairs. To register place of birth might raise suspicions about what the census was all about, and hamper the whole procedure. Perhaps it was felt that there was sufficient information about strangers, as immigrants were called, by means of specialized countings: Finns had been registered in the 1680s, Swedes in the 1730s, and then again in the 1790s, along with all kinds of strangers.

The census itself was an enormous and cumbersome undertaking in any case, and place of birth may simply have been regarded as superfluous information — people were supposed to stay put where they were born. Whatever the reason, information on place of birth is not given in Norway before the census of 1865. But if the census of 1801 does not give place of birth, how can we then use it for the purpose of studying immigration?

**Making use of family names and patronyms**

For the historical demographer the lack of surnames in the early modern period among Norwegians has been something of a nightmare. When we hear that French historical demographers — and others — can study nationwide migration patterns by means of family names, we feel envious and uncomfortable. Family names became the rule in many countries already in the Middle Ages, usually first among the nobility. Then the habit spread. Norwegians, however, were named Ola Eriksen and Kari Eriksdatter, whereas their father was called Erik Olsen and their mother Anne Knutsdatter. If they were farmers, sometimes the name of the farm would be added, but more as an address than a family name. A case in point is the radical leader Abraham Borgen, who had no more to do with the farm Borgen south of Gardermoen than having lived there for a short period. Only close scrutiny of parish records enables us to reconstitute families.

Not until 1923 was it laid down in law that every person should have a stable, hereditary family names. By then the use of family names had become quite widespread, especially during the 19th century, under urban influence, and Norway was now more in line with European practice (Veka 2000).

Confronted by the need to find a surrogate for the missing birthplace information in the census of 1801, the idea arose: could this Norwegian habit of using patronyms be put to something useful? By removing from the census all people carrying a patronymic, would we then be left with the immigrants or descendants of immigrants?

*Family names as researched by linguists*

Our colleagues, the researchers of names, have mostly been occupied with place names. To the extent that they have taken an interest in personal names, it has been in first names. Naturally, that way they kill two birds with one stone, since first names are also the stuff that patronyms are made of.
However, in 1998, a doctoral thesis was defended on the use of family names in town and countryside in two Norwegian dioceses, Bergen and Kristiansand, according to the 1801 census (Nedrelid 1998). Three types of family names are found: import names, Norwegian farm names, and so-called secondary patronymics or ‘grandfather names’ used as surnames.

According to the instruction each person’s full name should be listed by the poll clerks (‘hver Persones fulde Navn anføres’) (Statistics Norway 1980:110). Based on general knowledge it was expected that the use of surnames would show up as an urban phenomenon, imported from abroad — especially Denmark — and that it had spread from town to country, and socially from top to bottom.

The study confirms that in 1801 Norwegians still mostly stuck to their old naming practices. All in all, patronymics account for 77 per cent of the surnames. The figure is 94 per cent for the countryside, and for the city of Bergen about 64 per cent, and for the city of Kristiansand 70 per cent (Nedrelid 1998:342). Farm names account for only a very small part of the remaining 23 per cent.

To the extent that it has been possible to pinpoint secondary patronymics, these are very few — only some 5 per cent of all patronymics; it is still quite exceptional to find patronymics having developed into fixed surnames.

The study also confirms the problems attached to using the census: There are flaws in the original, flaws in the digital registration of the data, and erratic spelling. Especially the variations in the spelling of names cause problems. Which variations constitute real differences and which are only apparently different? Nedrelid found 3,114 different non-patronymic family names, but after careful weeding out, she reduced the number by 25 per cent to 2,237 (Nedrelid 1998:54).

Nedrelid strongly stresses the need for supplementary information from biography and genealogy in order to fully interpret naming practices and name spreading.

Supplied with these important research results, and armed with warnings, we embarked on our own investigation.

Principles used for sorting out the bearers of patronymics

When sorting out patronymics, we risk throwing the baby out with the bath water. It is a commonplace that all of Scandinavia have used patronymics. How are we then to distinguish between Norwegian patronymics and other Scandinavian patronymics?

Sweden uses -son or -sson. This form appears only 16 times in the 1801 census, and the persons bearing these names are retained in the data set, as it goes against the grain to regard Andersson, Pettersson and Johansson as anything but Swedish. Swedes listed with the suffix -sen are taken out,
however, along with all other names ending in -sen, -zen, -søn(n) and -søn(n), and abbreviations of this: -s, -s., -ss. or -ss.³

Denmark, the duchies and parts of Northern Germany also use patronyms ending in -sen. Along the coast of Slesvig-Holsten, and the further north one goes, the more -sen names become frequent. This is especially the case in Slesvig in the districts of Husum and Tondern, where one finds, for instance, names such as Hansen, Thomsen, Nissen, Christiansen, Gidionsen, Detlef sen and Hinrichsen. It is also the case in Angeln further east, and in the district of Flensburg.

To a limited extent, attention may be paid to the first name that forms the basis of the patronymic, to see if this is a typical Danish male name, like Ib, Jeppe or Mogens (Veka 2000:25), or a German first name, like Albrecht, Gerhard, Hinrich and so on (Heintze-Cascorbi 1933, Gottschald 1982).⁴

Female patronyms have the suffix -datter or some variant of that: -dåter, -dåttér, -d., -dtr., -tr., -dat., -dt., -di, -d, -dåtte, -døtte, -dåter, -dte, -datter, -tr.⁵ They are easy to spot and impossible to interpret as far as origin is concerned. They are left aside, and the operation undoubtedly has the effect that some immigrant women are erroneously left out of the data-set.

We therefore conclude that our method does not solve conclusively the problem of how to sort bearers of patronyms into immigrants and non-immigrants. Only by studying individual genealogy as well, would we be able to make the proper distinction. This approach is beyond our capacity at the moment and probably also later. However, we should be able to obtain a better general overview of the geographical distribution of immigrants as well as of their countries of origin.

**Principles for distinguishing between Norwegian and foreign farm (place) names**

Danes as well as Norwegians use farm names (village names). Names that have the suffix: -bo, -dal, -gard, -haug, -land, -rud, -set, -stad, -sund, -vold have been accepted by us as Norwegian farm names.

Names with the suffix -rum or -rvet may just as well be Danish and have to be treated on the basis of other information, which is considerable as regards Norwegian farm names.

We have accepted as Danish names that end in: -bak, -bek, -bo, -bro, -busk, -by, -bølle, -dorp, -feldt, -grav, -gård, -haug, -holm, -lev, -mo, -rop, -rup, -råd, -skov, -sted, -sverd, -tarp, -vad, -vig, -vog, -ved, -øe.

There is less confusion, we think, between Norwegian and Danish names in this respect. It is easier to confuse Danish and German names, and names from the duchies Slesvig and Holsten. There is a kind of continuum between the Danish and the German, where the duchies take a middling position, Holsten being more German and Slesvig being more Danish.

As possible German names we have considered names with these suffixes: -aff, -art, -au, -auer, -bach, -baum, -beck, -berg, -bloch, -born, -brink,
-brock, -buch, -burg, -busch, -che(n), -ck, -dorf, -eck, -ell, -feld, -fels, -hagen, -har(d)t, -ha(u)sen, -heim, -hof, -holt, -holz, -horn, -horst, -ich, -(ing)en, -itz, -kamp, -ke(n), -kel, -l(ie)eb, -leben, -leff, -lofk, -löff, -macher, -mann, -mee(h)i, -meyer, -ow, -reut, -rode, -sohn, -stadt, -stein, -thal, -wald, -zer, -ze.

As can be seen in these listings, there is considerable etymological similarity between the Danish and the German, and differences may be due to the spelling problems mentioned above. Without considerable extra genealogical information these conundrums cannot be solved. However, we do not think that this is disastrous, for we are primarily concerned with distinguishing Norwegians from non-Norwegians.

Our analysis of the 'marker' names in the 1801 census

We want to use non-Norwegian family names — as defined above — as 'marker names for possible immigrant status'. In 1801 less than 10 per cent of the population lived in towns. Therefore, it is to be expected that the data source overwhelmingly displays primary patronymics. However, even if we are able to successfully isolate the marker names, several problems confront us:

A marker name in 1801 does not say anything about when the bearer of the name immigrated, if at all. He or she may well be a fifth generation of that name, and thus cannot in any way be regarded as an immigrant. We also have the usual census problem of de jure presence or de facto presence - he person may be present or absent only temporarily. To the extent that we can control and solve these problems by means of other sources, fine. But we have settled for less ambitious and more sober solutions. We think that it is of interest in itself that the name turns up in 1801, and that this act alone indicates immigration at some point in time in the previous centuries — the whole period interests us.

Marker names may be adopted by Norwegian-born persons, in emulation and to enhance social status. But we do not think this is a big problem.

We may lose immigrant people because they have adopted the Norwegian patronymic naming practice. For instance, Anne Maria Wentzel, born 1899 — daughter of an immigrant glass worker at Hadeland glassworks — carried a cottar, and in the 1865 census she is listed as Marie Johansdatter, widow and lodger woman' (Minken 2000: 96).

We may also have problems that work in the opposite direction. 'unnorwegian' name spelling practices, such as using letters like c, w, x and z, may deceptively indicate foreign origin, although it is only the poll clerk's phisticated way of rendering in writing what he hears from the head of household reporting about members of the household around February 1, 01. For instance, the name of Doblug may look foreign, but it is in fact e name of a farm in Furnes, Norway: Doglo.
Abbreviations are used at times, but are not systematically marked, and may at times cause some confusion and be taken for foreign names.

To the extent that women change family name upon marriage, we have no information of their origin.

To the extent that women are more readily given a patronymic instead of a family name, we may lose relatively more women than men.

A broad spectrum of names appears in the census — also many names that have since disappeared and that sound unfamiliar to our ears. 1801 is a period when names to some extent were in the process of being created, and some fantasy seems to have been used. Some group quarters are temporary working men's households, and they may have dared each other to come up with imaginative names. What shall we say of names like Finken, Pinken Hilkens, Nilken, Besken, Lusken and Gasken? For, as we know, family names frequently originate in nicknames.

Some names are entered in the space reserved for the family name, but they are seemingly the definite form of the first name: Guttormen, Jokumen, Olen, Sorenen, Hagenen. Has the letter 's' been left out by accident, and is it actually Guttormsen etc.? Or is this the name by which these people were known in the locality? Even today we may still use this often almost endearing form, speaking about Knuten, Jonen etc.

The computerized version of the 1801 census as basis for research

The major source of information about the Norwegian population at the end of the early modern period is the 1801 census. It is the first nominative census listing all persons in Norway. For this reason it was computerized already in the 1970s as a joint project between Statistics Norway, the National Archives and the Historical Institute at the University of Bergen with the latter institution as the executive agency. A special report describes the original census-taking, its computerization, and presents the basic statistics based on the main variables (Statistics Norway 1980). The encoded version is now available on the Internet, together with a searchable text version.

The 1801 database is a major source containing some 800,000 entries about persons in rural areas, some 80,000 persons in the towns and some 8,000 civil servants (Seip 1978). The most serious lacuna is the parish of Dybvåg on the south-eastern coast, where the original census manuscripts containing information on 4,583 persons went missing some time after the 1820s. Compared with later censuses there is more detailed information about civil status, e.g. the number of previous marriages, but unfortunately as already mentioned, this census does not provide information about birthplaces, which was systematically given at municipality level from 1865 on. For researchers wanting to study internal migration or immigration from abroad, this is naturally a serious drawback, which can only to some
extent be compensated by using alternative sources. Because of the preponderance of high frequency names, record linkage to find people in the birth records of the parish registers can only be a halfway success. In the census as many as 52,252 women were given the patronymic form Olsdtr, and 46,515 men were given its male variant Olsen. Had we included other spelling variations, we would have seen that more than 100,000 Norwegians at the time used surnames constructed from the first name Ole.

Patronymics dominate extensively among the most frequent names. Some personal names are so characteristic for certain localities, however, that they can be used to indicate a person’s birthplace with a high degree of probability. Analogous with this, we came to the idea of using names with a foreign character to indicate persons who were likely to have originated in foreign countries.

Since so many last names used by Norwegians were patronymics constructed from first names, the latter have been the main indicators of internal migration. But because of the many Christian names with a common European origin in e.g. the Bible, we decided to mainly use the last names when looking for proxies to indicate birthplaces abroad, as indicated above.

There were fewer standards for how to spell names two centuries ago, and each census taker tended to spell names after his own fashion rather than asking individuals how they liked to spell their name. Even if most people were literate, the skill of writing was much less widespread, making possible a multitude of spelling variations of surnames even within the same family. For this reason the 878,093 persons in the machine-readable copy of the 1801 census, put at our disposal by the Digital Archive, are listed with a total of 36,721 different surnames.

A large part of the surnames — 22,250 or 61 per cent — occur only once. An additional 30,238 persons, mainly children, have a blank surname field in the digital census version. These children could have been allotted surnames (as a rule patronymics) constructed from data about their parents according to rules laid down for the computerization of later censuses (Nygaard 1995). This has not been done, however. We have settled for exploring the geographical distribution of the immigrants and of their country of origin. The exact numbers of immigrants will be unattainable in any case. Presumably these children have the same pattern as their parents. Also the children will in most cases be born in Norway.

A further complication is introduced by the group of people given several surnames. This is the case for 14,419 persons, having 5,910 different names. These are combinations of patronymics, farm names and/or other kinds of names. This figure is a bit inflated by first names erroneously placed in the surname field, because of how the data were entered on paper punchcards or tapes before the era of the interactive data terminal. When grouping people according to origin of name in the analyses below, we have used the last name when we had several to choose from.
The ‘cleaning’ operation of the data

When operationalising the principles listed above, the first major task in order to get at names with a potentially foreign origin was the elimination from the data-set of the many patronymics and the Norwegian farm names. This was done in several steps, automatically and interactively. Because the patronymic suffixes varied far beyond what we had anticipated, this could only partially be done with software operating on the last four letters in each name (-sen, -dtr).

The place names given to farms in the census were removed automatically. This was done by creating an alphabetic list of all spelling variants from the farms-and-other-place-names field in the census, and then running an SQL query that removed all surnames that were written in the same way. Berg was the most frequently used non-patronymic with 362 occurrences.

We were then left with a total of 15,481 different names, originating from either the first or last parts of the surnames. These had to be considered manually. An additional 3,482 patronymics with odd suffixes were marked for deletion, together with 2,262 farm names and 372 first names and as a result 9,340 different surnames remained for further manual grouping and consideration. The list has been further shortened by grouping together names occurring both as first and last parts of surnames, and removing a number of minor spelling variations, so we have finally ended up with a list of 8,169 different family names.

Immigrants’ Country of Origin

A closer scrutiny of the names indicates country of origin. A classification into country categories is summarized in figure 1. German names dominate Some of these names will have been borne by immigrants coming directly from German states. But they may also have come via the duchies of Slesvig and Holsten. Or they may have come via Germans having lived for some time in Denmark or even Sweden. To have a German name was popular and attractive, for the German states were a rich and culturally leading area in Europe. Many Nordic names lent themselves easily to Germanization — it was easily done to call oneself Müller instead of Möller or Kock instead of Kokk. We may therefore have exaggerated to some extent the frequency of German names, and underestimated the frequency of Danish and Swedish names. Only a closer look by means of genealogie might solve this conundrum. However, this is way beyond our capacity for the moment. Still, we feel confident that we have established a convincing case for the statement that the majority of immigrants into Norway in the early modern period were German, Danish or Swedish/Finnish.
Figure 1. Number of persons with names of foreign origin in Norway 1801.

Note: 'Swedish/Finnish' includes a few Russian and Sami names. 'Other' includes French, Dutch, British, Italian and unknown names. Source: 1801 Population census.

The geographical distribution of the immigrants

The little more than 8,000 family names of non-Norwegian extraction belong to some 25,000 individuals. Table 1 shows how these individuals are distributed by province. The three maps that follow show the distribution by parish of all foreign names (figure 2), Danish names (figure 3) and Swedish/Finnish names (figure 3). The two latter maps have comparable scales. The dominating German names display much like the totality of foreign names.

Discussion

Our estimates have shown that 25,346 persons or 2.89 per cent of the population have family names of foreign or unknown origin. In an oral presentation at a seminar in Sogndal, Norway in May 2001, Jan Myhre, who is analysing immigration into Norway 1840–1900, presented figures based on place of birth from the two censuses 1865 and 1900. In 1865 1.2 per cent of Norway’s population were born outside the country, in 1900 the figure was 2.9 per cent. Not until the 1980s did this figure rise further. The figures are not directly comparable of course. Still they are within comfortable and plausible range of each other.
Table 1. Persons in the 1801 census for Norway by origin according to surname.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Norwegian</th>
<th>Danish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Swedish/Finnish</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Østfold</td>
<td>50113</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christiania</td>
<td>66219</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedmark</td>
<td>61064</td>
<td>99.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppland</td>
<td>66455</td>
<td>99.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buskerud</td>
<td>64679</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestfold</td>
<td>39100</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telemark</td>
<td>47503</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust-Agder</td>
<td>28876</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vest-Agder</td>
<td>39758</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogaland</td>
<td>44399</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hordaland</td>
<td>78403</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogn og Fjordane</td>
<td>52601</td>
<td>99.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romsdal</td>
<td>57309</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sør-Trøndelag</td>
<td>60457</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nord-Trøndelag</td>
<td>42691</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordland</td>
<td>52207</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finnmark</td>
<td>26259</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Norway  878093  97.1  0.7  1.6  0.2  0.3

Notes: 1 In the text, 'province' and 'country' are used interchangeably as translations of fylke, the administrative entity below the national level. 2 Includes a few Russian and Sami names. 3 French, Dutch, British, Italian and unknown. Persons with family names, originally assumed to be foreign, but which proved to be Norwegian after all, are left out of the further calculations and from the maps. A number of persons who could not be placed in a province nor in a parish make the sums different. Source: 1801 Population census.

In 1801 there are clear regional differences between counties. Hordaland, with the old Hanseatic city of Bergen, Norway's clearly most populous city at the time, stands out as regards persons with family names of foreign origin. The capital, Christiania (which formed a county of its own), and its two neighbouring counties Østfold and Vestfold also have percentages in the upper range, about 3 per cent. This is also true for the county around Trondheim, the third largest city. Otherwise, it is striking that the two northernmost counties, Nordland and Finnmark, are placed in the upper range, around 3 per cent.

The community-level maps show clearly that foreign family names are primarily found in cities, as well as in mining districts — of which the copper mines of Røros form a prime example. Such names are carried by about 3.27 per cent of the population in these areas. The remarkable regional exception is Northern Norway, which also has figures about 3 per cent. Our first assumption was that the family names found in the area would be either
Figure 2. Proportion of the population with names of foreign origin, by parish, Norway 1801 (per cent; number of parishes in parentheses).

Note: Total population is 873,330, of which 25,346 have names of foreign origin. Source: 1801 Population census.
Figure 3. Proportion of the population with names of Danish origin, by parish, Norway 1801 (per cent; number of parishes in parentheses).

Note: Total population is 873,330, of which 6,334 have names of Danish origin. Source: 1801 Population census.
Figure 4. Proportion of the population with names of Swedish/Finnish origin, by parish, Norway 1801 (per cent; number of parishes in parentheses).

Total population is 873,330, of which 1,864 have names of Swedish/Finnish origin. This includes a few Russian names. Source: 1801 Population census.
Finnish — as we know from other sources that immigrants from Finland came in great numbers — or Sami, as the area is dominated by Sami. However, when looking specifically at the actual names, these are neither Sami nor Finnish names, but are the ordinary kind found elsewhere in Norway as well. An example is given below for the parish of Karlsøy, a high frequency parish as regards foreign-sounding family names:


A more reasonable explanation then will be more in line with what is found for the rest of the country, and hinge more on the heavily urbanized character of the Northern coastal area. People lived in close urban-like settlements that only eventually obtained formal urban status. These settlements would be more open to immigrants than a traditional farming area. The rich fisheries economy was likewise more hospitable and accommodating to newcomers than would be a traditional farming economy dependent on access to land. We know from the many ethnonyms — svensk, kun, tysk, skott etc. — that abound in the north from early on, that many immigrants did indeed come to these rich fishing districts (Hansen 2001).

Many questions remain to be answered. But we are probably investigating a stream of gross migration that before the 19th century went from the south towards the north. One century later this had turned into a stream of gross migration going south inside the country and westwards between states. As for now and as a first step, we are content to have established a national overview of what we may call '1801 immigrants', with all the shortcomings and the dubious character which that concept entails.

NOTES

1 The data-set comprises approximately 50,000 persons, equally distributed between town and country. In the West: Bergen, Haram, Selje, Jolster, Hosanger and Skånevik; in the South: Kristiansand, Finnrøy, Klepp, Liknes, Sogne, Valle, Hømedal, Sanniketal and Vinje.

2 'Tilsynelatende snarvegar førde ut på ei disande sakkjemyr, der ein hoppa på tubbone og aldi stod trygt. Det var berre eitt å gjøra, gripa spaden og grava seg ned i materialet på nytt'.

3 Some names ending in -s are not 'ordinary' patronyms. They are 'genitive' names found along the North Sea coast, among Frisians, Low Germans and Dutch people, and have caught hold as family names: Diderichs, Hermanns. We have made an effort to solve this problem, but control against relevant parish has convincingly established that the absolute majority of -s names are in fact ordinary abbreviations of -sen names.
In German lots of first names also developed into family names. Suffixes frequently found in old German names are: -bald, -bod, -brecht, -fried, -ger, -hart, -her, -mann, -mar, -rich, -walt, -wart, -wig, -win, -wolf.

In a handful of cases the patronymic-suffix refers to barn, i.e. child: -barn, -børn, -b.

These are left out.

Available at www.digitalarkivet.uib.no. For a site with comprehensive information about all the Norwegian censuses, see www.rhd.uit.no/census.html.

Personal communication from community history writer Lars Øyane.

Instead of using the ordinary field marker between the first name field and the surname field, all names were registered in the same field. To distinguish between these two groups of names, the underscore character was used instead of space between first names, and also between last names. The ordinary hyphen should only be used when present in the source.


As mentioned above, this figure might be twice as high had we included the children who are not explicitly registered with a family name in the census.

REFERENCES


