Finland Salutes U.S.A.

Old Friends – Strong Ties

Old Friends — Strong Ties

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Finland Salutes the United States of America

Urho Kekkonen
President of the Republic of Finland

The Republic of Finland Salutes the United States of America

In honor of the Bicentennial of the United States, a motto has been chosen to express the relations between Finland and the United States: *"Old Friends — Strong Ties."* The motto is not confined to the official relations between the two States alone, for it also extends to the countless human contacts that have been made between people who live geographically far from each other but work on the basis of a common cultural heritage. The meetings between the heads of State, as in the United States in 1961 and 1970 and in Helsinki in the summer of 1975 in connection with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, have shown that the United States understands and respects the grounds of the peace-promoting policy of neutrality pursued by Finland.

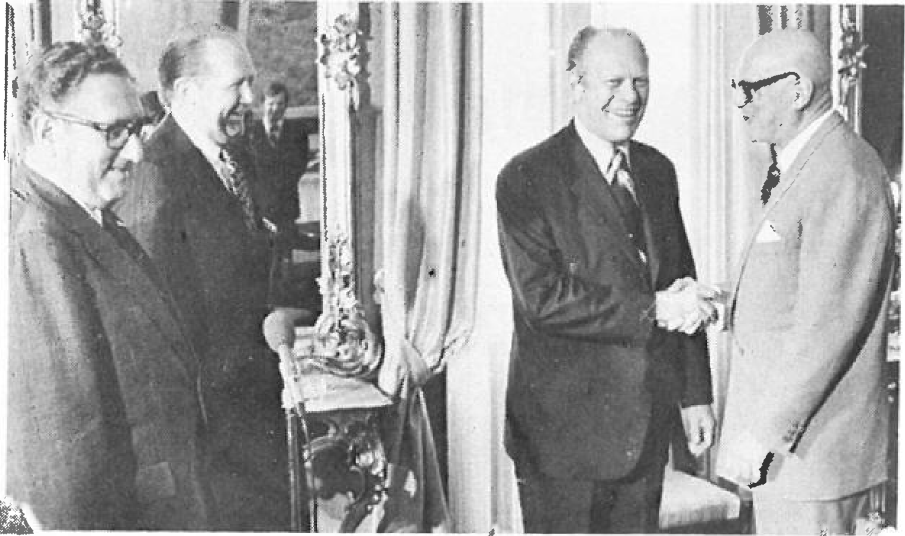
Observing the principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence, the United States in 1919 recognized the independence of the young Republic of Finland. This action, together with the loans given around the same time by the United States, led to the development of active intercourse between these two nations. The one had a century and a half earlier embraced the humane ideology developed by the thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment, won for itself national independence through a hard struggle and risen to a place among the major powers of the world; the other was just seeking its own road as an independent nation.

In recent history, the United States made the way smoother for the first steps taken by the Republic of Finland, and the Finns, for their part, were

The President of the United States and Mrs. John F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk receiving President and Mrs. Urho Kekkonen on their arrival for an official visit to the United States in October 1961.

in the company of the Swedes, the Dutch and the British founding colonies in the 17th century on the continent of North America. Finns belonged, for instance, to the group of a few hundred souls who in the years between 1638 and 1654 established the colony of New Sweden on the banks of the Delaware river. One of the descendants of the founders of Delaware was John Morton, whose grandfather's father, Morten Mortenson, was in the first group of Finnish settlers to arrive in New Sweden. It was his vote, cast on behalf of the colony of Pennsylvania, that was decisive in bringing about a unanimous stand by the thirteen British colonies in favor of the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

During the period of Finnish autonomy and independence, which covers nearly the whole span of United States independence, some 350,000 persons have migrated from Finland to North America, mainly before the First World War. Although Finnish immigrants account for only a small fraction of the total population of the United States, just a few per mill, they do represent a noteworthy proportion of the population of Finland. I hope these migrants have in their own way enriched the material welfare and intellectual life of



Meeting of the national leaders of the U.S.A. and Finland during the Conference on Security and Cooperation of Europe in Helsinki in August 1975. From the left: U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, U.S. Ambassador to Finland Mark Austad, President Gerald Ford and President Urho Kekkonen.

the United States and contributed special features to the composite character of the new nation.

The contacts of the immigrants and their progeny with the Old Country and with relatives and friends here have not been broken but have been kept up decade after decade, taking on new forms and becoming more diversified. In the United States, there are numerous Finnish-American organizations, and noteworthy among the associations active in Finland are Suomi Society (Suomi-Seura), the League of Finnish-American Societies and Siirtolaisuus-instituutti (Institute for Migration). These organizations are exemplary in the vigor and many-sidedness of their activities. There is also important research co-operation between the universities of both countries.

During the years of the current economic slump, many immigrants living in the United States must have been wondering how the people in Finland have managed to cope with all their difficulties. The Finnish community pulled through the Great Depression of the 1930s, and it must work out the problems of the 1970s. Work and thrift must continue to be held in honor, and the weaker members of society must be helped in a spirit of solidarity.

On the occasion of this memorable year in the annals of the United States, I send greetings to the Finnish-Americans. I hope that lively intercourse and mutual activities will continue in the future on both governmental and individual levels.

A
Emigration from Finland to America

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I
Finland and Colonial America

1. THE EARLIEST CONTACTS

The earliest Finnish contacts with America date back nearly 350 years, to the time when the colony of New Sweden was founded in 1638. The colony was a tribute to the enterprise and cooperation of the Swedes, Finns and Dutch. The settlement was small; at its height under the rule of Sweden, it had only a few hundred people. It did not last long. As early as 1655, it came under Dutch rule and in 1664 under the British crown, for Sweden was unable to maintain continuous shipping traffic across the ocean. Economically, the colony was doomed from the start. In history, however, size and success do not necessarily decide what is important and worthy of study.

Because of its sparse population and remoteness from the major centers of civilization, Finland stands on the periphery of world history. For this reason, it could rarely influence to any noteworthy extent the affairs of larger nations. This was especially true during the period that Finland, as part of the kingdom of Sweden, lacked sovereign national status. However, as early as the first half of the 17th century, the Finns were, with the Swedes, among the four national groups to settle in the area of the thirteen British colonies that declared their independence in 1776. These four nationalities were the British, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Finns. Along the Delaware river,

A map by a Swedish engineer, Peter Lindeström, of the Delaware colony in 1653, published in 1692 (Delaware Albumi 1638—1698).

where New Sweden was established, the Swedes and the Finns were the first arrivals to take possession of the land and remain there as settlers. The Finns are mentioned separately in historical records from the Swedes, although no sovereign state named Finland existed until hundreds of years later and Western Europe knew little about the Finns as a national entity.

As insignificant as the Swedish-Finnish colony of the early 17th century, was in size and economic strength on the American scene — as well as in the overall affairs of Sweden-Finland —, it did represent the oldest historic tie between Finland and America. There is hardly any other territory outside the historical boundaries of the Swedish-Finnish realm that was so closely bound up with the early vicissitudes of the Finnish nation as the colonial area of New Sweden far across the ocean.

As the historical stage in those days was comparatively small and the players few, the scenes enacted there stand out the more prominently. Within the framework of New Sweden, we can in a small measure observe closely the early history of overseas emigration, which moved mostly toward North America. There we can see a reflection of the scope of thought of the people of that period. On a national level, what was involved was the pursuit of wealth and prestige; for the individuals participating, it was the search for a new and better future. As a national undertaking, the colony was a failure; for many of the individual members, it brought ruin, and for the rest, even under the best of circumstances, severe hardship and frustrated hopes. However, the descendants of the settlers who managed to survive came to

participate in a small way in the assimilation process the outcome of which was the birth of a powerful new nation.

The reasons for emigration in the 17th century can be compared to those of later centuries. There were forces that pushed and others that pulled from across the ocean. During the time of the founding of New Sweden, just as during the emigration of the late 19th century, the stability of life among the people was disrupted. Long wars and, in particular, military expeditions to foreign lands were the reasons in the 17th century, industrialization and social change in the 19th century. Among the migrants crossing the ocean were, above all, those who had only loose ties to their native land or to their hereditary place in society. A compelling reason for departure was often some friction with the authorities. In the beginning, banishment to America was often punishment for some delinquency; later, the reason for migration was persuasion by the authorities. Finally as such reasons for leaving home became mixed with the lure of the New World, restraints had to be imposed as hundreds sought to cross the ocean possessed by the first outbreak of "America fever" in the annals of Sweden - Finland. The "fever" raged particularly among the Finnish populace.

The Finns were striving to help Sweden with all their might to become a great power on the battlefields of the Thirty Years' War. They also took part with relatively equal strength in New Sweden's colonial endeavor. Sweden and Finland have largely shared their history in common; the exact contribution of the one or the other nationality is impossible to differentiate. How much poorer would Finnish history be, however, if those events that the Finns experienced in company with the Swedes were to be overlooked. The nationality of a historical figure is of little importance in comparison with the place of the historical deed and its consequences. In many cases, men of Finnish birth who were active in Sweden or worked for Sweden outside its boundaries were not specifically recognized as Finns and they did not have any desire to be viewed as different. The Finns in those days were Swedish subjects the same as the Swedes themselves.

Some of the characters who figured in the fortunes of New Sweden are connecting links between the colony and Finnish history. The most influential and effective promoter of the colonial enterprise in Sweden was Admiral Klas Fleming, who reorganized the Swedish navy and served as President of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce. Born in Finland, his background was Finnish, but his life's work was in the service of the crown, with no specific reference to Finland. It was on the strength of his energetic support that the settlement of the colony started. After the colony was established, it was left to fend for itself, for the mother country was not able to control the course of events. The colony, which in the beginning was a trading post with only a small garrison for protection, was to have been developed if possible into

a self-supporting community. New Sweden needed people who would stay there to live. During Fleming's time, the government's attention was directed particularly to the Finns of Sweden's forest area, who lived by clearing land for cultivation by burning. Their way of life made these Finns mobile, they were used to moving from place to place, far from populous centers. Settlers were recruited also directly from Finland.

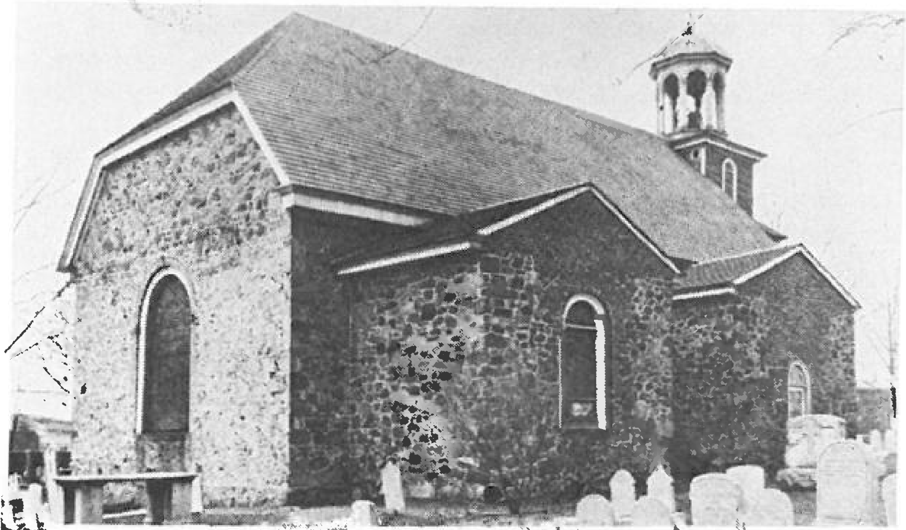
A central figure in the short history of New Sweden was Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Printz, governor of the colony from 1642 to 1652. He was not of Finnish birth, but before going to America, he was in close contact with Finland and the Finns. During the Thirty Year's War in Germany, he changed his vocation, moving from theological studies to become a soldier. He became an officer in a Finnish cavalry regiment. That accounts for his renting the Korsholm royal manor, which had originally been a fortress, near Vaasa, Finland, from 1633 to 1642. Printz's departure for America, like that of many others and, particularly Sweden's *"Forest Finns"*, was the result of disagreement with the authorities. While fighting in Germany he had surrendered a town he had previously captured to an overpowering force, and without permission returned to Stockholm. He was sentenced to give up his title and army rank and he retired to his manor in Finland. He was offered a chance to regain his honor and achieve even greater fame when, recommended by Finland's Governor-General Per Brahe, he was appointed first governor of New Sweden. While serving as governor, he was in contact with Finland since he received as his pay the taxes from several manors in the vicinity of Vaasa. Memorials of Printz's stay in Finland and of the Finns who went with him to New Sweden are the place names transplanted from Finland, *New Korsholm* and *New Vasa.* On the other hand, the story that the city of Philadelphia was built on a site bearing the Finnish name *Sauna* or *Saunaniemi,* may be a witty fabrication rather than a provable historical fact. There are many tales of Printz's energetic work against heavy odds in the settlement. As ruler, Printz governed his small realm across the ocean, making all the decisions. His name is more lasting and prominent than that of anyone else connected with the history of New Sweden. The state of Pennsylvania now considers him as its first governor. When his 10-year period as governor ended and he returned to his homeland, he did not go back to Finland but accepted a governorship in Sweden, where he died.

One of the men who accompanied Printz to America in 1642 was his companion-in-arms during the Thirty Years' War, Sven Skute, a cavalry officer, from Kronoby parish near Vaasa. He also became prominent in the affairs of New Sweden. After he arrived with Printz, a fortress named *Elfsborg* was built at the mouth of the Delaware River on its eastern shore to protect entering ships. Sven Skute became commander of the fort. A few

years later Skute was sent home to find more settlers for New Sweden. The results of his efforts were promising but they could not change the fate of the colony. He returned to America with the new governor, Johan Rising, in 1654. Skute, who was now a captain, became deputy governor and commander of the settlement's garrison. It was his unhappy duty in 1655 to surrender the Kristina fortress to the neighboring Dutch colonials, who had seized power. Having many times bitterly experienced how weakly and unsurely Sweden's power and strength reached across the Atlantic, the garrison and settlers of New Sweden were not anxious to fight for Sweden against the Dutch.

When the last ship from Sweden carrying new settlers and merchandise arrived, New Sweden was already under Dutch rule. Almost 100 Finnish emigrants landed on this ship, which was a notable addition to the earlier 300 inhabitants. This did not, however, end the rush impelled by "America fever" to this western wonderland. Records indicate that a group of 140 Finnish emigrants left on their own from Sweden by way of Norway to Holland and from there to America. These bold travellers, who had sold all their property before setting forth on their journey, also arrived at their destination. It is estimated that Finns made up at least half of the Delaware Valley Swedish—Finnish group in the 17th century. At the end of the century, this group as a whole had grown to not quite a thousand persons.

Dutch, followed by English, rule and the lack for decades of any contact with the mother country made life difficult for the settlers of New Sweden.



Old Swedes Church at Wilmington, "Finnish Church", consecrated 1699, the oldest church in the U.S.A. still standing as built and in use for worship services. Originally without tower and buttresses.

"They derived no pleasure from their mother country except the old people's tales," it was later told. The church congregations and ministers kept alive community feeling among the settlers and bolstered their spirits in times of stress. At first, there were two congregations, Wicaco and Kristina. Kristina later split into two others, Racoon and Pennsneck. Of the two oldest congregations, one was for the most part Swedish and the other Finnish. Kristina was Finnish and its members built a stone church in 1698. This church is now a noteworthy historical monument, for it is the oldest house of worship still in existence that has been in continuous use in the United States. It stands on the west shore of the Delaware River in the present town of Wilmington. It is now called "Old Swedes' Church Wilmington". The Wicaco church, which was built a little later, is in Philadelphia.

As for the preservation of the mother tongue among the settlers, a fateful circumstance was the break in connections with the homeland for many decades. With ministers and services in their own language, Finnish might have preserved its purity and utility. But since it was used only when the Finnish settlers dealt with each other, it lost its formed status and became gradually discredited. The use of Finnish disappeared much sooner than that of Swedish. In a hundred years, possibly even sooner, the last person in America who spoke and understood Finnish had died. At the end of the 17th century, it was said that the Finns knew enough Swedish not to need a Finnish minister. Even in Sweden, the Finns did not always attend services in their own language. Some of the settlers were Swedish-speaking Finns from the East Bothnian coast.

As a relic of the religious practices of the Finnish settlers in their own language, there existed a copy of the Finnish translation of a psalter published in 1551 by Mikael Agricola, leader of the Reformation in Finland. Peter Kalm, the Finnish explorer and professor from Turku University (Åbo Old Academy), acquired it from a settler in the middle of the 18th century. It was then the oldest book in either Finnish of Swedish preserved in the New World.

The natural riches in the quest of which the colony was established were not found, but the land was fertile and the weather mild and healthful. Years of crop failure and "famine bread" were unknown. It was a wonderful thing for colonists from Finland and Sweden. The means of livelihood, burning brush to farm land, hunting and fishing, did not differ greatly from what the Finns had been accustomed to in their old homeland. It facilitated making ends meet in the American wilderness. The settlers learned the ways of the Indians. Their cultivation of corn reminded them of their fallowing. The bark was chopped off trees at the base, which caused them to dry. They no longer drew up moisture from the ground and therefore produced no leaves for shade. The smaller trees were torn out of the ground and

gathered into piles and the branches burned. It was not necessary to burn all the trees, for the soil in between was fertile and as easy to till as in the best-kept garden. The domestic animals, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, hogs, chickens, geese and ducks, were mostly descended from the animals the first settlers had brought with them.

The first homes were wretched: a small hut with a low door, and, to serve as windows, openings with shutters. Since there was no good moss to be had, the logs were chinked with clay. Almost everyone used a *sauna* in the early days and the baths were heated every Saturday. The baking ovens were built some distance from the hut because of the danger of fire. Clothing was largely made of skins; the men had leather vests and trousers, the women leather skirts and waists. The bedding also consisted chiefly of skins. Flax was also grown and from it some linen clothing was made.

At first, it was not possible to get all the necessities of life from the area. Before the city of Philadelphia was established, a ship sailed up the Delaware River, usually once or twice a year,, bringing salt and other supplies to sell. But since the ship did not come every summer, the settlers had to go to New York to fetch these supplies. They carried their loads on their backs or used oxen or cows or Indian carriers. Cattle were also purchased in New York. Not having money, the settlers paid for their purchases with furs.

Even under English rule, the people of New Sweden managed their affairs for several more decades in the same haphazard way and only gradually became acquainted with their new rulers. A great change took place in their lives when, in the 1680s, William Penn established his Quaker colony. From it developed, spiritually and materially, one of the cornerstones upon which was built the independence of the North American colonies.

The Quakers brought to the Delaware region a strong idealistic and religious outlook on life. Pennsylvania's first Quaker generation, however, lost the fanaticism that had characterized their elders. There survived several principles that proved to be very practical and fruitful in new surroundings, the most important of them being religious and political freedom.

Pennsylvania opened its doors to Quakers from all lands and later to other colonists. The little Finnish-Swedish colony in the Delaware Valley became diminishing minority among the English, Dutch, German, Irish, Scots, and other nationalities. The various groups became assimilated in life style and language with the others and began to think of themselves mostly as English. In the middle of the 18th century, the descendants of the Swedes and Finns were almost completely cut off from contact with the Old Country although ministers sent from Sweden and many memories reminded them of the land of their forebears. Vigorous economic growth and the rapid increase in population ushered in an entirely new era and made the colonists look ahead and not backward.

2. THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Even in the 17th century in the minds of Finns as well as Swedes, America — namely, North America — had emerged as a place in the sun. The image presented by America then contained many distinctive features that have remained unchanged to this day. What it represented, above all, was the "New World". It was a far-off wonderland of natural riches and glorious opportunities. Its vastness and unexplored territories stirred the imagination of many. New Sweden having come under foreign domination and connections with the mother country having been broken for several decades, the image of America held by Swedes and Finns lost its vividness. But it was restored during the next century with the rise in interest in natural science and gained a new brilliance. However, the lure of America no longer impelled Swedes and Finns to migrate there, although it continued to attract migrants from other European countries in ever larger numbers.

Now it was the turn of scholars and scientists to seize upon the riches of America and at the same time familiarize themselves with the society created by a generation of settlers. Among the botanists of Holland and England, a new kind of "America fever" broke out in the 1730s spreading also to Sweden and Finland. In practice, it meant the awakening of interest in studying and collecting the plantspecies of America and growing them in gardens back home. Knowledge of America had been augmented, but the desire to learn more had also been stimulated. The old belief that America was a treasure house of natural riches revived with new vigor. It was once more a question of riches and the quest of good fortune, but not through colonization and trade but by the study of nature and by plant experimentation.

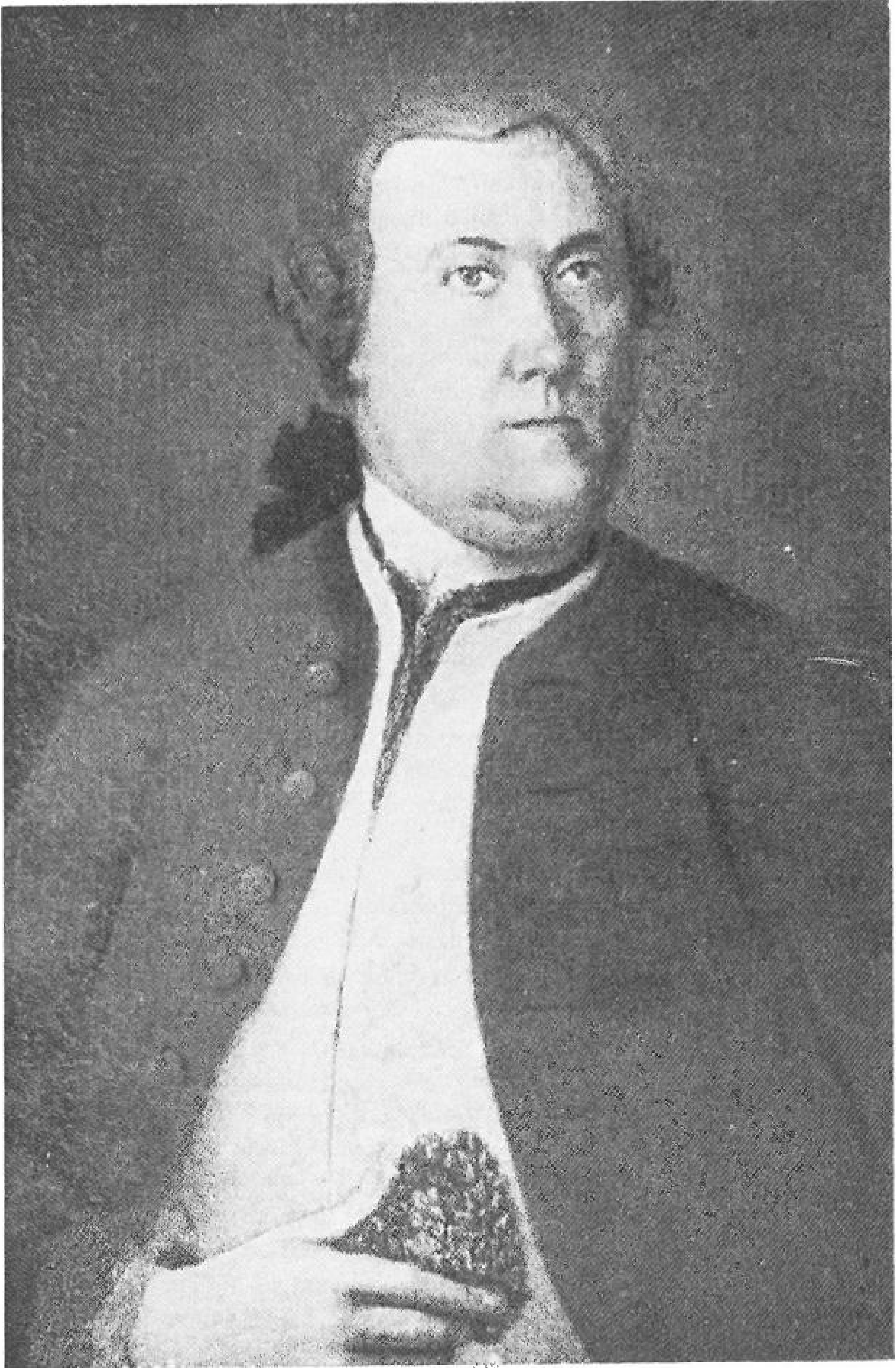
It was with the aim of improving conditions in the homeland that the research scientist Peter Kalm was sent, on Carl Linnaeus's recommendation and under the auspices of the Swedish Academy of Science, to North America in 1747. This mission excited great expectations. As Linnaeus saw it, the successful transplantation of some new and valuable species of tree and its spread through the country could be more valuable than conquering a whole colony at a great loss of life and limb. It was believed that the silk industry, which was considered to be one of the greatest sources of riches, could be made to succeed in Sweden with the aid of mulberry trees brought from North America. The bogs of Finland and Sweden might become productive if the wild rice of America could be made to grow in them, Indian corn might become a valuable grain and fodder plant, and many medicinal plants could be as valuable as gold. Many American plants could increase the prosperity of the country in immeasurable ways. For the good of the barren homeland, it was necessary to try to transform it as much as possible into

an America in miniature. In these efforts, European botanists tried to take advantage of knowledge gained originally from the Indians.

Well-meaning optimism underlay the research expedition beyond the great ocean. From the standpoint of its original purpose, Kalm's trip brought disappointment, as had done the settlement of New Sweden about a hundred years earlier. The most valuable of the plants that he went to seek and brought back did not survive the harsh climate of the homeland. An attempt has again been made in recent times to naturalize many of them. The historical significance of Kalm's expedition should not be measured alone by the practical results and outward signs of success. The journey should not be viewe as belonging to the historical annals of Finland and Sweden alone. In it, as well as in the colonial venture, is reflected the European trend of thought of the period. It was one manifestation of the intellectual contact between Europe and America in the middle of the 18th century and one minor phase of the later scientific discovery of America. The result of the journey was a carefully composed and critical description of North America. It was a many-sided and complete picture, not only of the natural surroundings, plant and animal life, but also of the social, economic and political life.

Kalm's records and diaries contain a cross section of American society in the middle of the 18th century, a picture of its earlier development as well as an appraisal of the future and its strivings toward independence several decades later. He had good qualifications for judging social and political conditions, although this was not exactly connected with his mission to America. He had the opportunity to become acquainted with influential people everywhere he travelled during the two and one-half years from the fall of 1748 to the spring of 1751. Philadelphia was the most important center of social, cultural and political activity, Benjamin Franklin was its central figure and was becoming influential in politics. Franklin's wide knowledge of American affairs was of inestimable value to Kalm, who became one of his trusted friends. Cadwallader Colden of New York was interested in the study of botany and Kalm became his friend too. He was a notable politician and a central figure in the government of his colony, later its governor. He was familiar with conditions in the area bordering Canada. So was Col. William Johnson, who was Superintendent-general of Indian affairs. Leaders in government and church affairs in Canada were also Kalm's trusted friends. Kalm's close contacts with descendants of settlers from Sweden and Finland enabled him to gather reminiscences of the fortunes of the first and second immigrant generations. In this way, his view of American life reflected the perspective of time.

Kalm also personally observed the emigration of his own time. He had travelled across the Atlantic in a ship whose passengers were mostly



Portrait of Peter Kalm in 1764 by J. G. Geitel. (Satakunta Museum, Pori, Photo, National Museum, Helsinki).

Kalm's diary of the journey during a visit to Benjamin Franklin (Martti Kerkkonen, Peter Kalm's North American Journey).

emigrants who earned their fare or at least part of it by working in America after their arrival. They had made an agreement with some employer, who paid their way from ship to shore. Kalm gathered much information about the Indians; he dealt with the Negro question knowingly; and he drew from his own observations a vivid picture of different religious trends and sects as well as their services. The religious practices of the Quakers, Jews and Catholics interested him in particular.

In America, Kalm found himself in the center of a rapidly developing society, and he felt forebodings of future political events. He spent much time in Pennsylvania and visited New York frequently. He moved in an area swept by the currents of independence. It was an area where immigration had brought together people of many different nationalities and religious denominations and sects. Since Kalm also spent much time in Canada, he qualified to appraise the conditions prevailing in English settlements and make comparisons on the basis of a wide frame of reference. Having lived in England for half a year prior to his American journey and having met there people who had contacts with the colonies, he had some idea also of their feelings.

Kalm ascertained that the success of colonists in America was based not only on improved economic opportunities but also, above all, on a social system that offered protection as well as freedom. Everyone who acknowledged God as the creator, protector and supreme sovereign and did not himself or incite others to seek the overthrow of the government and legal order, was permitted to settle and make his living under the law, no matter how eccentric his religious beliefs might be. "Everyone here, as far as his life and property are concerned, is protected by the law and enjoys such freedom that one might say they are kings in their own houses; it would be hard to say if anyone could hope for or attain greater advantages," wrote Kalms in his travel diary. However, every land has its advantages and disadvantages. In respect to nature, America had its bleak side and its cultural development was only beginning.

Great Britain's American colonies were viewed by the mother country as being in a submissive state but, compared with the other colonies, they appeared almost independent, with their laws and governments of their own. At the head of each colony was its governor, representing the mother country, who with the popularly elected assembly decided community affairs, enacted legislation, and levied taxes. The assembly convened in general only once or twice a year at the invitation of the governor. The relations between the governor and the inhabitants were often strained and contentious. The governor had the power to dissolve the assembly, but the latter was able to control the funds from which his salary was paid. The governor's salary was not dependent entirely on the good will of his subjects because he

received the fees paid for licenses to operate taverns, marriage licenses, passports, etc.

The British colonies in North America were not dependent on each other, having their own laws, finances, and government; and since in addition, there was discord between the governors and the people, such a situation created serious problems in times of war. When a bordering province was attacked, the more distant province might take no notice and even continue to carry on trade with the enemy. Kalm characterized vividly and described by citing many examples the tensions between the British and French colonies. From the English point of view, it would not have been difficult to overpower the French-Canadian colony, but, to Kalm's mind it would not have been wise. The constant threat from the French colonists against the poorerly guarded British colonies prevented the bonds between the colonies and the mother country from being severed completely. This state of affairs in the colonies did not last long, however, because in 1763 England conquered Canada and the French threat was eliminated.

The British colonies became rapidly stronger in the 18th century in population as well as in wealth without lagging far behind the mother country in these matters. The Crown's grip was tightened as the colonies grew in strength and importance. Politically, the colonies were virtually independent, but economically they were tightly bound to work for the benefit of the mother country. They were not allowed to establish industries that might compete with those in Great Britain; all valuable metals had to be shipped to England; all the foreign trade of the colonies was controlled by the mother country. Chains like these chafed the colonials, a growing number of whom were of other than English origin.

Kalm analyzed all the essential features of that period to which historians frequently return in attempting to explain the American Revolution and the birth of the nation. The prevailing historical picture contained the friction between the colonies, the threat from Canada, the violence along the borders and the part played by Indians in it, the disagreements between the representative assembly and the governors, the economic and political tensions between the colonies and the mother country.

Studies of American history have taken notice of Peter Kalm's travel journal, which related that he had often heard Englishmen and colonists born in America as well as new settlers openly predicting the formation of an independent government by the American colonies of England in thirty, forty, or fifty years. Kalm's journal provides significant evidence of the increased tensions between the colonies and the mother country and far-reaching predictions about the future, made decades before the Revolution and many years before the English began to harass the colonies with customs tariffs and stamp taxes. The Finnish observer's record would be of less value

if it contained only his own speculations. The predictions did not originate with him, but he felt that they ought to be taken seriously. The historical evidence provided by Kalm's journal is of great weight. Although he does not mention anyone by name, it can be rightly assumed that his prophecy was based on the judgment of people with whom he most often conversed. Interesting in this connection is an article by his friend Benjamin Franklin published in 1751 and entitled "Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries etc." In it, Franklin predicts the growth of the American population to exceed that of the mother country as well as a shift of the center of the British Empire to the New World. In printed form, of course, opinions were not expressed as freely as in private discussions.

Hot disagreement about the advantages and disadvantages of independence prevailed until the very final phase. In the middle of the century, the idea of independence had not ripened fully; its realization was not yet necessary or desirable nor did anyone know how it could be carried out, but in some circles even at this early date, the conviction was held that developments were moving inexorably toward eventual independence.

Kalm's journal, which was translated as early as the 18th century into many languages, increased to a substantial degree knowledge about America among Europeans, and influenced greatly prevailing conceptions of America. America had an inspirational effect on the European intellectuals, and this enhanced their interest in Kalm's observations. An informative and realistic picture of North America was offered in Kalm's journal to the reading public of his day. The journal is of lasting importance because it is a primary source of information on the history of the United States and Canada prior to the time of revolutionary political changes. The historical background to the American revolution continues to be a challenge to research because it involves many complex questions and because it had a significant effect on world history. Kalm became an important witness to the earliest stages in the birth of a powerful nation. His detailed notes about the people and their natural surroundings are among the most valuable scientific analyses of the conditions prevailing in the region in the middle of the 18th century.

3. JOHN MORTON, PATRIOT AND SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

One example of the rise to prominence of a family that originated in Finland and became thoroughly Americanized and about whom factual data are available was that of the Mortons, whose most famous representative John Morton, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Home of John Morton, Built 1764. (The American Scandinavian Review 1915).

The Morton family originated in Finland. There exists documentary evidence of this fact. As previously mentioned, the two oldest congregations of New Sweden were Wicaco and Kristina. The former built its church in the area of present-day Philadelphia, the latter farther to the east, by the Delaware River, on a site now part of Wilmington. The Wicaco congregation was mostly Swedish and the Kristina chiefly Finnish. The basis for the division at that time was not the country of origin or nationality of the people but the area in which they lived. The churches did not begin to keep records until near the end of the 17th century, when after a long interval Sweden sent clergymen to the colony. In the old Wicaco church records of the dead, there appears the name of Morten Mortenson of Amundsland, who was interred on May 31, 1706. The site is near the city of Philadelphia. He was said to have been nearly 100 years old. The record states that he was born *"in Finland in Sweden"* — that is, in Finland under Swedish rule. His wife, Helena, died in 1713, when she was 97 years old. Their son, Morten Mortenson Jr., from Calconhooken which was near where his father lived, was buried December 23, 1718. He was reported to have been in his 75th year. He was born in Sweden and was eight years old when he arrived in America. At the time these records were made, more than 50 years had passed since the first ship carrying settlers arrived in New Sweden. The information about the ages of the deceased was often only based on the memory of old people and for that reason merely approximate and uncertain.

Morton Homestead near Philadelphia is preserved as a memorial to a distinguished American founding father of Finnish descent (Institute for Migration).

The information about the land of Mortenson's birth need not, however, be questioned.

There remain no records of his home parish or even native province. With a few rare exceptions, that is true of most of the earliest settlers. As young Mortenson was said to have been born in "Sweden", it could have meant either land under Swedish rule or Sweden proper. In the latter case, the assumption would be that his parents had moved from Finland to Sweden before his birth and from there later migrated to America. Since no evidence to substantiate any conclusions exists, it is useless to guess whether Morton's family should be included among Sweden's "Forest Finns", whether they came from Finnish Bothnian coastal area, or whether the ancestral home was elsewhere in Finland. It has been mentioned in some connection that the Mortons belonged to the Marttinen family originally from the parish of Rautalampi but that is mere speculation.

Since it is recorded that the younger Mortenson was eight years old on his arrival to America and that he was 74 upon his death in 1718, it could be assumed that he came to New Sweden about 1652. However, there was no ship that year, but one did sail there in 1654. At that time, after a long interval, the ship Örnen brought the new governor, Johan Rising, and Captain Sven Skute, who was returning from a recruiting mission with a large group of Finnish settlers. The arrival of the elder Morten Mortenson and his son on this particular ship is detailed in American biographies of John Morton.

Other details about the family have been preserved. The younger Mortenson had a son named John Morton. He had married a Mary Archer. Their son was the John Morton who was destined to become a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was born after the death of his father John Morton senior in either 1724 or 1725. His widowed mother married an Englishman named John Sketchley. From his early childhood, John Morton therefore received an English upbringing, and he also became a member of an English church congregation. Sketchley is known to have been a man with a respected status in his community and to have been fond of his stepson. A surveyor by occupation, he brought the boy up to be an enlightened citizen and, like himself, a surveyor. John Morton received very little formal education outside his home.

In 1754, John Morton married Anna Justis, whose background was Finnish—Swedish. They had three boys and five girls, and quite a few of their many descendants have gained distinction. John Morton remained a member of the English congregation and he belonged to the council of church elders, as had his stepfather before him.

In Chester County — in fact, all over Pennsylvania — John Morton throughout his career enjoyed a high reputation and was elected to many positions of public trust. For ten years from 1756 on, and later from 1769 to 1775, he was the elected representative of Chester County to the assembly of the colonial province and later its chairman. He was high sheriff of Chester County for three years, justice of peace, judge in the trial of Negroes, and chairman of the county court of general sessions and common pleas as well as associate justice of the supreme court of appeals of Pennsylvania. His signature also appeared on the colonial monetary bills or negotiable currency in Pennsylvania as a guarantee.

In Pennsylvania as well as the other colonies, there was constant disagreement over the powers of the governor and the assembly representing the people, which had to do with their money, taxes, volunteer army, etc. Two factions appeared, one of which, sponsored by the Quakers, was most loyal to English rule; the other, under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin, defended the rights and freedoms of the colony. John Morton belonged to

the Franklin faction. After his election to the Pennsylvania Assembly his political activity was closely bound up with the cause of American independence.

As a result of the Seven Years' War with Great Britain, France lost its colonies to the British. The constant threat from Canada had prevented the cooling of relations between the British colonies and the mother country, but now the threat was gone. After the war, Parliament in London deemed it necessary to defray the increasing costs of the empire by taxing the colonies. This move immediately provoked vigorous opposition in the colonies, for all the benefits went to the empire and none in any discernible way to the colonies. The policies pursued by the English government and the expectation of further taxation alerted the thirteen North American colonies, which till then had been fiercely divided, to the mounting danger that confronted them all. Materially it touched their purses and their well-being, but behind it all was a vital question of principle: did Parliament, in which the colonies had no representation, have the right to make decisions concerning the property of the colonial inhabitants? In depriving the people of their individual right to make tax decisions, Parliament undermined the political liberties cherished by the colonials. For the first time in the history of the colonies, a group of their representatives met in New York in 1765 to discuss their grievances and draft a stern protest against the imposition of the stamp tax. The action succeeded — the law was repealed. One of the Pennsylvania delegates was John Morton.

When the representatives of the colonies convened eight years later, in 1774, in Philadelphia for the first Continental Congress, the relations with the mother country had deteriorated. No longer were the colonies content to deny the right of taxation to Parliament. In the minds of many, the right of the Crown to make laws governing the colonies was also questionable. There remained, however, a strong body of opinion that wanted to avoid a complete break. When, early in 1776, the bold announcement was made in a widely-read pamphlet that progress toward independence was inevitable, there was widespread disagreement. A few colonies, among them Pennsylvania, opposed action toward this end; elsewhere, opinion was evenly divided. After the British navy seized some American ships, anger began to gain the upper hand.

Early that summer, the Continental Congress began to work on a Declaration of Independence. When voting began in July, it took place according to the colonial procedure, with the authorized majority deciding the position of the colony. At first, nine colonies were in favor of the Declaration, Pennsylvania and South Carolina were against it, the Delaware delegation was divided equally, and New York abstained from voting. Then South Carolina announced itself in favor on condition that the decision

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence of the United States was John Morton of Finnish descent whose name is the fourth in the third column from the right (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

would be carried unanimously. The Delaware delegation agreed in favor when one of its members, who had been traveling, was hurriedly called to return to his place. The final decision now depended on Pennsylvania, whose position finally hinged on one vote. The deciding ballot was cast by John Morton. He was chairman of the Pennsylvania Assembly and it is related that he was late in arriving at the meeting hall. It was his vote that tilted Pennsylvania's balance in favor of the Declaration. Benjamin Franklin, another Pennsylvanian delegate, also of course, favored independence. It was thus that the unanimous decision was arrived at among the colonies.

John Morton's name appears on the Declaration of Independence, which was written on parchment. He was a member of the Pennsylvania delegation to all the Continental Congresses as long as he lived. He worked on many important committees and was chairman of the committee that proposed the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. By the time this document was ratified, he had died. Near the end of his life, he was abandoned by many friends with different political views. On his death bed, he said, "Tell them they will live to see the hour when they shall acknowledge my signing of the Declaration of Independence to have been the most glorious service that I ever rendered my country." These words are written on his memorial stone.

John Morton died in April 1777 and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard in Chester, where there has been erected a nine-foot tall memorial of white marble. In the same city, there is a monument designed by the Finnish sculptor Wäinö Aaltonen and erected in 1938 to commemorate the Finnish settlers of New Sweden. In the Independence Chamber of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, there hangs a simple plaque to commemorate John Morton. The handsome Swedish—American Museum in the same city carries above its entrance the name John Morton Memorial Building. The building stands in an area that was presented originally by Queen Christina to Sven Skute from Kronoby parish in Finland, who was deputy governor of New Sweden. His name also appears on a memorial plaque in Philadelphia.

An American biography of John Morton says: "He was essentially a self-made man, of pleasant social and domestic qualities, sound in judgment, and modest in manner. His character is revealed in his unrelenting stand in favor of colonial freedom, in a state where opinion on the matter was seriously divided."

The memorial of John Morton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, in the cuhrch yard of St. Paul's Chester, Pa. Morton was a descendant of Finnish colonists (Institute for Migration).

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II

The United States during Its First Century of Independence as It Appeared in Finnish Print (1776—1880)

1. THE RISE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE FINNISH KEN (1776—1850)

When the British colonies in North America declared their independence and proved their ability to keep their independence in their armed struggle against the mother country, people all over Europe sat up and took notice. Interest in the transatlantic struggle was stirred even in Sweden, from where officers set out to fight against the British side by side with the colonists. A prominent Finnish officer named Georg Magnus Sprengtporten also intended to go to America as a mercenary. Even though Sprengtporten did not make good his intentions,[1] the fact that he had entertained them does prove, at any rate, that news about America trickled to the Finns, too.

After the United States became independent, the slight interest in American affairs felt in Finland seems to have died out almost entirely. The members of the faculty of the Turku Academy undoubtedly knew something about America, and graduates of the academy had a rough idea, perhaps, where America was situated. Besides, Finnish sailors sailed now and then

in North American waters; but on the whole at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, information about America was limited to a very small circle of people, and the facts known even to these people were quite scanty.

When the temperance movement, which demanded total abstinence, was born in the United States in the 1820s, it soon aroused interest also in Finland. There were reports in some Finnish newspapers about the American temperance movement as early as the beginning of the decade of the 1830s. And when the crusading American temperance pamphlet entitled *"Juopumuxen erinomaiset edut"* (On the benefits of Drunkenness) appeared in Finnish in 1833, it was circulated in Finland by the thousands.[2] From these crumbs of information, Elias Lönnrot, among others, got the idea of forming in the town of Kajaani a temperance society named *"Kohtuuden Ystävät"* (Friends of Moderation).[3] Another early temperance man, Henrik Renqvist, was receptive to the influence of the temperance work done by Americans, and in his well-known book *"Wiinan Kauhistus"* (The Abomination of Liquor) he makes references to the achievements of Americans in the field of temperance work.[4]

The American temperance movement did not inspire the Finns to work up any national movement of their own. But the very fact that printings of "Juopumuxen erinomaiset edut" continued to appear in Finland even at the end of the 19th century serves as an indication that the principles of the American temperance movement were regarded by Finnish advocates of temperance as acceptable models up to that late date, when the temperance movement emerged as one of the most important social movements of the time in this country.

The acceleration of passenger traffic and communications in the middle end of the 19th century serves as an indication that the principles of the Ameri- the railroad train and the telegraph led to a marked intensification of reciprocal relations between Europe and America. The United States was undergoing a period of rapid growth. The country was fast becoming industrialized, and at the same time settlers kept moving westward. The westward expansion was augmented by the steady stream of immigrants entering the United States from Europe.

The firming up of contacts between Europe and America signified in practice also that in mid-century more and more information about America began to reach Finland. The dissemination of this information was assisted by the press, which at the same time had begun to grow out of its swaddling clothes. America's share of all the foreign news printed in Finnish journals amounted to only a few per cent, but an examination of the news concerning America reveals clearly that the significance of America from the Finnish point of view was changing. The following tabulation shows how often a

certain newspaper published in the city of Turku, *"Åbo Underrättelser,"* included items about the United States in its columns from 1840 to 1860.

Year	*No. of items*	*Items per issue*
1840	4	0.04
1841	1	0.01
1842	—	—
1843	5	0.05
1844	6	0.06
1845	4	0.04
1846	3	0.03
1847	1	0.01
1848	7	0.07
1849	19	0.19
1850	27	0.26
1851	23	0.23
1852	41	0.40
1853	37	0.36
1854	23	0.23
1855	40	0.39
1856	30	0.30
1857	40	0.40
1858	30	0.29
1859	20	0.20
1860	34	0.22

This tabulation shows that up to the end of the 1840s, news about America was given space in the Turku newspaper cited completely at random. Thus, as late as 1847, only one news item having reference to the United States appeared in this paper during the entire year; it dealt with the Mexican war. By 1849, however, the number of items had increased to 19, and in the 1850s it varied between 20 and 41 a year.

It would therefore appear as if news material dealing with the American scene was regarded as considerably more important at the end of the 1840s than earlier. No central position was gained by news coming from the United States, however, for even during the 1850s there were still years when only one newspaper out of five gave even passing notice to American affairs.

The news material relating to the United States changed in the 1840s in content at least as much as it did in quantity. At the beginning of that decade, news about the United States was published either just at random or if it had a sufficiently bizarre twist. At the end of the same decade, attention was paid in the choice of news, on the other hand, to the more

general significance of the content. Thus, in the early 1840s, no mention was made in the newspapers of Finland on the whole about the presidential elections in the United States; but by the end of the decade there were frequent references in the press to approaching American elections, and the method of choosing the new president was also likely to be deseribed. Newspaper editors in Finland had begun to grasp the fact that the United States was emerging as a new major power. An article appearing in one Turku journal in 1848 contained these observations:

"... Considering the rapid development that has taken place lately in the United States, both intellectually and materially, and considering the important place the United States has held and will continue to hold to an even greater extent in world history ..."[5]

It was realized that the United States was growing into a future political power. Thus, at the end of the 1840s, newspapers were already speculating on the effects of the gold discoveries in California on the development of world trade.[6] A certain shipping firm in Turku, again, took up for serious consideration the question of how to extract the most profit out of the economic boom set into motion by the discovery of gold in California.[7] The crisis that overtook the American economy some ten years later became so well known in Finland that some of the newspapers took to following overseas economic developments almost weekly.

Emigration, too, was a matter that caused interest in the United States to awaken. Of primary significance from the Finnish standpoint was the fact that the numbers of emigrants departing for America from Sweden and Germany were on the increase. Since the Finns had lively contacts with Germany and Sweden, information about emigrant departures spread to Finland. A large proportion of the emigrants leaving Sweden in the 1840s were still idealists belonging to the educated class who, dissatisfied with conditions in their own country, saw America as a land of unlimited opportunities. Among the German emigrants, on the other hand, were political refugees, who sought sanctuary in the United States, particularly in the year 1848. Emigration to America under such circumstances appeared to be some kind of pursuit of freedom and new opportunities.

Emigrants departed from Finland, too. The Finns leaving their homeland were primarily sailors, among whom jumping ship became absolutely the thing to do during the California gold rush. In the 1850s and early 1860s, the number of Finnish seamen pitching camp on American soil could probably be counted in the hundreds. A certain amount of interest in migrating to America was also felt in the larger Finnish cities, Turku, in particular.[8]

Contributing to the awakening of interest in America among the Finns was the fact that elsewhere in Europe as well America was the object of

much admiration around this time. This became evident in the circumstance, for example, that newspapers began to print frequent articles about America. Also travel literature describing America became popular all over Europe during this period. Interest was further inspired by the Mormons, whose missionaries began to arrive in Europe in the middle of the century. When some of them made their way to Sweden and Denmark, it looked as if Finland, too, might fall into their range of influence. All these factors had the effect of stirring the interest of educated Finns in America and causing them to procure literature on America printed abroad.

Of the works dealing with America to reach Finnish readers, the most important, perhaps, was Alexis de Tocqueville's *"De la démocratie en Amérique,"* about which one Finnish periodical remarked in 1877: ". . . thirty years ago, this book was in the hands of every educated person."[9] It has also been said that, on the strength of this volume, Tocqueville "was the most important apostle of a democratic civil society in Finland, next to Snellman,"[10] and even to Snellman, Tocqueville's work on America was an important source of ideas.[11] Among students, too, Tocqueville was quite popular. In fact, in the University of Helsinki, this work was on the shelves of at least three student union libraries. The censorship, to be sure, included Tocqueville's work in the list of banned books as early as 1840, but the ban probably did not, at least, reduce its popularity, although the censorship orders most likely made its acquisition troublesome.

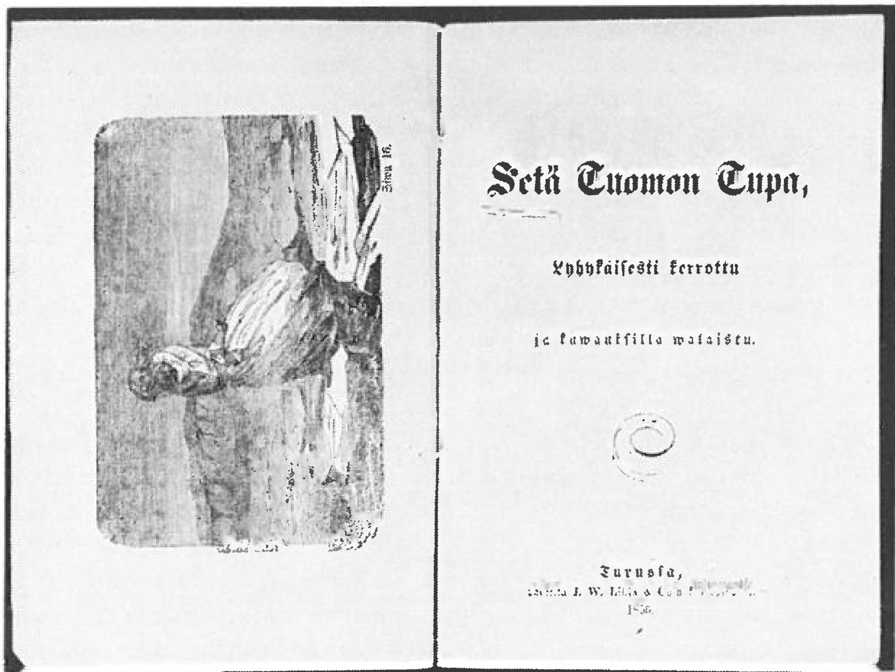
In addition to Tocqueville's work on America, highly important sources of information were P. A. Siljeström's *"Resa i Förenta Staterna"* (A Ttrip to the United States), which appeared in 1852—54 and Fredrika Bremer's *"Hemmen i den Nya Verlden"* (Homes in the New World), which was published in 1853—64. In the accounts of Siljeström and Bremer, the United States appeared in at least as favorable a light as in Tocqueville's volume. And if the literary criticism of the 1850s can be relied upon, Siljeström's book in particular was very favorably received in educated Finnish circles. Siljeström's book ended up, however, on the list of banned works.

Educated Finns seem to have acquired a taste for literature about American Indians as early as the middle of the 19th century. Reviewing the book *"De första nybyggarne i Amerikanska vestern"* (The First Pioneers in the American West), which was published in 1857, J. V. Snellman notes that "the reader knows already from the novels of Irving and Cooper that in the wilds of North America there is a terror-inspiring danger in the way of settlement — the Indians."[12] In any case, it can be concluded from Snellman's statement that he had himself become acquainted with the output of Irving and Cooper and that in the 1850s a front-ranking Finnish intellectual of his caliber could indulge in reading about Indians; and there appears to be no reason to suspect even that Snellman's observations about his readers were

not valid. Thus a certain prominent Finnish bookstore distributed around mid-century 151 copies of Cooper's works.[31]

Translations into Finnish were also done of literature dealing with America. In 1846, there appeared a book by Otto Tandefelt under the title of *"Kristopher Kolumbuksen elämän waiheet eli historja hänen purjennoista ja Amerikan löytäminen"* (The Life of Christopher Columbus or a History of His Voyages and the Discovery of America), and in 1843 and 1849, a booklet about an Indian woman titled *"Wanha Saara Amerikassa"* (Old Sarah in America). In educated Finnish circles, these translations aroused scarcely any interest. The amount of information offered to their readers by these books was, furthermore, very small. A far greater impact in Finland was made, on the other hand, by Harriet Beecher-Stowe's story *"Uncle Tom's Cabin."*

The Finnish version of Harriet Beecher-Stowe's famous work appeared in 1856. A few years earlier, the book had been read in Finland in a Swedish-language edition. This propaganda volume seems to have served effectively as propaganda in Finland, too. In "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the



Setä Tuomon Tupa,

Lyhykäisesti kerrottu

ja kuwauksilla walaistu.

Turussa,

Harriet Beecher-Stowe published in 1850 the famous story "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which was translated into Finnish some years later. In the picture the title page of the book published in 1856.

United States did not appear to advantage, but in stimulating interest in American life, this work was undoubtedly of considerable significance. Its popularity was due, to be sure, even at this stage, partly to the fact that it "came from the country toward which all eyes are nowadays turned." At any rate, this work was quite well known in Finland, too; in the spring of 1853, one bookstore in Helsinki ordered nearly 200 copies to be put on sale.[14] In addition to the Swedish-language edition, the book was also marketed at the same time in the original English and in a German version.

In the introduction to the Finnish translation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," slavery is described in highly dramatic terms. The Finns are even urged to pray for the Negroes: "Pray to God that he might have mercy on those wretched Negroes and soon make an end to their slavery!"[15] One Finnish immigrant in the United States recalled the book by remarking that "whoever has read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and has never seen a Negro must imagine that the only difference between a black and a white man is in the skin."[16] Decades later, the work was still remembered by pointing out that "our parents have all read it in their youth with tears in their eyes and their hearts overflowing with sympathy."[17]

By mid-century, the United States had become a country to which "all eyes . . . turned." Very soon after this, the United States also became a country that excited much admiration in Finland.

2. AMERICAN SOCIETY AS THE IDEAL OF FINNS IN THE 1850s

On the basis of the works of Cooper and Beecher-Stowe, the estimate can be made that by the 1850s the number of people in Finland who had read literature dealing with America had risen to at least a few hundred. On the other hand, it is not possible to determine the proportion of the readers for whom the United States represented more or less a model state. It can nevertheless be said that in the 1850s there were people in Finland in whose eyes the United States stood out as the ideal society, and it can also be shown that the admirers of the American social order included people of considerable distinction.

One of the wholehearted friends of America in Finland was S. G. Elmgren, chief librarian of the University of Helsinki. His post made of him quite a conspicuous public figure. In his political outlook, Elmgren was a moderate liberal. As a youth, he had, to be sure, been regarded even as a radical; but by midcentury, unlike the ideas he had stood for earlier, he himself no longer qualified as a leader students at large were eager to follow.[18] Elmgren's favorable attitude to the United States appears in many

of his book reviews. In his review of Siljeström's aforementioned book "Resa i Förenta Staterna," Elmgren observes that its contents are new to most readers, for most Europeans had not "till now" bothered to learn "why everything succeeds so well for the inhabitants of North America." Elmgren's explanation was that the people in America had put eager effort into the development of schools and education.[19] He also reviewed quite a few other works about the United States, which indicates the deep interest he took in American affairs.

The admiration felt by Elmgren for the United States is revealed most clearly in an article he wrote in 1853 under the title *"Nittonde seklets folkvandring"* (Migration of the Peoples in the 19th Century). In it, he observes that what is involved in the emigration to North America is not merely a transfer of a certain mass of people from one continent to another but primarily the fact that a few million indifferent, lazy and melancholy people from Europe become energetic, industrious and confident citizens just as soon as they have crossed the Atlantic and soaked up into themselves the refreshing social spirit of North America. "A good example is contagious; the freedom to be master of one's own destiny gives strength." In then considering the causes of emigration, he sees the United States as standing in distinct contrast to Europe. In comparing them, he regards the fact in America's favor that over there everything is done according to the will of the people themselves.[20] In Finland of the 1850s, the advantages of democracy could scarcely have been praised more openly without provoking the censor to interfere.

Among the political radicals of the time was C. I. Qvist, editor of the newspaper *Viborg*. In his attitude toward the United States, however, he took by and large the same line as the moderate liberal Elmgren. Qvist followed the migratory movement to America with interest, and he was afraid the migratory fever might spread to Finland too. He felt the government should see to it that the emigration from Finland would not, at least, swell to any large proportions.[21] This fear of his did not, however, make him admire the United States any the less. For in the fall of 1856, Qvist wrote as follows:

"America in our day is the land toward which the gaze of every forward-looking person is directed. Everywhere the idea has been nurtured that it is the land of the future. From the intellectual fatigue, moral and political deterioration, vain struggles against tyranny and barbarism, futile external wars and internal revolutions of the Old World, people gladly turned toward the new social order established in the Western Hemisphere, where tireless activity leads everything forward by giant steps, where every battle against Nature and barbarism culminates in victory . . . Compared to Europe and Asia and everything that history has till now had to show, America is as a matter of fact a wonderful, enigmatic phenomenon, the existence of which

cannot be explained by reference to those spiritual factors that have been known till the present."[22]

In 1857 Viborg opened its columns to many articles dealing with the United States. Most of them were borrowed from foreign newspapers, but Qvist generally provided such articles with introductory remarks, in which the editor's own views were brought out clearly. In the fall of that year, he published a new arlicle of his own on emigration. He was now particularly interested in the reasons behind emigration. It was due in his opinion to discontent of many kinds. The emigration to America was influenced fundamentally also by the fact that it was no longer necessary to move into uninhabited terriories but into a land that was already sharing in the highest benefits of contemporary civilization and all the blessings ushered in by freedom. The United States also had plenty of space to accomodate the entering migrants, and this country was apparently destined to play a prominent part in world history.[23]

Again in 1859, Qvist returned to this pet theme of his, now observing that "whatever might be said of [America's] many mistakes, imperfections and shortcomings, it nevertheless remains quite a unique and novel form of expression of the human spirit."[24]

In his infatuation with the United States, a self-educated bookstore keeper named J. W. Lillja, of Turku, was at least as far-gone as Elmgren and Qvist. As far as his political views are concerned, he can be classified as ultraradical. The first article written by Lillja on America bears as late a date as 1860. It deals with the presidential elections in the United States and reveals that that country had long been a sore problem to the author. His familiarity with the issues concerning the United States is in plain evidence. Lillja notes to start with that while Europe is constantly in the throes of political crises, there is a general tendency to overlook the fact that in the New World too there are regularly recurring crises. By these crises, he means elections, which are accompanied by political agitation characterized by features of anything but a constructive nature. "The opponents of democracy frequently bring to the fore these shady aspects in both this country and elsewhere." Such shortcomings cannot he concealed or even defended, but Lillja nevertheless observes that

"these periodic crises constitute an escape valve, which saves the American society from the unfortunately only too common and unavoidable explosions of our continent, which rock governments and administrative systems, reduce cities to ruins and cause hundreds of thousands of victims to be slaughtered on fields of battle."

In spite of their negative aspects, American elections were great historical events, which it was not fitting to forget.[25]

Lillja's writing makes it altogether clear that he regarded American

democracy as far superior to the European monarchical form of government. In a review composed at the turn of the years 1860 and 1861, the fact emerges plainly once more that in Lillja's mind the United States held quite a special position. The election to the presidency of Lincoln signified to him that humaneness and freedom had gained a brilliant victory on the other side of the Atlantic and that the future of free labor had been made secure in the far-away land of the West. The increasing number of stars in the American flag would become symbols of humanity and liberty, not of slavery and oppression.[26]

J. V. Snellman was Finland's most illustrious statesman in the 19th century. He too had been influenced to a considerable extent by Tocqueville's volume on America in the 1840s, and even during the following decade he appears to have retained a lively interest in the United States. This is shown most clearly in the book reviews he wrote. Snellman reviewed, for instance, the works of Siljeström and Bremer, which he found could open up entirely new vistas to the reader. He considered them to be the first and till then the only works to represent the life of the people in America in a true light. Snellman noted that previously it was American materialism that had been the subject of discussion, along with the dominance of money and materialistic interests. In American schools, however, the humanities were studied more than the practical applications of knowledge. Snellman felt constrained to aver that actually American materialism was on a sufficiently idealistic level in educational work; and his overall impression was that there was not another nation in the world that embraced intellectual pursuits so warmly as did the Americans.[27] Snellman appears to have been quite exceptionally interested in American popular education, in which he saw models to be copied and applied even in Finland.

The United States stirred the imagination of Yrjö-Koskinen too, one of the leading Finnish statesmen of the latter half of the 19th century. The fact that in debates concerning the elementary school system Yrjö-Koskinen drew on examples from the United States[28] indicates that the might also have been an admirer of the American school system. The interest felt by Yrjö-Koskinen in the United States is further proved by the fact that he was the first Finn to undertake a study of the history of the Delaware Finns. The result was a rather short article published in 1863 under the title *"Suomalaiset Delawaren siirtokunnassa Pohjois-Amerikassa"* (The Finns in the Delaware Colony in North America).[29]

The newspapers and magazines published in the Finnish language carried noticeably less news and feature articles about the United States in the middle of the 19th century than did Swedish-language journals. A few little remarks show, however, that many of the editors of the Finnish-language publications and the contributors likewise took a rather favorable stand toward the United

States. For example, a piece in the following vein appeared in the *Suometar* in 1854:

"Over there in North America, everything is tried out and considered, and new methods are the whole time invented there for the joy and benefit of mankind . . . But how wonderfully resourceful and inventive men are these North Americans and, in general, all the Englishmen."[30]

To the writer, the United States appears to have been a wonderland, out of which there came all kinds of remarkable things to make mankind rejoice.

In the 1850s, the *Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia* (Oulu Weekly News) published a serial narrative called *"Toimelan Elias,"* which was probably produced by the editors themselves. The hero of the tale was sent out on his adventures to America too; and since it was the aim of the editors to instruct their readers, the story reveals to some extent also what the editors themselves thought of America. Elias was made to describe the conditions prevailing in the United States in the following terms:

"There's no lack of work over here ever, and as long as you work, you're also paid a good wage; but lazybones get nothing at all. And you're never asked what manner of man you are, either; after you prove you can manage and apply yourself, you establish your worth. Whether a gentleman or anything else, there's no need to be ashamed of doing any kind of work whatsoever. . . Soon I found him to be in esteem who just had the money. No matter where he went, the way was never barred just so long as he could pay for what he wanted."[31]

The talk about the dignity of labor was likely to have been due to the instructional purpose of the narrative — but also to some extent to admiration of the United States. Its democratic system appears also have been, in the authors' opinion, one of the good things about the United States, though the references to this matter are only guarded and indirect. Among the negative features of American scene was, as viewed by the authors, the almighty status of the dollar.

To one Finnish-language periodical, the United States was a realm that "the Creator had ordained first to give the present era a new spirit and then to serve as a place of refuge for all the oppressed people of the Old World."[32] In the same periodical, emphasis was later placed on religious freedom as one of the best sides of the American system. It was noted with satisfaction that "in North America, you won't therefore find any highly paid Pope, provost or consistories." The publication further paid tribute to the organization of public education in the United States.[33]

3. THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR DIVIDES FINNISH OPINION

When the Civil War broke out in the United States in 1861, many a Finnish

admirer of the United States had thrust upon him the realization that in the promised land of liberty there were other crises besides elections. The issue of slavery had been known to be sure, in the light of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book about Uncle Tom; but it did not emerge to the forefront of the American image before the Civil War. Notwithstanding the institution of slavery, the United States remained to the Finns of the 1850s the promised land of liberty. After the Civil War broke out, however, the question of slavery could not longer be bypassed. Besides, the United States was now involved in war, which people had become accustomed to regarding as a phenomenon characteristic only of old Europe.

Information about the American Civil War was transmitted to the Finnish public mainly by newspapers. In describing the progress of the war, the newspapers differed greatly, in both the volume and content of the news carried. With respect to all the journals, however, it can be said that they contained a greater abundance of material about the United States now on account of the war than ever before. The amount of news about the United States was particularly large in 1865. For one thing, the events bringing the Civil War to an end aroused a great deal of interest, and then much space was devoted in journals to describing the events surrounding the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

The American Civil War seems to have split public opinion in Finland down the middle. For newspapers, the United States remained, in spite of the war, the ideal among states. This was the stand taken, at least, by Suometar and Åbo Underrättelser.

maanantaina kokoontuneet Frankfurtin kaupungissa keskustelemaan paraista keinoista Saksanmaan yhteis-asiain hallituksen parantamiseen.

Pohjois-Amerikassa kestää sota yhteis- ja erikois-liittolaisten wälillä entisellään. Yhteis-liittolaisten aseita on kuitenki sota-onni erinomaisesti wiime aikoina auttanut, niin että erikois-liittolaiset owat monessa tappelussa tappiolle tulleet, etenki suuressa Gettysburyn tappelussa, ja moni heidän wäkewimmistä linnoituksistansa on täytynyt antautua yhteis-liittolaisten armoihin.

A news item on the U.S. Civil War in the newspaper "Suometar" on November 28, 1863 (University Library at Helsinki).

In a review of the events of the previous year published at the beginning of 1866, Suometar observed that the war had ended in the triumph of liberty and justice. The newspaper felt that Vice-President Johnson was carrying on the work of Lincoln skilfully. Johnson's administration offered proof of the fact that "in free countries, a good cause does not depend on any one person, no matter how noble and great." Suometar stressed further that Lincoln and Johnson had risen from the lower levels of society to the top on their own power. It applied to Lincoln the epithet "the man with the hoe from Illinois" and to Johnson "the Tennessee tailor."[34]

Lincoln was held up by Åbo Underrättelser as the symbol of the free American state and country. Even the boldest imagination could not have foreseen the material progress made by this country; it was unprecedented in the history of all times and all lands. In conclusion, the newspaper expressed the hope that Lincoln's free spirit would spread over the world.[35] The return home of the armies was described with equal solemnity: the citizen had fulfilled his duty as a soldier and he had no desire to play the game of war. That is why he exchanged as soon as possible his rifle for a plow.[36]

Helsingfors Dagblad and *Helsingfors Tidningar* took a very pessimistic view of the future of the United States at the end of the Civil War. When Lincoln was assassinated, Helsingfors Dagblad wrote a glowing tribute to the deceased, but elsewhere in the same paper it was conjectured whether the United States would trust in that drunk, Vice-President Johnson, or whether to get rid of him it would fall back on a military dictatorship. Moreover, the paper was not at all sure whether anybody could now carry out to a finish the emancipation of the slaves.[37] Helsingfors Tidningar wrote in similar terms. It likewise gave Lincoln high marks — but it did not believe in the future of American democracy. The paper therefore pointed to the possibility that General Grant might set up a dictatorship in the country, and it felt that Vice-President Johnson had no other qualifications for office than a democratic way of thinking and public support. Otherwise, his skill in the crafts of statesmanship was slight.[38]

4. LITERATURE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES IN FINLAND IN THE PERIOD 1865—1880

The illusion of the perfection of the American political system had thus been shattered. Interest in the United States was, however, by no means extinguished. American literature began after the end of the American Civil War to find its way more and more to the Finnish market, and the beginning of emigration from Finland stirred the curiosity of many people about the affairs of the great democracy across the Atlantic.

More literature than before dealing with the United States began to appear on the Finnish market. A large proportion of it was translated into the Finnish language too. On the other hand, no work appearing between 1865 and 1880 seems to have scored a success comparable to that of the books by Tocqueville, Siljeström and Harriet Beecher-Stowe in the 1840s and 1850s. The content of the books was now essentially different from what it had been in the earlier decades. Whereas the best sellers of the 1840s and 1850 had been informative works inspired by a kind of crusading spirit, the most popular books about the United States to appear in the 1860s and 1870s were either stories of adventure or novels.

Literature about the Indians and the Wild West spread to Finland, at least in the Swedish language, as early as the 1850s. In the same decade, the newspapers also featured articles and serial narratives, like "Toimelan Elias," which were full of the romance of the Wild West. It was not, however, until the 1860s and 1870s that Wild West literature, properly speaking, made its breakthrough in Finland.

The trailblazer of Finnish Wild West literature appears to have been the two-part work *"Kuwaelmia Amerikasta"* (Tableaux from America),[39] which was published in 1863—1864, as written "by adaptation" by one J. Bäckwall. "By adaptation" *(mukaellen)* is apparently meant that Bäckwall had used as a model some foreign work dealing with life in America. In any case, his two volumes give a colorful account of the hard life of the settlers on the American frontier and of the wars fought against the Indians. In producing this work, Bäckwall laid the basis for the vocabulary of the literature on the American Indians appearing in the Finnish language.

Bret Harte and James Fenimore Cooper rank among the most celebrated writers about the American frontier of their time. After failing to strike it rich in the gold fields of California, Bret Harte turned into a newspaper man and then took to writing short stories with a Californian setting. Thanks to the popular interest in California, he became an instant favorite of the American reading public. In the 1870s, his range of influence extended all the way to Finland. In 1874, there appeared the Finnish version of his collection of short stories "Tales from the Gold Fields of California" under the title of *"Tarinoita Kalifornian kultamaalta,"*[40] and it was quite favorably reviewed in *"Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti"* (Literary Monthly Journal). The critic remarked of the first part of the work that "through his fresh and lively descriptive style, Bret Harte must surely have a wholesome effect on Finnish literature."[41] In discussing the second part of the work, the critic only concerned himself with the quality of the translation.[42] The editors of *"Suomen Kuwalehti"* were likewise taken with Harte's short stories, eight of which this periodical published in the years between 1874 and 1878; and about the author himself, it was observed that 'he

pleases us irresistibly, delights us with these objects of his narratives."[43]

Translations of Cooper's novels began to be made at the end of the 1870s. The first of the Finnish versions appeared in 1879; it was *"Kuwauksia metsäelämästä siwistyksen äärimmäisillä rajoilla eli Natty Bumbon elämänwaiheet Pohjois-Amerikan indianien parissa"* (Accounts of Life in the Woods at the Extreme Frontiers of Civilization or Events in the Life of Natty Bumbo among the North American Indians).[44] "Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti" reviewed this work quite warmly, affirming:

"...This book is truly for youth: for the boy who seeks life and nourishment to sustain his growing spirit. For such a one, more suitable reading can scarcely be provided than these accounts of fighting and danger, which in the manner of an epos show 'quid virtus et sapientia possit,' and are composed with such a naturalness and truthfulness as to have the effect of having sprung from the events themselves. In an atmosphere like this, it is healthful for the youthful phantasy to exercise itself, with the fresh breeze of the forest blowing, out of the range of the stale air of decay of civilization."[45]

The view expressed by "Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti" indicates that in the 1870s the literature of the Wild West was starting to be regarded primarily as literature for young people. Cooper's books probably very soon found their way on to the shelves of rural libraries. This is indicated by the fact, for instance, that the library of Turku University in the 1920s acquired its copies of Cooper's first novels translated into Finnish from the old lending library of the small rural commune of Kustavi. Novels by Cooper have appeared in Finnish translation from time to time since 1879. *"Wiimeinen mohikaani"* (The Last of the Mohicans) came out in 1881 and *"Wakooja, romantillinen kuwaelma Pohjoisamerikan wapaus-sodasta"* (The Spy, a Romantic Account of the North American War of Independence) the following year. In the Finnish versions of Cooper's works, the Finnish terminology of Wild West literature formulated by Bäckwall began to crystallize into nearly its present form.

The popular interest in Wild West literature — specifically, stories about Indians — is also indicated by articles and pieces of fiction published in certain periodicals. Thus *"Kyläkirjaston Kuwalehti"* (Village Library Pictorial) in 1873 printed a picture of *"An Indian and His Defeated Foe,"* in connection with which the reader was given basic information about the Indians. The Indians were described as a nation of savages, who live "in the dismal wild forests of America." When the Europeans invaded the territories in which the Indians lived, these natives had withdrawn "into the deepest wildernesses of the land, where they have ever since lived skirmishing eternally with the civilized settlers." The Indians were scantily clothed, and as weapons they still used the bow-and-arrow: "With these apparatus slung across their shoulders, they wander through the wastelands

and the woodlands, shooting beasts to feed upon and hunting down their enemies." This picture showed an Indian who had just removed the scalp of a white settler he had slain.[46]

In 1875 "Suomen Kuwalehti" for its part published a piece titled *"Atlantin takainen tarina"* (A Tale from Beyond the Atlantic), in which a Finnish seaman and gold-digger named Juho Korpeinen was put through his paces adventuring in Indian country. The substance of the tale was probably borrowed from some foreign source, but the editorial staff in any case worked up the material as a whole into a new shape.

In addition to Wild West literature, the novels of Harriet Beecher-Stowe were also read to some extent in the 1870s. In 1874, there appeared *Vaimoni ja minä eli Harry Henderson'in elämäkerta"* (My Wife and I, or the Life of Harry Henderson)[47] and in 1880, the works *"Urpunen"* (Catkin)[48] and *"Lukinwerkkoja eli pieniä tomupiiloja jotka kotionneamme haittaawat"* Cobwebs or Little Hidden Stores of Dust that Disturb the Happiness of Our Home).[49] The first-mentioned work was accorded unqualified recognition too upon its publication,[50] but the novels of Beecher-Stowe no longer achieved the same kind of success as in the 1850s. Her books were apparently read to some extent in the countryside too, for orders for them came from rural lending libraries.

Besides translations, a few works by Finnish authors were published in which the United States figured in one way or another. The most important of these was a work in the Swedish language titled *"Från Förenta Staterna,"* which, based on letters sent from the United States by one Felix Heikel, also appeared in a Finnish version under the title *"Yhdyswalloista"* (From the United States).[51] The review of this book in "Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti" said it was welcome because there was a scarcity of non-fictional literature dealing with the United States in Finland. The significance of the volume and the merits of the author were lessened in the critic's opinion, however, by two things. For one thing, the author was still caught in the spell of the uncritical admiration of America prevalent in the 1850s. For another thing, the ideas aired in the book had been taken, in the reviewer's view, from Lefebvre's work *"Paris en Amerique."*[52]

In the foregoing, it has already been pointed out how Yrjö-Koskinen had published in 1863 a study designed for the average reader on the Finnish settlers in the Delaware valley. In addition, booklets with a popular format dealing with the United States appeared in a series called *"Tietovarasto Kansalle"* (Store of Knowledge for the People), the first number of which bore the title *"Kristoffer Kolumbus eli Amerikan löytö"* (Christopher Columbus or the Discovery of America) and the second *"Yrjö Washington, maansa wapauden perustaja"* (George Washington, Founder of the Freedom of His Country).[53]

As media for news about the United States, newspapers were, of course, among the most important. The ones published in the national capital of Helsinki and "Åbo Underrättelser," which appeared in the former capital of Turku, followed developments in the United States actively. In featuring articles dealing with the United States, again, the papers published in central Finland and northern Finland did not fall behind the press based in the capital. *"Keski-Suomi"* (Central Finland) and "Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia" published such articles frequently. Certain issues of "Keski-Suomi" devoted as much as over half the space in its columns to material touching on the United States in one way or another, and sometimes this paper even had a separate department called *"Pikku uutisia Amerikasta"* (Little News Items from America). The most diligent contributor of articles on America to journals appearing in central and northern Finland was an emigrant named Alexander Leinonen, who had settled in the United States in 1869. Articles and serialized stories written by Leinonen came out by the dozen during the decade of the 1870s.

5. THE AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM AROUSES INTEREST IN THE 1870s

Reforms were introduced in the Finnish school system during the 1860s and 1870s that were largely inspired by foreign models. It cannot, to be sure, be said that American models had any decisive influence on the development of Finnish schools, but going back all the way to the 1850s the school system in the United States was a source of interest in Finland. It has been pointed out in the foregoing that Snellman and Yrjö-Koskinen took quite a favorable attitude toward American schools. Elmgren likewise held the American school system in high esteem: in *"Litteraturblad"* in 1852, he notes that German educational conditions have usually been regarded as worthy models by the Finns, although even a brief glance at the American scene sufficed to show that American schools were much better than German ones. In America, the teaching of many subjects was avoided, whereas in Germany such teaching was common. In American schools, the number of subjects taught was small, but these subjects were selected with an eye to usefulness in the pupil's life ahead. Later, Elmgren went on to praise the neatness and attractiveness of American schoolhouses.[54]

During the decade of the American Civil War, educational conditions in the United States were brought up in Finland somewhat less frequently, perhaps, than in the preceding decade. Nevertheless, even in these years, articles obtained from foreign newspapers were published that cast light on the principles underlying the American school system. Thus, in 1867, the "Helsingfors Dagblad" featured an article on a co-educational experiment in

the United States. And the next year, there appeared an article in which a correspondent for a Swedish newspaper described his visit to an American school. A letter sent from the United States was given space in 1867 by *"Kyrligt Weckoblad."* The writer contended that the American school system was "the obedient servant of materialism," but the newspaper itself did not fully go along with this view. To be sure, the newspaper did not care for the materialistic features of American life, but it pointed out that, in spite of everything, American schools might have many features worthy of being adopted as models.[55]

It was not until the 1870s that the schools of the United States were given attention with considerable frequency. A Helsinki lawyer named Eugen von Knorring took to writing about American schools during this period in a very favorable vein, offering as they did opportunities also to girls to study. Otherwise, von Knorring found much to criticize in the conditions prevailing in the United States.[56] Around the same time, *"Uusi Suometar,"* borrowing from the Swedish afternoon paper *"Aftonbladet,"* found the democratic nature of American schools something to admire. It was pointed out that

"instruction in the United States was free of charge and the schools open to the children of both poor and rich, girls as well as boys. Like the perfect mother, the republic considers it its duty to provide all its children with bread . . ."[57]

An even clearer indication of the interest felt by the educated class than newspaper articles dealing with American schools was a trip to the United States made in 1873 at the expense of the State and the University of Helsinki by Felix Heikel, a Helsinki journalist, for the purpose, in the main, of becoming acquainted with educational conditions in the United States. Heikel compiled the letters he had sent from the United States to make a book called "Från Förenta Staterna," in which he notes that it was not until he had arrived in the United States that he discovered a public (i.e., elementary publicly subsidized) school truly deserving the name of a "public school." This type of American school accepted for admission as pupils children totally irrespective of their economic circumstances, social standing or religion. To the writer, it was a wonderful thing to have the children of millionaires, ragged Irishmen and Negroes attend the same school. School attendance was not, however, compulsory, and thus Negroes, for instance, were preferably allowed to remain ignorant than forced to learn to read and write. Also libraries were infused with the democratic spirit, and they were used by ordinary workmen the same as by scholars. Not even an elegant lady need hesitate to take a seat in an American library next to a colored lad.[58]

As Heikel saw it, American schools exhibited features similar to those

characteristic of American conditions in general. In his view, in speaking about America and Americanism, one would do well, first of all, to learn to remember that to obtain the right idea about the United States, all the political and social conceptions learned in childhood must be turned upside down. The most important principle of the American social order was recognition of religious freedom. However, an exceedingly great significance was attached to the words "publicity" and "open to all" too. Self-control, moreover, was a special virtue prized in this democratic society. The free social conditions had a positive effect in many ways on the citizens. The police were not held in contempt and burglaries were so uncommon that doors were not usually kept locked on houses. Even a laborer could feel himself to be a capitalist in a small way, with opportunities open to him to rise to the very top of the social structure. Examples of such a rise on the social ladder were the rail-splitter Lincoln, the tailor Johnson and the leather salesman Grant, who all became elected president. Even when one traveled in a train, it was easy to tell the difference between a European and an American. A European liked to sit with his back to the direction of movement, whereas an American usually preferred to sit facing the direction in which the train was moving. The European faced the past, the American the future. At the end of his book, Heikel observes that freedom is the best teacher of prosperity, culture and manners and that on the strength of such principles America forges confidently ahead.[59]

Although his attitude toward the United States was otherwise negative, Agathon Meurman even, who was known for his conservative views, felt constrained to observe that the American school system was admired in Finland. To this he added, however, that at least as far as the prevalence of the ability to read and write was concerned, "Prussia at present is doing better than the United States."[60]

The discussion about the American school system extended even to papers published in country towns. Thus the *"Borgå-Bladet"* of the town of Porvoo published on the basis of information drawn from a journal in Sweden, an article called *"Den fria kyrkan och den fria skolan i Amerika"* (The Free Church and the Free School in America). This article contained the same sort of praise as Heikel's book did. In American schools, the article noted, children were educated irrespective of their social standing, race or creed. The children of Whites and Negroes, rich and poor sat shoulder to shoulder on the same benches, singing of the stars and stripes and the golden eagle symbolizing their nation.[61]

Swedish sources were also used by the *"Ilmarinen,"* a newspaper published in the lake-country town of Kuopio, when in 1879 it eulogized the democratic character of American schools. According to this paper

"... in the education of the nation as a whole, the improvement of all

levels of the population, there is the principle that has been adopted as the guideline for organizing the schooling in North America is to give every citizen sufficient learning in all the branches of knowledge . . . which are deemed necessary in private as well as public life . . . These schools are based on the principle that they must educate young men and women to comprehend the age and the land in which they live as well as the purpose of the Nature surrounding them and for that reason instill in them knowledge that does not specifically prepare a person for any special walk of life but that is of great value to every enlightened citizen, whether he be statesman, teacher or plowman."[62]

The "Ilmarinen" commended the Americans also for the fact that they sacrificed for the benefit of their school system proportionally more funds than did the Europeans. The methods of instruction applied in America were also described by the paper as commendable. They suited

"well the practical character of the nation. All knowledge is acquired in a natural way and developed through reflection without taxing the memory too much. The purpose of instruction in America is the sharpening of the power of comprehension and the ability to think. It is known that in this way more men of a practical turn of mind, more of strong will power than if young minds be burdened with a dead load of memory exercises . . .[63]

The educational ideals gotten from the United States had some practical significance too in the 1870s, for the impressions brought back by Heikel from his trip to the New World gave the impetus for the establishment of the first co-educational school in Helsinki. Later on, again, Mikael Soininen, who exerted a decisive influence on the development of pedagogy in Finland, drew valuable ideas from Heikel's book on the United States. The trip made by Soininen himself to America at the beginning of the decade of the 1880s had a further strong influence on his educational ideals.[64]

6. INTEREST IN THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 1870s

The actual breakthrough of the Women's Rights Movement took place in the last two decades of the 19th century, but stands both pro and con began to be taken even earlier. These stands were based expressly on the foreign achievements of the movement and the status of women abroad.

The way the subject was treated in newpaper columns indicates that the women's rights movement too had to some extent been influenced by developments in the United States. To a large extent, what the Finnish papers did was to borrow articles from foreign journals. Though the articles were often introduced merely by a mention of the source and no more, the very publication of such subject matter affords evidence of current interest in it, and in certain cases, perhaps, the appearance of the articles should be interpreted as proof of a desire to influence the thinking of readers along

particular lines. In addition to the articles taken from foreign journals, space was given to numerous letters sent from the United States. From among them, two sent around the year 1860 warrant attention as examples, one having been published in *"Finlands Allmänna Tidning"* and the other in "Åbo Underrättelser."

The person who wrote the letter appearing in "Finlands Allmänna Tidnig" was obviously a Finn belonging to the educated class, who aimed to describe the people in America for the benefit of readers in the Old Country in a sensational light. With regard to the American woman, he observed that she enjoyed certain privileges in comparison with the opposite sex. Thus, if a woman stepped into a crowded bus, some man would have to give up his seat for her. Likewise, in the booking of hotel rooms, women were given special consideration. Girls were brought up in America in a practical way; they associated with boys freely — but, on the whole, properly. And when American women married, they generally became good mothers and housewives. The writer took a somewhat more critical view of the extravagance of American women and their manner of spending leisure time, but by and large his impressions of the women in America were highly favorable.[65]

In 1860, "Åbo Underrättelser" gave space to a letter mailed from New York that had evidently been written by a native, originally, of the city of Turku. The writer had evidently arrived in New York only a few days before, for which reason what he had to say was undoubtedly based on both preconceived notions, carried over from Finland, and first impressions gained after landing in New York. To start with, the writer remarks that in America woman was a goddess, adding playfully: "... not a word about this, though, to the girls of Turku lest our city lose all its adornments." He noticed while riding on a streetcar the sort of privileged status the fair sex enjoyed, for the vehicle was full of women occupying the seats and men standing in the aisle. The respect shown women appeared also in the fact that "over here, a woman does not need any protector or chaperone: she can move about in complete safety everywhere; every gentleman, even if a stranger (and everybody is a gentleman here), is prepared to serve her in all things it might pop into her head to desire." A woman might even arrive at a theater at the last moment. All she has to do is commandeer a seat from some male patron, a stranger even, who might have arrived as much as an hour earlier to make sure of getting a place. Amid his amiable marveling, the writer quotes a Hungarian—American cigar dealer with a less flattering view of American women as "lazy creatures, who loll all day long on a sofa and who are worshipped by the men like goddesses."[66]

In the letters cited in the foregoing, the view taken of the American woman's role is mainly one of wonderment. The writers do not seem to

have really known what attitude to take in principle. This is altogether understandable, considering that there existed no women's rights movement, properly speaking, as yet in those days in Finland. By the 1870s, the matter was better known, and there was a clearer idea of where to take a stand. In the light of the source material used, to be sure, it cannot be said whether the status of the American woman was for some the ideal. On the other hand, for some, the American woman represented precisely that which the Finnish woman ought under no circumstances, to be.

In 1870, the lawyer Eugon von Knorring, who is cited in the foregoing, wrote an article for the lawyers' journal under the title *"En ljussida och en skuggsida qvinnan i Nordamerikas Förenta Stater* (Good and Bad Things in the Position of Women in the United States), at the beginning of which he lists the "facts" known in Finland about the American woman. It was known that the position of the American woman in the family was independent and dignified and that on the streets, public places and transit vehicles she was treated with respect and consideration. Every American man was the protector and friend of every American woman. A woman might travel without fear of danger from coast to coast. This considerate treatment was by no means confined to the upper social classes but was also enjoyed by the women of the lower classes. After this, von Knorring asks why the status of woman should be better in America than in many European coutries, which were culturally nowise lagging behind the United States. The explanation as he saw it was that the American school system opened up opportunities for study also to women. Learning was no monopoly of the male sex, for in line with the American mode of thought women were also fully entitled to a liberal education.

After discussing the educational conditions prevailing in America and having noted that women in America had achieved an important position as teachers and doctors, von Knorring launched into severe criticism. In the light of birth statistics, he concludes that the attitude of the American woman toward childbearing was morally reprehensible. The prevalence of abortions, in his view, threatened the United States with destruction. The reason for this menacing situation was the fact that American women were primarily interested in enjoying life, which made of motherhood in their eyes a downright chore.[67]

The afore-mentioned Agathon Meurman contributed in 1876 to "Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti" an extensive article on questions pertaining to the United States and expressed views about American women quite as stern as von Knorring's. Common to these articles was the fact that, in the opinion of both men, the attitude of American women toward motherhood symbolized the decline of American society and that the point of view adopted by both toward the women's rights issue in general was based on

the Biblical dictum that women should hold their tongue in the congregation. Meurman wrote about the question as follows:

"Since the desire dearest to the wife's heart is luxury of every kind, fine clothes and vain social intercourse, then the family is only a burden, motherhood an annoying obstacle to pleasure. . . Far have we become removed from the time when Americans took pride in the fertility of their wives and rejoiced in large families of healthy children. If the reason for this change of heart were overcrowding of the country and difficulty in the feeding of families, then one might at least, though regretting the fact, understand it. But light-mindedness, which on account of the mere lust for earthly pleasure denies the most deeply rooted and noblest of human sentiments, leads to perdition; and this — thank God — is still mainly a native American condition."[68]

Meurman draws a sharp line between the American woman of yore and that of the 1870s. In his opinion, the former was a symbol of perfection while the latter represented America falling into a deep state of decay. This juxtaposition of two opposing types of women was apparently due to the fact that, on the whole, Meurman viewed the America of his own day as a caricature of the America of the past.

7. THE YANKEE IMAGE IS BORN

To the liberals of Finland, the United States still seemed in the 1870s to have been a country worth the search for examples to follow. At the same time, the United States was also being criticized quite severely, as has already been pointed out in a couple of connections. Since Agathon Meurman's article[69] dating back to 1876 offers a concentrated summary of the negative features attached to American life by its critics, his comments warrant closer examination.

As mentioned in the foregoing, Meurman's point of departure was that the America of his own day was in every respect the reverse of the America of the past. The America of the early days meant for him a great ideal. The qualities possessed by the first emigrants to the New World, as he saw them, were

"uncorrupted habits, honest work and a Christian upbringing. . . They had not frivolously left their fatherland to search for easily gained riches, then to return to enjoy them at lazy leisure. The reason for their departure was simply the oppression that they had suffered in the land of their birth on account of their religion and that they were escaping in going to live in the wild backwoods of the New World, where they were threatened with mortal perils and troubles of all kinds . . ."

The new America, on the other hand, was something else again to Meurman. In his opinion,

”the most regrettable thing is, however, the fact that in the representations received by us nowadays of the American people we can observe no resemblance whatsoever any longer between the esteemed forebears and their descendants. If in the forefathers we sometimes notice almost exaggeratedly stiff solemnity, then in their sons, by contrast, what we almost exclusively see is the prevailing wild spirit of adventure.”

The newest immigrants were judged by Meurman with equal severity:

”The first settlers were people of such toughness of mind as to choose leaving their homeland and facing unknown dangers rather than submitting to religious persecution, while those who came after were generally possessed of the most reckless craving for adventure.”

In analyzing the vices of his own time, Meurman condemned most sternly the materialistic ”go ahead” spirit. Thus he felt that wealth had ”corrupted the original character of the people to an alarming degree.” According to the American way of thinking, the pocketbook had to be filled, if possible honestly — but, in any case, it had to be filled. This greed for riches did not take human lives into account. ”The accumulation of money was man's only aim,” Meurman argued. In his view, the material achievements of the Americans had no worth, however, because they had gained their wealth the same way as ”an army wins on a field of carnage.”

Meurman was further of the opinion that American civil servants were good for nothing. In a democracy, to be sure, it was only natural for both tailors and shoemakers to seek the highest offices in the land too. The democratic system had brought about such a situation in America, however, that adventurers had manned the public offices and for this reason ”the honesty of civil servants was nowhere in the world in such a sorry state as in America, where bribery and every kind of shameful practice for personal gain was quite universal.” It was difficult, furthermore, to make American ”robber office holders” answer for their deeds because they ”held the public purse in their hands and controlled large amounts of stolen wealth, with which they could buy votes and thereby carry on for years on end with their robbing.” Consequently, there prevailed in America ”an appalling decline of public morals.”

As Meurman saw it, something comical was popularly attached to Americanism. Accordingly, he noted that ”the newspaper reader becomes acquainted with the name of the state cited in these times only when his paper contains some quite wild, bizarre or stupid anecdote; it usually carries the headline 'American'.” Sometimes, again, in Meurman's view,

”we are likely . . . to wonder as we read how those free American citizens go about with a revolver in their pocket and also put it to use, for the most trivial reason, on roads and streets; on occasion, we are ready to admire those spirited men, who without waiting for the courts of justice to act, seize their daggers or hangman's rope to dispense swift justice.”

The worst faults in the American character, he thought, were coarseness,

a propensity to violence, cruelty and drunkenness. These faults could be attributed to a poor upbringing at home.

In his article, Meurman also contested the view that Americans constituted a separate race. His argument was that

"on the whole, no new, singular nationalities are created in the world all of a sudden, any more than that old ones vanish quickly. All that peculiar American briskness and energy is in the opinion of many nothing more than the old vigor of the Caucasian race transferred to conditions where it has a splendid chance to develop."

Of the assertions made by Meurman, the one reflecting the most widely held view perhaps was that Americanism displayed materialistic features. There was already a traditional basis for this view in Finland. Considering the events of the year 1840, Topelius in his diary noted that in North America there prevailed the same worship of material values and faith in the power of money as before.[70] Snellman, for his part, observed at the beginning of the decade of the 1850s that "earlier there had been talk of the materialism of America and the omnipotence of materialistic interests there."[71] In the foregoing, the editorial staff of "Oulun Wiikko-Sanomia" has been cited, with the hero Elias Toimela voicing his opinion about America: ". . . soon I saw over here them to be held in esteem who just had money."[72]

After enough connections with America had gradually been established for letters to begin to arrive in Finland, these letters bolstered the notion that America was the promised land of "makers of money." As early as 1859, "Finlands Allmänna Tidning" carried a latter describing the business world in the United States. According to this letter, the American loves "making money" more than having a good time. As soon as an American youth reaches the age of 18 and finishes school, he steps, into the practical world to earn money, which in the United States is an easy thing for anybody willing to work. Older business men, besides, are quite happy to help the novice.[73]

As for the American business man's daily routine, the letter drew the following picture for readers: The business man's main principle is flattery and the upholding of good relations with the public. Therefore, his office too is located in a very modest room, which is entered through just a dark, narrow passageway up a flight of stairs. This is because the business man wants to court the favor of his employees by imitating their mode of living. Achieving popularity among the masses, again, was necessary because without popular support it was impossible to gain a seat in Congress or be elected to any state office. Business men also have their own restaurants, which have been built to please the taste of Uncle Sam. A restaurant of this type is divided into three departments, the first of

which serves oysters. These the business man feeds on ravenously as an appetizer. Then he forks up a few coins in payment and hurries on to the next room, where readymade sandwiches and pastries are served. After buying a couple of sandwiches and tossing over some coins again to pay for them, he rushes into the third room, where different kinds of drinks are available, like sherry or beer. After gulping down a few swigs, the business man flies out chewing on a sandwich. The writer of the letter claims in conclusion that, according to quite a few of his personal observations, the whole lunch operation lasts only three minutes.

The letter published in "Finlands Allmänna Tidning" thus draws mainly a comical picture of the American business man. Another letter, which appeared eight years later in "Kyrkligt Weckoblad," commented sarcastically on the American financial scene. Characteristic of the American, in the writer's opinion, is the fact that all he knows is confined to his own time and his own country. His derisive description of the American runs as follows: "History moves in the past, the American in the immediate present; history refers calmly and respectfully to its old images and pictures, replete with wisdom, romance and poetry, whereas the American rushes about, eternally restless, seeking new means of making money." The consequence of this is that in America there prevail a suffocating materialism and brutality.[74]

Letters like this reached Finland frequently also in the 1870s. For example: "Helsingfors Dagblad" in 1875 published a letter signed with the initials A.a.m. and mailed from Philadelphia which asserted that the only thing separating people from each other in America was money. The almighty dollar is the chief measure of value in the United States.[75] A correspondent for "Åbo Underrättelser," again, wrote in 1876 that "the American does not count his money when he is out to make a name for himself.[76] In a letter sent from the United States in 1877 by J. A. Estlander, a Helsinki physician, the comment is made that there are scarcely any native American artists because the "money-making" society lacks "an inner pulsation and a true love of life."[77]

There are some grounds for Meurman's assertion that newspapers applied to absurd anecdotes the attribution "American." In the 1870s, the fact is, Finnish newspapers really did begin to find space in their columns for tall tales about the strange antics of Americans. The headings over such anecdotes, however, did not at any rate generally carry the tag "American," but simply referred to the subject matter. Even a superficial glance through copies of these old newspapers suffices to make it clear that anecdotes at the expense of Americans were stock in trade of the press in quite some abundance back in the 1870s. The same anecdote, furthermore would often make the rounds of different papers.

A good example of the tall tales told about Americans appeared in the journal *"Tapio"* in 1877. Two men, it seems, were beheaded simultaneously somewhere in America and a certain doctor wanted to see if he could restore the heads to the bodies. In his experiment, though, he made a mistake by picking the wrong head in each case "so that each man got the head of a stranger on his body. — But neither man seemed to have any desire to undo the switch."[78]

The placing of various idiotic and comical happenings in an American setting, even though only in fictitious stories, probably had the effect, in addition to everything else, of making the "Yankee" into a comical character in the popular imagination. Estlander, for instance, in 1878 used the figure of speech: "talks humbug like a genuine American female."[79] Heikel, for his part, observes that it is usually considered characteristic of the American to "chew a quid, spit and walk around with his hat hung down over his neck."[80] According to Soininen, the commonest image carried of the genuine Yankee is that he travels

> "with a revolver at his side, a quid inside his cheek, a hat perpetually on his head and his eyes forever watching for a chance to grab some dollars, no matter where or how."[71]

In the 1850s, the notion was quite generally held that the American way of life was in many respects better than the European. Two decades later, Meurman denied this categorically, even going so far as to argue that no such thing as Americanism existed. And he was by no means alone in holding this view. Thus "Suomen Kuwalehti" ridiculed American beliefs in their own superiority while relating how Chinamen were being persecuted in the United States.

> "How come! — those Americans, who cherish freedom above everything else, now are out to restrict freedom by denying the right to migrate to an entire race of people? Those Americans, who of the proud Caucasian race are the proudest of all, are now terribly afraid of people belonging to an 'inferior' race. . . Strangely fateful would it be if some despised nation belonging to one of those human races supposedly incapable of becoming civilized were, through the power of civilization, to triumph over the very Caucasians that boast about being on the highest level of civilization."[82]

Although a great deal of material dating back to the 1860s and 1870s can be found in which the United States is criticized in many ways, the fact cannot be overlooked that during the very same two decades there also appeared material representing the American scene in a favorable light. For example: in 1869, Yrjö-Koskinen refers to the United States as a "land of the future;"[83] and in 1874, "Suomen Kuwalehti" mentions America as a country that "always hurries so far ahead of us in all ways. . ."[84]

In the 1850s, the United States was the great shining ideal of the

Finnish people in many a matter. During the next few decades, the image of America changed. There continued to be people who looked to the United States as the promised land of everything good. On the other hand, however, there were those who viewed the United States with horror. Specifically in the 1870s, from the Finnish standpoint, the United States appeared to be a country where radical reforms were carried out. For this reason, to those demanding social changes in Finland, the United States could serve as a splendidly suitable model. To Finns with a conservative outlook, however, the United States was now the source and root of all evil. Besides the stands taken toward social reforms, the change in the image of the United States was fundamentally affected by the fact that emigration had started from Finland to the United States. The view was taken that emigration out of sparsely populated Finland was a threat to the entire future of the country. The educated class therefore wanted to impress on the minds of the people on "lower" levels of society that it did not pay to migrate across the Atlantic, and therefore representing the United States in a negative light seemed to be the right thing to do.

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III

The Finns in the Great Migratory Movement from Europe to America 1865—1914

1. INTRODUCTION

The spirit of Western life was aptly defined by the German philosopher-historian Oswald Spengler as a "Faustian spirit." From the very beginning, this spirit was characterized by surging mobility — it found expression in the barbarian conquest of Europe, the crusades, the colonization of the eastern Middle Europe, the voyages of discovery and, at last, the quest for overseas colonies. The incentives for these actions were not only the lust for conquest, missionary zeal, and the thirst for knowledge, but also, in the highest degree, aspirations for wealth and for the spread of power. The forces unleashed have from time to time caused great upheavals in European history. The event of most far-reaching import was the huge wave of emigration to distant lands that, during the span of half a century from 1865 to 1914, bore tens of millions of people from Europe to North America and that brought about the fast emergence of a new world power. The migratory process did not start suddenly. It had a long early history, which can be traced back to the time when Columbus's discovery of a

new continent was making its first impact on the imagination of Europeans.

During the early phases of colonization, several European nationalities were active on the scene: the Spanish, the Portuguese, the English, the Irish, the Dutch and the French as well as, in the area that later evolved into the United States, the Swedes and Finns. Since the 1600 the kingdom of Sweden to which Finland belonged as a grand duchy, was growing into a major European power. The Swedish crown took part in the European conquest of North America and contributed its share to the colonial population. The Finns who settled with the Swedes in the Delaware valley became forefathers of the early white population of the United States.

In early colonial times, the population grew very slowly, however, and at the end of the War of Independence, in the states formed along the eastern seaboard, it did not exceed four million souls, half of whom were English-speaking. During the period of expansion and consolidation of the republic before the Civil War, on the other hand, the population increased eightfold to 31,500,000. The growth was greatly accelerated by the mass influx of people from Europe. From busy harbors like Le Havre, Bremen and Liverpool, sailing ships carried migrants from central and western Europe to the United States to begin a new life.[1]

2. THE GREAT TIDE OF EUROPEAN EMIGRATION, 1865—1914

Even though a substantial number of Europeans did cross the Atlantic to the New World during the early period of United States independence, the real migratory movement did not gain momentum until later. The Civil War certainly weakened the movement for a few years: whereas during the 1850s over 400,000 immigrants landed on American soil each year, during the turbulent years of 1858—63 the annual number of arrivals dropped below 200,000. In the ensuing decades up to World War I, the mean annual population increase in the United States was over a million, of which the greater part was due to immigration. The population increased threefold in half a century; by 1915 it passed the 100,000,000 mark. Statistical records show that between 1860 and 1914 more than 28 million Europeans were admitted to the U.S.[2] The tide of migration was at full flood in the years just before the outbreak of World War I. It has been estimated that in the 100 years between 1815 and 1914, 50 million immigrants arrived in the U.S. At first, the heaviest influx was from the British Isles, Germany and Scandinavia. For example: during the 1860s, 98,4 % of the arrivals were from these countries; in the 1870s, 91,6 %; and in the 1880s, 80,2 %. During these decades, the percentages of immigrants entering from eastern and southern Europe were 1.6, 8.4 and 19.8, respectively. After that, the

proportions were reversed. The arrivals from western Europe and Scandinavia accounted for 48.4 % of the total influx in the 1890s, 23.3 % in the first decade of the 20th century, and 22.8 % in the second decade, while the corresponding figures registered for immigrants arriving from eastern and southern Europe were 51.6, 76.7 and 77.2 per cent.[3]

In these statistics, the Finns were generally classified as belonging to the eastern European group, because politically Finland was a Grand Duchy under the Czar of Russia. More recently, the Finns have been listed among the North Europeans. The number of immigrants from the so-called Nordic countries admitted to the U.S. has been estimated at 2,500,000. The division by nationalities is as follows:[4]

Swedes	1,105,000
Norwegians	755,000
Danes	309,000
Finns	308,000
Icelanders	17,000
Total	2,494,000

Researchers have tried to shed light on the reasons for this mass migratory movement from Europe to America, particularly during the period between 1865 and 1914. Many reasons have been given, and these reasons may be listed under several different headings. Besides, several factors were generally at work at the same time. It should be borne in mind, furthermore, that the tide of emigration consisted of individual human beings. Each individual emigrating from his native land was responsible for the decision to migrate — a decision bound to change his whole life. Each decision was influenced by both conscious and unconscious pressures, which varied from case to case. The motivations were often, perhaps, irrational: investigators, after interviews with immigrants, have listed them under such headings as "longing for or love of adventure". The migrants may have yearned for better living conditions, for the blessings of a freer, more tolerant, more permissive society, for an opportunity to engage in more enterprising activity, for more rewarding work, for material prosperity, for a better chance, in short, to gain happiness. Other influences at work might have ranged from failure in love to flight from punishment for some delinquency or crime. In each case, the reasons for migrating would fall under the heading of "individual factors". The designation means personal, psychological factors.

In addition, there are the various collective factors. These, again, might be basically divided into factors of *"push"* and *"pull"*. This line of thought produces the so-called *push and pull* theory. The explanations springing from this theory are to be sought primarily in the process of historical evolution.

Generally speaking, it might be said that, after the French Revolution and the reign of Napoleon, Europe fell prey to strong reactionary forces. A sensation of political and spiritual confinement had swept through society, and the reaction came as an effort to break the shackles of the system. The reactionary currents in Europe took the form of national liberation movements, agitation to reform living conditions and the gradual growth and spread of revolutionary ideas. Such developments took place particularly in central and western Europe. Simultaneously, in the same areas, the process of industrialization, which started in England, gained increasing strength and momentum. Industrialization in turn had the effect of widening the social gap between workers and employers. Social and labor legislation, in its rudimentary state, provided no means of alleviating the poverty and misery prevailing among the masses of working people. Intensification of the feeling of insecurity was followed by strivings to improve conditions.

When, after the Napoleonic Wars, Europe enjoyed the longest period of peace in the century, there took place an explosive growth in population, with its inevitable result of overcrowding. In 1800, Europe had a population of 174,000,000; a hundred years later, it was 403,000,000. At the same time, increasing use of machinery in industry brought about a relative decrease in the need for human labor. Since agriculture could not absorb the growing population, the consequences were a migratory flow into cities, rural depopulation, the development of slums, increasing unemployment and social congestion. Cultural services did not keep pace with the population growth; they became the privileged property of the well-to-do and the rich, who made up an ever smaller fraction of the population. This, in turn, aggravated the bitterness among the underprivileged. Social discontent spread and grew throughout Europe.[5]

On the other hand, the effect of the so-called pull forces became felt too. The United States, on the strength of its revolution, had become known as a land of enlightened thinkers, who championed the cause of freedom and individual rights. During the early 19th century, the message of the American champions of liberty exercised a strong influence over young Europeans, inspiring them with new ideals. Tidings of the New World's fabulous economic resources drew people of imagination and enterprise across the ocean to seek their fortune. The Civil War, 1861—65, temporarily checked the migratory flow, but after peace was restored it regained strength. Recovery from the havoc wrought by war and territorial expansion called for ever more workers to settle the *"Wild West"*, provide industry with muscle, build railroads and establish cities. Those who had gone before sent back messages to relatives and friends urging them to follow and even arranging tickets for their passage. Enterprises on a large scale, out to recruit fresh manpower, fre-

quently went into action behind the scenes, with the result that labor recruitment became organized along systematic lines, sustained by propaganda, agents and various other means of exciting susceptible minds.[6]

Local circumstances of different kinds naturally affected the inhabitants of the various countries of Europe in a way to prevent any even migratory flow. The volume of emigration varied from country to country and from region to region. Regional factors gave local color to each national group of emigrants and contributed to the formation of ethnic colonies within the American community.

3. THE TIDE OF FINNISH EMIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD, 1856—1914

Finns gradually joined the historical westward movement of peoples from Europe to the New World. As already noted, during the high tide of European emigration, the Finnish share was only one per cent, or 308,000 out of the total of 28,600,000 emigrants. Even at the height of the migratory flow from Finland, in the early 1900s, the Finns never accounted for more than two per cent of the total during this particular period.[7]

Two academic dissertations have been published on the emigration from Finland to the United States. These studies complement each other to a noteworthy extent. The earlier work, produced in 1963 by Anna-Leena TOIVONEN,[8] deals largely with the conditions prevailing in Finland that stimulated the migratory movement. The more recent work, published in 1974 by Reino KERO,[9] is the product of research into emigration as a phenomenon of population mobility. In both studies, matters like the departure of emigrants, the reasons for their leaving home, the circumstances prevailing in the lands of departure and arrival, as well as the long voyage and the problems connected with it are examined as thoroughly as can be reasonably expected from research of this kind. What is missing, however, is an overall review of the resettlement of the Finnish emigrants and their assimilation into American society. Research into this aspect of the subject has been initiated as a joint project by Finnish and Finnish-American historians, and the collaborative outlook appears promising.

4. THE REASONS FOR FINNISH DEPARTURES

Generally speaking, the same reasons as prompted people to pull up stakes elsewhere in Europe to move to the New World underlay the action taken by Finnish emigrants. Anna-Leena TOIVONEN has drawn particular attention to the "push" forces in the Old Country and the "pull" forces

operating in the lands across the ocean. Even though the pull forces are dealt with less thoroughly in her study, she nevertheless reaches the conclusion that among the causes of emigration, "the pull factors of the countries across the ocean have proven to be stronger than the homeland push factors."[10]

In TOIVONEN's view, the push factors in the Old Country consisted mainly of faults and deficiencies of an economic nature. The conclusions in her study are drawn from material gathered in the province of Southern Ostrobothnia (Etelä-Pohjanmaa):

"Asked about their reasons for moving across the ocean, Southern Ostrobothnian emigrants categorically put economic reasons first. Farmers, crofters and rural proletarians left to escape moneyless circumstances. Some left to earn the price of a farm, the money needed to improve a farm already acquired or the money needed for quick repayment of a loan."[11] In many cases, the emigrant intended only to stay a few years in America and then return with the cash to buy a farm.

The background of the scarcity of money was the worsening of conditions in an agrarian society. The population outgrew the limit agricultural production was capable of supporting. During the half-century between the Finnish War of 1808—09 and the years of the Great Famine in 1860s, the population of Finland doubled from one to two million. The population increased faster than the area of cultivated land — until the point was reached where grain used for making bread had to be imported; previously, surpluses large enough for export had been produced. There was simply not enough cultivated land for everybody. Farms that were originally capable of providing a livelihood had to be divided among heirs. The result was the creation of small holdings incapable of supporting a family. Livestock could not be increased to the extent necessary to produce sufficient revenue from dairy farming. The extra sources of income from agriculture dried up. The primary cause was that centuries of constant tar distilling had depleted the forest reserves of the Bothnian region. The effects of the so-called timber fever were similar in the interior of the country, where all the sturdier standing timber was cut to feed the hungry sawmills of Kotka. This happened in the last four decades of the 19th century, before the flourishing shipbuilding and, for the most part, domestic industries became concentrated in urban centers. Bending under economic pressures, the portion of the population not secure in land ownership — tenant farmers, crofters, cottagers, rural workers, servants, dependent lodgers and the like — that somehow managed to get together the price of a ticket on a train or boat (or, in many cases, received such a ticket as a gift) headed for the cities or overseas.

Besides the predominant economic factors, emigrants were motivated

by other considerations too. In 1873, the governor of the province of Turku —and — Pori submitted a report to the Finnish Senate (the central government), in which he cited a number of reasons for the desire of people to emigrate:

"Many look for a chance to leave the country to escape commitments or agreements, the payment of debts, the fulfillment of other obligations, the enforcement of penalties for crimes committed or, in general, the consequences of a frivolous and irregular life."[12]

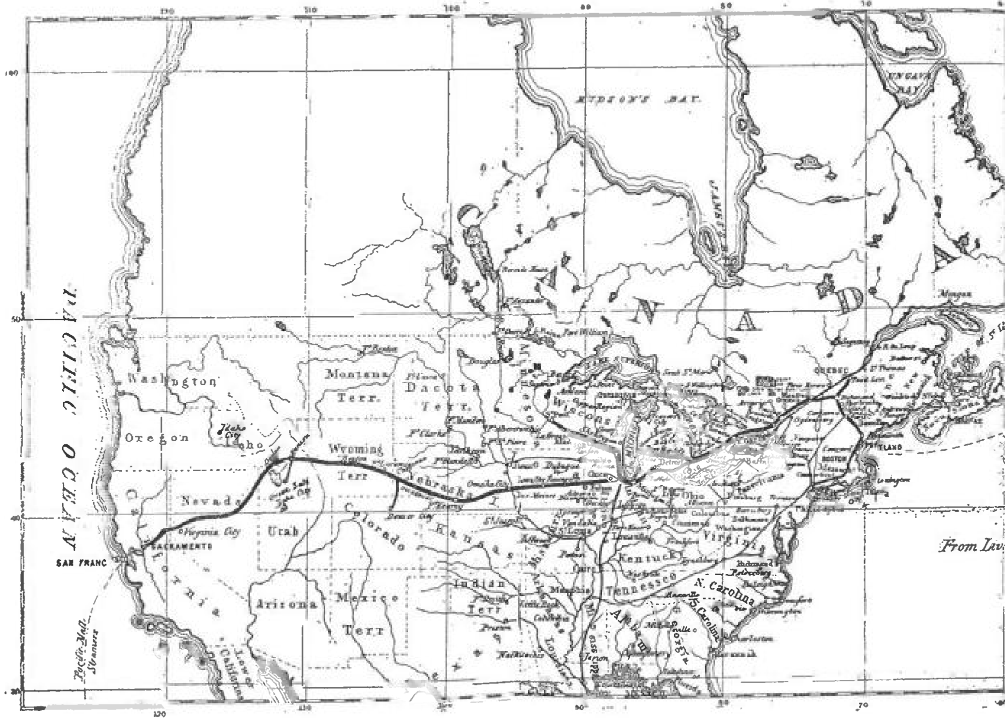
Similar push factors were family disputes, the breakup of marriages, the generation gap between parents and children, the clash of ideas and delinquencies of various kinds. At the turn of the century, in particular, ideological conflicts entered the picture: it was a period of aggravated Russian political oppression, a period when many young Finnish nationalists were repelled by the prospect of being forced to serve as conscripts in the imperial armed forces of the tyrannous Czar.

Added to these factors at the end of the 19th century was legislation that eased restrictions on travel from place to place. The effect was to accelerate movement from rural to urban places; and it also had the indirect effect of spurring restless souls to leave the country. The previously static society was transformed to a state of greater flux. The shift of population from country to town brought about by industrialization is reflected by statistical records. In 1860, the cities of Finland had a total of 110,300 inhabitants; by the outbreak of World War I, in 1914, the number had increased fivefold, to 504,300.

The second group of factors influencing emigration consisted of the forces of pull in Finland too. There was the direct impact of propaganda and active recruitment of emigrant manpower. These factors began to operate in the middle of the 19th century from the Scandinavian countries, making themselves felt at first in northern Finland, then the western coastal area, spreading across the Bothnian regions, the provinces of Southern Ostrobothnia, Satakunta and Varsinais-Suomi, on to the province of Uusimaa and eventually into the deep interior.

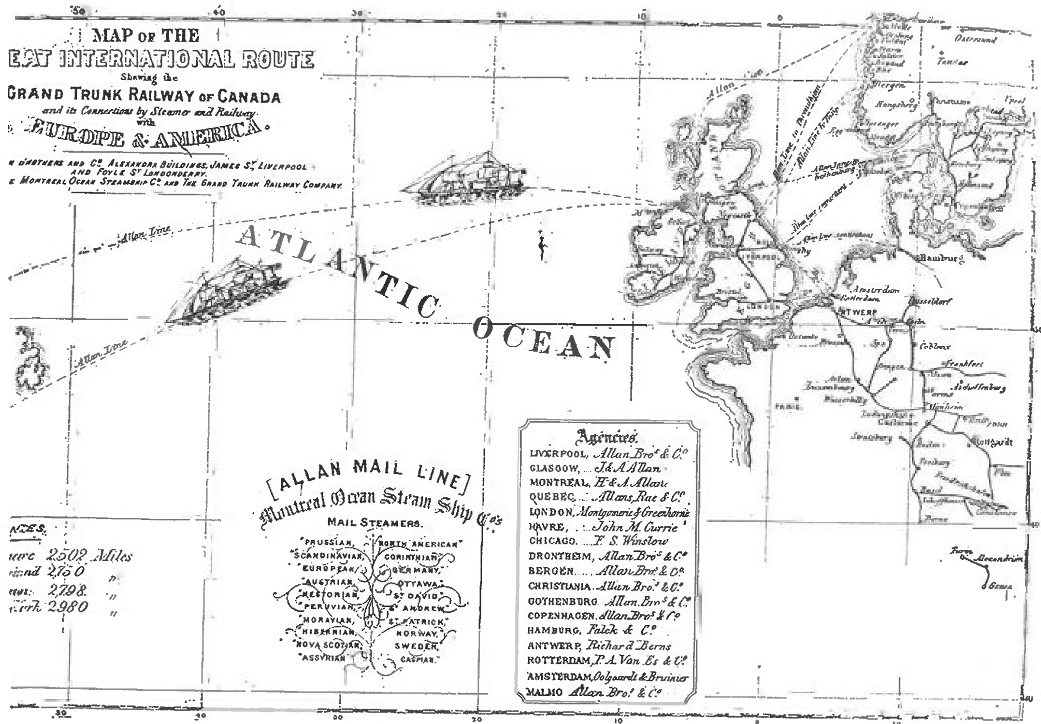
At the beginning it was very little organized. Sailors, who had sailed the oceans and seas of the world and had visited the ports of distant lands, some for a shorter, some for a longer time, brought back tales of their experiences and adventures, but they also brought back first-hand information about conditions abroad. Then letters began to arrive from emigrants who had settled overseas; their relatives, friends and acquaintances learned about the conditions prevailing there and the opportunities open to the venturesome. Eventually, newspapers began to publish such letters and other writings that described places and circumstances in distant lands. From this personal basis, the dissemination of information began to turn

This map is the reverse side of an advertisement of the Allan Line fastened to the wall of an inn of the hamlet of Muonionniska in northern Finland. It was confiscated by the officers of the Governor of the Oulu province (Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XXI).



more systematic and propaganda took on the aspect of a publicly organized activity. But the private and personal lines of communication continued to operate side by side with the organized lines. Finally, hired agents arrived in the country to manage recruitment and travel arrangements.

As early as the beginning of the decade of the 1870s, the governor-general of Finland called the attention of the Finnish Senate to newspaper articles that had the effect of inspiring readers to emigrate to America. In his report in 1873, the governor of Vaasa province dealt with migratory matters. The report noted that in the mid-1800s, carpenters had gone from southern Finland, in particular, to work on construction jobs in Russian Empire, in Kronstadt, Tallinn and Riga, after which Sweden began to attract them. It went on to observe in the report that the year before, emigrants who had lived in America four or five years had returned to Finland with substantial sums of money in savings from earnings. Glowing letters and remittances of dollars from emigrants settled in North America had started a migratory movement in certain localities. The Lappfjärd, Närpiö, Kälviä, Kokkola and Kaskinen areas were specifically mentioned as astir with the desire to emigrate. Letters related that the daily wages paid in America were between $2.50 and $3.00, the weekly cost of living had risen to $4.00 and the ticket for passage cost 270 Finnish marks. The boat trip from



Finland to Sweden was described as easy, and it was pointed out that thousands of people from Vaasa province had made the voyage in past years. In the cities on the Swedish side, the report said, there were guides ready to direct emigrants on to the next leg of their journey.[13]

Even so, the earliest continuous stream of mass emigration had begun in northern Finland. The course led first to northern Norway, and it was from a Norwegian port that passage was taken to North America. From 1825 to 1865, the number of Finnish settlers in northern Norway had increased seven- or eightfold, or from 780 to 5,862. They made their livelihood on the Arctic coast, mainly from fishing and working in mines. But when mining operations in the Finnmark region waned, many of the settlers packed their bags to leave for America. They were joined by newcomers from Finland. It is known that at least two emigration agents traveling around northern Norway in 1864—65 were successful in their efforts to recruit mine workers for the copper mining companies of northern Michigan. It was then that the migratory movement toward the region of the Great Lakes of North America started.[14] The recruitment activity extended in some form over to northern Finland, for in 1873 the governor of Oulu province stated in his report that girl students enrolled in the agricultural school at Koivikko had been recruited to emigrate to America. The arguments put forward were

that "not only are the daily wages commonly higher at the destination but also women enjoy higher status there." The governor went on to observe that sailors who had jumped ship and former Arctic Ocean fishermen who had settled earlier in America encouraged relatives and friends in their letters to join them across the Atlantic. Tickets were mailed for the route Gothenburg — England — New York. The governor's report mentioned that the English word "ticket" had been adopted by the Finnish populace as a term to signify a ticket sent over from America covering the cost of passage there and including free upkeep up to the final destination. Such a ticket was valued at approximately fifty dollars.[15]

A letter sent home from Michigan by an immigrant born in the province of Turku—and—Pori described graphically the circumstances requiring attention by anyone being persuaded to migrate.[16] In the style of a travel agent making his points, the letter gives a precise description of the whole voyage from the Finnish port of Hanko to New York and the journey from there by rail to Michigan. It goes on to rave about the superabundance of food in America:

"Tables are overloaded with the tastiest delicacies imaginable on the surface of the earth. There is not only sour bread but of wheat too, and there are a dozen varieties of cookies. Sausages, eggs, sugar and syrup are used in making meals in fabulous amounts. Everyday food here is more appetizing than the food served at banquet tables in Finland."

From the letter it becomes clear that behind its writer is a company, a big timber company, on whose behalf the writer is trying to encourage workers to leave Finland. At the end comes the most effective argument:

"It's certainly possible to pile up a hundred marks here every month if you stay healthy and work."

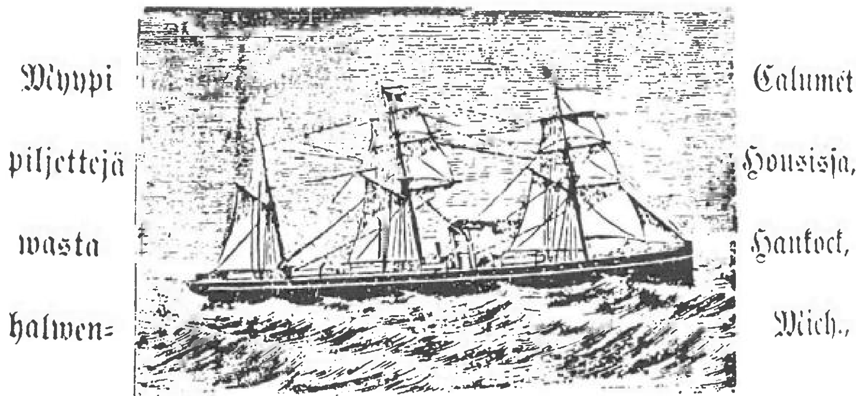
A net wage amounting to such a sum was quite an inducement in those days considering that still ten years later, in 1913, a Finnish farm hand's monthly earnings did not gross that much, with food added, the daily wage (with the worker's own food included in 1913 being Mk 3.22).[17] This kind of propaganda, transmitted through the mails by a man well known in the community of his birth, was bound to have quite an influence on people. Russian censorship could not take action against propaganda of this type because it was not disseminated through public communications media, namely, the press.

Emigration recruitment was also carried on publicly by agents, whether sent from abroad or hired locally. As already mentioned, American agents roamed in Lapland recruiting mine workers. The recruiting agents worked on commission for Northern Michigan copper mining companies in northern Norway, northern Sweden and the Tornio river valley.[18] In the same manner, in 1869 in Helsinki and the western part of Uusimaa province, a

recruiter named Charles Linn, who was born in the parish of Pohja, had settled in the 1830s in southern United States and was director of a great wholesale business in New Orleans, roamed on a recruiting mission and took along back with him across the ocean 53 Finns.[19] From the 1870s on, the number of recruiters in Finland increased, working for various American industrial, railroad, mining and timber companies as well as shipowners. The main centers of Finnish immigrant recruitment activity were in the Great Lakes region.[20] But at the turn of the century, recruiters from Canada and Australia too arrived in Finland.[21] They came in notable numbers to guide the emigration flows to desired destinations.

The areas from which the first, pioneer emigrants had started off on their overseas journey contributed to form one of the most effective of the pull factors. After establishing themselves in a new life in their new surroundings, these emigrants proceeded to inform their relatives, friends and acquaintances back in the Old Country. The result was a fast rise in the migratory flow to a tidal wave.

The letters sent back home by the early emigrants were an extremely important addition to the propaganda campaign waged to stimulate the



Advertisement of the Allan Lines in Finnish for Finnish-born Americans at the turn of the century. (The Antell Collection, Museovirasto, Helsinki).

migratory movement across the Atlantic. Emigration agents also passed on material to daily newspapers; in their reports, they gave information of various kinds about the different areas on the receiving end, describing local conditions and offering practical advice on travel arrangements. Further, they passed around advertising leaflets packed with information and publicity. To supplement his annual report of 1873, the governor of Oulu province sent a flier printed in the Finnish language by the Allan Line in Trondheim, Norway, to the economic department of the government in Helsinki to study. The copy that had fallen into his hands had been fastened to the wall of an inn in the hamlet of Muonionniska.[22] Such advertising material had been distributed in the Vaasa region, in particular, not only in Swedish — having been printed in Sweden — but also in Finnish.[23]

Underlying such a potent pull force was the enormous economic growth of the U.S. between the end of the Civil War and the outbreak of World War I. A few illustrative statistics might be the best way to cast light on American economic developments in those years. In view of the vast expanses of the country, transportation facilities command attention as among the prime factors of material progress: in the maintenance of communications, the transportation of raw materials and finished goods, and the spread of settlement.

Four major companies were established to build railroad lines across the continent, the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific. As the most important means of overland transport in those days, these railroads connected the old population centers along the Atlantic coast with the new settlements facing the Pacific Ocean. The hot pace of railroad construction is reflected in the fact that in the 25 years from 1865 to 1890, the total railroad mileage in the U.S. increased from 35,000 to 156,414.[24] Another significant method of transportation was the use of draft animals. The number of horses and mules in the country soared from 7.8 million in 1867 to 25 million in 1920. Later, their place was taken by motor vehicles, first and foremost, automobiles.[25] The communications system saw the introduction of the telegraph and telephone in the 1870s and the wireless service in 1902.

One of the most important factors promoting the growth of the agricultural population in the U.S. was the Homestead Act passed in 1862. It provided for the distribution of free land to U.S. citizens and aliens who had declared their intention of becoming citizens on condition that they cultivate it. At first, the land in the surveyed public domain was parceled out in units of not more than 160 acres (64 hectares), generally located remote from the transportation network. Farther west, the size of the homestead blocks was perhaps twice the size stipulated in the act and on the prairies

even four times as big. By virtue of such measures, farming grew so that between 1870 and 1900 no less than 225 million acres of land were put to the plow.[26] In this same period, the number of agricultural workers increased from 6.8 to 10.9 million.[27] The increase in the number of cattle ranches on the great western prairies resulted in a corresponding increase in the livestock herds. Between 1860 and 1880, the increase in the number of head in Kansas was from 93,000 to 1.5 million; in Nebraska, from 37,000 to 1.1 million; in Colorado, from zero to 791,000; and in Wyoming, likewise from zero to 521,000.[28]

First and foremost, however, was the revolutionary growth of industries —lumbering, mining, oil drilling, steel production, processing of consumers' goods, etc. Large-scale thriving enterprises formed trusts. The Standard Oil trust was formed in 1882, the cottonseed-oil trust in 1884, the linseed-oil trust in 1885, and the lead, sugar, whiskey and cordage trusts in 1887. It was in 1873 that Andrew Carnegie began the construction of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works in Pittsburgh. John D. Rockefeller, at the head of nine trustees, controlled some 40 companies from his New York headquarters. The Federal Steel Company, again, was a giant enterprise managed by J. Pierpont Morgan.[29] Statistics once more show the rate of industrial growth. Steel production, for instance, rose from 20,000 tons in 1867 to 10 million tons by 1900.[30] The value of U.S. factory production rose from two billion dollars in the 1860s to 24 billion by 1914.[31]

Once the nation had recovered from the shock and devastation of the Civil War, this imposing rise in productivity brought about a continuous increase in the rate of advance toward national prosperity. Whereas around 1870, the U.S. ranked in second place, with Canada, in terms of prosperity, as estimated by statistical data for the whole world, but still far behind Great Britain, the United States standard of living was already approaching the British in the next decade. In the years just before the outbreak of World War I, all three countries ranked fairly equal economically, but at the end of the war the standard of living in the U.S. was the highest on earth.[32] In itself, spread of this knowledge in the Old World gave new impetus to the migratory movement from Europe to the U.S. Major enterprises, companies and trusts, had their finger in the pie to channel the flow of emigration in a way bound to advance their own interests.

On the American side, the immigrant traffic moved in two main directions.

One direction was from the Atlantic seaboard, at the ports of which the immigrants generally landed, ever westward across the continent as far as the Pacific coast. About this movement of new settlers developed that romantic glow suffusing the gold rush, cattle ranching, the Indian wars and everyday

pioneer life. The population, particularly of the western states, was augmented by the influx of immigrants. The population of the Midwestern states multiplied several times during the period discussed. In 1870, Minnesota had 439,000 inhabitants, but by the turn of the century the number had increased to 1,751,000. The population of Kansas grew in the same period from 364,000 to 1,470,000, and that of Nebraska from 123,000 to 1,012,000.[33]

The other direction was toward the industrial centers, the cities. The growth of these centers was explosive. The urban population in places of 8,000 inhabitants or more grew from 16 % of the total in 1860 to 46 % in 1910. The growth has continued ever since. In 1860, New York City had 1,174,779 inhabitants, but by 1910, the number had increased fourfold, to 4,766,883. In the same period, Philadelphia grew three times in size, to 1,549,008, as did Boston too. Even higher was the rate of growth of the Midwestern cities. The population of Chicago multiplied twenty times: from 109,260 in 1860 to 2,185,283. In 1860, there were 141 cities with 8,000 or more inhabitants in the U.S.; by 1910, there were no less than 778 of them.[34]

The free economic system in the U.S. inevitably gave rise to abuses, reckless business speculation, gangsterism and various malpractices that victimized unprotected workers. The fact that the federal government did little to control the course of economic life resulted in uncertainty. Social legislation was at this stage of the game in the United States, as elsewhere, poorly developed; and this intensified the feeling of insecurity in the social structure. Side by side with the large and prospering trusts there flourished various speculative activities and unscrupulous exploitation of unprotected segments of the population. The consequences were often tragic. And behind the rosy shimmer of emigration propaganda, there lurked unscrupulous blackmailing operators.

5. THE CROSSING OF THE ATLANTIC

The conditions into which Finnish immigrants landed were thus confoundingly variegated. The realities they had to face had scarcely anything in common with the gilded image of America that had been painted for them by the propagandists. But even long before the realities of life in the New World shaped up, all sorts of other matters had to be dealt with and the long and strenuous journey itself was a formidable experience.

After making his decision to leave, the aspiring emigrant had to tackle the problems attending travel preparations. His connections with the society he was leaving behind had to be cut almost totally — only the

umbilical cord of future correspondence remained. The first preparations consisted of visits to the parish church to obtain excerpted personal data from the parish register, and to the bailiff's office to obtain a certificate granting the applicant legal permission to leave the country. These documents were needed to apply for a passport. Many congregations have kept records of the members who have moved out of the parish, and these offer fairly complete information about the emigrants. Official lists were kept of citizens receiving passports. In them were noted personal particulars, family connections, destination abroad and, of course, dates. Since other countries have not kept passport records of this kind, they provide an important primary source of information for research on emigration.

After matters had been cleared with the church and local officials, there remained the tickets to buy and passage reservations to make. Because the cost of travel was high, not many were able to pay for their journey from savings, inheritances, money received or borrowed from parents or others, or the sale of possessions. Outside assistance had to be depended on. Bank loans then came into question, but, first and foremost, money and tickets sent by earlier emigrants. As it was made clear in the 1873 report of the governor of Oulu province, the sending of tickets to people planning to migrate was a practice known from quite an early date. Research has brought to light the fact that of the 176,356 emigrants who left Finland between 1891 and 1914, about 30 %, or 76,017, traveled with prepaid tickets. Among these, about half were children under sixteen years of age, nearly half of the women and nearly a quarter of the men.[35] From this the logical conclusion to be drawn is that the money was put up mainly by kinsmen, friends and acquaintances who had migrated previously. Large firms in need of more labor also shared in this practice, often probably advancing loans to prospective migrants. The shipping firms kept passenger lists, which included personal data, mention of the source of payment for passage and the destination in each case. These passenger lists are emphatically an important source of information for researchers. A quarter of the large bulk of material pertaining to these voyages is provided by these lists, which were kept in the ports of embarkation, of stopover and of arrival. Especially noteworthy is the information received from the port of Hanko, Finland, which was occasionally published in local newspapers, as well as the material contained in the police archives of Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg and Trondheim, which form the basis of check lists. The lists drawn up and preserved in London, Liverpool and New York, which contain a mass of information about European emigration, are to some extent inaccurate; as research material, these documents demand very great, if not overpowering, efforts to make them sources of any value. From the Finnish point

of view, the most valuable of the corresponding passenger lists, kept by German shipping firms, were destroyed in the two world wars.[36]

Once the preparations for travel had finally been completed, the time to depart was at hand. Many songs sung by schoolchildren describe the sadness of separation on both sides. Left behind were father, mother, sisters, brothers, former playmates, friends at places of work, sweethearts. Here is an example from Southern Ostrobothnia:

> "When the lads to America go,
> It makes the lassies sad;
> When the lads the Atlantic cross,
> From their hotels the noise of games they hear.
> When the lads to America go,
> Money to earn and save,
> Nobody knows at departure time,
> Who from there will return."

During the period of mass emigration from Finland, the most favored routes changed noticeably. The reports drawn up by the provincial governors in the 1870s support the conclusion that — overlooking the sizable part of the migratory movement made up of sailors deserting their ships in ports that looked suitable — the most popular ports of departure in the early days were located in northern Norway. Mention is made in the advertising poster of the Allan Line confiscated from the wall of the inn at Muonionniska that the company had agents in Vesisaari, Vardø, Hammerfest, Tromsa, Trondheim, Bergen and Kristiania (Oslo).[37]

The earliest flow of Finnish emigration out of Fennoscandia was from northern Norway and, closely connected with this movement, from the far North of Finland. Among these emigrants were Finns who had settled in northern Norway. John I. KOLEHMAINEN has estimated that in 1865 they numbered nearly six thousand.[38] Theirs was a meager livelihood; some of them were fishermen in Arctic waters and some miners in the Kaafjord copper mines. It is known that the first emigrants to the New World among these Finnish settlers left in 1863 in the company of Norwegians. At first, they headed for Michigan and Minnesota, and then out to Oregon and Washington.[39] The total number of Finnish fishermen, miners and farmers emigrating from Arctic Norway and Russia between 1863 and 1885 was probably less than a thousand.[40] From the Finnmark region of Norway, the migratory fever then spread to Finnish Lapland, particularly the Kuusamo area and the Tornio river valley.

As the migratory flow from Finland increased and the centers of departure shifted southward, southern routes began to be used more. These routes were from Tornio across the river to Haaparanta, on the Swedish side; from the cities of Oulu and Vaasa to, for example, Härnösand and Sundsvall,

Sweden; and from Turku straight to Stockholm by boat. Then, via Malmö and Gothenburg, the routes continued on to Hull and London, in England, and from there to Liverpool.[41]

The mass migration proper from Finland to the U.S. moved via the ports on the southern coast of the country. Hanko became the most important port of embarkation because it was the last Finnish port to freeze over in winter. In 1873, it became linked by rail to the great emigration departure centers of Vaasa and Oulu provinces via Hyvinkää and Karjaa. From Hanko, the emigration flow continued to Stockholm and Gothenburg, for the most part, and then on to Copenhagen and Lübeck, and from these points on, mainly, to England or, alternatively, to Hamburg and Bremen, for the passage across the ocean.[42]

In the so-called emigration hotel in Hanko, accomodations were not praiseworthy, for it sometimes happened that hundreds of people were forced to wait at the same time for weeks at a stretch to get on a boat. As late as the turn of the century, travelers complained of rats swarming over the premises.[43] One well-known later Finnish emigrant, Oskari Tokoi, who on his first trip, in 1891, stopped over at this hotel, describes the conditions in his memoirs as follows:

"By 1891, Hanko had a special lodging house for emigrants. It was located on a side street, if there were any in the Hanko of that day. In fact, the city had only three streets, which were separated from each other by a high cliff. The lodging house stood between two steep outcrops of rock. It may have been called the Emigrant Hotel, although this 'hotel's' facilities included only three bedrooms and some type of small kitchen, in which the

Hotel in Hanko, Finland, that housed emigrants awaiting ship departure. (William A. Hoglund, 1960).

caretaker lived. In each bedroom, there were triple-decker beds or berths, between which there was just barely enough room for a person to move. One bedroom was reserved for women travelers and two for men, as in those days more men than women emigrated to America."[44]
About the waiting time in Hanko, John I. KOLEHMAINEN comments:
"The steamer's third whistle marked the end of days of waiting in crowded, inhospitable Hanko; of sleeping, walking, and dancing; of buying hams and sausages and thick loaves of bread for the journey ahead; of opening and closing red-painted trunks; of checking again and again the whereabouts of steamship tickets and the addresses of American relatives."[45]

The earliest Finnish emigrants, then, embarked from Norwegian ports, and the most important shipping company involved in the traffic was the Allan Line, which during the 1870s had 20 steamers plying the Atlantic. In the competition with sailing ships, steamers had only recently established their supremacy, but the facts had not yet penetrated the minds of most people. The Allan Line therefore still deemed it advisable to point up the advantages of steam over sail in its advertising. Its posters and fliers praised steamships as stronger and bigger, faster and more comfortable than sailing ships. Travel by steamship was described as "more practical than by sailing ship, not only from the standpoint of speed but also that of safety, which everyone should appreciate." The higher freight costs were justified on grounds of speedier delivery.

Competition between different shipping firms had already started. The Allan Line warned about other companies in its advertising: "Travelers should take particular heed that they obtain an Allan Line ticket, for there are agents at work who are not in the service of this company . . ."[46]

When, by 1838, regular steamer traffic had started between British ports and New York, there were three different shipping companies engaged in the business. The voyage from England to New York was cut in half from the thirty-four days needed by sailing ships to cross the ocean.[47] The ships of the British Allan Line did not make a non-stop voyage from Norway to America but crossed first to New Castle, on the east coast of England. From there the passengers had to travel by train to Liverpool, where the actual ocean voyage started. Some of the lines, however, operated directly from Norway to Liverpool, and some also to Hull.

Soon, safer routes over the Baltic replaced the routes involving Norwegian ports in the transportation of Finnish emigrants. Since several countries were in position to bid for this business, the result was international competition, which in time generated quite a bit of heat. The competition also extended over to the Atlantic routes. Actually, it was the advent of steam transportation that marked the beginning of competition between different companies for the emigrant traffic. Regular trans-Atlantic transportation was started by the British-American Great Western Steam Ship

Company. The maiden voyage across the ocean by the steamship Great Western ended when it docked in New York harbor April 23, 1838. The following years saw the formation of several shipping companies whose steamers began to ply the Atlantic lanes. The best known of them became the Cunard Line, which was founded by Samuel Cunard in 1840 and the main office of which was transferred from Canada to England. This company is still in existence. Several companies were formed in mid-century to take advantage of the emigration traffic across the ocean. These were the English Inman Line (incorporated in 1850), the Scottish Anchor Line (1856), and the Allan Line, which was founded in 1854 by Alexander Allan, who had moved from Canada to England. Then there was the British National Line, founded in 1863, and the British Guion Line, founded in 1866. The main routes used by all these lines extended between Liverpool and New York. The Anchor and Allan Lines also had direct connections between Glasgow and New York as well as Canadian ports.[48]

At the end of the century, three German companies, all incorporated before the unification of Germany, entered the competition on the Atlantic lanes. These were, from Hamburg, HAPAG (Hamburg—Amerikanische Packetfahrt Aktien-Gesellschaft), established in 1856; from Bremen, Norddeutscher Lloyd, founded in 1858; and the German—American Baltimore and Bremen Steamship Line, which lasted only a short time (1868—79). Their home ports were Hamburg and Bremerhaven, which surpassed in volume of traffic the previous premier continental port of embarkation for America-bound shipping, the French port of Le Havre.[49]

The ships of the French Compagnie Genérale Transatlantique, established in 1864, occasionally used Le Havre as a port of embarkation on voyages to America, but it was used mainly for their traffic with ports of call in countries farther south. [50]

In the early 1870s, passenger traffic between Europe and America began to take on an ever more broadly international aspect. New steamship companies were founded. In 1871, the White Star Line, a British company, was established, and the next year, the British—American Dominion Line and the Dutch Holland—American Line, which, operating out of Rotterdam, handled the emigration flow that followed the course of the Rhine from southern Germany on its way mostly to New York. The following year, 1873, saw the emergence in Philadelphia of the American—Belgian International Navigation Company, and the Red Star Line, a joint Belgian—American—British—German venture, as well as the American ("Keystone") Line. The latter carried passengers from Liverpool to Philadelphia and New York until 1886. Further, a Canadian shipping company founded the Beaver Line in Montreal in 1875 to handle the emigration traffic from Liverpool to

Portland and Halifax. Later, starting in 1903, its operations were taken over by the Canadian Pacific Line.[51] For a short time, from 1881 to 1887, the Monarch Line of Great Britain carried passengers, partly from Bremerhaven and mostly from English ports, to New York.

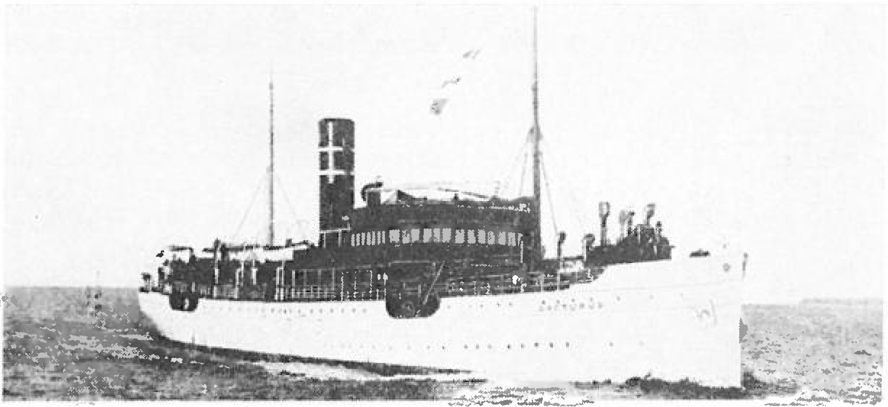
The shipping companies participating in the great transatlantic traffic at the end of the 19th century engaged in fierce competition for passengers. The competition was bound to take its toll: in 1891, the ownership of the State Line passed to the Allan Line; in 1892, the National Line dropped out of the passenger business entirely; and, in 1893, the Inman Line was taken over by the American Line. Concurrently, in 1892, a second British—American steamship company, Atlantic Transport, was formed; and a few years later, before the turn of the century, the Wilson's and Furness — Leyland Line, Leyland Line and Furness Lines complex was founded. In the cut-throat struggle of the shipping companies, the one in the strongest position and sure to emerge victorious was the Cunard Line.[52]

Up to this time, American and central and western European steamship companies had controlled the North Atlantic passenger traffic almost in its entirety, and the competition had been waged among themselves. But after the turn of the century, when the main current of emigration shifted from central and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe, shipping companies from the Mediterranean region and the Scandinavian countries appeared on the scene. In 1900, Compañia Transatlàntica Español began to ply transatlantic routes; it was joined a year later by Navigazione Generale Italiana, in 1902 by the Fabre Line from Marseilles, and in 1905 by the Austrian—Italian Austro—Americana and Cosulich Line, which, owned by Fratelli Cosulich, used the route Trieste—New York. Then, in 1907, a Genoa-based Italian formed Lloyd Sabaudo. A few British ventures surfaced early in the century. In 1905, the Donaldson Line was established in Glasgow to handle traffic to Canada, which also brought into existence the short-lived British Royal Line (1910—1914) as well as the Thomson Line, which was founded likewise in 1910 but merged with the Cunard Line the very next year.[53]

The last steamship lines to be formed before the outbreak of World War I were the Scandinavian. The Scandinavian American Line was established in Copenhagen in 1902; the Norske Amerikalinje was founded in 1910, with its ships entering the transatlantic service three years later; and the Broström combination, Svenska Amerika Linien, sent its ships plying the Atlantic in 1915, after World War I had already broken out.[54]

It was into this immense shipping traffic that the Finnish emigrants made their way from the remote communities of their origin before and after the turn of the century. The influence of many shipping companies was felt in Finland in various ways. The intercompany rivalry was, of course,

to the advantage of aspiring travelers. To entice customers, the companies vied with each other in offering the most attractive facilities at the lowest possible prices. With time, the services of the ships did improve. The switch over to steamships also meant leaving behind the miserable conditions prevailing on board ships during the era of sails. On the other hand, the negative effects of the competition between companies radiated as far as Finland. It became noticeable especially in the rivalry between shipping agents and the unsavory propaganda practices they resorted to. Such agents were active in many Finnish localities, particularly on the western and southwestern side of the line running from Porvoo and Heinola to Oulu as well as in Hanko, Vaasa, Seinäjoki, Oulu and Helsinki. This situation finally led to coordination of the activity and to the founding in 1883 of the Finnish Steamship Company, which after a decade of operations gained a near monopoly of the Finnish emigration traffic on the Baltic Sea. But it could not rest on its laurels, for potential rivals were constantly popping



On the steamer "Arctunus" of the Finnish Steamship Company thousands of Finns started their voyage to America.

up in the market, both domestic and foreign — American, Canadian and, in particular, Scandinavian shipping companies.

As late as the first half of the 19th century, the sailing vessels engaged in the emigrant trade had serious faults and were considered dangerous. Travellers were often forced to suffer hunger and thirst on their voyages, accomodations in the ports of both embarkation and disembarkation were unacceptable, travellers were exposed to all kinds of diseases, and they fell victim to extortionists.[55] In England, attention had been drawn to these abuses at quite an early date. Legislative measures that began to be passed in the early decades of the 19th century brought about improvements in the situation, and by the time steamer traffic started, the worst conditions had been rectified. But there still remained uncomfortable, unhygienic, overcrowd-

ed, cramped and unsafe quarters on many an ocean liner, particularly in the steerage section set aside for the poorest emigrants. One emigrant, who left the rural parish of Kauhava, Finland, in 1890, related that, despite the fall season, he and other passengers were forced to spend their first night after their ship left Vaasa on deck. For food, they received whole potatoes, hard bread and a piece of fish, which they ate from "mugs and small dishes" bought at the port of embarkation.[56] The noted labor leader Oskari Tokoi tells in his memoirs how, as late as 1891, ships were still of the type characteristic of the period when the change-over took place from sailing ships to steamers:

"The Bremen Line boat *Fulda* was some sort of old-fashioned five-ton carrier which still bore all the outward marks of a sailing vessel. It had five masts, and on each mast there were yards and sails in case they might still be needed — maybe they did not yet trust steam engines. Big and beautiful it was to look at, for many people had not seen a five-masted ship. Also the conditions, compared with those on the *Capella* (on which Tokoi had travelled from Hanko to Copenhagen), were royal. True, there were no third-class passenger cabins; only the whole underpart of the deck served as one common cabin, with triple-tiered iron bunks. But there was one of these reserved for each passenger, and despite the thin mattresses of straw and blankets like the felt ones used on horses, it was possible to sleep on them. The emigrant ships of those days had no common dining saloon or even tables for eating. At the port of embarkation, one could buy a cup of sheet iron and a saucer and spoon, and these were the emigrant's only dishes and utensils. At meal time, one had to stand in a soup line. You could eat on your bunk or wherever else you could find space."[57]

On Tokoi's first voyage to America, he sailed on the *Fulda,* built eight years earlier for the German shipping line Norddeutscher Lloyd.[58] Most Finnish emigrants sailed, however, on ships belonging to British shipowners, and ordinarily they embarked from Liverpool. Sometimes, they had to spend several days in some seaside hotel waiting for an ocean liner to board. It was under these circumstances that the emigrants encountered, for the first time, foreigners in large numbers, saw people of unfamiliar races, alien dress and previously unknown life style. They were also obliged to eat foods they were unaccustomed to. A new, fascinating and at the same time, perhaps, frightening world had opened up before them.[59]

After coping with the problems of ocean travel — and recovering, perhaps, from the effects of storms —, the emigrants were treated to the spectacle of the eastern coast of the New World looming up on the far horizon. Mostly, the port of disembarkation was New York, but in summer it was sometimes Quebec, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence river, or Halifax, in Nova Scotia, or Portland, Maine, or Boston or Philadelphia, on the northeastern seaboard of the United States. The advertising flier of the Allan Line favored Quebec because it was a shorter voyage there from Liverpool than to

New York and because the railroad station was only a hundred ells (60 meters) from the dock, "for which reason deceitful people did not have the opportunity to pick them clean or to do them harm."[60] Quebec was also favorably located in view of the fact that there was a short and direct connection to the Great Lakes' area where the migrating Finns were for the most part bound.

6. THE RECEPTION OF EMIGRANTS IN AMERICA

The majority of the European emigrants landed in New York. Starting in 1855, the customhouse was located in Castle Garden, which had been built as a fort. When Oskari Tokoi, as an 18-year-old youth, set foot in 1891 for the first time on American soil, after traveling via Hanko, Copenhagen and Bremen, it was in New York. In his memoirs, he recalls the event:

"The next day, we reached the port of New York and were taken to the old Castle Garden, at the southern tip of Manhattan Island. There the emigrants were divided into groups, depending on where they were headed. When the different groups began to be herded in different directions, the lumberjack from Viitasaari, who during the whole crossing of Atlantic had kept up his high spirits for the benefit of everybody on board, shouted out: 'And remember, boys, one can always manage after one has reached the point of leaving!' "[61]

Tokoi then made his way through old Castle Garden, even though by 1890 immigration control had been transferred from the state of New York to the federal authorities and Ellis Island had been taken into use as the immigration station in New York.[62] The move had been made because the emigration flow from southern and eastern Europe kept swelling at the end of the 19th century and brought in the poorest and most backward people from the countries involved. Controls had to be made more effective in the most important port of disembarkation. Ellis Island, in Upper New York Bay, separated by a reasonable distance from the city itself, was obtained for use as a screening station for arriving immigrants under the direct jurisdiction of the federal government. There too, first-class passengers were generally admitted after answering only a few brief questions. By contrast, the poorer steerage passengers had to spend several days on the island to undergo more extensive interviews and medical examinations before being allowed to enter the country. During the waiting period, they had an opportunity to admire the awe-inspiring views appearing over the water: skyscrapers of from ten to twenty-five stories and, after the turn of the century, even forty stories, lining the Manhattan shore. Even more thrilling, as a symbol of a powerful country, was the Statue of Liberty, which dominated the harbor after its erection in 1886.[63]

At one time, the great ocean liners caried 1,500—2,000 immigrants. Exotic was the appearance of their fellow migrants to the Finns. The lively natives

Immigrants at Ellis Island answered questions, submitted to physical and psychological examinations, and then (if admitted) were ready to be transported to their destinations. Some unfortunate ones were rejected. (John F. Kennedy, 1964)

of Mediterranean regions, the Spaniards, Italians, Yugoslavs, and Greeks, and men and women from eastern Europe, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Hungarians in their colorful national costumes must have filled the minds of Finns from peaceful rural surroundings with wonder and confusion. Hearing the jumble of languages echoing through the halls of the immigration station on Ellis Island, some were prompted to put their impressions into literary form: "...This is a Babel, godless, cold, a hodgepodge of tongues;" or, in another description: "...It is like being in the middle of a hive of bees."[64]

During the thirty years to 1920, an average of 5,000 people a day passed

through the huge central registry hall on Ellis Island — altogether more than 23,000,000.[65] These registers would be an incomparably rich source of information for scholarly research if they were not in such hopeless disorder: names are written illegibly, the lists are arranged in the order in which arrivals chanced to pass through the controls, all the nationalities are mixed up together, and so on. Consequently, research workers have simply been unable to make profitable use of the immense wealth of data contained in the registers. The millions of arrivals meekly submitted to minute physical and psychological examinations and personal interviews, although the practice was shockingly discriminating and undemocratic; rarely did anybody challenge the procedure.

In her work *America Fever,* Barbara Kaye GREENLEAF gives the following description of the process:

"First, the immigrants were examined for signs of contagious diseases, mental incapacity and physical handicaps that might impair their ability to earn a living. Next, they were given special eye examinations, for over half the medical deportations were due to trachoma, a contagious eye disease leading to blindness. Then, after waiting in the pens anywhere from a few minutes to well over an hour, the immigrants were interviewed with interpreters. The examining officers questioned them about their friends and relatives in America and their vocational plans in an effort to determine, in the

words of the law, whether they were 'likely to become a public charge. Upon completion of the interview, most immigrants received cards marked 'Admitted' and they were ferried back to the mainland."[66]

7. SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The accompanying tables show how many Finns emigrated from the provincial districts of Finland from 1893 to 1930 and how many of them there were in the United States in 1920 and 1922, after an estimate of their distribution in each of the different states. The total appears to argree with the census figures dating from 1920, when we include the American-born children of the immigrants.[67]

It should be noted that in the first table the emigrants are classified according to the provinces of their origin in Finland. The second table dealing with the United States includes Alaska, which did, of course, belong to the U.S. in 1920—22 but did not attain statehood until 1959. The statistics of 1922 are marked in round numbers according to the Finnish-American church registers; the statistics of 1920 reflect the official. U.S. census of that year. These statistics included only Finnish immigrants born in Finland, totalling 150,000, and not their children, who are classified as Americans proper, though living normally in the same family with their parents.

Accordingly, it may be said that this two-part table reveals, in general, the distribution of Finnish - Americans in the United States. It can be seen that the Finnish immigrants have settled mainly in the northern parts of the country, which are by nature most closely reminiscent of the conditions prevailing in their original homeland. The Finnish immigrants concentrated partic-

STATISTICS ON EMIGRANTS LEAVING FINLAND IN 1893 — 1930 (THE PROVINCIAL DISTRICTS)[68]

Province	Emigrants
Vaasa	162,232
Oulu	46,295
Turku—and—Pori	45,170
Viipuri	25,036
Uusimaa	24,089
Häme	14,852
Kuopio	13,658
Ahvenanmaa	9,147
Mikkeli	6,848
Total	347,327

ularly in the area of the Great Lakes as well as the northern parts of the old eastern coastal states and the Pacific Northwest. In the southern states, on the other hand, the Finnish families were scattered widely and lived in isolation from their compatriots. In view of the fact that of the total population of the U.S. in the 1920s, approximately 105 million, only 0.3 per cent was Finnish, such a scattered minority had no real qualifications in the long run to preserve its native cultural inheritance.

If, on the other hand, the areas of departure from the Old Country and the areas of resettlement in the New World are considered in a comparative light, from the point of view of population distribution, one notable common feature emerges — though the similarity is really coincidental: the main mass of migrants came from western Finland, particularly the zone bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia, from Southern Ostrobothnia, Satakunta, Varsinais-Suomi

STATISTICS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1920 AND 1922[69]

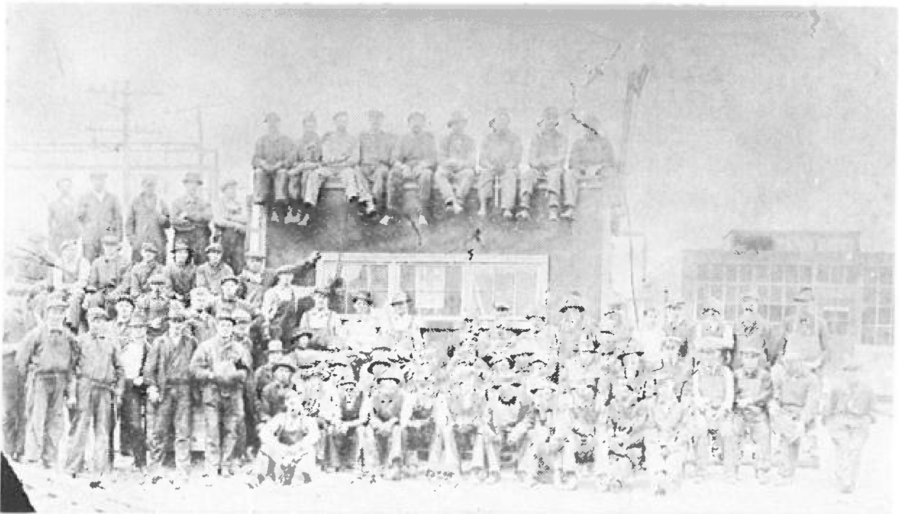
(numbers are rounded)

	1920	1922		1920	1922
Michigan	30,100	87,000	West Virginia	625	1,500
Minnesota	29,100	64,000	Utah	780	1,500
Massachusetts	14,570	26,000	Florida	310	1,000
New York	12,500	23,000	Texas	190	900
Washington	11,900	18,000	Delaware	50	800
Ohio	6,410	17,000	Maryland	540	800
Wisconsin	6,760	14,000	Alabama	70	600
Oregon	6,000	13,000	Louisiana	150	600
Montana	3,500	12,000	Mississippi	60	500
California	7,050	10,000	Rhode Island	320	500
North Dakota	1,100	8,000	Washington, DC	105	400
South Dakota	1,090	7,900	Nevada	185	300
Pennsylvania	2,820	7,000	Iowa	110	250
Illinois	3,080	6,000	New Mexico	50	250
Maine	1,390	4,000	Kansas	60	200
New Hampshire	1,560	4,000	Virginia	165	200
New Jersey	2,110	3,500	North Carolina	15	200
Alaska	—	3,000	Nebraska	70	150
Connecticut	1,230	2,800	Arkansas	20	150
Idaho	990	2,000	Georgia	40	100
Colorado	880	2,000	Tennessee	50	100
Wyoming	870	2,000	Kentucky	50	100
Vermont	480	2,000	South Carolina	50	100
Arizona	410	1,500	Missouri	100	100
Indiana	240	1,500	Oklahoma	100	50
			Grand Totals	149,315	352,550

and Oulu province. As pointed out in the foregoing, a similar zone formed along Canada's comparable border.

New York, however, became quite a noteworthy center of Finnish settlement. This can be attributed, in many cases, to the fact that many immigrants did not want to travel any farther if they could manage to make a living in this metropolis. Thousands settled in the lower East Side, living in crowded tenaments. In this way, many Finns settled, like, especially, Italians, in Harlem at the turn of the century. A short description of the life among the Finns back in those days, around 1911, has been written by A. Pietilä. The arrival of Finns in actual groups to this metropolis began in about 1880, so that by the turn of the century quite a few Finns were living in New York. In general, they were employed on jobs involving heavy physical labor, that is, as building, bridge, dock and railroad construction workers. The women found employment in various kinds of domestic and household work. A few Finns went into business, some became office workers, and there were those who rose to managerial positions. Mr. J. Backman, who worked at the Ellis Island immigration station as an interpreter, had the most to do with immigrants arriving from Finland. Located on State Street, the Finland Steamship Co. Agency handled ticket and banking matters for the Finns.

All the Finns did not do well, however, and, especially during economic slumps, newly arrived immigrants often lost their temporary jobs and joined the ranks of the unemployed. The inhospitable metropolis cared little for



Workers of the Boston Shipyard in 1916, the majority were Finns. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

such unfortunates. Individual Finnish friends and, generally, the various Finnish organizations, the temperance societies, church congregations and various social circles tried their best to help. Even so, many an immigrant lost out in life's great battle when the path of his retreat ended, as it commonly did, in one of New York's 11,000 saloons.[70]

The majority of the Finnish immigrants did not tarry in the port of disembarkation but kept going, normally by rail, toward a more distant destination. Centers of Finnish settlement gradually evolved in the Great Lakes' region, in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The first Finnish settlers ended up in the so-called Copper Country of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan because they had been imported by one of the large mining companies operating there. Iron, copper and coal mines became the places of work for many Finns. Many had to accept work in conditions totally foreign to their previous experience — heavy and dirty work involving a high risk to life and limb. About the favorite mine of the Finns in the Midwest, J. WARGELIN tells in his "Americanization of the Finns" (1924) the following:

"From the copper mines of Houghton and Keweenaw Counties many found their way to the iron districts in Marquette County that were just opening about this time. Later we find them coming to the large iron district known as the Gogebic Range. The iron mines in northern Minnesota were opened up considerably later than in Michigan. By that time the Finn had

Finnish-American road construction workers in Brimson, Minn., in the early 1900s (Collection of Mrs. Astrid Kolehmainen).

become recognized as a good miner, and found, therefore, no difficulty in getting work on the Vermillion and Mesaba Ranges of Minnesota. The mines developed very fast in this section, being mostly open-pit mines from which ore could be dug up very easily. More Finns kept coming right along until at the present time there are nearly as many Finns in Minnesota as in Michigan."[71]

WARGELIN goes on to observe that

"besides the iron and copper mines, Finns are also found employed in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Illinois. Some have entered mining fields in Colorado, Arizona, Alaska, and other places so that it is not a rare thing to find a Finn almost anywhere."[72]

Related closely to this mining activity is a field that during the peak period of Finnish emigration experienced a conspicuous resurgence. The California gold rush had taken place during the middle of the 19th century before Finnish immigration really got under way, but some Finns did participate in it. The next notable gold discovery was made in 1896, when strikes were reported from the Klondike, near the eternal masses of ice on the Alaskan peninsula. In the following years, an endless flow of prospectors and miners kept heading that way, among them Finnish adventurers, including the gold-mining brothers K. F. Joutsen and A. Johnsson. It was in the winter of 1897—98 that the brothers trekked across the snowbound plateaus to the Klondike, where they staked a claim, Dominion Creek No. 21, and started to dig for gold by methods they had developed themselves. Drawing on the recollections of the brothers, Yrjö RAEVUORI tells about their mine, which was regarded as something of a model venture, as follows:

"For the boilers, steam-driven machines and an elevator, the brothers had erected a special building with an engine room at the site of the mine. Not until winter could all the installations be set up in place, as it is with all newly wired lifting devices. After this, with the assistance of the engine-driven lifting device, the melted earth could be removed from the excavation. The slow and arduous manual method could be discarded."[73]

In their enterprise, the brothers used only Finnish labor. As related by RAEVUORI, the work day was the regular ten-hour shift:

"It began every day at seven in the morning and ended at six in the evening, interrupted only by an hour's lunch break from twelve to one. From early fall to wintertime, more than two men were needed; more were hired until there were eight men on the payroll. They were all Finns. Job hunters of other nationalities disliked the Johansons for hiring Finns only. A decisive consideration was that Finns were good workers, better than the other nationalities, and at the same time not prone to complain about conditions. Besides, they were old acquaintances, in some cases relatives, and since they came from the same parts in Finland, they liked to be in each other's company."[74]

After successfully mining out their claim in seven years, the brothers packed

their bags and returned to Finland with a sizable fortune in gold. They invested their capital shrewdly and bequeathed their wealth to Turku University, which on the strength of it was able to implement its construction plans in the 1950s.

Farming, however, was the way of life the Finns knew best. The census of 1920 reported that 52,3 % of the Finnish immigrant population had settled in rural districts. Minnesota ranks first with respect to the Finnish farm population, Michigan second and Wisconsin third.[75] In a book published in 1920, Michigan's Copper Area and Finnish Immigrants, Juuso HIRVONEN described one of the Finnish centers in Michigan as follows:

"In the Calumet surroundings live many Finnish farmers. They moved there after earning enough money in mine work to buy their own farms. Whole villages have been formed since then, such as Highway and Toweroja, where the first Finns settled about thirty years ago, the present population being nearly totally Finnish. To the southwest of Calumet are Woodland, Vaasa Village and Salo Village, of which Vaasa and Salo Villages have been settled within the last fifteen years and Woodland during the last ten years. The Lake Linde valley, previously inhabitated by French and other settlers, has become an area of Finnish settlement during the passing of years, settlement occurring by purchasing of farms. Development appears to be in the direction that Finns will become the rare exception not taking into account the rural population of the Copper Area and in so being, the backbone of economic life."[76]

Finns also found work in fields closely associated with agriculture — as lumberjacks and log drivers, as blacksmiths and as longshoremen in the lake harbors of Ohio. They were employed in granite quarries, textile mills, chair factories, steel and tin-plate mills, in fishing, ect.[77] Tokoi tells in his memoirs about a stone quarry in Rocklin, California, where he happened to wander on his work trips at the turn of the century: "Nearly all the local Finns own stone quarries. The business consisted of small jobs in which stones needed in the construction industry were quarried and broken. In earlier, better times, when construction activity in the cities, San Francisco, in particular, was riding high, stones from these quarries were bought by big construction enterprises. Now, when there was a complete slump in construction, only sidewalk stones and pebbles, in the main, were quarried and broken. Demand was low and prices cheap, and this caused the revenue from quarrying to fall a lot below the income to be earned in mining."[78]

Many Finnish immigrants were perpetual job hunters. Some of them joined that great rootless class that gave a stamp of instability to American society during the peak era of immigration. The members of this class were called *hoboes,* and the groups they formed were called *jungle gangs.* Tokoi gives the following description of such a gang he encountered on his way to the coal mines in Wyoming:

A typical Finnish-American farmer's house in Fairbanks, Minn. Photographed in 1908 (Collection of Mrs. Astrid Kolehmainen).

A Finnish farm in Felch, Michigan in the early 20th century. Most of the farmers of this area came from the Swedish-speaking Southern Ostrobothnia in Finland. (Anders Myhrman, Lewiston, Maine.)

The Finnish-American radical newspaper "Eteenpäin" in 1947 published this map showing distribution of Finns in the U.S. and their occupations (Institute for Migration).

"After joining in my journey this 'jungle gang,' I noticed that the 'hobo king' was a Finn named Juho Henrik Rautell, whom I had met on this trip. The majority of these real tramps are individuals who have fallen from the upper classes. They are bankrupt businessmen fallen on evil days, students, writers, frustrated lovers or others disappointed in life; but, on the whole, they are men who have behind them an education and a wide, if not bitter and frequently irrational, outlook on the world. I discovered that the reigning king, Juho Rautell, had passed his graduation examinations in secondary school in Finland and been enrolled in the polytechnical highschool. At one time, he had shown promise as an artist but then, for some reason or another, lost his grip and migrated to America to forget the past. During his wanderings, he had found a 'jungle gang.' The gang had its own laws and social organizations. The form of organization was basically communistic. Everything they own is common property, discipline is strict, and comradeship strong. Despising all part-time tramps, the gang kept them more like milk cows than as comrades. Gang members did not, however, commit any major crimes, that is, robberies or other more serious offenses, for they despised them. They regarded the world as a cosmopolitan arena in which people were entitled to live free, without working, if they could manage it."[79]

Immigration and Americanization were by no means successive processes. They occur just as well in combination as unconnected. Americanization continued while immigration to America continued. Settlement in any given locality on the American continent did not have to mean Americanization, for

immigrants tended to keep their own life style, native language, customs and points of view to the end of their lives. Contact with the Old Country was not broken but, notably since World War II, the old ties have been strengthened. The reasons for this have been the improvement of transportation facilities, increasing prosperity, more leisure, the overall progress made in the field of tourism, and the total animation of international collaboration.

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27) MORISON,[4] op. cit., p. 762.

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32) William ASHWORTH, A Short History of the International Economy since 1850. Second Edition. Aylesbury 1962, pp. 178—179.
33) BLAKE, op. cit., p. 397.
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35) KERO, Migration, op. cit., pp. 176, 182—183.
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37) Siirtolaisraportit, op. cit., p. 109.
38) KOLEHMAINEN, Norjasta Amerikkaan, op. cit., p. 12.
39) KOLEHMAINEN, Norjasta Amerikkaan, op. cit., pp. 20—21, 29—30.
40) John I. KOLEHMAINEN, The Finns in America. A Students' Guide to Localized History, New York 1968, p. 4.
41) Rafael ENGELBERG, Suomi ja Amerikansuomalaiset. Keskinäinen yhteys ja sen rakentaminen. Helsinki 1944, pp. 26—27.
42) KERO, Migration, op. cit., pp. 131—169.
43) TOIVONEN, op. cit., p. 69.
44) Oskari Tokoi, Maanpakolaisen muistelmia. Third Printing. Helsinki 1959, p. 28.
45) John I. KOLEHMAINEN and Georg W. HILL, Haven in the Woods. The Story of the Finns in Wisconsin. Second Printing. Madison 1965, p. 5.
46) Siirtolaisraportit, op. cit., pp. 107—108.
47) C. R. Vernon GIBBS, Passenger Liners of the Western Ocean. A. Record of the North Atlantic Steam and Motor Passenger Vessels from 1838 to the Present Day. Second Edition. New York 1957, pp. 29, 52—92.
48) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., passim.
49) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., pp. 152—197.
50) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., pp. 208—224.
51) GIBBS[2] op. cit., passim.
52) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., passim.
53) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., pp. 319—323, 330—342.
54) GIBBS,[2] op. cit., pp. 346—349.
55) ENGELBERG, op. cit., pp. 39—57.
56) TOIVONEN, op. cit., p. 67.
61) Tokoi,[3] op. cit., pp. 32—33.
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59) KOLEHMAINEN, Finns, pp. 7—8.
60) Siirtolaisraportit, op. cit., p. 107.
61) Tokoi, op. cit., pp. 32—33.
62) Carl WITTKE, We Who Built America. The Saga of the Immigrant. Fourth Printing. New York 1945, p. 126.
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64) KOLEHMAINEN, Finns, op. cit., p. 8.
65) Alberta EISEMAN, From Many Lands. New York 1970, p. 100
66) GREENLEAF, op. cit., p. 137.
67) John WARGELIN, The Americanization of the Finns. Hancock, Mich. 1924, pp. 64—68, Table VIII.
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69) WARGELIN, op. cit., pp. 62—64, Tables VII and VIII with corrections.
70) A. P. (Antti J. Pietilä), Kertomuksia Suur New Yorkin suomalaisista. New York 1911,
71) WARGELIN, op. cit., p. 71.
72) WARGELIN, op. cit., p. 73.
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74) RAEVUORI, op. cit., p. 120.
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76) Juuso HIRVONEN, Michiganin kuparialue ja suomalaiset siirtolaiset. Duluth, Minn., 1920, pp. 33—34.
77) WARGELIN, op. cit., pp. 80—87.
78) Tokoi,[3] op. cit., pp. 90—91.
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B

Finnish-American Life

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IV
Economic Activities of the Finns in the United States

1. THE FINNISH SETTLEMENTS

Because most of the Finnish immigrants arrived in the United States after the turn of the twentieth century, this meant that much of the best homestead land had been taken by earlier settlers of other ethnic origins. As a result, the Finns who sought homestead lands were forced to begin the cultivation of more unproductive soil. This partly accounts for the settlement of Finns in the cut-over areas of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Another factor was the labor demand in the mining and lumbering areas of these states.

In the rural areas the Finns developed many distinctly Finnish communities, such as those around Van Etten and Newfield, in New York; Menahga and New York Mills, in Minnesota; Toivola and Bruce Crossing, in Michigan; and Brantwood and Clifford, in Wisconsin.

* This article is published with the permission of Mrs. Elsie Jokinen from the author's Ph.D. dissertation (University of Minnesota) presented in 1955. This is a posthumous contribution by a gifted scholar, who died suddenly in 1970.

By and large, the farms were family-sized units. At first products were produced almost exclusively for home consumption. As production increased and a marketable surplus was created, the Finns took the lead in the formation of cooperative marketing agencies.

In the mining and lumbering camps, as well as in the growing industries of the large cities, unskilled Finnish immigrants began to join labor unions. Considering the fact that many of them had had trade union experience in Finland, this was to be expected. Those who had been most active in the labor movement at home developed into very capable and energetic leaders.

2. I.W.W.

The labor union organization that the immigrant Finns embraced with the greatest enthusiasm was the Industrial Workers of the World, which was organized in Chicago, Illinois in June, 1905, by elements representing the Western Federation of Miners, the Socialist Labor Party, and other smaller radical groups.[1] The I.W.W. advocated the organizing of all the "wage workers" into industrial unions. These industrial unions together made up the One Big Union dedicated to the abolition of capitalism. The I.W.W. believed in winning concessions by striking, at the same time organizing for the day when "each industry was to be managed by those employed in it and each local unit by those employed in that."[2] Said the I.W.W.: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."[3]

The reasons why the Finnish workers were attracted to this organization are fairly clear: (1) The extremely low wages, long working hours, and poor conditions in the mines, mills and shops in which the Finnish immigrants were employed created discontent. (2) The American Federation of Labor, the nation's largest labor organization, created in 1881, was concerned primarily with elevating the status of the skilled worker. (3) The I.W.W.'s social philosophy appealed to those who saw in capitalism the source of their difficulties. (4) The I.W.W. championed the organization of all the workers, regardless of race, creed, or color.[4] (5) Most of the Finnish immigrants were aliens and ineligible to vote. Many of them consequently, felt that "political" action was "futile".

Most of the Finns in North America who went along with the I.W.W. idea were those who split away from the Finnish Socialist Federation in 1914.

The Finnish immigrants played significant roles in several of the largest strikes conducted by the I.W.W. and the Western Federation of Miners, notably in Michigan, Minnesota, and the Pacific Northwest. They gained special notoriety as "trouble-makers" on the iron ore ranges of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It was the Finns who called the I.W.W. to lead the

famous iron miners' strike in Minnesota in 1916. This strike and the enthusiasm it created led to additional withdrawals from the Finnish Socialist Federation and to the formation of Finnish language I.W.W. clubs.[5]

As a result of their labor activities, the immigrant Finns in many areas were "blacklisted"[6]. Finns still tell stories of how they changed their Finnish surnames in order to get employment. Many, who later helped to form cooperative stores, withdrew to subsistence farms to become their "own bosses".

After the initial period of strike activity, the Finnish supporters of the I.W.W., like the Finnish socialists, began to confine their activities largely to social and educational work. The dropping of active membership in the I.W.W., but the retention of the various auxiliary activities is still another indication of the significance that the latent function of providing social satisfactions has had in the preservation of Finnish language organizations.

None of the Finnish language organizations thus far described have been able to attract the American-born Finns. One finds relatively few American-born Finns in the halls established by the immigrants. To re-emphasize a point made earlier in connection with Finnish religious life, the "pull" of American culture has been too strong.

The "old-timers", as the immigrant Finns are beginning to call themselves, have reacted in various ways to this situation. Some exhibit a certain amount of bitterness because the American-born haven't taken up the cudgels for "working-class emancipation." Others adopt a philosophical attitude: "We did our best. Perhaps we were ahead of our time and the American-born will yet some day see the value of our efforts and turn toward promoting them."[7]

3. FINNS IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

One economic pattern of activity initiated by the Finnish immigrants in America remains to be treated. That is the cooperative movement. It represents the economic and social area in which the interaction between the immigrants and the American-born has been the greatest. In fact, it is the only immigrant-originated endeavor that has succesfully attracted not only American-born Finns but members of other ethnic groups as well.

In order to place the Finnish cooperative enterprises in their proper perspective, a brief review is presented of the development of the modern consumers' cooperative movement.

In Rochdale, England, in 1884, twenty-eight factory workers pooled their resources, a total of $140, and established their own grocery store.[8] From this inauspicious beginning, the consumers' cooperative movement

has grown to significant proportions in many lands. It is especially strong in Switzerland, the British Isles, and in the Scandinavian countries.[9]

In Finland the cooperative movement started in the 1890's. It made rapid headway after the turn of the century and is now a significant factor in the nation's economy. Approximately 25 per cent of the total retail trade of the country was being transacted through cooperatives in 1939[10]. By 1947, according to official Finnish figures, the proportion had reached 40 per cent[11].

In the United States a few cooperatives were formed in New England as early as the 1840's, and such labor organizations as the Sovereigns of Industry and the Knights of Labor established stores for their members in the 1860's[12]. The Grange sponsored a number of farmers' cooperatives in the 1870's[13].

Few of these earliest cooperatives were based on Rochdale principles,[14] and "stronger and better organized cooperatives were launched in the early years of the twentieth century by groups of immigrants from many parts of Europe."[15]

The Finns have played a particularly important role in the establishment of cooperatives — in New England, in the Great Lakes area, and on the Pacific Coast. Although a few Finnish cooperatives were known to have been formed prior to 1900,[16] the Finnish cooperative movement did not begin to spread until the socialists turned their attention to it after the turn of the century. In New England strong cooperative associations were formed in such heavily settled Finnish towns as Maynard, Fitchburg, and Gardner, Massachusetts. One of these, the United Cooperative Society of Maynard, now owns four stores, a bakery, dairy, and also handles grain, coal, and oil.[17]

In the Great Lakes area the Finns have developed the "strongest and most unified distinctly Rochdale consumers' cooperative movement in the United States today."[18] This federation, now known as the Central Cooperative Wholesale, was established in 1917 by nine cooperatives in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The sales during the first fiscal year were $ 25,000.[19] In 1955 the sales were $ 12,208,000, the largest in the organization's history.[20]

The cooperative as an institution is considered to have two functions:[21] Its immediate function is "the satisfaction of material and nonmaterial needs". Its ultimate objective is to "create a new economic and social order."

While both of these functions have been motivating factors in the development of the cooperative movement, it is the latter which was given most lip service by Finnish cooperative leaders until recent years. As late as 1937, the Central Cooperative Wholesale announced: "In all our educational work we have pointed out the fact that our ultimate aim is the replacement of the profit system of society with a more just social order which can be realized only through the united efforts of the laboring masses."[22]

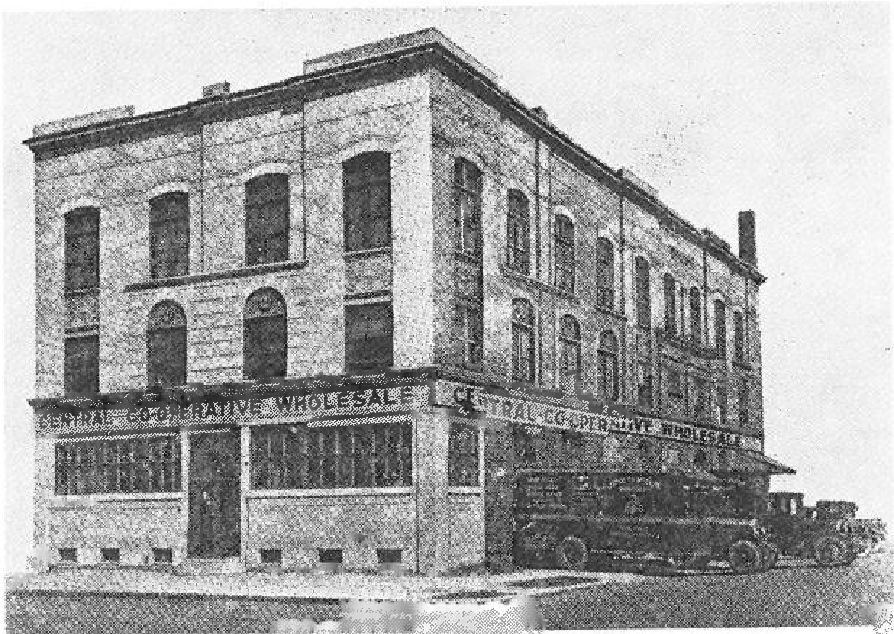
Since the Finnish cooperative movement was started by socialists, it was looked upon by them as an adjunct to the socialist movement. As a result, the cooperatives were caught in all of the political storms that swept the Finnish labor movement. The split of 1920 saw the pro-Communist element capture control of the cooperatives in many areas, including the Central Cooperative Wholesale. In 1929, however, the Communists were driven out after they had tried to convert the Wholesale into a "financial angel" for the Communist Party.[23]

Since 1929 the Central Cooperative Wholesale has been free of political domination. As indicated earlier, it has grown tremendously and is now bursting the bonds of Finnish domination.[24]

In order to determine the extent of the shift in the control of the cooperatives from the foreign-born to the American-born, a study was conducted by the writer, aided by the Area Services Department of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, in the fall of 1952. It was felt that such a study would disclose relevant data pertaining to social change.

Questionnaires, addressed to the managers, were sent to each of the 72 CCW cooperatives originated by the Finns. In addition to factual information, the managers were asked their opinion regarding the knowledge possessed by the American-born cooperators about the cooperative movement.

Forty-eight managers (67 per cent) completed and returned the question-



Central Cooperative Wholesale Warehouse and Office Building in early 1930s. (Central Cooperative Wholesale Yearbook, 1933.)

naire. Although 33 per cent failed to respond, significant trends are revealed by the data.

In Table I the nativity composition of the boards of directors of the Finnish initiated cooperatives is compared with the composition of these boards as of December 1952. Since only the societies organized by Finnish people were considered, it was to be expected that the data would show a heavy preponderance of foreign-born Finns on the first boards of directors. Such was the case. The original boards in the three states had a total of 262 members. Of these, 224 were foreign-born Finns; thirteen were American-born persons of Finnish descent. Only 25 were non-Finns. In each state the proportion strongly favored the foreign-born.

A study of the data pertaining to the composition of the boards of directors of these same cooperatives as of December 1952, brings out

TABLE I

NATIVITY OF THE DIRECTORS OF FINNISH-INITIATED COOPERATIVES AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE (=CCW)*

State	Number of Cooperatives Reporting	Original Directors (1)			Directors Dec. 1952		
		FBF	ABF	NF	FBF	ABF	NF
Minnesota	26	176	10	14	47	106	64
Michigan	13	96	2	3	41	49	13
Wisconsin	9	52	1	8	11	33	17
Totals	48	224	13	25	98	188	94

([1]) Legend: FBF, Foreign-born Finn; ABF, American-born Finn; NF, Non-Finn.

*Source: Survey conducted by the writer and the Area Services Department of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin.

clearly the shift that has occurred. The foreign-born were losing out to the American-born Finns and to persons not of Finnish descent. By December, 1952, as Table I indicates, the total number of foreign-born members on the boards of directors of the Finnish-initiated cooperative stores had dropped to 98, whereas the number of American-born Finns had increased to 188 and the number of non-Finns to 94.

A similar shift is revealed with regard to the managers of these stores. Table II compares the nativity of the first managers with those who were taking care of the cooperatives in December, 1952. The figures show that in 40 cases out of 48 the first manager was a foreign-born Finn. Only six

were American-born Finns; two were non-Finns. By December, 1952, the number of foreign-born Finnish managers was down to five. The number of American-born Finnish managers had increased to 37, and the number of non-Finnish managers to six. In Wisconsin none of the managers who

TABLE II
NATIVITY OF THE MANAGERS OF FINNISH-INITIATED COOPERATIVES AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE*

State	Number of Cooperatives Reporting	Original Managers (1)			Managers Dec. 1952		
		FBF	ABF	NF	FBF	ABF	NF
Minnesota	26	22	3	1	4	16	6
Michigan	13	12	1	0	1	12	0
Wisconsin	9	6	2	1	0	9	0
Totals	48	40	6	2	5	37	6

(1) Legend: FBF, Foreign-born Finn; ABF, American-born Finn; NF, Non-Finn.
*Source: Survey conducted by the writer and the Area Services Department of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin.

Ely, Minnesota, Coop. members in mid-1920s. (Arnold Alanen, Madison, Wis.)

returned the questionnaire were foreign-born; all nine were native-born of Finnish descent. The number of foreign-born managers in Minnesota[25] was four in December, 1952 as compared with 22 originally. In Michigan the number of foreign-born managers had dropped from twelve to one.

Leadership in the higher echelons of the Central Cooperative Wholesale is also swinging from the immigrants to the American-born. The present manager of the CCW is not a Finn. Only five of the 21 CCW directors in 1952 were foreign-born. Nine were born in the United States of Finnish parents. Seven were non-Finns. Of the Executive Committee members in 1952, one was born in Finland and one was of Finnish parentage; two were non-Finns. None of the division heads were born in Finland. All three were American-born of Finnish parentage.[26]

As far as the total membership of the societies belonging to the CCW is concerned, the foreign-born are now a minority. Mr. Edwin Whitney, Head of the Area Services Department of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, estimated in December, 1952, that only about 25 per cent of the membership was of Finnish birth or parentage.[27]

English is replacing Finnish as the "official" language in the meetings of the membership as well as the boards of directors (see Table III). In December, 1952, only eight out of the 48 boards were using the Finnish language exclusively in their meetings. Thirty-seven were using English alone, and three were using both languages. Membership meetings were being conducted by 23 societies in English, by 17 in both Finnish and English, and by only eight in Finnish alone.[28]

The trend is unmistakable: The control of the cooperatives is passing into the hands of the American-born.

TABLE III
LANGUAGE USED IN THE MEETINGS OF THE FINNISH-INITIATED COOPERATIVES AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE, DECEMBER 1952*

State	Number of Cooperatives Reporting	Directors' Meetings			Membership Meetings		
		Finnish	English	Both	Finnish	English	Both
Minnesota	26	0	23	3	2	16	8
Michigan	13	7	6	0	6	3	4
Wisconsin	9	1	8	0	0	4	5
Totals	48	8	37	3	8	23	17

*Source: Survey conducted by the writer and the Area Services Department of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin.

This process has not occurred without stresses and strains. Many Finns have objected to the acceptance of non-Finnish elements into managerial and leadership positions. They express fears that under English language control the cooperatives will cease to provide them with social satisfactions and will become "just another business organization."[29] This indicates the terrific significance that the cooperatives have had as "a way of life" among the immigrant Finns.

When they are urged to use English in their meetings, a few answer with such remarks as, "Don't try to bury us, we aren't dead yet."

Twenty-nine of the managers questioned in December, 1952, felt that the American-born Finns do not have as much knowledge about the co-operative movement as the immigrant Finns possessed. They made such statements as the following:

> Cooperative fundamentals seem to have been forgotten; the store that is competitive in price is the one that gets the business.
>
> They (the American-born) do not have the loyalty that the foreign-born had and still have. A low price is what the American-born Finn understands best. He'll be a "good" cooperator as long as we can provide him with goods at cheaper prices than the store across the road.

The foreign-born Finns got their training through necessity. It was thorough and lasting. Coops were here when the American-born arrived, and were handed to them on a platter after much of the midnight oil had been burned in organizing them. As soon as the foreign-born began to leave coops (mostly as a result of death), a downward trend has been noticed in the enthusiasm displayed regarding the goals of the cooperative movement.

It appears that the American-born, while they appreciate the economic benefits the cooperatives may offer, are not too keenly aware of, or interested in, the cooperative as a "way of life." One manager explained this apathy in these words:

> In respect to social activities and participation in the external influences, such as better methods of transportation and other entertainment media have reduced the need and desire of members to look to their cooperatives to supply these needs.

Certainly, American schools, clubs and community organizations make it unnecessary for the American-born, who know English, to turn to the co-operative for social satisfactions as their parents did.

CANOYER and CHEIT comment:

> There is a firm belief among managers which has increased noticeably in the last ten years that as time goes on fewer people will be cooperators for the same reasons that they have in the past. Rather, they will make purchasing decisions on a purely economic basis; that is, they will buy where

prices are the lowest . . . in the larger communities where the second and third generation younger people is growing relative to the older group not only within the cooperative itself but in the community as well there is less desire to hold to past patterns.[30]

Another factor in the situation is the emergence of the chain store. Cooperatives have been cutting out social activities in order to meet this economic competition. It may well be that the cooperative is disappearing as "a way of life" and, as CANOYER and CHEIT put it, perhaps the day is near at hand when consumer cooperatives must justify their existence entirely on economic grounds."[31]

The exceedingly complex pattern of economic and political relationships among the Finns is difficult to summarize, but certain important points may be made:

1. The political and economic institutions of the Finnish people were an outgrowth of conditions that prevailed in the United States and the political and economic conditioning that the immigrants had received in their native land.

2. Although the organizations to which the immigrant Finns belonged, such as the Socialist Party and the I.W.W. were American, the immigrants formed their own Finnish language chapters or locals and functioned, more or less, as isolated parts of the American movements.

3. To the Finns each of these economic and political endeavors represented a "way of life." In addition to their manifest functions, these associations provided the immigrants with many of the social satisfactions that were denied to them by the dominant society.

4. The Finnish immigrants have been particularly active in the formation of cooperative enterprises. Today the cooperative represents the only Finnish initiated institution which has attracted American-born Finns and members of other ethnic groups. It appears, however, that the American-born emphasize the material benefits to be gained through cooperative purchasing and selling, whereas the immigrants viewed the cooperatives as centers of organized social activities. This difference in value orientations has been the basis of many misunderstandings.

[1] See Paul F. BRISSENDEN, "The Launching of the Industrial Workers of the World," Master's thesis published in University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. IV, No. 1 (November 25, 1913), pp. 1—42.

[2] Mary BEARD, A Short History of the American Labor Movement (New York: George H. Doran and Company, 1924), p. 146.

[3] From the I.W.W. Preamble. See Paul F. BRISSENDEN, The I.W.W. A Study of American Syndicalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), p. 352. For the story of the I.W.W. since 1920 see John S. GAMBS, The Decline of the I.W.W. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

[4] "Among the first words uttered by William D. Haywood in calling the first I.W.W. convention to order were words of criticism of the American Federation of Labor for its discriminations against Negroes and foreigners." BRISSENDEN, op. cit., p. 208. The I.W.W. actually encouraged the formation of foreign-language locals. Ibid., p. 160.

[5] The I.W.W. made a considerable amount of headway among other nationalities as well during the strike. But unschooled in the social philosophy of the I.W.W., these ethnic groups lost interest soon after the strike ended. Today only the Finns in the iron mining country give their support to the I.W.W., although very few of them are any longer card-carrying members.

[6] The most prominent Finnish I.W.W.'s were not spared in the anti-I.W.W. campaigns during and following World War I. Several were beaten, and at least one was horsewhipped in Billings, Montana. The famous 166 case in Chicago included several Finns. See GAMBS, op. cit., p. 30.

[7] These immigrants point out that they sponsored schools and educational classes and tried in various ways to attract the young. The Young People's Socialist League affiliates, the Young Communist locals, and the Junior Wobblies had a very brief existence among the Finns.

[8] The United Steel Workers of America, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has replaced the I.W.W. in the mining areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. While they give the CIO their support and even urge the American-born to join, most former "Wobblies" do not consider it to be a worthy successor to the I.W.W. The American-born Finns are considered to be "good" CIO members. They also join such organizations as the American Legion, which was condemned by the "old-time" radicals as undemocratic and anti-labor. In many iron mining towns the CIO and the American Legion cooperate in civic affairs, such as the Fourth of July celebrations. This is another thing to which the "old-timers' point and say, "Times have surely changed". H. Haines TURNER, Case Studies of Consumer's Cooperatives. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, p. 12.

[9] Cooperatives handle from 10 to 12 per cent of the total retail trade in Switzerland, 10 per cent in the British Isles and 12 per cent in Sweden. See Charles P. LOOMIS and J. Allan BEEGLE. Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1950), p. 643.

[10] TURNER, op. cit., p. 13.

[11] The number of active cooperators, after allowances had been made for the fact that the same person may be a member of more than one cooperative society, was estimated in 1950 at one million, or approximately one-fourth of the nation's population. Jaakko KIHLBERG, Speaking of Finland. Helsinki, Finland: Kustannus Oy Mantere, 1952, p. 19.

[12] TURNER, op. cit., p. 14.

[13] Carl C. TAYLOR, The Farmers' Movement, 1620—1920 (New York: American Book Company, 1953), p. 155 ff.

[14] The three fundamental principles are: (1) open and voluntary membership irrespective of race, occupation, nationality, social class, religious creed, or political affiliation: (2) democratic control "each member being given only one vote regardless of the number of shares he owns, and no voting by proxy is permitted;" and (3) limited interest rate on capital, and return of surplus earnings to patrons in proportion to patronage. Three other principles considered to be important are political, racial, and religious neutrality; cash trading; and the promotion of cooperative education. See Leonard C. KERCHER, V. W. KEBKER, and Wilfred C. LELAND, Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941, pp. 5—6.

[15] TURNER, op. cit., p. 13.

[16] F. J. SYRJÄLÄ, Historia-aiheita Amerikan Suomalaisesta Työväenliikkeestä. Fitchburg, Massachusetts: Raivaaja Publishing Co., 1925, pp. 210—18.

[17] Elis SULKANEN, Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia. Fitchburg, Massachusetts: Finnish-American League for Democracy and Raivaaja Publishing Co., 1951, pp. 291—92.

[18] Roland VAILE in KERCHER, et. al., op. cit., p. vii.

[19] Central Cooperative Annual Report, 1951 (Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Association, 1951), p. 3.

[20] Central Cooperative Yearbook, 1955 (Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Association, 1955).

[21] KERCHER, et.al., op. cit., pp. 15—16.

[22] Cooperative Yearbook, 1937 (Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1937).

[23] For the story of this attempt see George HALONEN, Taistelu osuustoimintarintamalla (Superior, Wisconsin: The Active Press, 1932).

[24] For years the cooperative stores belonging to the Central Cooperative Wholesale were referred to by native Americans as "Finn stores".

[25] For additional data from this survey as it pertains to Minnesota see Walfrid J. JOKINEN, The Finns in Minnesota: A Sociological Survey. Unpublished Master's thesis, Lousiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1953, pp. 121—26.

[26] Letter to the writer from Mr. Edwin Whitney, Head of the Area Services Department, CCW, December 18, 1952.

[27] "I would say," he added, "that none of the societies are predominantly Finnish in membership. Often, however, the Finnish element predominates in board membership and cooperative activity." Ibid.

[28] The first meetings of the Central Cooperative Wholesale were conducted in Finnish. As the English speaking proportion in the membership increased the meetings became bilingual. In 1948, however, it was decided that henceforth all CCW conventions would be conducted in English, although individual delegates would be permitted to use Finnish. In 1948, 59 per cent of the persons employed by the CCW were of Finnish descent. John I. KOLEHMAINEN and George HILL, Haven in the Woods. Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society, 1951, p. 149.

[29] One "old-time" cooperator told the writer: "Yes, we are getting larger — although we're still small compared to the chain stores — but what worries me is that we are becoming too businesslike. Just look at our newspapers. We write more about merchandizing than anything else. I, for one, wouldn't like to see the cooperatives become a mere business."

[30] Helen G. CANOYER and Earl F. CHEIT, "Consumer Cooperatives in Minnesota," Business News Notes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 19, No. 5 (November, 1952), p. 3.

[31] Ibid., p. 4.

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V

Finnish Immigrant Culture in America

1. THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Most Finnish immigrants intended to stay in America for only a few years. But once the difficulties of settling in a new country were overcome and the immigrant had married and established a home, the idea of returning to Finland was gradually abandoned. He began to realize that he would remain in America. As this realization dawned on him, his original goals began to change. At the outset he had only wanted a jingling gold dollar that would make him wealthy and respected when he returned to his native district. As he abandoned his hope of return, his goal became the creation of an environment that would replace as much of the life left behind in Finland as possible.

The church had previously played a prominent role in the life of Finnish immigrants. Finnish-American congregations were a response to the longing felt by some of the immigrants for their own parish churches in Finland.

On the other hand, the temperance movement among Finnish immigrants in the United States may have had another cause. While immigration to America was at its peak, people back home often felt that the greatest danger to the immigrant was the American saloon. The great number who did succumb

to alcohol shows that the danger was not wholly imaginary. On the other hand, it should be remembered that many immigrants were from backgrounds where heavy drinking was common. Thus when the Finnish immigrant drank, raised a row and staggered about in an American saloon with a hunting knife in his hand, the surroundings were admittedly new, but the carousing and knives were frequently part of a tradition brought from Finland.

Of course drinking and brawling in saloons cannot be blamed entirely on Finnish tradition, for the new surroundings also helped inspire them. The controls supplied by the Finnish village community were now absent; most relatives were still in Finland and the influence of the church did not extend all the way to America. Since the immigrant had more money than before, liquor was cheap, and saloons were plentiful in the towns, the temptations were perhaps greater than they had been in Finland.

There is no single explanation for the heavy use of alcohol by immigrants. It is apparent, however, that rather many considered the heavy use of alcohol the worst vice among Finnish-Americans. It was attributed to the new surroundings. This was also the assumption made by those Finnish-Americans who are credited with starting the temperance movement. Finnish immigrants had contact with the temperance movement early on, at the beginning of the 1880s, through temperance societies founded in Michigan by the Norwegians and Swedes. These societies were usually part of an organization called the *Independent Order of Good Templars.* Language, however, was an obstacle for the Finns. Thus by the mid-1880s the need for Finnish-language temperance societies was so great that first purely Finnish organizations were founded. *The Pohjantähti* (North Star) temperance society of Quincy, Mich, was the first.

Thus at the outset Finnish temperance societies were members of the Good Templars' organization. But by 1888 there were so many societies that a Finnish central organization was set up. This organization was the *"Suomalainen Kansallis Raittius Weljeys Seura"* (The Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood).

Temperance societies flourished for nearly 20 years after the Finnish Brotherhood was founded. Between 1888 and 1902, 161 temperance societies joined the larger association. Though some temperance societies functioned for only a short time and a few were not very active, it is still true that most Finnish cultural activity at the turn of the century revolved around them.

Not all the Finns could find room within a single church community in America and several quarrelling religious organizations appeared. The same applies to the Finnish-American temperance movement. Perhaps there was some justification for feeling that the scope of a temperance movement

based on the model of the Swedish and Norwegian societies was too narrow. Abstention from alcohol alone was not enough and other demands were made on temperance society members. A "total program" with the following points was called for:

A temperance man must not curse, speak crudely, gamble, dance in improper circumstances, live immorally, hate and tyrannize his fellow man, be envious . . . (or) otherwise display depravity. [1]

The names of the temperance societies reflect the high goals set for the movement and the romanticism that existed at the beginning. Michigan had the *"Ray of Light"* and *"The Star of Life."* Minnesota the *"Star of the Wilderness"* and the *"Home of Peace."* Wyoming the *"Sun Beam"* and the *"Cry of Joy"* and Utah the *"Star of the Mountains."* The names of temperance societies formed among Swedish-speaking Finnish immigrants were similar: in Michigan, for example, societies called *"Lily in the Valley"* and *"Star in the Home"* were founded. [2]

The Finnish-American temperance movement took a more liberal tack as early as 1890 when *"Good Hope,"* a Michigan society, began to call for an end to excessive religiousness, such as prayer at the opening of temperance meetings. When these demands were not met, representatives of the free-thinking group started an organization called the *"Finnish Association of the Friends of Temperance in America."* The conservatives condemned it severely. They claimed that the "saloon was no match in noise for the (free-thinking) temperance people on a Sunday evening."[3]

Though the Association of the Friends of Temperance never rivaled the Brotherhood in size, there were two Finnish temperance societies in some localities before long. Furthermore, alongside the societies belonging to either the Association of the Friends of Temperance or to the Brotherhood there were also independent groups that did not want to join either of the larger associations. And moreover, at the end of the nineties, the *"Eastern Finnish Temperance Association in America"* appeared. A number of temperance societies in the eastern United States were affiliated with it.

Swedish-speaking immigrants from Finland formed their own societies. In the beginning they belonged to the Finnish-speaking associations, but at the end of the nineties they founded their own. Language difficulties had proved too great. Still, the break with the Finnish central organization did not produce any bad feelings.

Division into more or less quarrelling groups undoubtedly hindered temperance work. But there are other, more important reasons for the decline of the temperance movement. It probably started around 1910, when the socialist labor movement won a firm foothold among the Finnish immigrants. Temperance was considered important within the labor movement and some truly extreme demands were made at socialist meetings. The

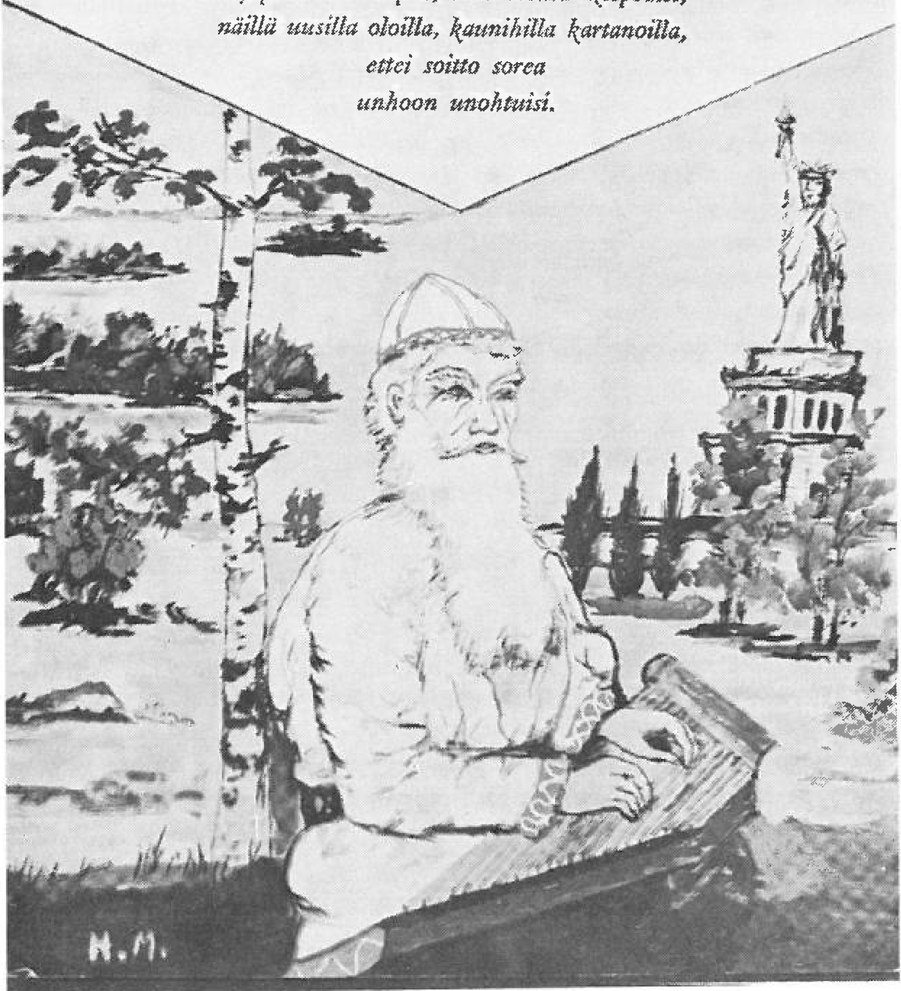
1906 convention, for example, approved a resolution calling for "a nation-wide ban of alcoholic beverages."[4] Finnish socialists, however, did not approve of activity led by Lutheran pastors, such as that within the Brotherhood. Socialists sometimes obtained meeting facilities for themselves by "taking over" halls from the temperance societies. They "took over" by first joining the temperance societies. Once they were in the majority they began using the halls for their own purposes. We do not know how many of these "take-overs" occurred, but it is certain that the struggle between socialists and temperance men greatly reduced the scope of the latter.

Finnish temperance workers joined others in calling for nation-wide prohibition. Ratification of the 18th amendment in 1919 was possibly a victory to many a supporter of temperance, making past efforts seem worthwhile. But on the other hand, prohibition made the future of temperance work seem uncertain. This may be one reason for the decline of the temperance societies. The socialists' break with the Brotherhood societies may also have contributed. Dwindling immigration was yet another factor; no new blood was coming from Finland. The older generation of immigrants grew tired; their ranks were thinning and because the temperance societies used Finnish at their meetings, the second and third generations were not interested in attending. The ideological content of the temperance movement probably no longer appealed to youth in the 1920s. In any case, the movement was soon a mere shadow of its former self. Meetings gradually turned into coffee drinking sessions for the older generation, and in the end these also stopped. The last meetings were probably held sometime in the 1960s.

2. THE KNIGHTS AND LADIES OF KALEVA

While Finnish-American leftists played an important role in the American left — which never won more than modest support — Finnish-Americans of the right, Democrats and Republicans, were never able to achieve anything comparable. Of course a small group of immigrants could never have played a significant role in a huge American party, even if they had been unified. Moreover, there was very little cooperation in politics among right-wing Finnish-Americans. However, right-wing Finnish-Americans were very active in preserving Finnish culture. The *Knights of Kaleva* and *the Ladies of Kaleva* were the most prominent organizations engaged in this task. At the beginning of the 1930s it is estimated that they had over 2,000 members.[5]

The Knights of Kaleva was founded at the end of the 1890s in Belt, Montana, where *Pellervoinen Lodge No. 1* was started. John Stone, originally of Oulu, was the founder. At the beginning of this century a corresponding



Finnish traditions in the United States have been fostered by the Kalevan Naiset (Ladies of Kaleva) society. Its publication Kalevainen (The Kalevian) has been appearing since 1913. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

women's organization was set up. The first was called *Mielikki Lodge No. 1.* Lodges after the Montana model were set up all across the United States and Canada. An attempt was made to take the idea abroad, to South America, Australia, and Finland, but without much success. The following grounds were given for taking it to Finland:

> Finland is the ancient and most natural home of the idea. It is the site of that hearth where the national fire, like that of Vesta, must never die out if the concept of Finnish nationality is to survive.[6]

The central organization of the Knights of Kaleva was called the Supreme Lodge and its chairman became the "first among equals." The same name was applied to the central organization of the Ladies of Kaleva.

The Kaleva order's ideology is perhaps most apparent in the names of the lodges, which were usually borrowed from the Kalevala itself. Examples include the *Lemminkäinen, Väinötär, Suvantolainen,* and *Annikki Lodges.* Finnish national costumes were very popular at meetings, where presentations on the Kalevala, Finnish history, Sibelius, and other themes were made. When it was impossible to get copies of the Kalevala from Finland during the World Wars, the Kaleva orders had Finnish editions made in America. Kalevala romanticism went to an extreme in the 1910s when theosophists belonged to the organization. They wished to replace the Bible with the Kalevala.

> Are we forever to obtain moral teachings and inspirational themes from Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia? No! Because our own are much closer. Does it help us if others honor their own poetry and song? No! As long as we do not become their equals by honoring our own. Does it help me if another person is good, noble, and able? No! Unless I improve my own abilities and virtues in order to gain equality with them.
> Is the Kalevala a suitable religious book for Finns? Yes it is! Is it possible to combine the ancient pagan wisdom of Finland with the Christian faith? Yes, from this point of view it is. The moral teachings of the Kalevala do not conflict with belief in a single God. Instead, they complement this belief with their vitality.[7]

Very few Finnish-Americans sought to make the Kalevala a religious book. Instead, many did go very far in their admiration of it. Armas Holmio's statement rings true:

> The hillocks of Karelia may have to take on a blue tinge and Väinö's kantele be heard from across the ocean before they produce the high national feelings and ideals that are part of the Kaleva movement in America.[8]

Both the Knights and Ladies of Kaleva were secret organizations, and only some of their functions were open to non-nembers. Although secret societies are very common in America, the secrecy of the Knights and Ladies of Kaleva aroused suspicion among both churches and left-wing organizations.

Though relations with religious organizations and the left were sometimes cool, the Kaleva orders' own publications indicate that the Knights and the Ladies took very little part in disputes within the Finnish-American community and that there was little internal friction. Since their goal was to win respect for Finnishness and to unite the Finns in a national effort, playing the role of conciliator was of course important.

The Kaleva orders readily accepted English as their second language. There were some efforts to attract the second generation, but the results were not encouraging. People wondered "why Finnish children born in America did not join Finnish societies in greater numbers." Someone instructed members "not to tell children all kinds of stories about knifings. Instead, something pleasant. And we do have something pleasant to tell about Finland."[9] But the right approach was not found. The second and third generations were not enchanted by Kalevian romanticism. In 1945 *Kalevalainen,* the organization's annual publication, was very pessimistic about the future:

Let us now move on to examine how we have succeeded in our task. We do not have to waste many words. Everyone can look around and listen. It the generation which we have brought up to continue our work and to preserve Finnishness up to its task? Do we hear the Finnish language? Is the Finnish ideal reflected in the second generation today? The answer is negative. The younger generation remains aloof from Finnish community effort. Discussions within our societies and the words of our speakers indicate that Finnishness will vanish in a few decades.[10]

3. ATHLETIC ORGANIZATIONS

Finnish-American athletics date back to the first decade of this century — to the period when immigration from Finland was at its peak and when Finnish-American culture was in its prime. At the beginning of this century the temperance societies formed gymnastics sections which sometimes performed at meetings and celebrations. A few independent gymnastic societies were also started at this time.

Competitive sports became popular in Finland in the 1910s and enthusiasm soon spread among the Finnish-Americans. Of course some of the immigrants who arrived during those years had already taken part in athletic events. And the popularity of long-distance running in Finland was probably the reason for similar enthusiasm on the other side of the Atlantic. There were a few Finnish immigrants who could even compete successfully in international meets. The most famous of these were the Olympic gold medal winners Hannes Kolehmainen and Ville Ritola.

Paavo Nurmi was not an immigrant, but Finnish-Americans considered him one of their own. Paavo Nurmi's success in America in the 1920s

surely raised the self-esteem of Finnish-Americans, who were suffering badly from post-war discrimination against the "new" immigrants. It is easy to see that Finnish-American newspapers considered Nurmi's triumphs great moments for the immigrant community as well. *The Finnish-American Atheletic Club in New York,* familiar to Finnish-American sports enthusiasts, made Paavo Nurmi an honorary member.

Some of the members of the "Kanto" athletic club in 1920, Maynard, Mass. (Suomi-Society, Helsinki.)

Hannes Kolehmainen and Ville Ritola were perhaps the only Finnish immigrants to win international fame on the track. A few other Finns also did very well in long-distance races in the United States. Sometimes a large contingent of Finnish-Americans took part in the Boston marathon. In 1930 the New York Finnish-American Athletic Club won the Boston marathon by placing second, third, and thirteenth. Finns belonging to other athletic societies also made their mark; one placed fourth and one old veteran was among the top forty.

In 1928 and 1929 a race was held in the United States that was probably more torture than sport. The starting point was Los Angeles and the goal was New York. Attracted by the first prize of $ 25,000, a group of Finnish-Americans entered and one of them, John Salo, took second place in the first race. John Salo was the fastest the second time this "Bunion Derby" was held, but still did not receive the grand prize. The sponsor went bankrupt during the race and the prizes were never awarded.

While Hannes Kolehmainen's example was arousing Finnish-American

enthusiasm for long-distance running, "wrestling fever" swept through the immigrant community. A group of wrestlers who were at least familiar to the Finnish immigrant community joined the New York Finnish-American Athletic Club. Finns who had wrestled before emigrating apparently brought this activity with them. Some of the Finnish-American wrestlers were professionals, and successful ones, too.

Boxing has not been very popular with Finnish-Americans. Nevertheless, one of Finland's best known boxers emigrated to America. This was Gunnar Bärlund, who won the European heavyweight championship in 1934.

No single church, temperance movement or labor movement could accommodate all the Finnish-Americans. Instead, numerous rival organizations were needed in all three fields. Likewise, not everyone could run on the same track or wrestle on the same mat. The oldest athletic clubs were either part of temperance societies or completely independent of other organizations. The independent societies produced the brightest Finnish-American stars in the 1910s. Furthermore, the socialists formed their own athletic societies. Their aim was not merely to train topnotch competitors, but to spread their ideology as well. Members of socialist societies had to be more than just good athletes; they had to be working class athletes, too.

When the Finnish-American socialists spilt into two groups at the beginning of the 1920s — the socialists and the communists — two separate athletic organizations were also needed. All were strongly ideological, and some were extremely so. Nor was it enough that each group ran its own races and that party comrades could only wrestle other party comrades. Scorn for another's hop, step and jump or wrestling hold had to be shown if only some reason could be found.

Finnish-American athletics were still going strong at the beginning of the 1930s. The socialists had their own athletic federation and several sports societies capable of arranging championship meets. Athletic organizations sponsored by the communists were probably just as active at this time. Finnish-American athletics however began to decline during the early years of the Great Depression when the first generation was growing too old to run and wrestle. By the mid-1930s there were hardly any meets at all.

Although Finnish-American immigrants were already becoming too old for active participation, they did not lose interest in athletics. Spectator sports were in vogue, particularly in the eastern United States. At least the sports sections of Finnish-American newspapers support this conclusion. The *New Yorkin Uutiset* appears to have had the most interest in athletics. Efforts on behalf of Finnish athletics received more support in the eastern United States than anywhere else. Again, it was in this part of the country that most funds to cover the costs of sending Finnish athletes to the Olympic Games were collected as well as most of the money used to assist runners in the Boston

marathon. Since the early 1950s there has been a special marathon committee in Massachusetts, financing Finnish participation in the Boston marathon. This committee has thus far brought tens of Finnish runners to America.

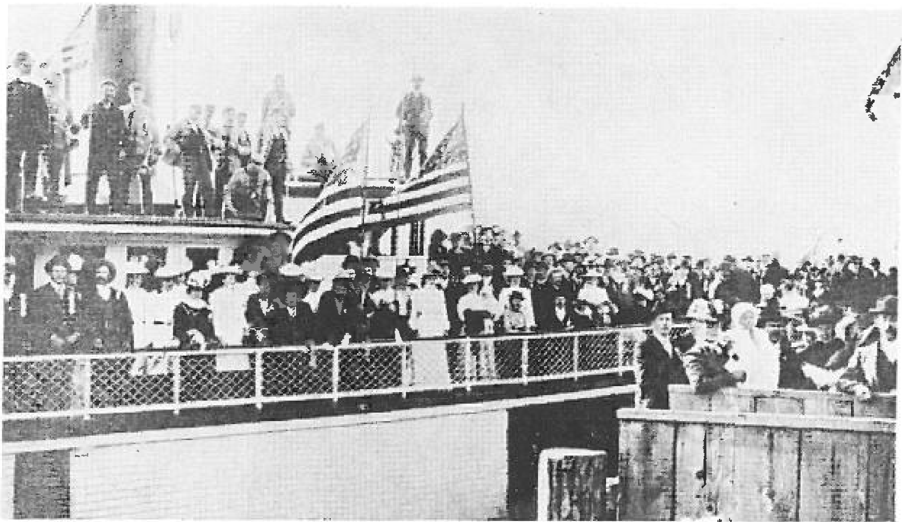
4. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETIES

a. The Stage — a Finnish-American Favorite.

By the time the temperance societies were flourishing — at the turn of the century — drama had already become one of the most popular forms of entertainment at Finnish-American gatherings. When the socialist labor movement came into its own just prior to the outbreak of the First World War, it adopted drama from the temperance societies. In some cases the socialists even "took over" the stages of the temperance organizations; socialists obtained a majority of the shares in a "hall" and converted it into a meeting place of their own.

Practically speaking, all the temperance societies and socialist sections performed some plays. Most of the socialist locals were active enough to sponsor their own drama society. In 1912 Finnish-Americans belonged to 217 socialist sections; 107 of these could boast of their own drama society. [11]

The Finnish-American labor movement broke up into three quarrelling factions: the socialists, the IWW, and the communists. There were communities in which each had its own dramatic society. Since the Finns in these areas numbered only in the hundreds, and at the very most in the



The first Finnish festival in Seattle, Wash. on July 5th 1901. (The American Album.)

Theater has always been extremely popular among American Finns. In the picture actors of the workers' association "Saima" from the year 1928. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

thousands, and since some of the Finns were "church folk" who could not go to leftist halls, the competition for spectators was keen. Still, each faction had to maintain its own stage in order to annoy members of the two "wayward" socialist sections. Each acted as if theirs was the only drama society in the community.

Performances varied greatly in quality. The best societies attained amateur competency, though there were probably some hopeless groups, too. But there was no criticism in newspapers. Local reporters announced almost all performances in advance, but were equally consistent in avoiding comment on the reaction of the audience. This lack of criticism is probably the result of two factors. A negative review would have resulted in a great outcry among the socialist sections and the reviewer would have been in the dog house. Knowing this, he was careful not to offend anybody. The other reason may be that dramatic performances were considered part of the class struggle. The class enemy should not be comforted with the knowledge that a performance in one's own hall was a flop.

Plays during the first two decades of the 20th century were mainly the products of Finnish writers, both amateur and professional. Sometimes they were adapted to American conditions. Other scripts were translations of American plays. Finnish-Americans, however, were very keen to write their own plays — particularly in the 1920s. Amateur playwrights turned up here and there. Some were better, some worse, but all were certainly enthusiastic about the cause. Themes were obtained from the Finnish-Americans' own

surroundings: from mining strikes, construction sites, logging camps, and police action, to cite just a few. Frequently the misery of life in Finland was recalled and the defects of Finnish society were pointed out. The class war in Finland was a favorite in the 1920s. It was used at socialist, IWW, and communist halls. The communists liked to stage plays about the Russian Revolution and the Red Army.

Harmony within Finnish-American drama societies was often lacking. The actors' hot blood came easily to a boil. If harmony was maintained, it was considered worthy of mention in the annual report. Thus in reviewing a year's work in the 1920s one drama society had cause for satisfaction.

Harmony on the stage itself and with respect to all other branches of the organization has been exemplary. This proves that respect for our joint efforts has been above low-minded personal interests and factionalism. There has been enough work, so there has been no time for tearing down what built up and for breaking up what has been kept together. [12]

Amateur players sacrificed a great deal of time. The 1920 report of the socialist section in Gardner, Massachusetts may give an unnecessarily imposing picture of socialist activity in general, though other organizations may have followed the Gardner model now and then.

A total of 35 meetings of the drama society were held during the season. Organization and activities were the main topics of discussion. There were a total of 197 rehearsals. When twenty-seven actual performances are included, the drama society met 259 times during the 10 month season. How many evenings did the actors have off? Only Thursdays and then they danced. [13]

The number of performances began to drop off in the 1930s as the generation of immigrants that arrived from Finland at the turn of the century grew old and dwindled away. Drama continues to arouse interest even in the 1970s, particularly among the Finns who have moved to Florida. Most of the plays since the Second World War have been entertaining, in contrast to the days of the immigrants' passionate youth when the plays were ideological and educational as well as entertaining.

b. Bands and Choirs.

If the stage was once dear to Finnish-Americans, then so were bands and choirs. There are stories about a Finnish band in Oregon around 1870. They are not necessarily reliable, but the bands started by Rudolf Nelson of Hämeenlinna in Wyoming and Colorado in the 1880s were more than just a story. From then on bands were formed continually, although they never became as common as the drama societies. Figures for the heyday of the socialist labor movement in 1912 support this view; socialist sections maintained 107 drama societies and only 28 bands.[14]

It is said that many of the band directors were *"batallion players"* from

Finland. The term may refer to the military bands of the Sharpshooter Batallions during the Russian era. Perhaps it was just this military tradition that made brass instruments overwhelmingly popular. It may be that no one other than the former batallion directors was available when the bands were organized. And there did not seem to be a surplus of "batallion players," for Finnish-Americans sometimes sought directors for their bands through newspapers in Finland.

Yrjö Sjöblom, who took part himself in Finnish-American music groups, had this to say about the quality of the bands!

These Finnish bands differed greatly in ability. Some were able somehow to handle seven-piece brass-band arrangements from Finland, but the few that had, under very favorable circumstances, been able to develop further, such as the Monessen *"Louhi"* and the Ashtabula *"Humina,"* achieved an amazingly high level, considering what they had to work with.[15]

Regardless of whether they were good or bad, the bands did play a very important part in Finnish-American cultural life. They brought joy to player and listener alike during respite from hard work. When immigration dwindled after the First World War, never to pick up again, the bands began to decline. Apparently there was not a single Finnish-American band that played regularly after the Second World War.

The history of Finnish-American choirs was virtually the same as that of the bands. We can assume that the first choirs were formed at the end of the 1880s, although their heyday was also during the first decades of the 20th century. Choirs began to decline at the same time bands did, although they have survived into the present decade. The average age of the singers may be the highest in the world; only a few of the participants in Florida choirs in recent years have been under 70.

Finnish-Americans have also had their songwriters, who performed at gatherings and also made recordings in the 1920s. The most famous of these pop singers was obviously Hiski Salomaa, whose *"Lännen lokari"* is still familiar in Finland.

Finnish factionalism was also apparent in musical activities. The labor movements had their own choirs, as did the churches. Nor could they sing from the same book. Each published its own song book from which faith and inspiration was drawn.

Music held second place in the hearts of Finnish-Americans. In a playful tone, and with some exaggeration, a Finnish-American who took part had this to say in 1917:

Have you ever met or heard of a male Finnish-American between the ages of 30 and 40 who had not belonged to a band sometime and somewhere? In the good old days belonging to a band was just as necessary as adorning the walls with pictures of the Catholic Savior or business calendars . . . That's when the transition from the accordion and player piano to the band took

place, a time when belonging to a band was the highest aspiration of every healthy, decent young man who enjoyed full civil rights. [16]

c. Newspapers

Compared with immigrants from many other countries the rate of literacy among Finns was exceptionally high. For this reason the Finnish-American press had a good foundation to build on, just as the other cultural pursuits did.

Although only a few of the Finnish immigrants that arrived in the 1870s were accustomed to reading a newspaper in Finland, the need for their own newspapers was already apparent. Newspapers from Finland were no longer enough. First of all, they were months late in arriving. Secondly they told virtually nothing about events in America and immigrant life. And thirdly, the immigrants were annoyed by the attitude of Finnish newspapers in the 1870s, which usually branded them traitors.

The first newspaper started by Finnish-Americans was the *Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti* (The Finnish-American Newspaper). It was founded in 1876 by Antti J. Muikku, a secondary school graduate. The number of subscribers remained so small that the paper never became viable. There were only a few thousand Finns in America at the time and this of course partly accounted for the lack of subscribers. The great waves of immigrants were yet to come. Partly too, the poor record of the Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti was a result of the low level of both language and content. Yet a third cause was Salomon Kortetniemi, the leader of the largest Finnish-American religious group at that time. Kortetniemi fobade his followers to read Muikku's sinful newspaper. Thus the Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti survived for only a few months.

Muikku's successor was the painter, Matti Fred. Fred founded a paper called *Swen Tuuwa,* which had the following motto:

"For you, Finn, I'll choose my words with care." *Swen Tuuwa* did not last long either. Fred soon founded another paper, this time calling it the *Sankarin Maine* (The Fame of the Hero). He recalled the story of Swen Tuuva with the following poem:

Swen Tuuwa is dead, but the fame of the hero lives on. Swen did not live long, but he won the fame of a hero before his death.
The same happened to *Swen Tuuwa.* This bear could not be overcome by hand, A man stands close, protecting him from the bullets, The league noticed that the charge had failed, The enemy troops turned away, moving slowly.

The paper's watchword was "Long live the fame of the hero, and elevate the dignity of the nation." The Sankarin Maine was also short-lived. In contrast, the new Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti, started in 1879, and whose editor was Alex Leinonen of Paltamo, had an influence on the immigrant community up to the mid-1890s. Leinonen, who arrived in the United States in 1869 and worked for a long time as a surveyor in Texas before becoming

Some Finnish American newspapers. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

an editor, was probably one of the most able Finnish-American journalists. He was also very well-known in Finland at the end of the 1870s when he frequently contributed articles, short stories and poems to the *Oulun Wiikko Sanomia* and to *Keski-Suomi.*

Once a beginning was made, the Finnish-American press mushroomed. Thus newspapers like *Uusi Kotimaa, Kansan Lehti, Kalevan Kaiku, Amerikan Uutiset, Lännetär* (which later became the *Siirtolainen), Työmies,* and the *New Yorkin Lehti* were started. Uusi Kotimaa and the Siirtolainen were published for several decades. The others were short-lived.

In the early years most Finnish-American newspapers were probably commercial ventures, belonging to one or more individuals. Swen Tuuwa was owned by Matti Fred. The New Yorkin Lehti belonged to a Jew from Finland, G. A. Grönlund, who sold Finnish immigrants tickets in New York and sent their money to Finland. *Työmies* was also private, but it got support from the temperance movement; it was both a commercial venture and the mouthpiece of the movement.

Around 1900 new kinds of newspapers began to appear. They were published by a church or political group. Members of the Suomi Synod founded the *Amerikan Suometar* in 1899, a step they found necessary.

...The other newspapers took a coldly critical and unfavorable attitude toward our Synod. Published in a light vein with uncertain principles, and

Finnish American magazines from the beginning of the 20th century (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

lacking a firm foundation, they had neither a definite program nor definite aims. Thus they have not satisfied the more serious. [17]

In starting the Amerikan Suometar, the Suomi Synod encouraged the other Finnish-American groups to found their own publications. The first newspaper published by the national church, *Todistusten Joukko,* was already appearing in 1900. The *Kansan Lehti* was started several years later to supplement it. At that time the national church was conscious of its strength. One of its own pastors had the following to say about the period:

A lot of noise was made and the cause of the national church was advanced. There was a desire to look big and the recognition of the world was sought. An attempt was made to attract a crowd. It was apparently successful. It was a noisy, curious crowd, one that would look around and make a stir. After all, one had to refute the charges and do one's best to return the gibes. One couldn't be second best in anything.[18]

Publishing the Kansan Lehti proved too much of a financial strain for the national church and it came out for only one year. The Todistusten Joukko was also discontinued. After a break of a couple of years the church began publishing *Auttaja,* which continued into the 1960s. And Finnish-American followers of Laestadius did not want to play second fiddle to the other religious groups; one branch of the movement founded *Valvoja* and the other *Opas.*

Finnish-American socialists first founded the Työmies for the Mid-Western states, then the *Raivaaja* for the East and the *Toveri* for the West. All these socialist newspapers got their start in the first decade of the 20th century. Newspaper publishing was a very important part of the labor movement. Newspapers showed the way, at a time when Finnish-American socialists were seeking the right paths. There were many opinions about the course to be taken. Quarrels flared up in newspaper columns. Those who attempted to show the way were sometimes shown considerable appreciation and sometimes subjected to sharp criticism. A 1912 convention in which the Raivaaja was praised is an example:

There's no proof that socialim is whatever makes the most noise. It's enough that the newspaper is run in the spirit of international Social Democracy. And the Raivaaja has done a splendid job, because it hasn't hopped around like a frog. [19]

Those who were dissatisfied with Raivaaja expressed themselves in the following manner:

I read Raivaaja with interest when the discussion of the party's course began. It seemed to me that debate of this sort was healthy. But once it degenerated into personal recrimination, it was anything but what a party paper should print. I expected Raivaaja to stop after Laukki had, but Syrjälä kept up the petty nagging for a long time. It aroused hostility against Raivaaja . . . Therefore, I would hope that in future the party mouthpiece will avoid this kind of behavior. [20]

Työmies, the other large socialist paper, came in for even more severe criticism than Raivaaja.

When Välimäki was running the Työmies it was a room full of gossipy old hags. Now that the wise Laukki is there it's become a muddle. What a hodgepodge![21]

Työmies was also defended:

Työmies follows the American labor movement more closely. That's the reason for the difference in course. Työmies supports the American labor movement. Raivaaja views the American labor movement through the eyes of Finnish social democracy. That's where the conflict is. Työmies should receive recognition. Neither has it scorned political action. [22]

When the radical IWW broke with the "yellow socialists" they immediately set up their own paper (1914). It was first called the *Sosialisti* and later the *Industrialisti*. The radicals justified their action in the following manner:

Once it became obvious at the meeting that the despicable, crooked intrigue in which the Raivaaja gang together with the members remaining on the Työmies board and the officials still in power had insidiously stolen Työmies from those who had built it up, it was proper — and even necessary, too — that the "radicals" should start up their own paper. [23]

The communist movement gained a lot of support among Finnish immigrants immediately after the First World War. The socialists lost both the Työmies and the Toveri to them. The communists started *Eteenpäin* for their supporters in the eastern parts of the United States. Their fourth paper was the Uusi Kotimaa, originally published in New York Mills, Minnesota on a commercial basis.

Along with the leftist ideological and the religious publications, commercial papers were also published in the 20th century. They expressed right-wing opinion. The most important of these were the *New Yorkin Uutiset,* the *Päivälehti* of Duluth, and the Amerikan Uutiset of New York Mills, which is still being published. The Amerikan Uutiset was previously known as the *Minnesotan Uutiset.* At its peak, the Finnish-speaking population of the United States (in the 1910s) was less than 200,000. And though the Finnish papers published in the United States did have a few Canadian readers, they still had to struggle with the economic problems brought on by a small circulation. During the heyday of the labor movement the labor newspapers had the soundest finances. Just prior to the First World War, the circulation of the labor papers — if we include ones like *Lapatossu* and *Pelto ja Koti* — may have been around 30,000. [24] Circulation may have been somewhat larger after the First World War, for the circulation of the communist press alone is estimated to have been around 40,000[25] at its peak. If the circulation of Raivaaja and Industrialisti are added to this figure, then the combined circulation of the labor press would be around 60,000. Since this estimate does not include the religious and commercial publications and since the number of first-generation Finnish immigrants living in the United States in the 1920s was only about 150,000, it is certain that practically speaking, at least one immigrant paper came to every Finnish-American home in this period. This large total circulation, however, was divided between many publications, making limited circulation a continual problem for individual Finnish newspapers.

The Finnish-American press flourished from the turn of the century until the end of the 1920s. During this period there were some newspapers that came out as often as six times a week. They had a large editorial staff, which was able to provide them diverse contents. Of course there was always an editorial, the slant of which depended on what the paper represented. The most important international news and wide coverage of events in the United States and Finland were also included. Particular emphasis was placed on immigrant affairs, which were covered in front page news and in letters from readers on the inside and back pages. The importance of readers' letters grew with time, for they provided information about relatives and acquaintances who might be living a continent away.

At the turn of the century there were two other important sections in

Finnish-American newspapers. One asked where a relative or someone from the home village was. The other contained numerous matrimonial advertisements, which were both amusing and serious. As there were fewer women than men, men tried to find themselves wives through newspaper advertisements. The Siirtolainen and the New Yorkin Uutiset were especially important in this respect, although there were also many advertisements in the labor movement papers. The Raivaaja's issue of December 13, 1906 had six such advertisements, each written with a twinkle in the eye.

If you women want to get married, then let us know. We're two men who've had wives before, but would like new ones. This means that only stout-hearted women can find a mate in us. The following traits are required: "Always receptive" expects his sweetheart to be affectionate and have some literary ability. "Reserved" expects his bride to have a serious, reserved nature and the ability to handle one man well. Send replies to Box 408, Fitchburg, Mass. "Receptive" and "Reserved." Real names must be used in replies.

There were generally few illustrations in the newspapers. The satirical publications were an exception. *Punikki,* in particular, glowed with the work of K. A. Suvanto's genius. The Wobblies, socialists, church Finns, Finns in Finland, American society and the "warlords of Europe" were all subjects of Suvanto's snappy, biting criticism. In the main, the scarcity of illustrations may have been caused by the publishers' financial difficulties.

The staff of the immigrant newspapers had sometimes obtained schooling in Finland and were sometimes self-taught. Very few second generation immigrants worked on editorial staffs. The long-time editor-in-chief of the Raivaaja, F. J. Syrjälä, is an example of those who had obtained schooling in Finland. Syrjälä gave the following information about his background not ong after his arrival from Finland:

F. J. Syrjälä, tailor, born at Kauvatsa, in the province of Turku — and — Pori on April 28, 1880. Joined the working man's association in Turku, in November 1897. Served as chairman and secretary in the Turku tailors' union and as secretary in the Turku working man's association. Served on the editorial staff of the *Länsisuomen Työmies* (now the *Sosialisti)* for 8 months. Also contributed to the *Kansan Lehti* and the *Työmies* (in Finland). Received personal reprimands from the governor of Turku — and — Pori province for inciting the public and was twice ordered to jail by the same official for the same reason. Arrived in America on June 2, 1903: served editorial staff of Raivaaja for nearly two years, written and made speeches.[26]

At the turn of the century the editorial staff of the *Työmies* was jokingly called the *"Jätkästaappi",* a reference to the editors' working class origins. It included assistant editor Richard Pesola, a good example of the self-taught Finnish-American editor.

Richard Pesola, born at the village of Köyhäjoki, Kaustinen, in 1886. Attended elementary school. Came to America in 1905 and joined the American Socialist

Party the following year (1906). Contributed often to our party newspapers and pulications. Published a collection of stories called *"Sorretun poluilta"* (From the Paths of the Oppressed) and a leaflet entitled *"Prof. W. Sombart sosialismia sotkemassa"* (Prof. Sombart makes a mess of socialism) and a play entitled *"Oikeus voittaa"* (Justice triumphs). Made speeches and founded socialist sections. Served on the editorial staff of *Toveri* and as a roving agent for the same paper. Worked in the iron mines . . . and enjoyed all the good things America offers the poor immigrant. Became a socialist who strongly supports the class struggle because of these good things. Now assistant editor of the Työmies.[27]

By the 1930s there had been a Finnish-American press for 60 years. At this point immigration from Finland to America was only a fraction of what it had been just before the outbreak of the First World War; those who had been part of the great wave of immigrants were already approaching middle age. Time and time again, Finnish-American associations pondered what could be done as the first generation immigrants yielded to a younger generation that was not intrested in following in their parents' footsteps. A quiet withdrawal also began within the Finnish-American press. The weakest were the first to go. In contrast, those which had firm roots in American soil — the Amerikan Suometar, Päivälehti, New Yorkin Uutiset, Raivaaja, Eteenpäin, Työmies, and the Industrialisti were able to continue. The Päivälehti ceased to exist in the 1940s, the Amerikan Suometar at the beginning of the 1960s. The Työmies and Eteenpäin were merged at the beginning of the 1950s.

Although the Finnish-American press had withered greatly by the 1960s, only one paper, the Amerikan Suometar, ceased operations in that decade. Displaying astonishing toughness, the Amerikan Uutiset, New Yorkin Uutiset, Raivaaja, Työmies — Eteenpäin, and the Industrialisti were still coming out at the beginning of the 1970s; of late the Industrialisti has been the work of one man, Jack Ujanen, who turned 80 years ago. The clock long ago struck the eleventh hour for the Finnish-American press. For some reason it has momentarily stopped. Perhaps midnight will not be struck until 1976, when the immigrant press turns a respectable 100.

d. Literature from ABC's to Novels

Since the Finnish-American's knowlege of English was limited, he wanted to read something besides a newspaper in his own language. His hopes were more than fulfilled. Of course the immigrant needed a calender, and he even had several to choose from. There were working men's calenders, and immigrant calenders. When he went to the "hall" he took his song book with him; there was one for the temperance hall and another for the working man's hall. And of course the church folk had their own song books. Cook books, agricultural handbooks, co-operative movement guides, and dictionaries were all practical aids. Those who wanted to teach their children Finnish

could choose from various ABC's; some written for the children of socialists, others for the children of church folk.

The immigrant's surroundings also inspired him to write poetry, short stories, novels, and plays. Most of these appeared in the heyday of the labor movements, during the first decades of this century. The left-wing immigrants were apparently much more active as poets and authors than the right-wing and those who were not interested in politics at all. The fact that there were three labor movements, and that each needed poetry and novels suited to its own ideology, probably goes far in accounting for Finnish-American energy. In addition to their own works, Finnish-Americans also published a good deal of literature in translation; Finnish-American editions of the works of Marx, Kautsky, Lenin, and Ingersoll appeared.

Immigrant literature was created first of all to serve the writer's own group. This limited the readership first to Finnish immigrants and then frequently to that small political group whose idea the work preached. Some perhaps dreamed that their work would be read in the "old country," too, but rarely was the level of the works or the themes such as would arouse even a little interest in Finland. For this reason the publication of anthologies of poems, short stories, and novels caused considerable economic difficulty. In contrast, ABC books and song books sold better. An ABC book for the "Finnish-American home, Sunday and summer school instruction" was printed in at least six editions, a Sunday school song book in at least five, and a working class song book in at least nine.

Writers and poets took their themes both from Finland and from their new surroundings. The reasons for emigration preoccupied many who took up the pen. Their thoughts traveled the same paths. Conditions in Finland, more than anything else, had driven them out. A cotter's daughter had an unhappy childhood. She had been orphaned and thrown onto the mercy of the world, suffering from hunger and the scorn of prosperous farmers. She rose out of beggary by becoming a servant girl. But her life was still hell and she had to beware that the parish priest, a no-good farmer, or some educated slouch from the city did not try to entice her to bed, promising her the earth. Some gave in, others quit their jobs, despising Finnish society from the bottom of their hearts. She came to America where she found a new society, but one spoiled by capitalism. Here, however, she found a new gallant with whom she began to go to the socialist hall. This was how the servant girl became a socialist.

Finnish-American novelists often described a mining town where accidents were everyday fare when they wrote about American society. The main character was a man with a large family. The mining company forced its victim to sign a "slave contract," which freed it from any responsibility in the event of an accident. And of course there was an accident. One day the man did

not return from the mines and the wife was left to fend for herself with all those children.

Finnish immigrant literature did not produce a single work that would wear out in the hands of today's readers. Some left-wing immigrant writers such as Kalle Rissanen, Jallu Rissanen, Aku Päiviö, Moses Hahl, Eemeli Parras, Kalle Toivola, Richard Pesola, Kalle Tähtelä, Santeri Mäkelä, and Mikael Rutanen were good enough to warrant mention in studies of Finnish working class literature.

5. LONGING FOR THE OLD COUNTRY

When emigration was in full swing, thousands of Finns left annually for America. Those who were fresh off the boat supplied earlier immigrants with information about conditions in the old country. Those who returned to Finland conveyed information about the "great west" and the kinfolks living there. Also, correspondence between relatives on both sides of the Atlantic was brisk. When emigration began to drop off in the 1920s, ending almost completely in the 1930s, the ties began to slacken. Most contacts were maintained by correspondence.

Most emigrants came from backgrounds where the pickings were slim. After emigration to America — where many achieved a substantially higher standard of living — Finland and the old home district seemed even poorer. Thus letters home often contained a dollar bill with instructions to spend it on coffee or some other rare delicacy.

In addition to the dollars sent to relatives, Finnish-Americans also sponsored fund-raising drives to relieve hardship in their native country or for a project considered important on both sides of the Atlantic. By the turn of the century Finnish-Americans were already working actively on behalf of the old country. Finnish autonomy had its defenders among the Finnish-Americans. They tried to show the American Congress, for example, what violent Russian repression was doing to Finland. Efforts were made to get articles into American newspapers explaining Finland's position. Again, as early as the turn of the century, there appear to have been drives to relieve the hardship caused by crop failures in Finland.

Finnish independence was a cause that interested nearly every Finnish-American. The views of the Finnish-American left and right, however, differed a great deal. Leftists considered Finland a "Podunk," where their comrades should be helped. As early as the summer of 1918 the Finnish-American left decided to raise "a million-mark fund" to help rebuild the Finnish labor movement. A strenuous fund raising drive apparently achieved this goal. However, unanimity about its ultimate destination was not reached. Toward the end of the drive the Finnish-American left began to quarrel about

which leftist group in Finland was to receive the money. In addition to the "million mark fund" the leftists also held less ambitious fund-raising drives intended to support labor organizations and newspapers in Finland.

Right-wing Finnish Americans also supported their former homeland as

Rahalähetykset Ameriikasta Suomeen.

Rahoja lähettäessä Ameriikasta Suomeen on rahat lähetettävät Postivekselissä (post Money Order), Pankki- eli Expressivekselissä eli, jos pienempi summa on kysymyksessä, rekisteröidyssä kirjeessä Päätoimistoon New-Yorkissa osoitteelle:

The Finland Steam Navigation Co. L:d.

Messrs Hornborg & Co, Gen'l Agents.

29 State Street, New-York

ynnä sen henkilön Suomessa, jolle rahat ovat aiotut, täydellinen ristimä- ja sukunimi (lääni, pitäjä ja kylä tahi kaupunki, katu ja talon numero). Herrat Hornborg & Co ilmoittavat paikalla minkä summan suomen rahassa vastaanottaja saapi ja rahat lähetetään 12—14 päivää sen jälkeen kuin ilmoitus on lähtenyt New-Yorkista, rekisteröidyssä kirjeessä ja ilmoitetulla osoitteella yhtiön pääkonttoorista Helsingissä vastaanottajalle. Täten saadaan rahoista mahdollisesti **korkein kurssi** ja lähetykset tulevat perille **nopeaan ja turvallisesti.** Jos niin tahdotaan lähetetään rahoja Suomeen myöskin sähkösanomalla ja lasketaan tällöin ainoastaan todelliset sähkösanomakustannukset.

Matkustajat jotka matkustavat Suomeen voivat Herrain Hornborg & Co konttoorista New-Yorkissa eli Montrealissa ostaa vekselin Suomen rahoille, jolla he saavat sitten paikalla nostaa vekselissä nimitetyn summan Suomen Höyrylaiva Osakeyhtiön konttoorissa maallenousupaikassa Suomessa. Täten vältetään että rahat voisivat pudota eli tulla varastetuksi matkalla, sillä vekselillä ei saa rahoja ulos muut kuin sen oikea omistaja.

Rahalähetykset Suomesta Ameriikkaan.

Rahoja voidaan myöskin lähettää Suomesta Ameriikkaan siten, että lähetetään eli maksetaan Suomen Höyrylaiva Osakeyhtiön pääkonttooriin Helsingissä se rahamäärä joka tahdotaan lähettää Ameriikkaan ja ilmoitetaan silloin tarkkaan vastaanottajan, Ameriikassa, täydellinen ristimä- ja sukunimi sekä osoite. Noin 12—14 päivää sen jälkeen kun rahat ovat tulleet Helsinkiin maksetaan ne New-Yorkin konttoorin kautta vastaanottajalle. Rahoja voidaan myös lähettää sähkösanomalla Ameriikkaan maksamalla sähkösanomakulut.

HUOM.! **Suomen Höyrylaiva Osakeyhtiö Helsingissä on vastuunalainen kaikista, sen pääasiamiehien Ameriikassa, Herrojen Hornborg & Co välittämistä rahalähetyksistä Ameriikasta Suomeen eli päinvastoin.**

The Finland Steam Navigation Co. advertised remittances of money from the United States to Finland and from Finland to the United States.

she gained independence. Finnish-American congregations, for example, collected money for congregations in Finland. And a fund-raising drive was held in the United States while Turku University was being established. Early

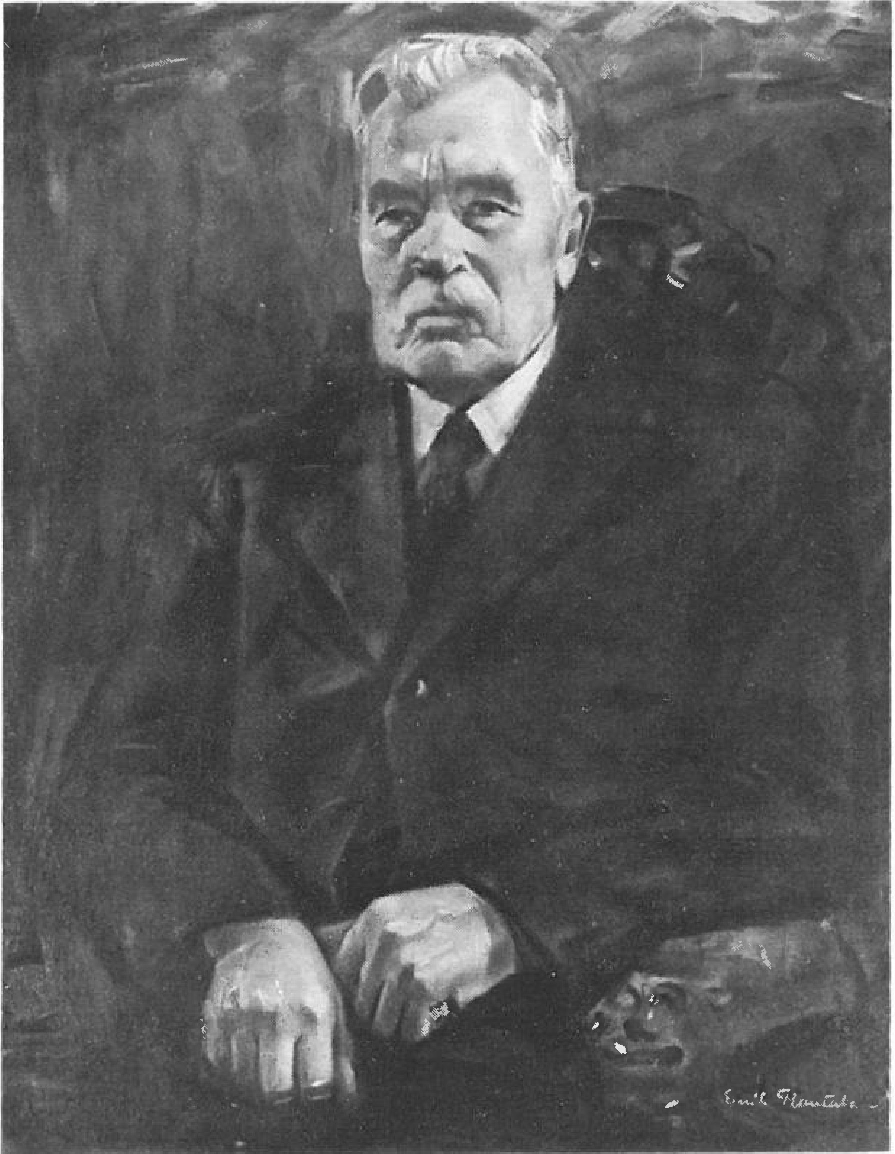
„LUE SYNNYT SYITÄ MYÖTEN,
LUOTTEHET LOMIA MYÖTEN."

urun uomalainen liopistoseura on vastaanottanut Teidän jalomielisen lahjoituksenne $ ja on liittävä sen rahastoon "Amerikan suomalaisten lahja synnyinmaalle." Täten osoittamastanne kansallisesta harrastuksesta lausumme Teille kunnioittavat kiitoksemme.

Yliopistoseuran puolesta:

A.D. MCMXXIII

In the early 1920s, American Finns donated funds for the founding of a private Finnish university in Turku. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).



One of the most successful immigrants was K. F. Joutsen, who worked in North America as a golddigger at the turn of the century. In 1948 he willed his property to Turku University. (The painting by Emil Rautala, done in 1947, hangs in the University of Turku.)

on, Finnish-Americans began to collect money to help Finnish athletes take part in the Olympics.

Finland became the focal point of world interest when she was drawn into the Second World War. Most Finnish-Americans felt that Finland's troubles were their own, and started an extensive relief program. The drive collected from 400,000 to 500,000 dollars to be sent to Finland. A small military detachment of some 300 Finnish-Americans also came; they arrived at the front only a few days before the end of the Winter War.

Boston Marathon runners Veikko Karvonen and Erkki Puolakka with Mr. Arvi Tokkola, Calif., N.J. ('Suomen Silta' 1955.)

During the Continuation War contacts between Finnish-Americans and Finland were almost entirely broken off, but once hostilities had stopped Finnish-Americans once again began to assist relatives, acquaintances, and even strangers, too. It has been estimated that Finnish-Americans sent more than two million packages to Finland between 1945 and 1949. Dollars were also sent to Finland, and in some cases they were probably a more effective form of aid than for example clothing, some of which was not particularly suited for use in Finland. Inquiries about the need for further packages were often made in the following way:

I'd like to know the name and address of Matti's wife. Also, the names and addresses of Matti's children, who are in Kokkola. I know Kaappo Alamäki's address, but not his sister Maija's surname. What is the name of his late sister Iida's grand-daughter?[28]

When the shortages caused by war in Finland gradually disappeared, the flood of packages from America dwindled. But Finnish-Americans continue to support the old country. Thus a special "marathon committee" has collected money to finance the participation of Finnish runners in the Boston marathon. A few Finnish athletes have also stayed in Florida at the expense of Finnish-Americans. Certain Finnish children's homes have received support from America up to the present. Suomi College and the Finlandia Foundation have also provided many Finnish students with an opportunity to study in the United States.

Thus over the decades Finnish-Americans have given substantial support to their former homeland. On the other hand, they have also received support from Finland. During the early years of emigration newspapers published in Finland were an important source of information to Finnish-Americans who understood little English. Finnish-American newspapers overtook those appearing in Finland at the beginning of the 1880s, although most literature read by Finnish-Americans continued to come from the old country. And even during the period when Finnish-American writers were most active, literature printed in Finland continued to take up most of the shelf-space in Finnish-American libraries.

In addition to literature, Finnish-Americans have kept in touch with Finnish culture through various "cultural visits." Over the years a large number of performers, popular singers, choirs, dance groups, and others have come from Finland. Some have won popularity; others have not been so successful.

Trips from America to Finland and from Finland to America have played an important role in maintaining contacts. Immigrants began to visit Finland as early as the 1880s but it was not until the 1920s that such contacts became widespread. At this time large group tours were arranged for the first time. Inexpensive flights became common after the Second World War and thou-

Walfrid Bloom'in

Paikanvälitys-Toimisto

747 Lexington Ave, New York City.

Parhaat palkat sekä paikat pienissä perheissä. Enin paikkoja kuin mitä toisissa paikanvälitys-toimistoissa.

Suora menettelytapa. Kaksi kuukautta saapi paikan samalla konttori-maksulla.

Koska minulla on ollut 14 vuotta konttori täällä suur-New-York'issa, niin on liikkeeni parhaiten tunnettu New York'in hienoimmissa perheissä.

Olen varma että tultuanne tänne saatte mieluisenne paikan.

HUOM.!

Suuri varasto suomalaisia kirjoja myytävänä.

An advertisement in "Stories of the Finns in Great New York" by Antti J. Pietilä published in New York in 1911.

sands of Finnish-American pensioners returned to see their native land after an absence of 50—60 years. It would seem that the immigrant's longing for the land of his birth has persisted from decade to decade, although over the years he has learned to regard America as his new homeland.

[1]) Akseli JÄRNEFELT, "Wajanaista raittiusharrastusta". Raittiuskalenteri 1899, 64.
[2]) Armas HOLMIO, Michiganin Suomalaisten Historia, pp. 342—348.
[3]) Siirtolainen, January 25, 1910.
[4]) Pöytäkirja Amerikan Suomalaisten Sosialistiosastojen Edustajakokouksesta (Minutes of the Convention of Finnish—American Socialist Sections), Hibbing, Minn., August 1—7, 1906, p. 78.
[5]) Kalevainen 1932, p. 10.
[6]) Kalevainen 1927, p. 12.
[7]) Kalevainen 1918, p. 17.
[8]) Armas HOLMIO, op. cit., p. 432.
[9]) Kalevainen 1933, pp. 24, 27.
[10]) Kalevainen 1945, p. 42.
[11]) Suomalaisten sosialistiosastojen ja työväenyhdistysten viidennen eli suomalaisen sosialistijärjestön kolmannen edustajakokouksen pöytäkirja. (Minutes of the fifth convention of Finnish socialist locals and labor organizations or the third convention of the Finnish Socialist Association), 1—5, 7—10, June 1912, pp. 53—54.
[12]) Gardner, Mass., Suomalaisen sosialistiosaston vuosikertomus vuodelta 1920 (Annual report of the Gardner, Massachusetts Finnish Socialist Section 1920) TYYH: S:m: 8:56.
[13]) Ibid.
[14]) Suomalaisten sosialistiosastojen ja työväenyhdistysten viidennen eli suomalaisen sosialistijärjestön kolmannen edustajakokouksen pöytäkirja. (Minutes of the fifth convention of Finnish socialist sections and labor organizations or the third convention of the Finnish Socialist Association), 1—5, 7—10, June 1912, p. 54.
[15]) Yrjö SJÖBLOM, Musiikkiharrastuksemme. Häviääkö ilmiö Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyselämästä? Kalevainen 1937, p. 14.
[16]) Airut 1917, p. 17.
[17]) F. K. KAVA, Amerikan Suomettaren Historia v. 1899—1919. Amerikan Suometar 1899—1919. Muistojulkaisu. Hancock, Michigan 1919, p. 11.
[18]) W. W. Wilen, "Äänenkannattajan tarpeellisuus Kirkkokunnassamme." (Our church needs its own mouthpiece). Evankelinen Kalenteri, 1911. p. 38.
[19]) Suomalaisten sosialistiosastojen ja työväenyhdistysten viidennen eli suomalaisen sosialistijärjestön kolmannen edustajakokouksen pöytäkirja. (Minutes of the fifth convention of Finnish sosialist sections and labor organizations or the third convention of the Finnish Socialist Association), 1—5, 7—10. June, 1912, p. 237.
[20]) Ibid., p. 238.
[21]) Ibid., pp. 245—246.
[22]) Ibid.
[23]) Sosialisti, June 12, 1914.
[24]) Elis SULKANEN, Amerikan suomalaisen työväenliikkeen historia. pp. 313—336.
[25]) Auvo KOSTIAINEN is now working on a study of the Finnish—American communist movement. The estimate is his.
[26]) Köyhälistön Nuija 1910, p. 164.
[27]) Köyhälistön Nuija 1910, p. 160.
[28]) Letter quoted in a dissertation by Anna-Leena TOIVONEN, "Etelä-Pohjanmaan valtamerentakainen siirtolaisuus", 1867—1930. Seinäjoki 1963, (p. 190).

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VI

The Finnish-American Church Organizations*

1. INTRODUCTION

Historians and observers of the Finnish experience in America have noted the fractured and fragmented character of its organizational life. Dozens of particularist ethnic communities were created, all competing against each other, each affirming a special and superior vision of reality. Almost all attempts at developing consensus, cooperation or practical merger failed on an ethnic level. An outside observer suggested that the quest for an inclusive ethnic unity among American Finns was a hopeless cause indeed.[1]

The most obvious and widely discussed division in Finnish-American life concerns "white" conservatives and "red" Socialists. Conservatives, represented by the churches, nationalistic organizations such as the Knights and Ladies of the Kaleva and small businessmen are sharply distinguished

* Portions of the research for this paper were made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities of the United States Government, and the research facilities of the Migration Institute and, Institute of General History, University of Turku, Vilho Niitemaa, Director.

from the radicals who represented that portion of the laboring class which had divided into East Coast parliamentary Socialist "yellows," midwestern "reds" who adopted the revolutionary industrial union principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, and the flaming militants who were sympathetic to the ideals of the Third International and the American Communist Party.

Careful studies by Reino KERO have suggested that the distinction between the left and right wing is closely related to period of emigration and place of origin. Churchly and conservative Finns represent primarily the earlier phases of Finnish migration, before 1905, which came from the provinces of Vaasa and Oulu.[2] These emigrants had not been exposed to Marxian principles, nor had they had much experience with the abrupt dislocations associated with the transition to life in industrial centers. The church Finns were strongly influenced by the revival movements of Finland, and represented a decidedly conservative, right wing as well as nationalistic element of the population.

Events after 1900 which accompanied the industrialization of Finland had a momentous impact on a new kind of Finn who was alienated from the church, exposed to Marxist ideals, and who had attained a measure of political power in the Social Democratic party. A number of these later immigrants had been introduced to the new class-conscious ideals already in the home country, while the majority, drawn into unfamiliar and threatening industrial surroundings, "listened with wonderment at the new evangel." Marxism in its varied forms provided comfort, hope, and "bread and butter" solutions for immigrants drawn into the lower strata of a rapidly industrializing society from which they were increasingly alienated. Experiencing great difficulties in mastering the English language, possessing few job skills, ceaselessly exploited by industrial Capitalism, and torn from a more ordered and comprehensive way of life, they found common cause and meaningful integration for their lives through the teachings of their provocative and able Marxist agitators. After listening to ardent and experienced Socialists such as Taavi Tainio, Vihtori Kosonen, Alex Halonen, Kaapo Murros, Moses Hahl and Frans Syrjälä, the new immigrant was in a mood to shout, "now I am free from all compulsion; I don't need a catechism, holy books, a pastor or a church."[3]

A very large percentage of the Finnish-Americans leftists came from the southern and eastern portions of Finland, while those from the Vaasa province who became radicals were naturally predisposed to radicalism because they were the proletariat of the Finnish countrysde — landless laborers, cottagers, hired hands, and maids.[4] The impact of the left wing Finns on America has been considerable, not only because they comprised the largest number

of foreign language affiliates in the three major American left wing groups, but also because they provided significant leadership within the various national organizations. A successful consumer cooperative movement also provided a notable impact as an alternative form of business enterprise in America.[5]

As late as 1903, there were still hopes that all Finns might find a way in which they could express their unity as an immigrant people. An attempt was made to unite all Finns into a grand Finnish National League, promoted primarily by Eero Erkko whose newspaper, Amerikan Kaiku, was open to all churches, temperance organizations, and Socialists. Erkko was even inclined to speak of Socialism as a bulwark against anarchy, and favored among enlightened peoples of the world.[6] Some of the clergy were partial to Socialism, and actually promoted it through lectures and sermons.[7] Churchmen in the Finnish Lutheran National Church, considered to be more progressive than the traditionalist Suomi Synod, worked together with liberals to found the *Kansan Opisto ja Teolooginen Seminaari,* Folk School and Theological Seminary, whose purpose was to train clergymen for the National Church, but also to provide basic education for all Finns. Promoters of the school, such as Alex Halonen, a Socialist, and Eero Erkko, attempted to emphasize the inclusive nature of the Folk School rather than its religious orientation, and suggested that its competition, Suomi College, the Suomi Synod school, was narrowly sectarian in its Lutheranism, and too classical in its heavily Greek and Latin educational curriculum.[8]

The illusion of a united Finnish community was shattered very quickly, however. Class conscious Marxism began to be promoted by skilled agitators through lectures and on the pages of the newly-founded Amerikan Suomalainen Työmies (Worker) and Raivaaja (Pioneer). Bitterly anti-clerical articles appeared in almost every issue of the paper during 1905 and 1906.[9] During 1906, Socialists planned to purchase majority stock in the Folk School, and at the June, 1907, stockholders' meeting, control of the school passed into the hands of the Socialists who renamed the institution *Työväen Opisto,* Work People's College. Leo Laukki, whose Socialism was intemperate and left of center, was installed as teacher, and he was chiefly responsible for guiding the school to foster revolutionary industrial unionism and the Industrial Workers of the World.[10] Local communities also generated enthusiasm for the new working class ideals, "blowing on the coals that alone will kindle a flame of hope." Socialists in some communities "insolently seized" temperance halls and converted them into Socialist organizations which also promoted temperance principles,[11] while in other towns temperance organizations declared war against Socialists by discharging them from membership as undesirables.[12] Churches even passed into the

hands of the "enemy" by means of membership acquisitions — the Socialist majority would vote in an agitator as the new "pastor."[13]

Not only was there this fundamental division between the left and right wing Finns, but church Finns were split into numerous congregational denominations. Their church history is labyrinthine and complicated, characterized by animosity, rancor and ruthless competition.

The earliest beginnings of Finnish settlement in America were modest, with rapid acculturation taking place. The first Finns in America came between 1638 and 1655 with the Swedish colonization of the Delaware. Most of the settlers at New Sweden were apparently Finnish, and by 1700, had become Episcopalians, largely because of close connections to the English bishops of London, as well as through British interests in Pennsylvania. "Old Swedes" Church (Episcopalian) was built by Swedes and Finns.[14] Some 300 Finns moved to Alaska in the eighteenth century when a Finn, Adolph Etholen, served the Russian government in Alaska in several capacities, including Governor General from 1838—1845. Finns in the Sitka area were served by a famous pastor, Uno Cygnaeus, from 1840—1845. The Finns of Alaska became American citizens when it became a territory of the United States in 1867.[15]

More sustained and permanent settlements of Finns go back to 1864—1865 in the copper mining district of Michigan's Upper Peninsula in Houghton and Keweenaw counties. A certain Silverspar was sent by the Quincy Mining Co. to find skilled laborers to mine the rich copper drifts of the Keweenaw. He returned with about 200 Finns, Swedes and Norwegians who had been employed in the mines of Arctic Norway.[16] On June 16, 1867, a congregation was founded in Quincy (Hancock) by Norwegians, Finns, and Swedes who called A.E. Fridricksen, a graduate of Kristiana University in Norway, to be pastor. The fellowship was named *Den Skandinavisk Evangelisk-Lutherske Menig hed eller Forsamling ved Quincy og tilgransende Egne i Houghtown County, Michigan,* and it adopted the principles of the constitution of the Augustana Synod.[17] The Augustana Synod at the time was a joint Norwegian-Swedish Lutheran church which divided in 1869, when Norwegians founded their own school for ministers, which eventually was known as Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis.

Of the 38 persons who signed the articles of association, 15 or 16 distinctively Finnish names appear.[18] North of Quincy was the copper town of Calumet, where another congrecation was fouded for Scandinavians. Fridricksen also travelled to other parts of the Upper Peninsula to perform pastoral acts.[19]

2. THE POLARIZATION OF THE FINNISH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

One of the most important features of American society is its obvious pluralism and diversity. Multitudes of religious groups, ethnic communities, and subcultures have managed to survive and flourish under the guarantees of national and state constitutions which affirmed separation of church and state and provided religious freedom. America was the first nation to experiment widely with the disestablishment of religion. Western societies in the past had assumed that the ontological basis of community rested in a common religion which united people on the basis of mutually shared beliefs about the origin, nature and destiny of man, and the meaning of human existence. To permit major deviation would destroy the very fabric of society.

But America was different. Early experiments with religious freedom in colonial America and the practical necessity of attracting settlers to America by providing liberty for tender consciences convinced the framers of religious liberty, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, that a society can survive without total religious uniformity and the coercive power of the state to enforce its perpetuation. The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution of Roger Williams thus became the hallmark of a bold new experiment: "the doctrine of persecution for the cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace."[20]

There were no guarantees that religious freedom would provide a workable solution for American society. Lyman Beecher, the great Puritan intellectual, defended the Standing Order of Connecticut and was unable "to conceive of true religion and good morals without the support of a sound government or, conversely, of a sound government without true religion."[21] The net results of freedom were salutary, however. The churches were freed from dependence on the state to develop their own sources of strength. What emerged were voluntary societies which were organizations developed by like-minded and committed people, designed to pursue particular religious goals and accomplish specific objectives. All of these groups had equal status before the law, and no church could claim greater status before the law. There was no establishment or specific "in group", and thus no outsiders. Each group had equal rights to make religious claims and to seek to persuade others to make free commitments for membership. The key to the success of such voluntary societies was, of course, the importance placed on the individuals in the organizations, as well as their free commitment to the goals to be achieved. As such, American Christianity was characterized by the supreme position of the laity who themselves created, developed and perpetuated their own religious institutions. American

churches were fundamentally people's churches rather than bishop's churches. Stated another way, the congregation became the fundamental operational unit of the church.

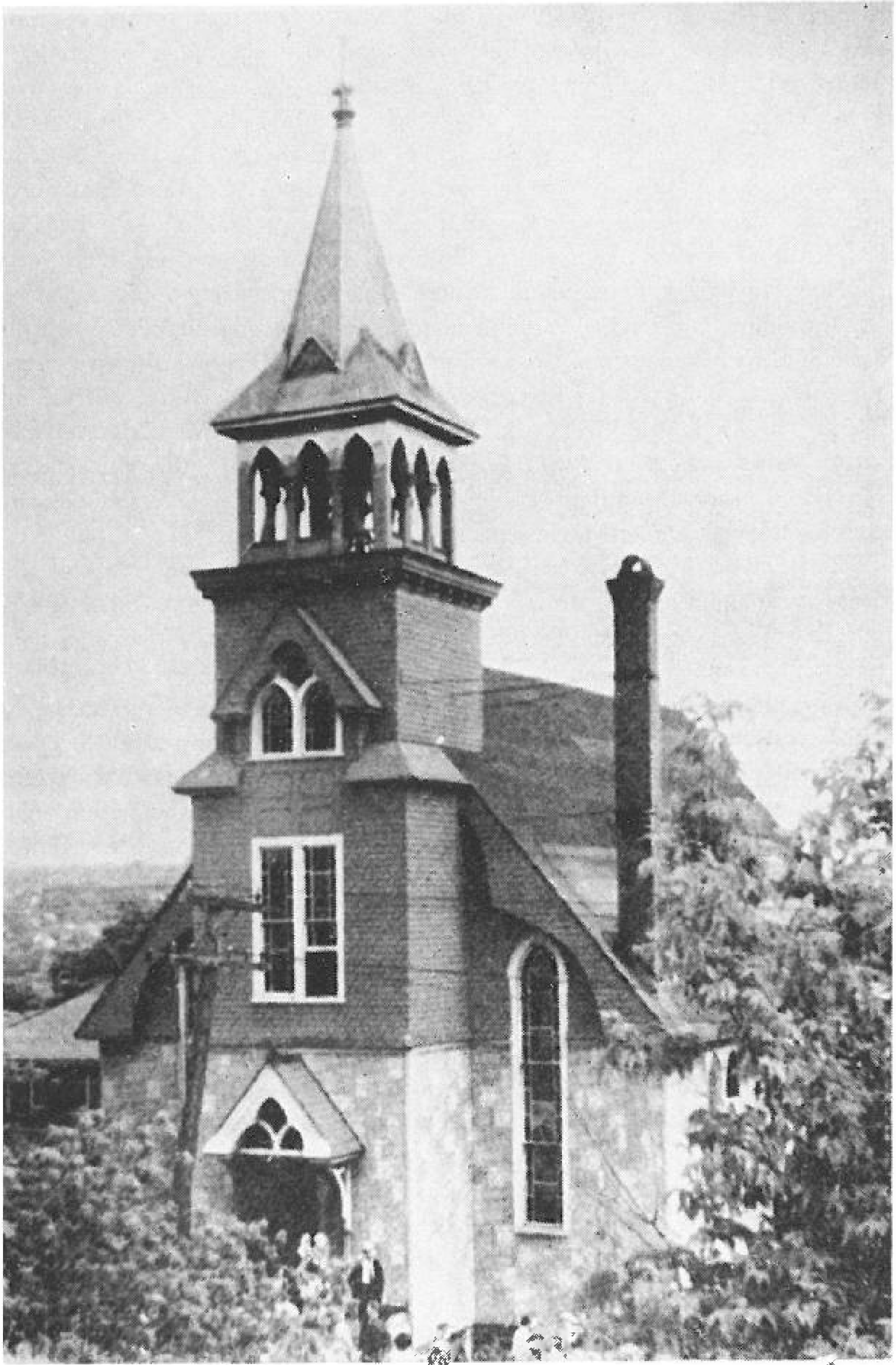
Needless to say, American church life is characterized by fervid activity, the firm resolution of members to win people to membership, the pursuit of a myriad of goals, and an intensity found nowhere else in the world. If American churches were not characterized by great intellectual vigor and creative theology, they were nevertheless a success in every other way. Religious pluralism and denominational coexistence proved to be both fruitful and liberating.

Given the guarantees of religious freedom and the high premium placed on diversity, Finns in America were all given an open opportunity to express themselves as they saw fit. It is no accident, then, that Finns created a host of religious organizations, all the way from extremely orthodox Lutherans to the most liberal form of Unitarianism. No particular religion was automatic for the Finn, not even Lutheranism. Finns needed to be wooed, persuaded, and won, and each made his own choice. It is no accident that the Suomi Synod which made repeated claims to be the true daughter of the Church of Finland, attracted only 12 to 13 percent of the Finnish foreign born in America.[22] The Synod was, in fact, no more official or correct or valid before the law than other church body.

Plurality and diversity are thus the keynotes of Finnish-American church life. The first division came very quickly. A Norwegian pastor, H. Roernaes, who served the Quincy and Calumet congregations between 1871 and 1873, excommunicated Laestadians because they held separate conventicles, practiced *liikutukset* (a Pentecostal type of stirring), and engaged in auricular confession and absolution. It was also understood that the Laestadian faction announced before receiving Holy Communion from Roernaes that "we shall go to claim our portion from the devil," meaning that they were communing with an unbeliever.[23] Laestadianism originated in Finland and Sweden as a vital revival movement primarily in Lapland. Members of the movement belonged to the state church, but Laestadianism flourished primarily in *seurat,* conventicles, where their particular religious emphases, such as the need for repentence and absolution, were given special attention.

Laestadians, now deeply offended by what they called "that old Pharisee — a dead Norwegian Lutheran pastor," quickly founded their own congregation in Calumet, first called the "Salomon Kortetniemi Lutheran Society" on December 21, 1872. The name was changed to the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Congregation in 1879.[24]

The dramatic excommunication in the Scandinavian congregation had far-reaching results for the Finnish-American religious community by setting a precedent for future patterns of organizational development. The Church



The Laestadian Church on Franchlin Street, Hancock. (Armas Holmio, History of the Michigan Finns).

of Finland through the years had relaxed its stringent laws against conventicles of dissidents who, though Lutheran, adhered to the revival movements which had spread throughout the land. Revivalists were eventually tolerated as movements within the church, providing a vitalizing element which would purify and spiritualize the national church. The Lutheran Church of Finland served as an umbrella, sheltering numerous religious and theological perspectives, thus following the classical Pietist model of subsuming revivals as *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*. In America, however, revivalists founded their own churches. Instead of movements within a national organization encompassing all ethnics, the movements became congregational and denominational organizations. J. K. Nikander, the patriarch of the Suomi Synod, envisioned a Finnish American Lutheran Church, encompasing all Finns, and he warned all "sects" to keep away from the Finns, suggesting that Methodists should send their preachers to Africa rather than working with the Finns.[25] But Nikander's vision of a united church proved to be a failure, since the religious communities all went in their separate directions.

The Finnish experience was, however, not so different from that of the other Scandinavian groups. Norwegians were divided along many lines, including Haugian Pietists, Missouri Synod style orthodox, Norwegian confessionalists, and Free Church Lutherans. Norwegians, however, were able to settle their differences to found a united Norwegian Lutheran Church in 1917. Swedes founded the Augustana Synod which embraced all Swedish Lutherans, but followers of the doctrines of Peter Waldenström of the Swedish Mission Covenant in Sweden founded their own denomination, The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America, n 1885. Finns, on the other hand, were never able to compromise their differences, and no mergers whatsoever were effected, in spite of some serious efforts to bring Lutherans together.

It does not seem strange that Laestadians chose to maintain separate existence apart from the main-stream of churchly Lutheranism. Already in Finland they had been persecuted and maligned, and the Archbishop, Gustaf Johansson, condemned them for being sectarian, especially in their practice of confession of sin and absolution, and suggested, "thousands have been deceived with this false teaching."[26] Church Lutheranism for the Laestadians represented the antithesis of the goldy life and truly Christian congregation. Instead of submission to official pastors of the state churches, they received their inspiration and direction from the elders of Lapland who warned the true believers to remain apart from "the flock of the world and the heretics who condemn the Christians."[27] While affirming Lutheranism and its confessional statements, Laestadians generally deviated far from main-line Lutheran principles, especially in their insistence on confession and absolution, and their concept of the church. Only experienced believers who had been "reborn"

were admitted to membership of the congregation, thus deviating from the Lutheran principle of permitting membership of all baptized and all confirmed persons.

As Laestadianism developed in the United States, it remained apart from the mainstream of American Protestantism and Lutheranism. Fellowship was not generally practiced with other church Finns, nor did they join the National Lutheran Council which was an interchurch agency of American Lutherans. However, the movement has demonstrated a vitality of its own with its emphasis on living faith and separation from the world. Chiefly a family-centered religion, it has been successful in keeping its youth faithful to the congregation and the faith, even in the third and fourth generations in America.[28]

Heirs to the divisive schisms in Finland, Laestadians found themselves in five major and minor groups in 1947, with another schism taking place after 1970.[29] In 1888, the Calumet congregation split, and with the division in Finland between the Gellivaara Western Laestadians *(the Firstborn)* and the Lannavaara Eastern group *(the Old-Laestadians)* in 1897, the differences among American Laestadians were simply magnified. Arthur Heideman had come to the United States in 1890, and he generally favored the teachings of the Old-Laestadians, while the members of the Calumet congregation who favored John Takkinen joined the Gellivaara group. The followers of Heideman have maintained their separate existence, following strictly congregational polity, with some 40 congregations and 5000 to 6000 members. The largest Laestadian group, the *suurseuralaiset* (big meeting), formed a national church body called the Apostolic Lutheran Church in 1928, and in 1946 they included some 15,000 to 16,000 in their membership statistics. Representing several subgroups such as the Lannavaara Firstborn, they elected John Oberg as their first president (1929—1943), and Andrew Mickelsen as his successor. Other Apostolic Lutherans include the *"Firstborn,"* the *"New Awakenists,"* and the *"Evangelicals."*[30]

After the Laestadians were excommunicated, the Finns were served by another Norwegian, N. E. Boe, who remained in the area until 1876, when Alfred E. Backman, the first Church of Finland pastor in America, arrived on September 10. His arrival marks the real beginning of Finnish Lutheranism's church organization in America. Very shortly after moving to Calumet, he established the "Calumet Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation," the first congregation which the church Finns organized alone. Finns in Calumet had united with the Swedes and Norwegians to build a larger church building during that same year. The church was named "Trinity Church," not as a symbol of the Holy Trinity, but because a trinity of nationality groups had joined together to build it.[31] In the following year, a parsonage was built at the price of "a big one hundred American dollars."[32]

Backman remained in the United States until August, 1883. He not only had developed the congregation at Calumet, but had organized Finnish congregations in Allouez and Quincy. In addition, he made preaching trips as far as Ohio. Suffering from rheumatism and crude treatment from the Laestadians, he moved back to his homeland where the life of a minister was not nearly as rigorous.[33]

Backman's ministry was destined to bear fruit for Finnish Lutheranism. On August 30, 1883, 225 congregation members from Quincy, Calumet and Allouez pledged $ 112.50 a month for a new minister from Finland. A call was issued to J. K. Nikander, who was destined to be the patriarch of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Nikander was born in the parish of Lammi, Häme province, on September 3, 1855. He completed his theological studies at the University of Helsinki 1879 where he proved to be a brilliant student. Having lived at the home of the director of the Finnish Foreign Missionary Society, Karl Tötterman, he was exposed to Lutheran missionary ideals during his student days.[34] Nikander delayed his arrival to the United States for over a year because he wished to finish his pastoral examinations and the required treatise.

During the interim period, the Copper Country Finns were served by the local German Lutheran minister, Philip Wambsganss, and by Alexander Malmström, a Swedish Lutheran missionary, but language limitations prevented them from providing an effective ministry. During 1884, a certain tailor, H. Turunen, decided to become the spiritual leader of the Finns, so he went to Minneapolis for two weeks of ministerial training, after which he was ordained by the Norwegian-Danish Lutheran Church. [35] When Nikander arrived, Turunen challenged the young minister by entering the pulpit after he had preached his first sermon and delivered his own brand of rather shaky theology, and asked the people to make a choice after announcing "now you have the giftedness of both of us."[36] Needless to say, the congregation chose Nikander because he was an official pastor, "rightly called and rightly ordained."

Nikander's pioneering work proved to be very difficult and discouraging. He found that very few wished to hear sermons, and conflicts with Laestadians hampered progress at every turn.[37] But the pioneer cleric nevertheless succeeded in building the membership of the Hancock congregation to 400 people by 1890, and adding preaching stations throughout the Keweenaw. By 1889, the Calumet congregation had grown large enough to call its own pastor, J. W. Eloheimo, an enigmatic Church of Finland minister who was serving a congregation in Astoria, Oregon.[38]

Besides Eloheimo, several other clergymen began to serve Finns during the last two decades of the century. Kaarlo Tolonen came to Ishpeming, Michigan, in October, 1888. Tolonen brought a great deal of practical mission-

ary experience with him to the United States, since he had served in South Africa from 1868 to 1876, after having graduated from the Finnish Mission School in 1868. He not only had training in surgery, but he also had experience as a teacher in the mission school after he returned to Finland in 1876. His congregations in Marquette County, Michigan, proved to be some of the most stable and influential Finnish churches in America, especially the Ishpeming church which had 1,079 members in 1902, the year of Tolonen's death.[39]

Jakob Hoikka, a graduate of Augustana Seminary, was ordained into the Augustana Synod in 1883, and served Swedish Lutherans and the Finnish colony in Astoria, Oregon, until 1885, when he moved to Republic, Michigan. Hoikka eventually joined the Suomi Synod after having served congregations in Sweden and Michigan.[40] Hoikka, along with Tolonen and Nikander, were the chief architects of the Suomi Synod which was founded in 1890, and are rightly regarded as the founders of Finnish Lutheranism in America.[41]

Parson Jacob Hoikka arrived in America in 1873 and was one of the founders of Suomi-Synod. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

Other scattered congregations had been served by various ministers during this early period. Laestadians utilized the services of lay preachers, while most other Lutherans insisted on university trained and properly ordained clergymen. These were not usually available, so many spiritual leaders were misfits, such as alcoholics, messianic personalities who were deeply disturbed individuals, or ministers from the Church of Finland who were forced to leave the country because they had lost their pastoral rights through incompetence or misdemeanors. As in the case of Turunen, some of the men received ordination with only a minimum of formal training, and during these early years they were not ordinarily successful in Lutheran circles. Finnish Congregationalists attempted to serve Finns in areas where no Lutheran ministers were available, but Congregationalism was not generally accepted among Finns, in spite of support from the American Congregationalists and the obvious competence of some of the ministers, such as Andrew Groop.[42]

Because of the desperate need for supplying a regular ministry for congregations, and the necessity of providing for some semblance of stability in Finnish communities which faced the common problems of new immigrant colonies, such as social disintegration, normlessness, apathy and alcoholism, discussions were held as early as 1886 to plan for the founding of a Finnish Lutheran Church.[43] J. W. Eloheimo proposed the founding of a grandiose episcopal church with a $ 50,000 ingathering of funds to establish a bishopric. Because Nikander and Hoikka realized that the eccentric plan would not be acceptable to American Finns, Eloheimo subsequently proposed the founding of a "Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society" whose purpose was to promulgate the church all over the United States and British possessions, to establish schools, libraries and hospitals, and give birth to a Finnish Lutheran Episcopal Church. The society accomplished less than it promised. About $ 100 was collected to accomplish its purposes.[44]

Nikander and Hoikka, now forced into a position of more realistic leadership, organized a series of mission meetings held in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan during August and November, 1889. It was here that the basic structure of an organized Finnish Lutheran Church was forged. The church was defined in comprehensive terms — both saints and sinners could be members — rather than in Laestadian terms. Sharp and unkind remarks were made about the Apostolic Lutheran brethren, but the history of bitter relationships between them and church Lutherans had made overtures for a united church all but impossible. It was determined that the church for Finns would be Lutheran because "we were born into the world within the context of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . . . That church has been our educator; just like a tender mother it has guided and cared for our spiritual enlightenment."[45] What Nikander was affirming was a church tradi-

The church congress of Suomi-Synod in 1906. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

tion rather than a revival tradition — revival movements transplanted from Finland could all be subsumed within one church, but fundamental loyalty was to be given to the organized church rather than to any particular revival. At the same time, the self-consciously imitated model was the Church of Finland which provided an umbrella for all revival movements. Ironically, the Suomi Synod suppressed overt expressions or revival movements once they received too much attention within the church.[46]

On December 17, 1889, Eloheimo, Nikander and Tolonen met in Hancock and organized a consistory which served as an executive board. Eloheimo was elected temporary chairman of the group and was delegated to write a constitution. Two months later, Eloheimo's constitution was examined and accepted with only minor changes.[47] On March 25, 1890, the actual constituting convention was held, with sixteen laymen and four pastors attending. At the convention, Nikander was elected to be president of the church, which was named "The Finnish Evengelical Lutheran Church of America or Suomi Synod."[48] The constitution prepared by Eloheimo was examined and accepted with little discussion. This proved to be a monumental mistake, especially in light of the fact that it had already been criticized severely in the Finnish-American press, and had already caused a schism in the Calumet congregation. Arvid Järnefelt observed that it would have been better if the suitability of those governing rules had been weighed more carefully in the beginning "because there has been nothing

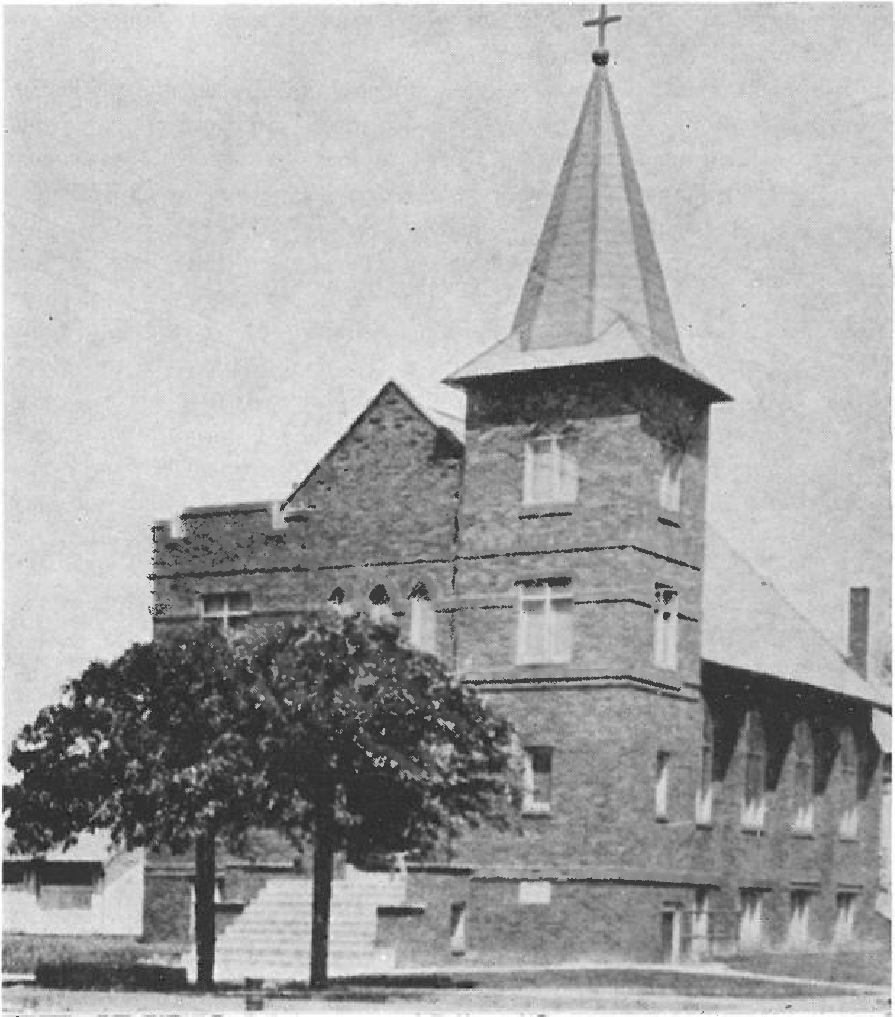
since that time which has created more discussion and argument among the Finns in America than those bylaws."[49]

The problem with the constitution was its Episcopalian and authoritarian character. For example, at church conventions, "the ratio of clergymen to the total number of representatives shall never be less than one to three or more than one to two."[50] Moreover, clergy could enjoy a guaranteed annual wage, and property was safeguarded through a reversionary clause which provided ownership by the Synod in case a local congregation was dissolved.[51] The reversionary clause created most of the problems for the church since critics argued that local congregations had no control over their own property. This was not the meaning of the stipulation at all, but it pointed to a more profound issue — the authority of the local congregation and the people themselves. This issue threatened to destroy the fledgling church.

Some weeks before the proposed convention was to have been held, Ino Ekman, editor of the Kansan Lehti, examined some rough drafts of the constitution which stipulated that financial support of the congregation could be obtained "by force."[52] While this article did not appear in the final constitution, it nevertheless created a furor. Ekman compared Eloheimo with the Shah of Persia, while Nikander lamely defended the misplaced authority of the clergy by saying that real authority rests in "God and His Son."[53] At the same time, Eloheimo's own congregation in Calumet defied the proposed Synod, so the incensed pastor excommunicated 500 members from the disobedient group. Ekman, along with this group, then called a people's meeting at an opera house in Red Jacket, leaving "only 17 and Niva in the Synod."[54]

The schism in the Calumet congregation spread like wildfire in the major centers of Finnish population, even in Nikander's own congregation in Hancock, and Tolonen's in Ishpeming. Some of the congregations succeeded admirably, and by 1898 had gained enough strength to propose the organization of a national church body, called in the Finnish-American National Evangelical Lutheran church. This church found its most articulate early leader in a layman, Kalle Haapakoski, editor of Amerikan Uutiset, who urged a new kind of church union which did not have "a constitution from the pastors," but "an acceptable constitution to be followed by all, pastors as well as people."[55] The issue, of course, was the authority of the people. In fact, the word "National" *(kansallis)* was supposed to have been "People's" *(kansan),* but a mistake had been made by confusing the two Finnish words. The historians of both Suomi Synod and the National Church both agree that the problem of the authority of the clergy and the democratic self-determination of local congregations were the major issues which resulted in the people's church movement.[56] However, it has been

also argued that theological issues were involved. Certain Copper Country Finns considered themselves to be "earnest believers" and objected to the Suomi Synod because of the Beckian theology of Nikander, and its presumed Later Awakenist Pietism. The "earnest believers" were followers of the Evangelical Movement in Finland.[57] Whatever the case, it is nevertheless true that after 1900, the National Church was closely associated with the Gospel Society of Finland with its emphases on conversion, the assurance of the grace of God in Christ through the baptismal cove-



The church of the Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran Congregation in Warren, Ohio, founded by Parson K. Salovaara in 1901—04. The church was ready in 1904. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

nant, and emphasis on the reconciliation of the whole world through the death of Christ.

The National Church almost died at its birth because its first president, Eloheimo, did not take his duties seriously. No convention of the church was held in 1899, and at the 1900 meeting of the church, the officers were not present. However, W. A. Mandellof, a Church of Finland pastor who replaced Eloheimo in Calumet, showed interest in the new church, and accepted its presidency. By 1900, the church included 6,210 members, and in 1918, there were 15,413 members both in congregations of the denomination and in independent congregations served by National pastors. Corresponding figures for the Suomi Synod included some 12,000 members in 1900, and 33,616 members in 1918.[58]

Lutheran churches were not alone among Finns. Free Church Finnish Congregationalists, who were otherwise known as the Evangelical Mission Society, founded a society in 1900, based on the Old and New Testaments, to "unite Christian congregations" in order to spread "living Christianity" by means of "believing pastors and teachers."[59] The Congregationalists had begun work in Asthabula, Ohio, in 1889, when John Lundell and Andrew Groop, students at Chicago Theological Seminary began mission work. The chief centers of Congregational activity were on the East Coast in Massachusetts and New York, with a few congregations in the West. Some 3,000 members have ordinarily been counted in their statistics. Reacting strongly against the State Church of Finland, authoritarian church polity, sacramentalism and rigid dogmatism, they attempted to work especially in those areas where established Lutheran churches had not been planted, or were not successful. Many of the Congregationalists had been exposed to, and were influenced by, the Free Church in Finland, but connections with American Congregationalists were more important. K. F. Henrikson, the most esteemed early leader of the movement, had studied in the Swedish division of Chicago Theological Seminary, a Congregationalist institution, for example.[60] American Congregationalists have traditionally considered themselves creedless, and have since the early Puritan-Calvinist era supported the tenets of modern, liberal theology, including the Social Gospel. Finnish Congregationalists affirmed no creeds but the Bible, but have been somewhat Fundamentalist in their biblical literalism, and have strongly supported American revivalism with its attendant Arminianism, individualism and emotionalism.[61] Exceptions to the revivalist orientation of the Congregationalists were Risto and Milma Lappala, who evolved to a Unitarian position about 1910. They served congregations in Virginia and Alango, Minnesota.[62]

Finnish Methodists in America have been heavily influenced by the Methodist movement in Finland with most of the earlier ministers having

received their theological training at the Methodist Mission School, then in Tampere.[63] The earliest Methodists worked in Minnesota during the last decade of the nineteenth century, but their most vigorous period was during 1911—1931, with the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Finnish Mission. In 1917, ten ministers attended the conference. Promoting revivalism, they also were heavily influenced by the American Methodist Social Gospel movement with its emphases on pacifism, the temperance movement, and other forms of social action. The most able and colorful minister in the movement was Matti Lehtonen of Nashwauk, Minnesota, who not only delivered nearly 200 lectures on temperance in 1914 alone, but was also an early friend and leader of the Socialist movement before it became anticlerical.[64]

Finns were also active in a few Baptist and Pentecostal congregations in Canada and the Midwest. Swede-Finns, always orphans and step-children in America, eventually joined the Augustana Synod in separate congregations, though some initial overtures were made to the Suomi Synod.[65]

3. CONGREGATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITARIANISM IN FINNISH-AMERICAN CHURCHES

Roman Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain appreciated America because its body politic was one which was fully and explicitly born of freedom, of the free determination of men to live and work together at a common task.[66] Americans indeed affirmed an open society in which every person who was willing to participate could freely develop his interests, advocate a special cause, and create his own organizations. Rapid and even frantic change through an optimistic faith in an open future has been a keynote of the American dream.

The religious expression of a participatory society has been the congregational concept of church organization. The congregation itself is the dominant unit of American religious life. It has been suggested that national churches with hierarchies have had mostly a functional significance as service organizations designed to assist congregations and their ministers. Further, national church officers and bureaucracies tend to represent professional religionists in the field — the priests and ministers — more than they speak for the lay constituency, for whom "the church" means the local congregation. The lay people have been the historically stable element in American religion. The other side of lay Christianity is the sense of equalitarianism. This has rarely meant arbitrary leveling except among Quakers; rather it has been a negative protest against any general authority's dictating the terms of membership and participation in local church enterprises.[67]

Thus American Christianity is fundamentally a participatory, lay move-

The wedding of Herman Frigård and Hilda Isotalo in Crystal Falls in 1913. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

ment, with the Congregational and Baptist churches with their associative principles of congregational fellowship as the primary symbols of American church life. The Quakers represent the extreme in congregationalism, with primary emphasis placed on complete individual freedom of expression in worship, affirmation of the essential equality of all persons since every individual possesses the "inner light" which is divine, and in most "yearly meeting" groups, a lack of clergy or hierarchy.

Finns in America were almost completely congregational, democratic, and lay-centered, epitomizing American democracy at its best, and, at times, at its weakest. In a sense that Martin Luther no doubt would not have fully intended, his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers made Finnish-American laymen priests, and priests laymen, with the exception perhaps of the Suomi Synod. Apostolic Lutherans were, of course, the epitome of congregationalism. Only two Church of Finland ordained clergymen have served Laestadians, and only a few have received even a minimal theological education, chiefly at the former Suomi Theological Seminary in Hancock. Spiritual leaders have been largely untrained laymen, who like the Baptists of America's frontier, exercised their gifts and gave evidence of the Spirit, as well as the correct form of Laestadian teaching, and they found favor as *saarnamiehet,* "preachers," of the movement. Ministers were annually chosen by the congregation just as any other church officer, and some

congregations even required that two or three candidates be presented to the voters.[68] Originally served only by laymen, ordinations were given to some preachers because state laws required that marriages could only be performed by persons formally approved by a specific ecclesiastical body. The Apostolic Lutheran Church of America, though a legally constituted body, is hardly a church in the usual sense of the word, but an association of congregations which meets annually for conventicles whose main function is preaching, and to elect functional boards to sponsor missions. The "church" as such has little direct control over congregations, though the preachers' meetings do examine individual ministers for signs of heresy.

Walter Kukkonen finds that anti-clericalism in American Laestadianism, and the "lack of training and experience in theological reflection . . . resulted in confusion of the theology and practice of Christian life." This was a serious weakness in the movement since its history is a story of conflicts and division, attempts at reconciliation, and new conflicts.[69] The problem resulted from an attempt to reproduce in America a revival movement that had occurred in Finland within a national church and was already in process of transformation there. Revivalism is by nature a "transformation," but no transformation is possible unless due attention is paid to "formation," which is the task of the church as an institution. Thus the institutional church must provide a ministry of the means of grace, education, counselling and missions. This Laestadians failed to provide, and the result was that the goal of transformation was also ultimately a failure.[70] John Takkinen, in his letter from America to fellow Christians in Finland, noted that Antti Vittikkahuhta came from Hammerfest in Norway and brought a revival to birth by the grace of God, with fires burning in Quincy, Calumet, and Cokato in 1877. But the Christians (Laestadians) were bitterly persecuted by the Evangelical Lutherans, he noted, especially by Backman who "cursed the Christians," and this created severe difficulties and tried the faith of the persecuted.[71] But the opposition of the church Lutherans was not their most serious problem. Takkinen himself was involved in the beginning of a schism which has lasted throughout the history of American Laestadianism, and dozens of other battles characterized the life of the five groups. It should be noted, however, that Laestadian infighting comes as no surprise to American observers. The history of American Baptist, Pentecostal and Perfectionist lay movements has the same characteristics of repeated division, personality conflicts among church leaders, and squabbling about doctrinal minutiae.

Lay Christianity and congregational principles are also characteristic of the other Finnish Lutheran groups, though perhaps not in such measure as among Apostolic Lutherans. The Suomi Synod faced its most serious crisis at its very birth, and that concerned the role of the clergy and the

place of the congregation in church life. As has been noted, the first constitution of the church contained strong traces of authoritarian and Episcopal polity, and the National Church was largely a democratic reaction against the Synod. Soon after the founding convention. Hoikka moved to Säbro in Sweden and began to criticize church leaders, and noted the inadequate portions of the constitution. He suggested that the organization of the church had been premature, and that instead of creating an ecclesiastical body, it would have been far wiser to concentrate on founding and developing congregations.[72] The Consistory of the Synod then attempted to silence the unsympathetic faultfinder through his bishop, and Hoikka then tempered his observations.[73] His criticism and the outcry against the Synod in the press had a salutary effect since the fledgling church was forced to a final showdown. That took place in Ironwood, Michigan.

The eccentric "bishop" Eloheimo had lost most of his parishioners in the Calumet congregation, so the consistory placed him in the Ironwood parish. He began to receive special revelations which were recorded in a bizarre document written in English and entitled "Proclamation of the Universal Kingdom during the Chiliad to Come." The angel Michael and Jesus Christ had revealed to "humble minister William Elohim" that he had been chosen by God to usher in the kingdom before the second coming of Christ, and in the theocracy Elohim was to be given the sovereign power of life and death. Sober Finnish Lutherans, not tempted to engage in millenial speculation and chiliastic controversy, immediately found the parallel to Joseph Smith's golden tablets and the Mormon Kingdom to be all too clear, and demanded an explanation from Eloheimo who had imagined himself to be the king Elohim of the theocracy. Eloheimo resigned his position immediately.[74]

After the 1892 convention of the Synod, Eloheimo founded the "Fenno-American Evangelical Lutheran Church," an episcopal organization, which lasted only three years. In a law suit, the Synod lost its church building to the Fenno-American congregation, even though the national body declared that in such a case property belonged to the Synod. But Michigan law prevailed over the church's bylaws in favor of congregational control.[75]

The events in Ironwood proved to be most decisive for the history of the Synod. It was perfectly clear that clergy-centered Episcopalianism would not be acceptable to Finns in America. As Finland's Archbishop observed about Eloheimo, it proved "an especially good thing that he resigned and declared himself free from all positions in the Suomi Synod."[76] The National Church movement added to the impression that successful Finnish church planting in America would not be primarily the activity of denominations; rather, congregations were central, commanding most authority in the organized church. Transplantation of the European model simply would not

be suitable since immigrants wanted to build their own organizations. The Synod, now sobered by its unnerving experiences, modified its constitution in 1893 and 1896, with all changes leading to a democratic, tempered polity.[77]

If the polity of the Suomi Synod were analyzed, it would lean heavily in the direction of congregationalism. Historically, the Synod developed out of the needs of congregations to provide particular services, such as education for the clergy at Suomi College and Theological Seminary, printed materials from the Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, and standards and directions for the clergy, provided by the executive board of the church. Congregational principles were noted in the direct election by congregations of delegates to the annual church conventions whose votes were dominated by a majority of laymen, and meetings of parishoners in legislative assemblies in local congregations made all of the crucial decisions for congregational life, rather than delegating primary decision making functions to vestries or boards of trustees. Preserving the sense of historical Lutheranism by giving the organic "Church of Christ" the power to call and ordain pastors, the office of the ministry nevertheless did not exist without the call of the congregation. Without such a call from a local congregation, the minister was removed from the clergy roster. While there were constitutional protections for the ministers, it is quite clear throughout the history of the Synod that clergy were removed frequently by vote of the congregation if they did not prove to be suitable ministers.[78] A study of the leadership roles assumed by Suomi's presidents would indicate that they understood American conditions well. One of Nikander's favorite phrases was *kansan suosio*, the approval of the people, while Alfred Haapanen's long presidency between 1924 and 1950, was characterized not so much by strong direction from church headquarters as it was his permissiveness and encouragement of congregations to set their own direction.

It would be a serious error to assume that it was only American ideals and conditions which made the Finns a highly democratic people, however. Democratic traditions and the sturdy individualism and independence of Finns had been characteristic of national life in the homeland for many decades, and American life simply magnified participatory notions of societal life. The Church of Finland was not a typical state church, since it had evolved into a folk church. Experiencing the alienation of the intellectual classes during the nineteenth century, the church became dependent on its own source of strength, the peasant classes. Instead of finding chief support for the church in the government and with the pillars of society, the believing people, especially the revivalists, became a sturdy buttress for the life and direction of the church. Thus the Church of Finland would more properly be called a church of clergy and people working together democratically. Added to the development of the folk church was the legal recognition of the rights of the

Suo, Isä, tälle lapselle
Sun siunaukses, ota se
Omaksi lapseksesi;
Sen puhtaaksi ja pyhäksi
Tää pesköön armovesi!

Kaste-Todistus

Täten Todistan, että
tytär lapsi Elli Esteri
syntynyt Clintonissa Ind...ssa.
Amerikassa Heinä kuun ... p. 1911
kastettiin Kolmiyhteisen Jumalan
Isän ja Pojan ja pyhän Hengen Nimeen
Clintonissa, Heinä kuun ... p. 1911
Lapsen vanhemmat Heikki Haavisto
ja ...
Kummit Onni Lahti ja ...
...
... Pastori

Ja Pyhä Henki,
Jumala, Kanssa
Isän, Pojan
voimassa
Vertainen,
yhdenlainen.
Sun liittohos
Nyt attaos Tää
lapsi pienokainen!
Amen.

O Jeesus, Kautta Kasteesi Se ota Jäseneksesi
Perintölapseks Kanssa Ett' olisi
Ain' omasi Elossa, Kuolossansa!

According to the old Finnish tradition the American-Finnish congregations took baptized children born in America as members of their church. A certificate was given to the parents of this event. (Urho Haavisto, Töysä).

The journey's end in the cemetery of Clinton, Ind. in 1920. (Collection of Urho Haavisto).

people in a law of 1887, which allowed sectarian groups to found congregations and to organize national church bodies.[79]

Lay Christianity complete with lay preachers was a tradition within the revival movements of Finland, and the names of laymen Paavo Ruotsalainen, the founder of the Awakenist Pietist movement, and Juhani Raattamaa, the "other founder" of the Laestadian revival, were familiar to all church Finns in America. It is no accident that the Laestadian and National Church movements both depended almost solely on laymen for their ministers. The Suomi Synod, which attempted unsuccessfully to duplicate the mother church in America, also included lay preachers in its ranks. Thus, the groundwork for participatory democracy had already been laid in Finland.

4. ACCULTURATION: THE FINNISH CHURCHES AMERICANIZE

It is the fate of ethnic groups in America to be absorbed into the American scene and to lose self-identity. The third generation in America is generally thoroughly acculturated. Ironically, it is that generation which is often deeply interested in its ethnic past, and it has sought to discover and affirm some of the lasting values of the immigrant fathers. Indeed, a growing number of American scholars have discovered that certain ethnic factors have somehow persisted. While acculturation, adapting to American culture, has taken place, nevertheless it is not always totally complete, and structural assimilation, which concerns family, neighborhood and peer groups, is by no means complete in the third generation. This is certainly true among Finns — certain rural communities in Minnesota and Michigan are still defined as Finnish rural communes, and the Mesabi Iron Range of Minnesota, a supposed microcosm of America's *"melting pot"* with its dozens of nationality groups, has by no means melted completely.[80]

For churches, the most important signs of Americanization involve the use of the English language, and, as a final step, organic mergers with other sister churches to form "American" churches. Finnish churches have been absorbed into America, and the Finnish Lutheran churches no longer exist as separate national organizations, with the exception of the various Apostolic Lutheran groups. The stately, plaintive *jumalanpalvelus,* worship service, is rarely heard anymore.

Finns were not willing to be absorbed without a struggle, however. Even as they were inevitably acculturating in spite of the fact that the first generation was extremely tardy in learning English, an intensive sense of ethnic self-consciousness and national loyalty persisted. First generation immigrants loudly complained that their sons and daughters were apostates, forsaking a rich cultural heritage with its glorious language and its pure and unblemished

faith. Finnish churches, especially the Suomi Synod, were far more than religious organizations. They were, in fact, ethnic communities which attempted to perpetuate the faith, language, culture and traditions of the mother country. At the same time that Finnish churches were being developed in America, Finland was experiencing her intensive nationalistic revival which rediscovered the treasures of the past, witnessed the development of her native peasant tongue as a legal alternative to Swedish, and saw intense independent growth as a Grand Duchy of Russia which finally brought Finns to national independence. Finnish peasants in America, whose former loyalty and aspirations rarely transcended parish or province, found that such loyalties could not be translated into American terms since many old country parishes and provinces were found in each immigrant community. The net effect was to make the national language the focus of self-identity, and the primary factor for unity with fellow countrymen. Language maintenance became crucial, therefore, in perpetuation of national tradition and affirmation of the nationalist revival.

It is no accident, then, that Finnish churches were very nationalistic. The Amerikan Suometar, the Synod's newspaper, printed long articles on Finland's past and the rich possibilities for its future, especially in 1917, when independence became an achievement. The mother country was urged to build a statue of Alexis Kivi. Maamme Kirja, The Book of our Country, was defended as Christian rather than warlike, and the Kalevala, the national epic, was characterized as the noblest and most profound of all epics.[81] The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern published volumes on Finland, and sponsored a nationalistic essay contest which was won by E. Määttälä whose entry was published under the title, Miksi Tahdon Olla Suomalainen, Why Do I Want to be a Finn?

More important for the church, however, was the religious heritage which the various groups attempted to preserve. Finns considered their religious tradition to be unique, and it certainly did have its indigenous qualities. By the 1840's, religion as understood by Americans had challenged the usual orthodox concept of man by affirming that man is God's partner rather than dependent. But Finns have never been comfortable with such optimistic faith in man, and have rather asked about the quality and nature of faith in a gracious God upon whom man is totally dependent. Finland's revival tradition has been the spiritual heart of the daughter churches in America. Concentrating on the fundamental Lutheran questions of God's justifying grace and man's dependent faith, the Suomi Synod emphasized the Pietist or Awakenist subjective character of faith, while National Lutherans emphasized the objective realities of God's justifying grace, and Laestadians found repentance, confession and absolution in the context of congregations of the faithful to be the most vital expressions of Lutheran religion.[82]

With the transition to the use of the English language, much of the nationalistic tradition disappeared, of course. At the same time, a great deal of the "living faith" tradition also disappeared, at least as it was expressed in indigenous terms. The third generation grew up with very little knowledge of Finnish Christianity because almost no one in that age group understood the language, and very few instructional materials conveying the tradition had been developed. Laestadians alone among the Finns conveyed the faith, largely through solidly knit families united in their common religion. The transition to English was marked by a storm of controversy after World War I, and it even prompted the resignation of John Wargelin from the presidency of Suomi College. But the inevitability of the loss of the Finnish language was affirmed by 1926 at the annual convention of the Synod, and by 1945, 43 out of 66 Synod pastors were bilingual. In 1961, on an average Sunday, attendance at English worship services was 9,306, and Finnish services averaged 3,914. The same pattern was characteristic of the National Church.[83]

The completion of acculturation was organic merger into American churches. Finnish Methodists had long since disappeared into the broader Methodist scene. Finnish Lutherans moved in three separate directions. Laestadians remained aloof from all discussions of merger, including an attempt by the Suomi Synod to cultivate closer relationships. Suomi Synod and National Lutherans engaged in merger discussions among themselves on three separate occasions, but were unable to achieve union. The Finnish National Church, after suffering a crisis over its relationship to the Gospel Society and the Church of Finland, decided to reject its affiliation with both groups because it was believed that an established, state church lived in spiritual darkness and could not preserve the purity of Lutheran doctrine. In 1922, the National Church decided to begin discussions with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the most conservative of the major Lutheran groups in America, and training of the clergy was begun at Missouri Synod's Concordia Seminary in Springfield, Illinois, in 1938. At the same time, the classical orthodox theology of the Missouri Synod which affirmed the dogmatic authority of 17th century Lutheran confessional theology, along with the notion of an infallible, inerrant written Scriptures was accepted as normative for the National Church. In 1956 it accepted the canonical books of the Bible as "the verbally inspired and inerrant Word of God," and the Symbolical Books in the Book of Concord as a "correct presentation of the doctrine of the Word of God," and in 1961, the annual convention decided to merge pending a congregational vote.[84] In 1964, merger was finally completed.

The Suomi Synod, having had close ties with the United Lutheran Church of America in Home Missions work, and spiritual kinship with the Augustana

Synod, found itself to be more comfortable with those mutual traditions which emphasized the authority of the "Living Word" which was grounded in Scriptures. These "neo-Lutherans" utilized the historical-critical method of understanding the Bible, and understood revelation as God's self-disclosure in history rather than the communication of sacred information. In 1956—1957, negotiations were begun with the Joint Commission on Lutheran Unity, and on January 1, 1963, the Suomi Synod began a new life with the United Lutheran Church (the oldest American Lutheran body), the Augustana Synod (Swedish), and the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish), as a new church called the Lutheran Church in America.[85]

1) Timothy L. SMITH, "Religious Denominations as Ethnic Communities: A Regional Case Study," Church History, June, 1966, p. 10.
2) Reino KERO, "The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism," Publications, Institute of General History, University of Turku, Finland, No. 5, pp. 45—55, and Reino KERO, Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War, Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja, 1974, pp. 24—47; 56—67; and 81—118.
3) John I. KOLEHMAINEN, Sow the Golden Seed (Fitchburg, 1955), p. 8. For a discussion of factors which predisposed many immigrants toward radicalism see Oscar LEWIS, La Vida (New York, 1966), and Melvyn DUBOFSKY, We Shall Be All (Chicago, 1969), pp. 148—151.
4) KERO, "The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism," p. 53.
5) For a current discussion on the impact of the left-wing movement, see Michael KARNI, Douglas OLLILA, and Matti KAUPS, The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region (Turku, 1975).
6) Amerikan Kaiku, Dec. 6, 1903; March 10 & 17, 1904; and July 21, 1904.
7) Amerikan Kaiku, July 21 and Dec. 8, 1904; and Raivaaja, Oct. 14, 1905.
8) Amerikan Kaiku, Dec. 6, 1903, and Raivaaja, March 2, 1907.
9) See, for example, Raivaaja, April 13, 1905 for a bitter article.
10) Tero AHOLA, "Leo Laukki Amerikan Suomalaisessa Työväenliikkeessä. Poliittisen historian laudaturtyö", March, 1973, University of Helsinki, pp. 1—14, 39—44 & 50—56.

[11]) Raivaaja, April 21 & 27, 1907.

[12]) Työväenyhdistys Imatra n:o 31, Superior, Wisconsin, pöytäkirjat, 1.5. 1905—8.10. 1908, (Turun yliopisto, yleisen historian laitos), TYYH/S/a/10/x, Walter Salmen kokoelma, Sept. 25, 1904.

[13]) Suomi Synodin Konsistoriumin Pöytäkirjat, I. Nov. 14, 1905 & II, Nov. 15, 1949.

[14]) Ralph JALKANEN, ed., The Faith of the Finns, essay by Armas HOLMIO, "The Beginnings of Finnish Church Life in America," (Michigan State, 1972), p. 123, and Amandus JOHNSON, The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, II (Philadelphia, 1911), p. 664.

[15]) Armas HOLMIO, "The Beginnings of Finnish Church Life in America," p. 124, f.

[16]) Samuli ONNELA, "Emigrationen från Finland till Amerika över Nord Norge 1867—1892, Foredrag og Forhandlinger ved det Nordiske Historikermøde i Kobenhavn, 1971; John I. KOLEHMAINEN, Suomalaisten Siirtolaisuus Norjasta Amerikkaan (Fitchburg, n.d.), and Armas HOLMIO, Michiganin Suomalaisten Historia (Hancock, 1967), pp. 124—131.

[17]) Records of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Quincy, preface page, Archives, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church of Hancock. The minister's name is usually spelled Fredricksen, rather than Fridricksen.

[18]) Ibid.

[19]) Ibid., baptismal records.

[20]) Sidney MEAD, The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York, 1963), analyzes the assumptions regarding religious liberty in the United States. He argues that early America at the time of the framing of the Constitution did have a common set of minimal religious beliefs which united America. Deists made common cause with American Pietists of main-line churches, and they had faith in God as Creator, belief in principles of reward and punishment and the concept of immortality. These were sufficient to provide foundations for law, order and decency. The truly unique feature of American religious liberty was that the coercive power of the state was not necessary to guarantee the perpetuation of these common principles of belief.

[21]) Autobiography, Correspondence, etc. of Lyman Beecher, D.D. (New York, 1871) I, p. 348.

[22]) Douglas J. OLLILA, "The Formative Period the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America or Suomi Synod" (doctoral dissertation, Boston University 1963), p. 260. For treatment of the Church of Finland's relationship to the Synod, see pp. 264—269. The Church of Finland was quite aware of American conditions and was very careful not to declare the Synod as the only valid Finnish Church movement in America. However, it preferred to deal with the Suomi Synod.

[23]) J. K. NIKANDER, "Suomalaisten Kirkollinen Tila Amerikassa ennen Suomi-Synodin Perustamista," Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1903, p. 36.

[24]) Articles of Association of the Salomon Kortetniemi Lutheran Society, in Calumetin Apostolis-Lutherilaisen Seurakunnan Säännöt (Calumet, 1895), p. 3.

[25]) Paimen Sanomia, August 28 & Nov. 13, 1889.

[26]) Yrjö ALANEN, Gustaf Johansson (Porvoo, 1947), p. 189.

[27]) Juhani Raattamaa, "Elders Missionary Letter to Master and Mistress of Vanhatalo and unto all Dear Brothers and Sisters," August 8, 1874. The printing was arranged by Mr. William Koppana.

[28]) Patricia Halonen, "The Cokato Apostolic Lutheran Church," unpublished term paper, Augsburg College, April 14, 1970. This congregation belonged to the Heideman branch of the church. Whether such a pattern prevails in all congregations is difficult to say. Laestadians are very reticent about giving any information about themselves and their religious practices.

[29]) The standard works on American Laestadianism are Uuras SAARNIVAARA, The History of the Laestadian or Apostolic-Lutheran Movement in America (Ironwood, 1947), and SAARNIVAARA, Amerikan Laestadiolaisuuden eli Apostolis-luterilaisuuden historia (Ironwood, 1947).

[30]) SAARNIVAARA, The History . . ., pp. 82—89.

[31]) Samuel AUTERE, "Calumetin Betlehem Seurakunnan Historian Pääpiirteitä 50 vuoden ajalta", Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1927, p. 45. This is the best available history of the important Calumet congregation. Church records burned in a fire.

32) Ibid., p. 48.
33) NIKANDER, "Suomalaisten Kirkollinen Tila," p. 37.
34) Letter of call to J. K. Nikander, August 30, 1883, in Records of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Further information on Nikander can be found in Suomi Synodin pappis-luettelo (Finnish-American Archives, Hancock) and Alvar RAUTALAHTI, "Juho Kustaa Nikander," Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1920, pp. 72—122.
35) J. K. NIKANDER, "Pastorit Roernes, Boe, Malmström ja Wambsganss," Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1905, pp. 194—196, and NIKANDER, "Suomalaisten Kirkollinen Tila," p. 39, f. Additional information is found in V. RAUTANEN, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko (Hancock, 1911), p. 39, f.
36) Ibid. The accounts contradict each other.
37) Letter of J. K. Nikander to J. J. Hoikka, Astoria, Oregon, 24, 1885.
38) Paimen Sanomia, August 7, 1889.
39) Suomi Synodin pappis-luettelo, pp. 46—48, and NIKANDER, "Ishpemingin Seurakunta," Kirkollinen Kalenteri 1903, pp. 139—142.
40) Pappis-luettelo, p. 41.
41) See, for example, Armas HOLMIO, "70-vuotias Suomi-Synodi," Juhannuslehti 1960, pp. 6—14.
42) Hengelliseltä Taistelutantereelta, Ev. Lähetys-yhdistyksen Kalenteri (Fitchburg, 1912), pp. 60—69.
43) NIKANDER, "Suomalaisten Kirkollinen Tila," p. 63, & New Yorkin Lehti, Feb. 20, 1894.
44) Letters of J. W. Eloheimo to J. J. Hoikka, Republic, Mich., March 19, April 3, 4 & 18, 1888 and Pohjantähti (Ashtabula) March 21, 1888. See also Articles of Incorporation of the Finnish Evangelical Missionary Society of the United States of America, December 28, 1888. Finnish-American Archives, Hancock.
45) Paimen Sanomia, November 13, 1889.
46) Konsistoriumin Pöytäkirjat, I, March 9, 1915 & Kirkolliskokouksen Pöytäkirjat, Hancock, Mich., June 9—12, 1915. The voice of the Evangelical movement was being heard too strongly, so the Synod feared.
47) Konsistoriumin Pöytäkirjat, I, Feb. 5, 1890.
48) Pöytäkirja Ensimmäisessä Yleisön Kirkolliskokouksen Yleisessä Kokouksessa, March 25, 1890. Eloheimo had been chairman of the Consistory, and he fully expected to be chosen president. But Hoikka had proposed publicly in the press that Nikander be chosen. Työmies (Ishpeming), March 19, 1890.
49) JÄRNEFELT (RAUANHEIMO), Akseli, Suomalaiset Amerikassa (Helsinki, 1899), pp. 268—269.
50) Amerikan Suomalaisen Evankelis-Luterilaisen Kirkkokunnan eli Suomi-Synodin Perustuslaki, 1890.
51) Ibid.
52) Työmies (Ishpeming), March 19 & April 23, 1890. See also RAUTANEN, p. 61, f.
53) Paimen Sanomia, May 28, 1890.
54) Kirkollinen Kalenteri 1927, p. 52.
55) Amerikan Uutiset, July 7, 1898.
56) AHO, G. A., and NOPOLA, J. E., Evankelis-Luterilainen Kansalliskirkko (Ironwood, 1949), p. 8, & RAUTANEN, pp. 72—77.
57) Interview with J. E. Nopola, Ironwood, Michigan, August 17, 1961, AHO and NOPOLA, pp. 16—19.
58) J. E. NOPOLA, Our Threescore Years, A Brief History of the National Evangelical Lutheran Church (Ironwood, 1958), p. 7, and Kirkkomme Työvainioilta: Suomi Synodin 40-vuotismuistojulkaisu, 1890—1930 (Hancock, 1930), p. 58, f.
59) Muistoja, 30-vuotisesta Lähetystyöstä (Fitchburg, 1920) p. 7. During its early years, this group accepted the unaltered Augsburg Confession. Thus there was a strong Lutheran flavor to the movement. See Hengelliseltä Taistelutantereelta. Ev. Lähetysyhdistyksen Kalenteri (Fitchburg, 1912) p. 67.
60) Muistoja, 30-vuotisesta Lähetystyöstä, p. 105.
61) See for example their current publication, Palvelija. The Congregationalists among the Finns have maintained separate ethnic existence to this day.
62) Risto Lappala was brilliant and creative. He published Uusi Aika, a periodical for free-thinkers. See July & August, 1914 editions.
63) RAUTANEN, p. 306.

[64]) Meth. Piispallisen Kirkon Suomalaisen Lähetyksen Pöytäkirjat, 1911—1931, Finnish-American Archives, Hancock.

[65]) The W. Gardner Swedish congregation requested to join the Suomi Synod. Konsistoriumin Pöytäkirjat, Feb. 5, 1899. See also HOLMIO p. 495, f.

[66]) Jacques MARITAIN, Reflections on America (New York, 1958), p. 168.

[67]) William CLEBSCH, From Secular to Profane America (New York, 1968), pp. 74—76.

[68]) Apostolis-Lutherilaisen Seurakunnan Sääntö-ehdotus Calumetissa, Calumetin Apostolis-Lutherilaisen Seurakunnan Säännöt p. 13.

[69]) Walter KUKKONEN, "The Influence of the Revival Movements of Finland on the Finnish Lutheran Churches in America," in JALKANEN, ed. Faith of the Finns, p. 106.

[70]) Ibid., p. 105.

[71]) Kristillinen Kuukausilehti, Marrask. 15 p. 1884.

[72]) Työmies (Ishpeming) April 23, 1890 & Nov. 5, 1890.

[73]) Konsistoriumin Konsepti-Kirja, Draft 12, Nov. 12, 1890.

[74]) Konsistoriumin Pöytäkirjat, I, Dec. 3, 1891 & letter of J. W. Eloheimo to the Suomi Synod Consistory, Dec. 11, 1891.

[75]) Decision of Michigan Circuit Court, Norman W. Haire, Circuit Judge, Feb. 5, 1894.

[76]) Letter of Gustaf Johansson to J. K. Nikander, April 3, 1892.

[77]) Kirkolliskokouksen Pöytäkirja, Negaunee, Michigan, June 6, 1893 & Amerikan Suomalaisen Evankelis-Lutherilaisen Kirkkokunnan eli Suomi-Synodin Perustuslaki ja Sivulait, 1896.

[78]) See especially Suomi Synod Archives collection at Finnish-American Archives, Hancock, Pastors' Correspondence, Boxes 21—27, & Suomi Synod congregations (correspondence), Boxes 28—32.

[79]) Mikko JUVA, Valtiokirkosta Kansankirkoksi (Porvoo, 1960), pp. 325—359.

[80]) Milton GORDON, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," Daedalus XC (Boston, 1961), pp. 163—185.

[81]) Amerikan Suometar, Jan. 8, 10 & 12, 1918.

[82]) KUKKONEN, "The Influence of the Revival Movements," in JALKANEN, ed., pp. 99—117. KUKKONEN makes the observation that "it appears that the nineteenth-century revival movements are so peculiarly Finnish that it is not possible to transplant them as such." This is undoubtedly true. While European influences have been formative, they are not usually normative because American conditions transform ethnic religions thoroughly.

[83]) Douglas OLLILA, "The Suomi Synod as an Ethnic Community," pp. 257—260, and David HALKOLA, "Kielikysymys: The Language Problem in the Suomi Synod," pp. 275—290, in JALKANEN, ed., Faith of the Finns.

[84]) Constitution of the National Evangelical Lutheran Church, Article III. At the time of the merger, the National Church had 11,870 members (including Canada), and 40 pastors. The Church had a foreign and home missions program, a printing plant, and two parochial schools. G. A. Aho, president, 1931—1953, and J. E. Nopola, president since 1953, were instrumental in guiding the church for merger into the Missouri Synod.

[85]) The Suomi Synod had also negotiated with the churches which formed The American Lutheran Church, the "middle ground" of conservative American Lutheranism, but on March 22, 1957, discontinued negotiations with that group largely because of much closer spiritual and theological ties with Augustana and the United Lutheran Church. At the time of the merger, the Synod had 36,274 members, 105 pastors, and 153 congregations. The Lutheran Church of America had 3,185,392 members at the time of the merger. Included in the Synod at the time of merger were a foreign and home missions program, a printing plant, and Suomi College. The seminary had already merged into the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago in 1958. John Wargelin, president, 1950—1955, strongly supported merger, and Raymond Wargelin, president, 1956—1963, gave vigorous leadership to effect a successful organic merger. Also instrumental in merger negotiations were consistory members Bernhard Hillilä, and Douglas Ollila, Sr., who had a great deal of influence in the church. On the bsis of statistics, the Finnish churches in America were numerically tiny, not only because the Finnish immigration was proportionately small, but because a mere 25 per cent of the Finns in America joined the church. For a statistical analysis, see OLLILA, "Formative Period," p. 260.

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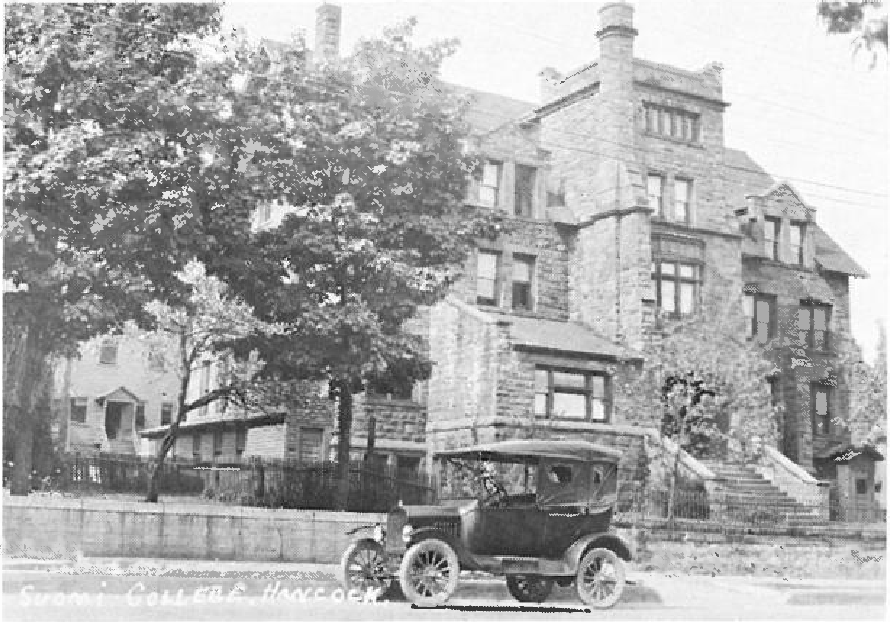
VII
Suomi College

1. THE EARLY YEARS: 1896—1923

Most Finnish immigrants were largely unilingual, unskilled, poor and rural in background, and so sought work wherever they could gain employment: in mines, logging camps, railroads, ore docks, factories, fisheries, farms and sawmills. In their poverty they were unpracticed in the art of philanthropy, Christian or otherwise. But they lived the American dream; by improving their lot, building and supporting churches and preserving the American heritage of education, in which the children shall have more education than their parents. This impulse was so strong, moreover, that these migrants, disadvantaged by language, poverty and isolation, established a college. Only a few years after the first significant wave of immigration they evidenced a richness in faith, religion, commitment and hope, and they worked and gave endlessly to create a new life in the triad which makes up our free society: religion, education and democracy.

For most of its history, Suomi College has been dominated and supported by the laity of the Finnish Church whose congregations were small and poor but led by democratic clergymen such as J. K. Nikander, J. J. Hoikka and



The first permanent building of Suomi Opisto was completed in 1899 in Hancock, Mich. (Institute for Migration, Turku.)

K. L. Tolonen. Resources for the infant church were in short supply. In the beginning, the church consisted of only four pastors and nine parishes, and at its peak counted some 40,000 baptized souls in addition to a broad constituency in its membership. But indefatigable writers and touring speakers got the institution off to a start with 11 students in rented quarters on September 8, 1896. The first permanent building. Old Main, was completed in 1899 in Hancock, Michigan, after considerable debate as to its site.

The first period was marked by the ideal of a two-part leadership process in which the student would himself become a teacher, especially during the summer, when he had the obligation of teaching others in the Finnish communities in the interest of maintenance of the Finnish language and traditions, preservation and upholding of morals and religion, and the preservation of the heritage and culture. The objectives of the early phase were to provide positions for upwardly mobile persons in the Finnish secular and religious communities, provide the possibility for learning the English language and other skills required in the new world, and to train Finnish youth in order to be qualified to embark upon new opportunities.

The supporting church, based on the folk church model in Finland, provided an institution with a broad perspective regarding immigrant needs, focusing from the beginning on such utilitarian skills as teaching accounting and American history in the English language. However, the main thrust

in Finnish, making a knowledge of the language a basic requirement for admission to the Preparatory Department and fluency in the language a requirement for admission to the Academy. Courses in this period included Religion, Finnish, English, Arithmetic, Geography, American History, General Science, Drawing, Accounting, Music, Physical Education, the History of Finland, Latin, Greek, Physiology, Geometry, Biology, Chemistry, Physics and Algebra.

The Commercial Department, which became the largest division, was formed in 1906, the same year in which the Seminary graduated its first class. Members of the faculty and student body were almost uniformly Finnish, so Suomi was built upon and functioned mainly as a transplant of a Finnish European model of education with support and orientation provided by the immigrant church.

2. THE SECOND GENERATION: 1923—1962

In the second period of its existence Suomi College continued its evolution as a Finnish American institution, under great compulsion to conform to its American environment. The second generation of Americans of Finnish descent were served in a rigidly disciplined college environment designed as a social apparatus to transmit the culture.

Under the leadership of John Wargelin, the Preparatory Department was phased out and the Junior College firmly established with outside evaluation and encouragement of its work provided by the University of Michigan. The Academy was abandoned in 1930 marking the closing of the residual of the first phase of the institution's history.

This stage was marked by internal and external struggles. The advancing acculturation process in the church, religious concerns involving attempts at creating a more "evangelistic" institution in the American mode, ethnic and traditional folk church needs, emerging educational and linguistic developments in reference to non-Finnish faculty, historical events, problems related to resources, ideological debates and religious training in the interest of the transmission of the existing culture were all involved.

The Seminary, too, made demands upon the college and constituency as a new American born ministry, (high-school, and later, college-trained) made new demands upon the institution for legitimacy, excellence, responsiveness to the environment in church and society and problems created by an increasing enrollment of larger numbers of students.

The College and Seminary seemed driven by countervailing forces. Continued use of the Finnish language in instruction, continued search for and recruitment of instructors trained in Finland for the Seminary, a search for American instructors fluent in Finnish, and the pulls of the future to

train non-Finns, especially in the commercial and music departments, and later in the Seminary, were all "bones" of contention.

In spite of these struggles, John Wargelin presided over the trend toward the Americanization of Suomi College. He struck a favorable balance of forces by hiring instructors from Finland such as Martti Nisonen, Rafael Engelberg, Kosti Arho, Ilmari Tammisto, Raphael Hartman, and Alma Grönquist (Mrs. Alfred Haapanen); paralleled by Finnish-American instructors in the persons of Wäinö Lehto and Wilhelmina Perttula to name only a few whose tenure gave continuity to their labors.

Under V. K. Nikander, son of the founder, Finnish was maintained in the Seminary, but the Junior College instruction was increasingly provided by both Finnish-Americans and Americans of quality and commitment to the purposes of the institution.

Bernhard Hillilä brought a clear demarcation between the Seminary and Junior College when the latter separated into the liberal arts, music and business divisions. Edward J. Isaac, whose tenure was cut short by his untimely death, continued the era of the 1950's in the history of the institution. This phase was given a sense of closure during the administration of David T. Halkola, the school's only lay president, through the merger of the Seminary in 1958 with the midwestern seminaries of the proposed Lutheran Church in America. Initiated by the consistory of the Suomi Synod, Raymond W. Wargelin gave strong leadership in the merger of the Finnish Lutheran Church with the most Americanized of American Lutherans of German, Swedish and Danish descent into the Lutheran Church in America in 1962.

The presidents serving the college from its inception onward to the present have been: J. K. Nikander, John Wargelin, Antti Lepistö, V. K. Nikander, Carl J. Tamminen, Bernhard Hillilä, Edward J. Isaac, David T. Halkola, Raymond W. Wargelin, and Ralph J. Jalkanen.

3. ON SUOMI'S SERVICE TO AMERICAN SOCIETY (1962—)

Research has demonstrated that although education makes students more independent, less authoritarian and prejudiced and more interested in aesthetics, what most colleges — including Suomi College — have done for students was predetermined by the kinds of people who were admitted in the first place. While small private schools offer students more personal attention and therefore potential for growth, the selection process at Suomi College, at least until recently, had already assured a group of like-thinking students who fit the "image" the college created. In the first two periods of its history the college mostly served students self-selected on the basis of their Finnish heritage.

There is evidence that the college provided students with competencies in understanding a rich cultural heritage, the tensions of a developing world and the major concepts in science, philosophy, and mathematics and a deepening grasp of the Christian faith and practice.

The college gave its students the significant basics of a liberal education characterized by tolerance of ambiguity, greater autonomy, creative imagination, more flexible control of impulses, and better self-concepts — all marks of the educated person.

With the merger into the new church, the college completed the enculturation process by becoming more completely an institution serving American society, fully accredited by American standards, but, by definition, an organization which looks to the future, lives in the present, but has not lost sight of the past. There is evidence that as American culture matures, it becomes more accepting of multicultural differences and provides ethnics with positive identification with America's past and creates understanding of a pluralistic society in which each adds strength to the whole. The American black made legitimate the idea of cultural pluralism contrary to the basic assimilationist tendency of the past. Once pluralism is acceptable for one group it must be so for all; so the Finns in America too benefited from a new lease on their ethnic individuality, and from a discovery of the past in order that they might become better Americans.

Arnold Stadius regarded this phase in Suomi's history as a period of expansion. It certainly was one in which the aspirations of the forebears found a certain fulfillment in a period of consolidation and a greater sense of stability. In it the new church created imbalances, but education — and life itself — thrives on imbalance and growth. During this time, the constitution was changed, the institution developed for itself one of the outstanding boards of private church-related colleges, found a new sense of mission under new societal and church conditions, created a master plan for program and physical plant based on Eliel Saarinen's early sketches, grew in enrollment, programs and course offerings for new clientele and increasingly became an institution of higher learning of which Finns could be justifiably proud. Certainly many among the 4000 alumni became interested in ideas, learned how to read, learned how to use libraries, and learned to think in ways they simply would not have done in another setting. Many were inspired by model teachers whom they will always remember: Alma Van Slyke, Soine and Sylvia Törmä, Arthur Hill, Armas K. E. Holmio, Arnold Stadius and many others. Intellectual and educational interests and pursuits are far above average among the approximately 120 clergy of the formed Suomi Synod who found their challenge and opportunity at Suomi College and Theological Seminary.

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VIII

The Finland-Swedish Immigrants in the U.S.A.

1. EMIGRATION

At the beginning of the 20th century about 300,000 persons in Finland used Swedish as their native language. Since time immemorial the ancestors of these Finland-Swedes, as they call themselves, have inhabited part of the coastal area of the Gulf of Finland, the Aaland Islands, and the archipelago in the southwest, and also a part of the coastal area on the Gulf of Bothnia in the province of Ostrobothnia.

Prior to the period of emigration to America a kind of short-term emigration for "work away from home" *(bortarbete,* in Swedish) had been quite common among these people in Ostrobothnia. Young men especially went across the Gulf to Sweden to work for a season or for a few years in shipyards, lumber camps or sawmills. Likewise, mostly during the middle decades of the last century, many went to the growing capital Helsinki (Helsingfors) or even to Kronstadt or St. Petersburg in Russia as building and shipyard workers. A small number of these migrated later to the U.S.A. Thus the tradition of a short term of work in another country had developed in Ostrobothnia before the emigration to America began. It

is also evident that many of the early emigrants to the New World thought of their venture abroad as a short-term affair, say two to possibly four years to earn some money. Quite a number made more than one trip to America for this purpose.

It seems to have been difficult for statisticians to determine the number of Finland-Swedes who migrated to America and the number there at any time. But on the basis of available data it has been estimated that the number who migrated during the period 1870—1924 was about 60,000, and that the number actually living there at the end of this period was at least 35,000.

The *"America-fever"*, as it was called, was a more or less constant phenomenon during the whole period of emigration from Ostrobothnia and the Aaland Islands. But the actual emigration tended to fluctuate with economic conditions in America as well as certain conditions and events in Finland. There was, on the one hand, the *push* of poverty, lack of land and other economic opportunities for many young men; and later the fear of Russianization of the country and of being inducted into military service in Russia. On the other hand, there was the *pull* of America, the land of both real and imagined economic opportunities as well as of freedom and equality. But booms and depressions alternated in the U.S.A.

There were some earlier emigrants but the first wave of emigration to America of Finland-Swedes from Ostrobothnia and the Aaland Islands occurred in the prosperity period in the U.S.A. during the latter half of the eighties and the early years of the nineties. During the depression of the following years the number of immigrants was much lower, though the number of women then nearly caught up with the number of men. The combined influences of relative prosperity in America and the disturbing political conditions in Finland probably account for the next very high wave of immigrants, beginning in the late nineties and lasting up to World War I.

2. GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPATIONS

The European emgiration to the U.S.A. during the second half of the 19th century and up till World War I coincided with, and was in part responsible for, the rapid development of an industrial economy. In this process each immigrant group became, at least to some extent, located in certain geographic areas and in their pertinent occupations. Most of the immigrants with whom we are here concerned were not on their arrival skilled workers. But they at least knew how to use axe and saw, and pick and shovel.

In the Eastern states, then the most advanced area of the nation in the number of industries, these immigrants found employment in foundries and

in factories producing iron-wire, grinding machines, tools of all kinds, guns, and other metal products. That was the case in Worcester, Springfield and Fitchburg, Mass., and Brantord, Conn. In Gardner, Mass., they worked in factories making household furniture, and especially chairs of all kinds and baby carriages. There they even built and managed some factories of their own. They were builders of bridges, boats and ships in New York. They worked in stone quarries in Quincy, Mass., in rubber factories in Providence, R. I., and even in coal mines in Bitumen and other mining towns in Pennsylvania. Many went into the house-building trades in the Greater New York; and that kind of work became such a tradition among these immigrants that most of the newcomers of later decades have gone into that occupation, some even as independent contractors. The New York area and Worcester received the greatest number of these immigrants in the East, the former especially from the Aaland Islands and the parish of Terjärv (Teerijärvi); the latter very largely from the parish of Närpes (Närpiö).

In the Central or Middle West area, including the states around Lake Michigan and south and west of Lake Superior, the economic situation was entirely different. In the beginning of the eighties, when the first of our immigrants arrived in Grand Rapids, East Tawas, Escanaba and Duluth, both peninsulas of Michigan, and the northern parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota were still to a great extent covered with great forests of conifers and hardwood trees. An extensive lumber industry was being developed and in this our incoming immigrants found employment. They worked in the woods and lived in the logging camps during the winter. In the summer they were employed in the sawmills in towns or cities. Their biographies tell of long days of hard work, of periods of unemployment (especially in the nineties), of walking long distances in search of a job, of being cheated of their wages when a company or contractor went bankrupt, etc. A few of the immigrants later became contractors on a small scale and carried on lumber operations in forest lots not big enough for the big companies. But the lumber business dominated most of the life in some cities. Ashland, Wisc., may be mentioned as an example, where 13 sawmills are said to have been "running" in the summer of the year 1890.

Another important occupation of our immigrants in these states was mining. On the so-called "ranges" in northern Michigan and northern Minnesota large and rich deposits of iron ore were discovered successively in the eighties and nineties. The starting up and carrying on of mining operations called for a large supply of men. Some of the mining was done in tunnels in which the roof had to be supported by heavy timbers. The most exhausting work was done by the miners who used only hand-shovels to load small cars on rails. These were then pushed to the shaft and hoisted to the surface. In other places, such as in the great open pit mine in Hibbing, Minn., the

operations were mechanized to some extent from the beginning. Many of our immigrants who started as loggers and sawmill workers went over to mining after a while. Familiar are such mining communities as Iron Mountain, Negaunee, Bessemer and Ironwood in Michigan, and Eveleth, Hibbing, and Virginia in Minnesota. A considerable number of our immigrants settled in all of them. It also happened ever so often that lumberjacks and miners tired of their jobs after ten or fifteen years. They then bought 40 or more acres of cut-over land, and began to clear it in the summer while they still worked at their job during the winter. After some years they could devote all their time to farming. In that way several small farming communities came into existence. A considerable number had also settled in Duluth, Minn., Chicago and Waukegan, I11., Muskegon, Mich., and other industrial cities in the area. The Mountain states are usually counted as part of the West. But the natural resources and therefore the ways of making a living are very different from those of the West Coast. The natural resources were the ores of nonferrous metals: gold, silver, copper, lead and zinc. In the hey-day of the area prior to World War I mining was therefore almost the all-inclusive industry. The death rate was high from silicosis because of dust in some mines and from pneumonia because of dampness in others. During the decade before World War I, scores of our immigrants worked in the mines in Wallace, Idaho; Telluride, Silverton and Leadville, Colorado; Eureka, Park City and Bingham, Utah; and Butte, Montana. During and after the war many moved to the West Coast — to shipyards and farms.

On the Pacific coast, from northern California up to British Columbia, the Douglas Fir and the great Redwood (or Sequoia) tree was the greatest natural resource and has been of the greatest value in the economic development. A small number of our immigrants already came to this region in the eighties. The stream of newcomers swelled in the nineties and continued its flow up to and even after World War I. The immigrants came partly direct from Finland and partly from way-stations in the East or the Middle states. Most of them made their living, and at the same time their contribution to the economy of the West Coast, in the lumber and wood products industry. Some became fishermen.

In the meantime the lumber industry was being mechanized. The motor saw was taking the place of the handsaw. First steam and then electric power took the place of teams of eight or ten pair of oxen — as was still common in the early nineties — to pull the great logs out of the woods to the loading platforms. And great trucks began to transport the logs to the sawmills and veneer factories.

The veneer industry which had started earlier developed rapidly after World War I. With the organization in 1921 of the Olympia Veneer Company, in which the majority of the shareholders were Finland-Swedish im-

migrants, a new period began in their history on the West Coast. After some initial difficulties this cooperative company became a great succes. A second factory or mill was acquired in Aberdeen, and two new mills were built respectively in Willamina and Eugene, Oregon. Large timber areas were also bought in that state. In the meantime a number of other veneer mills had been built in which many of our immigrants were shareholders. In two of these, Anacortes Veneer and Peninsula Plywood, they constituted quite large minorities and many of them served in executive positions. Ultimately the majority of these immigrants in Washington and Oregon were in one way or another connected with the veneer industry. On the Pacific Coast the greatest number of these immigrants settled in San Francisco, Berkeley, and Eureka, Calif.; Coos Bay and Portland, Ore.; Hoquiam, Olympia, Tacoma and Seattle, Wash.; and New Westminster and the Greater Vancouver, B. C.

Mention was made above of the fact that some miners or lumberjacks got tired of their jobs and shifted to farming. But some stayed in the same kind of work all their lives. Others shifted once or several times from logging and mill work to mining and vice versa. Some men advanced to foremen in these industries as well as in building operations. In several cities on the West Coast some of our immigrants formed corporations that specialized in laying different types of floors in new houses and large buildings. In Philadelphia and later in New York they formed corporations for interior decorating in ordinary houses, banks, and public buildings.

In Eveleth, Minn., almost the whole group changed from one occupation to another in a relatively short time. They started out as miners and lived in poor and drafty company houses on a so-called "location" that belonged to the mining company. After a while a few of them started to build houses for themselves on other locations. This continued not only till most of them owned their own houses but till they practically had a monopoly on building work in the city. Miners had become builders.

The shift after about 1920 of an increasing number of our immigrants on the West Coast from various kinds of work for others to work in their own (self-owned) veneer mills is also an important change.

On the basis of some limited investigations in the early twenties of the vocational distribution of our immigrants it was estimated that the highest percentages were in mining, the building trades, farming and gardening, and the lumber and wood-mill industries — in that order but not far apart.

3. SEEKING THEIR IDENTITY

Before going further we need to point out that every nationality, political, linguistic or both, has sought its identity — a conception of itself and

consequently its relations with other groups. This was one of the problems of the Finland-Swedish immigrants in America. They entered the U.S.A. as Russian subjects, they were called Finns, but they spoke Swedish. It has been pointed out that they had a country in common with the Finns, a language in common with the Swedes, and a history in common with both.

The fact that they had a country in common with the Finns seems to have been the most important factor at first. As we shall see, they gave a few of their early societies Finnish names, and they sought to set up bilingual societies. They sought association with the Finnish Temperance Brotherhood, and their church in Gardner, Mass., called itself Finnish-Swedish and entered the *Suomi Synod*. But the language barrier was too great and these things did not work out. That was stage I.

One might expect that they would then have gone over to the Swedes with whom they had the language in common, but that did not happen except partly in the field of religion for certain practical reasons. The Swedes from Finland were in many respects different from the Swedes from Sweden. And they began to resent being called Finns, as their cousins from Sweden did in most of their contacts. There was a difference in feelings. So they started to build their own societies, churches, choral groups, and their own Order of Runeberg. In the names of their churches and larger associations they used the term Swedish-Finnish. They were now Swede-Finns. That was stage II.

But things change with the passing of time. Their relatives in Finland had begun to call themselves Finland-Swedes (*Finlandssvenskar*) and in the early twenties the immigrants also adopted that name. Their churches did in many cases unite with Swedish churches of the same denominations. They expanded their cultural contacts by participation in common Scandinavian festivals in the larger cities. They felt at home in such company. Any feelings of inferiority had vanished. At the same time their Americanization was making progress. That is the third stage.

4. THEY ORGANIZE TO MEET PROBLEMS

a. Benefit Societies

Societies in immigrant groups have many functions. They provide for sociability and give the individual a sense of security. They give some individuals opportunity for achievement and status. They are agencies for preserving some old values, but they are also agencies for adjustment of the immigrants to the conditions and problems of their new environment.

During the latter part of the eighties a debate was going on among the Finland-Swedish immigrants in Worcester, Mass., as to whether they should

organize a sick-benefit society or a temperance society. Both kinds of societies already existed among the other Scandinavians. Those who favored a benefit society won the debate, and such a society called *Imatra* was organized in 1889. Because of some dissatisfaction with this society another benefit society name *Saima* was organized in 1892. The intention was to make this society bilingual, but the number of Finnish members was always very small. After about a decade the two societies merged under the name *Per Brahe,* which gradually became a very active society with a large membership.

The idea of benefit societies did not catch on rapidly, but in the last years of the nineties such societies were organized in Bessemer, Ironwood, Negaunee, and Crystal Falls, Michigan. Representatives from these four societies met in Bessemer on February 5, 1900, and organized *"Svensk-Finska Sjukhjälpsförbundet av Amerika"* — a tongue-twisting name for which the term Beneficial Association has been used in English. As stated in the constitution the purpose of the association was "to promote unity, friendship among the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking Finns in America and to attempt to improve their conditions socially and economically by financial aid to sick members and those who are by accident unable to work, and to pay funeral expenses in cases of death." It was to be a bi-lingual organization and the constitution and by-laws were also printed in Finnish. But the number of Finns who joined the local societies was small, probably not over a hundred, and mostly in Michigan.

The Beneficial Association grew slowly for some years. But then, due largely to the promotional activities of its secretary, a long period of growth began. New local societies were organized among our immigrants in all parts of the country, with a corresponding increase in the total membership of the association. At the beginning of 1912 there were 33 active societies with a combined membership of 1,751. And in 1920 the association counted 51 societies and a total membership of 3,430. There were three grades of members: those who paid dues respectively of $ 1.50, $ 2.00, and $ 2.50 per quarter. Benefits to be received varied accordingly. The benefit societies also carried on educational and recreational activities.

Three men were for many years active and prominent in the Beneficial Association: John Beck in Baraga as President, John S. Back in Escanaba as Secretary, and Andrew Ostrand in Crystal Falls as Treasurer — all in the state of Michigan.

b. For Temperance

Mention was made above of the discussions among these immigrants in Worcester about the kind of society to organize. It had all been started

by K. W. Johnson from Närpes who had spent some years in Sweden before coming to America. There he had joined the Order of Good-Templars, and he advocated the founding of a temperance society. After a time he gained enough support for his idea. On February 27, 1902, the temperance society *Aavasaksa* was founded in Worcester, with Johnson as its first president. The example was followed in one or two places, but the founding of temperance societies did not gain momentum before 1898—1900, when eight societies were organized in Upper Michigan, four of them in the communities where beneficial societies were being organized during the same period. All these early temperance societies, with the exception of two in Massachusetts, joined the *Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood,* which had been founded about a decade earlier. The Constitution and By-laws of the Brotherhood were also translated and printed in Swedish, and the President and Secretary of the Brotherhood (Jacob Kaminen and Alex Panti) sought to facilitate temperance work among the Swede-Finns. But the difference in language made effective cooperation difficult. After a thorough discussion of the problem the leaders in both language groups agreed that a separate association of the Swedish-speaking lodges would be more effective in their field. Mr. Kaminen also promised that the Brotherhood would assume the expenses for getting the new association started. *Svensk-Finska Nykterhetsförbundet* was duly organized on November 21, 1902, in Crystal Falls, Michigan. The Association started with 16 local societies and about 500 members.

The temperance society Star in the West in San Francisco, Calif., in 1907. (Anders Myhrman, Lewiston, Maine).

As a result of a campaign to organize new societies their number had risen to 43 with 1,852 members in 1907. Of these societies 7 were located in the East, 23 in the Middle West, 5 in the Mountain states, and 8 on the West Coast. By 1911 the membership had risen to about 2.600. After that the number of locals increased on the West Coast but the total membership in the Association tended to decrease slowly. In 1916 there were 50 local societies, but at that time as many old members tended to drop out each year as new ones joined. As the agitation for a federal prohibition law made headway, interest in temperance societies seems to have waned, but to have risen in beneficial societies.

The Temperance Association tried to promote its work by the use of special speakers. On the initiative of the Association, Johannes Klockars, the then well-known "rektor" of the Folk High-School in Kronoby, came to America in the spring of 1909 and made a nation-wide lecture tour, visiting and speaking before all local societies, except two. The following year, E. J. Antell, the editor of the weekly paper *Finska Amerikanaren* made another similar speaking tour in the interest of the Association as well as of the paper.

About 20 temperance societies and five beneficial societies built halls for their activities. In many cases women's auxiliaries or sewing societies were formed to earn money for the necessary material. Most of the halls were a rectangular, one-story wooden structure, boarded on the outside and plastered on the inside. This contained the large assembly room and other necessary facilities. In many cases the hall was built by the members themselves. Here is an account of how they did it in a small city in Michigan:

All members of the society (temperance) helped in the work. Only two men were paid when we raised the outer walls. At that time (1907) we worked ten hours a day on our jobs, so evening work was impossible. But on Sundays we worked all day on our building. One after another came with his tools and did whatever work he was able to do. One day we laid the shingles on the roof; another day we laid the floor. The women were always present as helpers and served coffee and lunch.

What was the nature of the public meetings of these beneficial and temperance societies? The records of the meetings, and especially of the more festive occasions, reveal a variety of items in the programs: Words of Welcome; Runeberg's hymn *"Vårt land"* (Our Country) in unison; musical numbers by individuals or a band; vocal numbers by individuals, quartets or a choir; talks or lectures on temperance or some other pertinent topic, dialogs and "country stories"; sketches or even longer plays, etc. They used the talents and resources that were available, which of course were limited in the smaller societies. As children grew up and received some musical training, they were increasingly called upon for musical numbers. The oblig-

atory coffee break was invariably followed by dancing — the old country dances.

The annual conventions of the two associations were significant. On the one hand, they served to mobilize activities and talents for the aims of the Associations. On the other, they exposed the immigrant group at its best to the American communities. There were words of welcome by the mayors of the cities; there were long parades of many units of delegates and visitors along the main streets and music by several bands in turn; stores were closed and people along the sidewalks applauded each unit as the parade proceeded. They were festive and inspiring occasions, often with hundreds in attendance.

c. Associations Combine

Both beneficial and temperance societies had been organized in most towns and cities where considerable numbers of these immigrants had settled. Many of them were members of both societies and in a few cases the same persons were officers in both. This naturally led to the idea of the amalgamation of societies as well as of the two associations. After the passing of the federal Prohibition Law (1918) the matter became more pressing. The whole problem was thoroughly discussed pro and con in both *Finska Amerikanaren* and *Ledstjärnan,* the two papers for these immigrants. A consultative vote of members in the two associations revealed that 70 percent of them favored a union. But on what basis? — that was the question.

Representatives from both associations gathered first in separate consultative conventions and then in a common convention in Waukegan, Ill., August 19—21, 1920. The sore point was whether to require of all members a promise of total abstinence from the use of liquor. After long discussions a resolution was finally adopted that the two Associations where to be legally united into one body on the basis that the requirements of the federal prohibition become binding for the members of the new association. With great enthusiasm the representatives voted to name the new body *Runebergorden,* or in English The Order of Runeberg, in memory and honor of Finland's greatest poet and the author of Finland's national hymn.

d. The Order of Runeberg

The Order of Runeberg was thus launched. The former beneficial program was to apply to all members who also were to comply with the requirements of the prohibition law. The Order of Runeberg was legally incorporated in the state of Michigan, where the precedent associations had been incorporated. These were legally dissolved and their assets transferred to the

Order, which began its official life on January 1, 1921. The monthly paper Ledstjärnan (Leading Star) which had served well as a connecting link within the Temperance Association since 1906 was also taken over by the O. R. and has served the same vital function to this day.

The two associations had in a sense represented these immigrants in their new chosen country and had also mobilized them for the attainment of certain important and social values. Now it fell on the Order of Runeberg to assume these functions under somewhat different conditions in a period of gradual change in membership from one very largely foreignborn to one increasingly native. It was also a period during which the relations of their homeland and the United States would come more into focus. But only certain trends, endeavors, and events during a half century can here be briefly treated.

The O. R. started with a membership of about 4,500 members. This figure was lower than the combined membership figures of the two associations for two reasons: first, many persons belonged to both and were thus counted twice in the combined total; second, ten temperance societies did not immediately join the O. R. because they regarded its temperance requirement insufficient. But during the twenties membership rose quite rapidly due to a series of campaigns for new members. For instance, in the campaign during the latter part of 1923 and the early months of 1924 there was a gain of 1,678 members: 129 in the Eastern district, 542 in the Central, and 1,007 in the Western district. Most of our immigrants from Finland during those years went to the West Coast and the lodges there also recruited more social members and children. By June 30, 1929, the membership had risen to about 7,800, and by the time of the National Convention of the Order in August 1929 in New York it had reached the 8,500 mark, the highest figure ever attained. There was then talk of 10,000 members as goal and of acquiring a property somewhere for a central office.

But the great depression of the early thirties with its many millions of people unemployed, frustrated such ambitions. Many members out of work and pay could not keep up the dues that their membership required and they dropped out. By the end of 1933 membership had fallen to 6,377. As a result of a renewed campaign for members the figure had risen to slightly over 6,900 by the time of the national convention in San Francisco-Berkeley in 1935. By the time of the convention in Duluth in 1939 the economic conditions had improved somewhat and membership had risen to about 7,200. The Western district then had 3,130 members, the Central district 2,884, and the Eastern district 1,100. From that time on till the national convention in Dollar Bay, Mich., in 1966, the membership seems to have slipped on the average by about 100 members a year. Since then it seems to have stabilized at slightly below 4,000.

From the above facts it is obvious that the decrease in membership has been a serious problem for several decades. With the passing of time the average age of membership increased, and that also meant an increase in cases of illness and death. That in turn created greater claims on the funds of the Order.

During the thirties serious attempts were made, especially in the Western district, to enlist the native-born youth. "Youth work" became a sort of slogan. Leaders were appointed to form and work with youth groups of various kinds. In some lodges they were successful and thus gained new members. Some lodges in the West organized basketball teams, and a Runeberg Basketball Tournament was held several years.

Another type of project by means of which to recruit new members and gain some funds for the Order, was the so-called Runeberg Queen Contest. Two such contests were held and carried through, again only in the West, and the respective Queens were duly crowned at the national conventions of the Order in 1950 and 1954. Some benefits were gained by the Order.

For the year 1951 Leading Star, the monthly paper published by the O. R., arranged for a contest among lodges for the honor of being judged "Lodge of the Year." They were to be judged on their activities within the lodge and their activities in the community. The lodge in Dollar Bay got first place on the basis of the following activities: Regular monthly meetings during the year and introduction of new members at most of them; membership had grown to 82 in a community of only about 700 inhabitants; the lodge had organized a Junior Club, had an installation-party for its new officers, celebrated Runeberg's birthday and its own 50th Anniversary; had participated in the Cancer Campaign and planted trees in memory of war veterans; had sponsored a masquerade-party for the whole community and also the annual Hunter's Ball; the members had themselves renovated Runeberg hall. — This is an example of the extent to which a lodge started by our immigrants half a century earlier had become a part of the life of a small American community.

The conventions of beneficial and temperance associations had, as previously stated, been important in several ways. That was also true for some decades of the usually quadrennial conventions of the Order of Runeberg. They were occasions for conducting the necessary business of the Order; but they were also occasions for achieving a greater sense of unity, for presenting the Order (that is, the immigrant group) to the larger American community and to gain its acceptance and approval.

The convention in San Francisco-Berkeley in 1935 seems to have been outstanding in many respects. The attendance of delegates and visitors was large, and the work-sessions ran smoothly in Berkeley. An auto-caravan was

conducted by police escort along Market Street to City Hall in San Francisco, where the mayor of the city welcomed the Runebergers and presented the President of the Order with the key to the city. One evening an amateur group gave the play "Österbottningarna" for a completely full house in the City Auditorium. The high point of the whole convention was the concert another evening by the large "convention chorus" in the large Memorial Opera auditorium — with every seat taken.

The convention in Duluth in 1939 was in some ways like the convention four years earlier. There were lively debates relating to the future of the Order. There were fine evening programs, and an auto-parade along the Skyline Drive above the city. At the convention dinner, the mayor of the city introduced the main speaker, Governor Harold Stassen of the state of Minnesota. The newspapers in the city also featured the convention.

The third convention to be mentioned here was held in Seattle, Wash., in 1950. Again the number of visitors was very large. Several changes were made in the organization of the Order. Professor Otto Andersson from Åbo Akademi was present as a representative of the Swedish cultural organizations in Finland. He addressed the convention on possibilities of establishing closer relations between these immigrants and the Swedes in Finland. The main speaker at the convention dinner was Governor Arthur B. Langley of the state of Washington.

One of the members of the committee that made the arrangements for the convention expressed himself thus afterward:

> We got the biggest hotel for the convention, we engaged the best music, and we invited the governor of the state and other prominent persons. We informed the newspapers and the radio about what was to take place and thus reached a larger public. Photos and reportage in American and Swedish papers made the Order of Runeberg known — a group that editors and reporters had not heard of earlier. They were surprised and very pleased to learn more about us.

The programs and arrangements of later conventions have been less ambitious, have attracted fewer participants, and have received less publicity. But that does not mean that the problems have been less insistent. The decrease in membership has already been mentioned. Related to that is the problem of aims, and purposes, or goals of the Order.

These were once understood and accepted: to work for temperance, and to give individuals and families some financial help in times of illness or a death. But the repeal of the prohibition law and changes in the mores of people cut the ground from under the work for personal temperance. The last reference to the use of alcohol was cut out of the by-laws by the convention in 1946.Temperance as a goal was gone. The Social Security system of 1935 with all its subsequent amendments, especially Medicare and

Medicaid, undercut the beneficial program of the Order. The second goal of the Order was gone.

In 1957, Carl Helgren, the secretary of the Order and editor of Leading Star, wrote several editorials in which he pointed out the changes that had taken place and requested proposals from the members for some new goals for the Order — if it was to have a future. He even mentioned two possible goals (1) a Home for elderly Runebergers and (2) scholarships for needy students at Åbo Akademi. The discussion that followed did not lead to anything definite. Scholarships have during the last few years been given to some youths connected with the Order, some "happenings" have been held in the Eastern district, and exchange visits of choruses across the Atlantic have taken place. But the question of new goals for the Order is still open. One person should be especially mentioned in this sketch of the Order of Runeberg, namely, J. Victor Jacobson. He was secretary of the Order as well as editor of Ledstjärnan from 1925 till 1950.

e. Choral Singing to the Fore

Societies and lodges were essential parts of the social life of these immigrants. And singing and music had an important place in their meetings and in their organizations.

In the East

In New York some small choirs had been active for short periods both before and after the founding of the Order of Runeberg. But the real breakthrough occurred in 1924. Arthur Hedlund, a teacher in Finland, was spending a year in America, mostly in the city of New York. He was prevailed upon to train a choir for a proposed song and music festival. The festival concert was given in the YMCA large auditorium for a full house on July 4, 1924. The chief performers were the mixed choirs of nearly 100 singers, a small women's choir and an orchestra. The festival was hailed as a great success, and the concert was "the most satisfying of any concert given by a Scandinavian organization in New York", according to a critic.

This success led to a rapid development of choral singing and some other cultural activities among these immigrants in the Greater New York area. First a mixed choir with the name of *Finländska Sången* and the concert band *Normandia.* These gave several well-received concerts. Then the three lodges of O. R. in Greater New York as well as the *Aaland Society* organized and trained choirs. All these choirs united for two great concerts in New York, one in 1930 and the other in 1931.

The immigrant societies which existed in Massachusetts in the first

decade of 20th century arranged a *"Nationalfest"* each year during the period 1905—1911. The all-day programs included several short speeches, some recitations and musical numbers, a popular dinner and some athletic contests. Seemingly influenced by the popularity of concerts and choirs in New York they decided to revive the old Nationalfest under the name of *Cultural Festival* and make its program largely choral. Choirs were developed in several lodges. These, together with some of the choirs from New York, gave very acceptable concerts at the Cultural Festival in Gardner in 1931 and in Worcester in 1932. Then the depression finally overtook them.

But in the latter part of the thirties and the early part of the forties several things happened which led to the revival of choral singing among these immigrants in both New York and Massachusetts. The Deleware Tercentenary was celebrated in 1938, and on June 24 of that year the solemn dedication of the Finland Monument took place in Chester, Pennsylvania, with appropriate short speeches by officials and invited speakers. A new united Runeberg choir of 70 voices, which had been organized some years earlier in New York, sang four numbers at the dedication ceremony.

A second happening was the World's Fair in New York in 1939. *Finland Day* was celebrated on June 24 with an extended program in which our immigrants had been invited to participate. Finland's ambassador in Washington, Hjalmar Procopé, addressed the large audience in English, Finnish,

Wasa Band, Dollar Bay, Mich., about 1910 Carl Stoor, at right, leader. (Anders Myhrman, Lewiston, Maine).

and Swedish. The United Runeberg choirs of about 200 singers from the O. R. lodges in New York, Gardner and Worcester participated with four numbers.

The third occasion was the campaign for *Finnish Relief* in 1939—1940. To reach as large a number of donors as possible many organizations arranged special programs and festivities. The Runeberg choir in New York was called upon to participate with its talents in such programs, and sang on 18 different occasions. In Worcester the Runeberg mixed choir was likewise involved in the Finnish Relief campaign. It either gave whole concerts or participated in programs on about 10 different occasions in different places. The Runeberg choir in Gardner was also active in Finnish Relief.

In the Southwest

In Coos Bay, Oregon, and Eureka and San Francisco, Calif., some choirs and *"musikband"* were started independently or in connection with some society among these immigrants prior to 1920. But the term *"sångfest"* appears the first time in 1923, when a chorus from Eureka and one from San Francisco got together for a festival. During the following decade choral singing and musical numbers were part of many more inclusive festival programs. The *"Grand Chorus"*, as it was called, at the O. R. convention in San Francisco-Berkeley in 1935 was composed of choirs from four O. R. lodges. A Runeberg choir of O. R. members from both sides of the San Francisco Bay sang several numbers at the *Festival of Nations* and at the Finland Day of the San Francisco Fair in 1939. This choir also participated in several programs for Finnish Relief in 1939—1940.

In the Northwest

Most of the early local societies of these immigrants in the Northwest (largely the state of Washington) soon sponsored choirs or brassbands, or both. But due to the mobility of the people many of them lasted only a short time. However, a few of them lasted a decade or more — one till this day.

In 1923 two choirs from Seattle and one from Tacoma gave a joint-concert in each city. A review of the different numbers of the concert in Tacoma in the local Swedish paper was very appreciative and ended with this sentence: "The concert as a whole was one of the best for a long time in these parts . . ." After the concert director Martin Carlson (a young Swedish tenor) proposed that the Runeberg lodges should organize choirs to be united in an association. The result of the ensuing discussion was that representatives of five lodges met on February 11, 1924 and organized *Runebergordens Sångarförbund* (Order of Runeberg Singing Society). The first Song

Festival was held during the *Labor Day* week-end of the same year in Hoquiam. Five choirs with 160 singers entertained a large and enthusiastic audience. That foreshadowed a long and in many ways important future for the Society. It became an enduring organization which has since then until now arranged annual song festivals, with the exception of a few years during World War II. In the best years the number of singers was nearly 300.

These song festivals, together with an annual Bowling Tournament and an annual common picnic, have been important factors in keeping the lodges in the Northwest alive and active. Further, most the members of the choirs that have visited Finland — the first one in 1930 — and participated in song and music festivals there, have come from the choirs in the Northwest.

5. CHURCHES IN ADJUSTMENT

a. Lutheran

Among these immigrants in America membership in a church congregation was a part of their sociocultural heritage from Finland. But the churches were also shaped in their structure and functions by the conditions in a society that had no State Church. The local churches were then both achievements and adaptive agencies.

Most of these immigrants had quite automatically, by baptism as babies and confirmation later, become members of the Lutheran state church. But in America the pattern was different. Here church membership depended upon their own decisions, and the cost of erecting a church building and the support of a minister had to be paid by the members themselves. In addition to the usual Sunday morning service supplementary activities were to be carried on by special societies of men, women and young people.

Already in the 1880's there were at least three Lutheran churches in which our immigrants were a majority of the membership: in Marshfield, Oregon; East Tawas, Mich.; and Branford, Conn. More were organized, especially during the next decade. By 1920 about 25 Lutheran churches, large or small and in all three major parts of the country, had been founded, in which these immigrants were the entire or majority membership. The total membership of these churches was at least 4,000. Dr. John Gullans was an outstanding minister of churches in Brooklyn and Bronx, N. Y. Most of these churches became members of the *Swedish-American Augustana Synod.* That meant that they adopted its form of constitution and its Confession of Faith. In their church activities, however, they were independent, and they owned their church property.

On the initiative of the church in Gardner, Mass., then pastored by

Johannes Nyström, representatives from the churches in the East and the Middle states met to consider organization of a separate conference within the synod. But they could not agree on the units of membership — individuals or churches — and the idea was dropped.

During 1909—1925 a monthly paper first called *Svensk-Finska Sändebudet* and later simply *Sändebudet* (The Messenger) was published to promote the work of the churches and to keep them in touch with one another. Pastor Carl J. Silfversten in Duluth was the editor of the paper except for five years when it was edited by pastor Gustav Oberg. During its best years 1,400 copies were printed each month.

b. Baptist

A small number of these immigrants had been members of Baptist churches in their home-towns in Ostrobothnia. After arriving in America they aided in the organization of Baptist churches among their fellow-immigrants. The first of these was started in Worcester, Mass., in the year 1900 — the first of three churches of different denominations founded among immigrants there that year.

The following year a small group of young Baptists in Chicago took a bolder step in organizing *"Finska Baptist Missionsföreningen"* (Finnish Baptist Mission Society). Its stated purpose was to start mission work among both Swedish and Finnish immigrants from Finland and to start mission societies among them. Two of the founders were a theological student Edward Fleming (Svarvar) from Korsholm and a medical student Albert Wickström from Kvevlax. The name of the society was later shortened and anglicized to The Mission Union.

During the next two decades about 20 small Baptist churches were organized among the "Swedes", and already by 1910 four missionaries were working among the "Finns", largely supported by American churches. But this work had ceased completely before 1920. After an interval of a decade it was revived and four new churches were organized among the Finnish immigrants, two of them in Canada. These churches were members of the Mission Union and partly supported by it. For many years the Mission Union also supported religious broadcasts in Finnish by three radio stations in northern Minnesota. Funds for this mission work among the Finns came from a bequest by Dr. Wickström.

The annual conventions of the Mission Union were important as religious and social gatherings. They were most frequently held in some church in one of the Middle states. They were well-attended by members of churches in that area, and even by some non-members.

The Mission Union published a monthly paper, first named *Finska Mis-*

sionsposten, then simply Missionsposten and finally The Mission Post. The first issue appeared in May, 1906, in Worcester, Mass., and its last issue in May 1961 in the same city. Pastor Matts Esselström edited the paper 27 years, first in Worcester and later in Chicago. Several ministers or laypersons served as editors for shorter periods. At its high point in 1910 the paper had about 1,400 subscribers and later for many years a monthly issue of 1,300 was printed. During the forties the language of the paper gradually changed from Swedish to English, and the name was changed to *The Mission Post* in 1944. The total membership of the churches in the Mission Union never went much over 1,000. In 1961 all the churches in the Union joined the Baptist General Conference — formerly the Swedish Baptist Conference.

c. Covenant

A Society for Missions was organized in August 1907 by three so-called "Mission" or later Covenant churches among these immigrants. The churches were located respectively in Brooklyn and Bronx, N. Y. and Worcester, Mass. A manufacturer in Springfield, Mass., Gabriel Carlson, was the leading person in the Society. Its stated purpose was to carry on missionary activities among these immigrants in America and to support the so-called Free Mission Churches in Finland. However, due to the limited means at the disposal of the Society, its support of mission work in Finland as well as in America was very limited. August Willandt, the best known of the pastors of the churches in the Society, published a monthly called *Budbäraren* (The Messenger) for the Society during the period 1907—1925. It had about 800 subscribers. Sometime in the early thirties the Society "died without preparation and death struggle, when the great depression came and the immigrants ceased coming." — So wrote Pastor Willandt.

6. FINSKA AMERIKANAREN — NORDEN

This weekly paper has been of great value to the immigrant generation. It was misnamed Finska Amerikanaren because its founders intended to make it bilingual to serve both language groups from Finland. That was only a hope. After a few issues it became completely Swedish. But the name stuck till 1935, when it was changed to *Norden.*

The first issue of F. A. appeared on January 2, 1897, in Worcester, Mass. Two years later it changed owners and was moved to Brooklyn, N.Y., where it has remained till now. The Antell family owned the paper from 1902 till 1924, when it was sold to a corporation organized for that purpose. The persons who have edited it for longer periods are Edward J. Antell,

1897—1924, Otto A. Gullmes, 1926—1950, Theodore Anderson, 1925—1960, and Rune E. Hermans, 1962—.

During its best period, some years before World War I, about 6,000 copies were printed each week of the sixteen-page issue. During and after the war the number of subscribers decreased, rose somewhat in the latter twenties and dropped to about 2,000 during the depression. The number rose again to about 3,200 in the middle forties. Since then the number of subscribers has gradually decreased to about 1,300. The paper has always run a deficit and only by frequent special fests or campaigns for funds has it been possible to keep it going to this day. The size and the number of pages have also been decreased quite radically over the years.

Finska Amerikanaren denoted itself as a Liberal Political Folk-paper. It contained world news, American news, news of political developments in Finland and local news from the towns and cities where people spoke Swedish. It contained advertisements about and reports of festivals and events in churches and lodges among the immigrants, and it contained a "friend department" in which the subscribers could and did discuss almost any ideas or events that interested them. It was a popular department. The paper was the means of contact and a connecting link between and among all these immigrants spread over great areas in the nation. It aided much in keeping alive their sense of identity as a group. It still has some of its old functions.

7. THEY BECOME AMERICANS

The Americanization of an immigrant nationality is a process in many areas of life and on many planes. It is individual as well as collective. It has an outer aspect, as in overt behavior; and an inner aspect, as in ideas and sentiments. It may be either resisted or promoted by the group.

a. Political

An outer aspect of the process is that of naturalization, a legal process through which the immigrant becomes an American citizen "with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto". The percentage of our immigrants becoming citizens was relatively low before World War I; but because of the agitation for naturalization after the war the process was speeded up, and quite soon most of them became American citizens.

Our early immigrants had little, if any, practical experience in the ins-and-outs of a political democracy; and it usually took them some time, even after they had been naturalized, to become interested in politics and to develop political ambitions. However, in a number of towns, counties, and

small cities they were elected to the governing Boards, and even to the Office of Mayor. This was true of the first as well as the second generation. A few with higher qualifications have served by appointment in state or federal offices. One of the second generation, C. Elmer Anderson, was elected five times Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota, and served during the period 1951—1954 as Governor of that state. His parents emigrated in the nineties from Lappfors village in Esse parish to Brainerd, Minnesota. "C. Elmer", as he was usually called, was born and raised there.

Most of our immigrants were Republicans till the severe and long depression of the thirties. They had been attracted by the saying that the elections of a Republican president meant a "full dinner pail" for the workingman. But during the depression the majority of them swung over to the Democrats. The Swedish paper *"Svenska Socialisten"* had some influence among them and several Socialist clubs were organized in a few of the larger cities. But they did not gain many members and did not last long. In the logging camps in the West some came under the influence of the somewhat radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). That also happened in some mining towns. Bad working conditions, news about the Civil War in Finland in 1918, and the experience of unemployment during the depression tended to develop leftist attitudes. Through reading of Socialist literature a few persons had come to accept the basic ideas of Socialism. From Butte, Montana, where bitter strikes had occurred earlier and where a Socialist Club had existed for a time among our immigrants, a leading woman wrote in 1935:

"In Butte we are Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, and some who have been bitten by the Communist bug. But we are all Americans and believe in freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly."

But it can be said of these immigrants in general that in their approach to social conditions they tended to be individually independent rather than collectively radical.

b. Attitudes

Americanization also includes certain attitudes toward the American nation and some involvement in its problems, both domestic and international. There was a direct cooperation of our immigrant societies with American organizations against the licensing of saloons in Worcester and in favor of "local option" in counties and cities in several states. They thus cooperated in an attempt to solve a national problem.

The two World Wars were in a sense test of our immigrants' attitudes toward their new homeland. There was an emotional watershed somewhere between the two wars for the immigrants. A journalist from the Swedish

daily paper Hufvudstadsbladet published in Helsinki visited America some time after the second World War and made numerous contacts with our immigrants. He expressed the change in their attitudes as follows:

> "The participation of the America-Finländers in the second World War was wholehearted. While they under the first World War stood aside from the national enthusiasm and felt themselves still standing with one foot in Finland, that feeling of alienation had wholly vanished by 1944. There was (also) a new generation which the war now put claims upon, and this generation felt itself wholly American . . . Enthusiasm for the cause that America had made its own, was as strong in the Finlandic immigrant group as in any other group, irrespective of the situation Finland had gotten into through the war."

These generalizations are true enough. Many of the older immigrants had their doubts about World War I. But in the second war their actions spoke louder than any words. The women worked with the Red Cross and rolled bandages for the field hospitals, the men worked in the war industries, their boys were in the armed services — and the general secretary of the Order of Runeberg won a contest in his home city by selling more Victory Bonds than anyone else! The churches and lodges displayed Honor Rolls of their members in the services and greeted them with welcome-receptions when they returned.

The gradual shift of this immigrant group from its own language (Swedish) to English was associated with certain changes in its cultural values. In the early period they used Swedish almost exclusively in their meetings and "Nationalfests". The programs of the latter were *"fosterländska"*, that is Finlandic, in contents and spirit. But as their command of English improved and the number of native-born members increased, the language of the lodges gradually shifted from Swedish to English. At the same time there was a change in the nature of the programs. Topics relating to the history of Finland, recitations from the Tales of Ensign Stol, and the old melodies and songs from the "old country" gradually gave way to the typical entertainments of the day in songs, music, sketches, recitations, dances, etc. The orientation had changed. The focus was on the *here* and *now,* not on the past; on the American and not on something from the old country. This trend was of course inevitable.

The churches went through a similar change in language. It began in most of the Sunday schools in the twenties or early thirties. The change of language in the regular Sunday services was in most cases not far behind, though in a few churches they continued with special services in Swedish once a month — if the minister was bilingual. In the meantime new subgroups were formed within the church. In one of the larger Lutheran churches the following groups were mentioned in the early forties: Junior Luther League, Luther League, Sion Society (of women), Martha Society

(of younger women), and the Men's Society. The term "Svenska-Finska" which occurred in the names of most of the early churches was dropped. Some Biblical term or name took its place.

c. The Second Generation

To some degree every immigrant becomes and remains a "marginal man" — to use a sociological term. He can neither free himself completely from his original culture nor completely take over the new, even though he may experience a change in the allegiance. Members of the second generation go through a different conditioning process, which also affects the parents.

In typical families of our immigrants known by the writer, the parents had usually learned English well enough to "get along" prior to their marriage — the husband from and among his fellow-workers in camp or shop, and the wife as a domestic in one or more American families. Swedish was, however, the language used in the home and was the first language the children heard and learned. But after some years the children learned English in the school and in their play with other children. They began to talk English among themselves and soon also with their parents at home. For a while the interaction in the home may have been bilingual, the parents speaking Swedish and the children English. But in most cases the children won out after a while and English became the language of the home. In this process the parents had learned more English; the children, on the other hand, had acquired at least a rudimentary knowledge of Swedish. But English was, for all practical purposes *their* language.

d. Indoctrination

The American public school was a major factor in the Americanization and general outlook of the children of these immigrants. Both directly and indirectly it indoctrinated them with American values and formed their ideas of where they belonged. What they have said and written about it reveals its nature and impact. The history of their country had British beginnings, not Swedish or Finnish. They read about the colonies, the Boston Tea Party, and the Revolutionary War, the importation and use of the slaves, the Civil War, and of the expansion of the American nation to the Pacific. Their heroes were not Gustaf Vasa and Gustaf Adolf, but George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Their poets were not Runeberg and Topelius, but Longfellow, and Sandburg. Unconsciously they became sentimentally identified with America, its history, its geography, its freedom

and social values — different, they understood, from those in the rest of the world.

They have expressed appreciation of their parents' achievements, such as the Order of Runeberg, churches, etc., and even some desires to visit Finland some day — which some of them also have done later and enjoyed. But it all finally ends up as one of them expressed it: "We are not Swedes, or Finns, or Finland-Swedes. We were born in America, and we are Americans."

A very high percentage of the second generation of these immigrants has married outside of their own group, due to factors which need not be discussed here. But this has in so many cases led to loss of contacts with other members of this group and has favored their absorption in the larger American society.

It can be said of the second generation of these immigrants that in general they are distributed over the whole range of the vocational spectrum, much like the other Scandinavians in America. That is apparently also true in education. There has been an increasing trend toward the professions. For instance, in a small city in Michigan, where most of the men were miners, the second generation has produced one engineer, one minister, one doctor of medicine, one university professor, two dentists, several teachers, and thirteen trained nurses, one of them a supervisor. This trend was apparent also in other towns and cities.

One member of the second generation who grew up among these immigrants in an industrial city in the East and later rose through ability and education to an important position in Washington, D.C., wrote many years later as follows:

"These immigrants, whose forebears had come from Sweden to Finland some centuries earlier, did not have much formal schooling; but among them the ability to read and write was relatively high. I am still amazed by the great energy, strength and vision that these Swede-Finns have shown. Their little church, where the language is no longer Swedish but English, has now as members descendents of immigrants from all of Europe and the Levant. Their temperance and beneficial associations, their choruses, Sunday schools, sewing societies, etc. — all these are evidence of a strong moral spirit, great stability, and personal principles."

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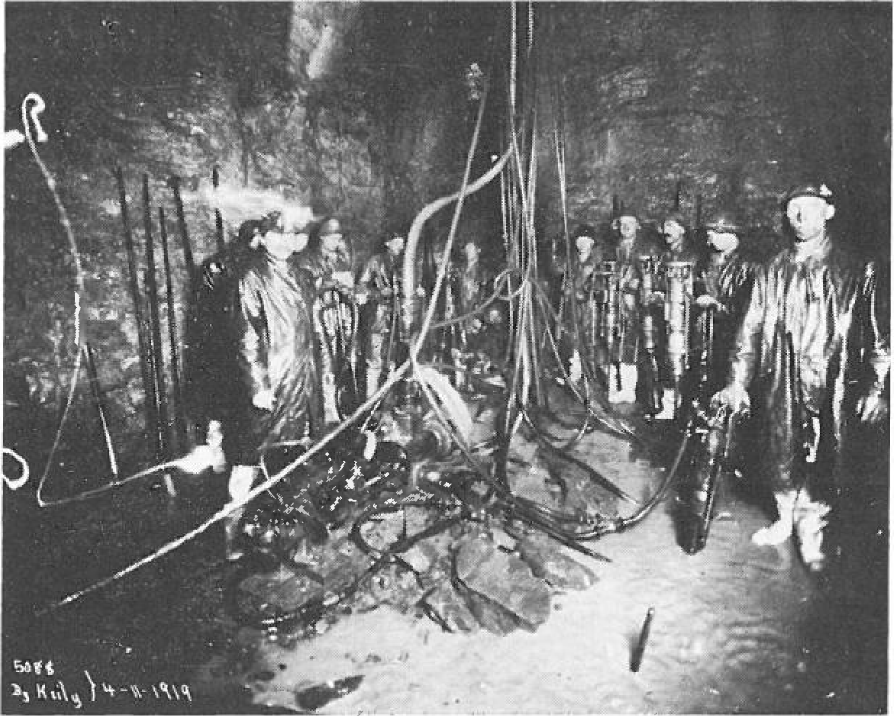
IX
Finnish-American Workmen's Associations

1. INTRODUCTION

The form of social life in the Finnish-American immigrant community that has, perhaps, attracted the most outside attention has been the activity of the workmen's associations. The reactions aroused by these associations have been both negative and positive. The negative side is connected mainly with the activeness of the Finnish-American labor movement in the political and social spheres. The positive aspect is the extraordinary organizational skill of the members of the associations, which has come to the fore best in the cultural life and collective endeavors of the Finns.

In the following, an attempt will be made to examine the evolution of the Finnish-American workmen's associations from the inception of the Finnish-American labor movement to the present day. The evolutionary process is considered against the background of the labor movement in Finland and the social conditions prevailing in the United States. Owing to the summary nature of the presentation, attention will be paid mainly to the period Finnish-American labor movement really flourished — the period between 1910 and 1930 — with the emphasis laid on the various central organizations active inside the movement.[1]



Finnish miners in Alabama in 1919. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

2. THE ORIGIN OF THE FINNISH-AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The rapid economic development of the United States during and, especially, at the end of the nineteenth century, demanded more and more manpower. Immigrants formed a suitable, nearly inexhaustible labor reserve for the American economy. Immigrants generally became migrant farm workes, bush workers, construction workers, and miners; and they flocked into the growing urban centers. Many of the Finnish immigrants settled in the mining and lumbering areas of the Midwestern states and, in the industrial centers of the East or found work in the forest and fishing industry in the West. Sooner or later, many of the Finns acquired their own farms.

The Finnish immigrants who had arrived in America at the end of the nineteenth century came mainly from rural areas and peaceful conditions and, therefore, had not been involved much with the class struggle stemming from the labor movement. According to KERO, in the great emigration year of 1905, 71.3 % of the Finnish emigrants had a peasant background, while 17.7 % were designated as "workers".[2] Nearly 20 % of the immigrants from Finland between 1893 and 1914 were "workers".[3]

Finnish lumberjacks cutting down gigantic American trees in 1906, in Matlock, Wash. (Folkkultursarkiv, Helsinki.)

Examining the areas of departure of the emigrants geographically, one will observe that the largest proportion overwhelmingly came from the provinces of Vaasa and Oulu. KERO notes that, proportionally, most of the members of the Finnish-American labor movement came from southern and eastern Finland, which were the industrialized parts of the country of that time.[4]

Among the early leaders of the Finnish-American labor movement, there were many who had previously participated in the labor movement in Finland, men like F. J. Syrjälä, Mooses Hahl, and A. F. Tanner. It appears that in the early stages of the development of the Finnish-American labor movement they played a leading role.

Especially after the strike waves of 1906 and 1907, the radicalizing influence of American society began to be felt in the Finnish-American labor movement. At the same time, also the leadership of this movement fell more and more into the hands of men who had, practically, been ignorant of the labor movement in Finland.

The desire to improve working conditions appears to have been one of the most important factors leading Finns to join the labor movement in

large numbers. On the other hand, workmen's associations were often the only form of social activity outside the church, and this attracted Finnish-Americans more and more into workmen's associations.

Finnish immigrants, however, were often first exposed to socialist ideas in temperance societies. It was in these groups that many officers of the workers' societies and socialist locals learned their organizational skills. With the spread of socialist ideas, many of the temperance societies fell more and more firmly under the domination of the church. In other societies, however, the supporters of labor ideology gained a majority and temperance societies of this kind slowly turned into workmen's associations.

In 1890, the first Finnish-American workmen's association, named *Imatra,* was formed in Brooklyn, N. Y. It was based on bourgeois reformism, like Wrightism in the Finnish labor movement: employers cooperated with the workers and stress was put on the improvement of educational opportunities among the working people. *Imatra*'s purpose was thus the promotion of higher aspirations and mutual aid among the Finnish-American workers.[5]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the ranks of the Finnish immigrants included an increasing number of those who had acquainted themselves with the ideas of the international labor movement. One of them was Anton Ferdinand Tanner, under whose leadership the socialist local *Myrsky* (Storm) was formed in 1899 in Rockport, Mass. This was the first Finnish socialist local to join the Socialist Party of America. After this, socialist locals were formed all over the country in accordance with the advice of Tanner and his disciple Martin Hendrickson. Other noteworthy socialists who influenced the labor movement were Taavi Tainio, A. B. Mäkelä, Alex Halonen and Vihtori Kosonen. All of them had been active socialists already in Finland.

Matti Kurikka also arrived in America around this time. In Finland, he had been one of the labor movement's most conspicuous figures.[6] Under his leadership, a utopian colony, called *Sointula* (Harmony), which was based on socialist principles, was formed in British Columbia, Canada. People were persuaded to go there to escape the "clutches of capitalism and the rapacious class struggle".

Kurikka's communal enterprise, however, caused the first factional dispute in the Finnish-American labor movement. Many Finnish-American supporters of pragmatic socialism, members of the so called reformist political school, had gone to Sointula dazzled by the images of utopian society painted by Kurikka. They soon, however, returned disenchanted with the colony and the serious dissension that broke out there.[7] In this first conflict over policy among the Finnish-American socialists, the antagonists were the advocates of utopian socialism and the champions of pragmatic action.

3. THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS

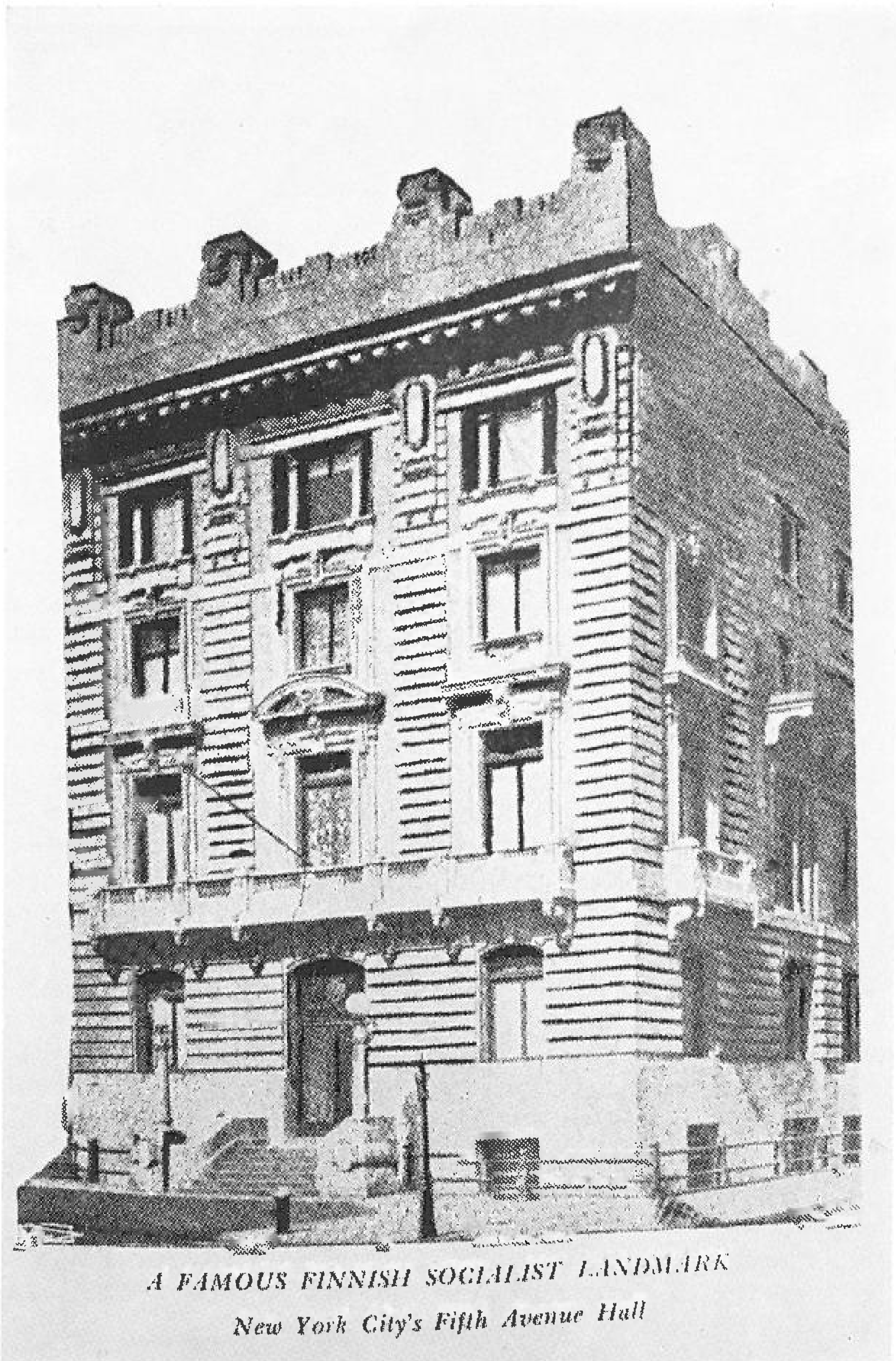
The period preceding 1903 may be considered to be the period of awakening in the Finnish-American labor movement. "Apostles of socialism" travelled around the country, many workmen's associations were formed and their activity was lively.[8] The first workmen's association on a national scale, *Amerikan Suomalainen Työväenliitto Imatra* or the Finnish-American Labor League Imatra, was formed in 1903 in Gardner, Mass. In the by-laws of this organization, as in those of the Imatra associations, stress was laid on temperate and decent living habits. The locals were advised to assist league's members in finding work, and so on. The league's membership was mainly concentrated in the Eastern and Midwestern sections of the United States and, at its height, 32 local associations belonged to it. One of the main purposes of the Finnish-American Labor League Imatra was also the preservation of Finnish-American labor movement on an ethnic basis.[9] Each association bore the name Imatra and was differentiated by number.

From the beginning, among the associations belonging to the league there were many followers of international socialism. At the same time as the Imatra League, there was formed another workmen's central organization, *Amerikan Suomalainen Työväenliitto* or the Finnish-American Labor League, in the Midwestern states. Its first convention was held in August 1904 in Duluth, Minn. The most important question discussed there was whether or not the organization should join the Socialist Party of America. The opponents of such move still, however, carried the day.[10]

But the Duluth convention did decide that in October of the same year a general conference of the Finnish-American workmen's associations would be held in Cleveland, Ohio, where the issues of joining the Socialist Party and creating new organizational structure would be reconsidered. The Cleveland convention then carried nearly unanimous resolutions to support international socialism and join the Socialist Party of America.[11] In practice, each association became a socialist local. These formed state organizations, after which the state organizations joined the Socialist Party of America.

The Cleveland conference presupposed the breakup of all the former federations. Even the Imatra League broke up so completely that all the associations except the parent association situated in Brooklyn, N.Y. turned into socialist locals. On the debit side of the ledger stands the fact that many members quit as a result of the Cleveland conference. According to SULKANEN, however, the meeting did create a practical basis for disciplined management of the associations in their ideological disputes.[12]

Now, the activity of the newly formed state organizations began to concentrate mainly on the holding of festivals, the arrangement of appearances for speakers and lecturers and the distribution of literature. The regional



"The Fifth Avenue Hall" — the most magnificent building of the Finnish-American Labor movement. (Sulkanen, 1951.)

One of the most important Finnish newspapers in America is the Raivaaja. The editorial staff was once housed in this building in Fitchburg, Mass. (Institute for Migration, Turku).

dispersion later hampered greatly the operations of the state organizations, and the next step was to be the creation of a common organization for the country as a whole.

In about 1905, at the time of the great General Strike and the Viapori mutiny in Finland, many city and industrial workers who had already belonged to labor organizations in their homeland arrived from Finland to America. Many of them later became leaders of the Finnish-American labor movement. Among these men were A. B. Mäkelä, Taavi Tainio and John Viita.

The General Strike and the Viapori mutiny had aroused great enthusiasm among the workers by offering examples of the methods available to them in carrying on their struggle. At the very time the Finnish-American socialists met at Hibbing, Minn. in August 1906 to form a central organization for the Finnish socialist locals. The Viapori mutiny was a topic of heated discussion.

The actual reason for the formation of a new organization was the difficulty of cooperation on the executive level of the party. Language difficulties caused all kinds of problems in the management of things and, in addition, there existed a desire to create a unifying agency for the scattered Finnish inhabitants of the country.[13]

The Hibbing convention established *Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö* or the Finnish Socialist Federation, which was the first foreign language federation to join the Socialist Party of America. The federation selected its own secretary-translator, who set up his office at the party headquarters in Chicago. Established there, the secretary-translator could act as a link between the party and the Finnish Socialist Federation. The arrangement was found to be so successful that other ethnic groups likewise soon placed their own secretary-translators in the Socialist Party's headquarters.

The executive arm of the Finnish Socialist Federation was its central committee. To faciliate practical operations, the country was divided into three "agitation districts": Eastern, Western and Central districts. *Työmies,* founded in 1903, and *Raivaaja,* founded in 1905, were approved as party newspapers.

At the very first meeting of the Finnish Socialist Federation, as then repeatedly later, the question of the stand to be taken toward the Industrial Workers of the World arose. At first the I.W.W. had been in close contact with the Socialist Party of America. It had been formed in 1905 to coordinate the activities of different organizations in trade union movement.[14] The I.W.W. soon changed, however, into a near anarchistic syndicalistic, oppositionist movement, the slogans of which were "direct action", "sabotage" and "general strike". The I.W.W.'s main objective

was to bring the factories and, at the same time, society as a whole under the control of the workers. The procedure aimed at was organization "industry by industry".

At the Hibbing convention, there were also many I.W.W. adherents who demanded the breaking off of relations with all the old trade unions completely. The largest of these was the *American Federation of Labor* (A.F. of L.). The majority of delegates, however, opposed the adoption of a hostile position to trade unions and in the end, after long debates, a compromise resolution was accepted. It demanded the ending of cooperation of every description with the "bourgeoisie" and the supporting of a trade-union movement that was based on class struggle and that upheld the work of socialist education.[15]

After the course to be followed by the federation had become laid out in this way, the rise of Finnish-American socialism began. New socialist locals were established in nearly every community where there was even a small number of Finns. The number of Finnish Socialist Federation locals and their membership before the great communist split are given in the following tabulation:[16]

Year	Number of locals	Average membership
1906[17]	53	2,000
1907	133	2,928
1908	150	3,960
1909	160	5,384
1910	173	7,767
1911	217	9,139
1912	248	11,535
1913	260	12,651
1914	227	11,657
1915	212	8,859
1916	224	9,396
1917	219	9,468
1918	236	10,668
1919	225	10,884

The membership, then, increased steadily up to the year 1913. Conflicts over policy, which will be discussed later, raged in the federation in 1913 and 1914. The expulsion of members resulted, causing a downward turn in membership.

From 1906 to 1914, the Finnish Socialist Federation — and the Finnish-American labor movement in general — flourished as never before or after. At no later time did any Finnish labor organization in the United States attain comparable membership. It is true, however, that, the combined number of supporters of Finnish-American socialism, communism and the

I.W.W. in the 1920s did exceed the Finnish Socialist Federation's membership in 1913.

The regional support of the Finnish Socialist Federation in the United States is examined in the following in the light of the situation prevailing at the end of 1911.[18]

The largest number of registered members was in the area of the Central district, 5,733 members in 97 locals. There were 4,046 members in 56 locals in the Eastern district and 3,888 members in 54 locals in the Western district.[19] On the average, counting the whole country, 4.8 % of the Finnish population were members of socialist locals according to the 1910 census statistics.

Numerically, most of the Finnish Socialist Federation members lived in Minnesota (2,824), Massachusetts (1,928), Michigan (1,478), Washington (1,062), Montana (681) and New York (650). Comparing the number of socialists with the total Finnish population in each area, one will observe that the highest percentages are generally found in the Western states. In Nevada, 26.2 % of the Finnish population belonged to socialist locals, in Wyoming, 27.8 %, in Arizona, 14.8 % and in Idaho, 12.8%. In the Midwestern states there were proportionally the most socialists, with 19.1 % in Illinois, 17.1 % in Indiana, 6.4 % in Minnesota and 5.5 % in Wisconsin. In the Eastern states, the largest proportion occurred in West Virginia, 29.4 %, in Vermont, 15.3 %, in Pennsylvania, 12.7 % and in Massachusetts, 11.9 %.

At the end of 1911, there were the most registered members, 470, in the Quincy, Mass. Finnish Socialist local. There was the largest number of paid-up members in the New York local, 344, in Duluth, the number was 231, in Fitchburg's *Saima,* 222 and in Chicago's Socialist Local No. 1, 217.[20]

The activity in the locals took on many forms. Various committees were set up to specific tasks: agitation committees, women's work committees, and so on. Special committees were also formed to collect money for local members in material straits, for the promotion of election propaganda, etc.

Ideological activity played an important role, which was most often the concern of the agitation committee. The Finnish Socialist Federation hired lecturers to travel around the country to speak at the different locals on topics of the day and, at the same time, to spread the ideals of socialism. Courses were often arranged in which series of lectures were held on selected topics. Especially popular were also the so-called debating sessions, at which two speakers would introduce the proposition at length and then proceed with briefer arguments, after which the audience could take an active part in the debate.

In 1912 all 63 Finnish socialist locals owned a meeting hall, in American Finnish called *haali,* or some other building. The activity was centered in the halls — if a building was not owned by the local, then one was rented.

For practical purposes, there was activity in the halls every night of the week. In 1912 Finnish-American socialist locals sponsored the following subsidiary organizations: 106 dramatic clubs, 83 agitation committees, 12 women's associations, 22 glee clubs, 28 bands, 89 sewing circles and 53 athletic clubs.[21] Many locals had large libraries and reading rooms, which received newspapers also from Finland. The variety of activities is reflected in the fact that the socialist locals arranged English-language courses as well as Sunday and summer schools for children. At the beginning of the century, the ideals of the cooperative movement began to spread among the Finnish-Americans, but it was not until the 1920s that it really began to flourish.

Because of the variety of the activities that centered in the halls, the charge has been made that Finnish-American socialism was only *"hall socialism"*. By this is meant that socialism, as an ideal, remained secondary and the main thing for the Finnish-American socialists was social activity: plays, gymnastics, cooperative enterprise and so on.

The important share of social functions in the halls cannot be neglected. The activity, however, can hardly be dismissed as mere "hall socialism" because there was also considerable participation in the activities of the parent party and the effort was made to spread socialism among not only the Finns but also other ethnic groups.

Newspapers were very important for the Finnish-American labor movement as means of not only keeping in contact but also spreading socialist ideals. Around the turn of the century, there were many short-lived attempts at establishing newspapers sympathetic to the labor movement. Indeed, in January of 1900, A. F. Tanner founded the first socialist newspaper for Finnish-Americans, *Amerikan Työmies* (American Worker). However, no more than 24 editions of the paper were published.[22]

Amerikan Suomalainen Työmies (Finnish-American Worker) began to be published in Worcester, Mass. in 1903. The next year it shifted to Hancock, Mich. and later from there to Superior, Wis. The same newspaper still appears, now called *Työmies—Eteenpäin* (Worker—Forward). Another strong Finnish-American socialist newspaper was *Raivaaja* (Pioneer), which is still also in existence. It was established in 1905 in Fitchburg, Mass., where it has been published ever since.

A third important Finnish-American socialist daily was *Toveri* (Comrade), which was published on the West Coast, in Astoria, Ore. from 1907 to 1931. In 1931 it merged with *Työmies.*

Each newspaper has had several publications on the side, such as *Toveritar* (Woman Comrade), especially for women, the special agricultural paper *Pelto ja Koti* (Farm and Home), and so on. At the beginning of 1912, the

following Finnish-American socialist newspapers and periodicals were being published: Työmies in Hancock, Mich., circulation about 12,000; Raivaaja in Fitchburg, Mass., circulation about 6,000; Toveri in Astoria, Ore., circulation about 4,000. The monthly *Säkeniä* came out in Fitchburg and *Lapatossu* in Hancock.[23]

The Finnish-American workmen's associations also took quite an active hand in publishing, which, for practical reasons, was carried on in cooperation with the newspaper companies. The literature published by the Finnish-American socialists varies considerably: textbooks, fiction, poetry, essays, plays, various kinds of anniversary publications, calendars, etc. Besides textbooks, perhaps the most important educational literature to be published might be classified as ideological, for the majority of the so-called classic works by socialist theorists have been published in Finnish in the United States. In addition, it should be noted that in nearly all the literature published, an ideological outlook was also presented in one way or another. The fiction, whether translated or original works by Finnish-American socialist authors, poetry, plays, etc., reflected "class consciousness".

A noteworthy role was played by *Työväen Opisto* or the Work People's College in the development of the Finnish Socialist Federation. The original institution was founded in 1903 as a result of the activity of *Kansalliskirkkokunta* or the National Church organization, in Minneapolis, Minn. The name of the college became *Suomalainen Kansanopisto ja Teologinen Seminaari* or the Finnish People's College and Theological Seminary. The next year it was moved to Smithville, a suburb of Duluth.

The college was constantly beset by economic difficulties, the number of students was small and its debts were very high. The socialists had bought quite a few shares of stock in the college during its formative stages, and now they saw a favorable opportunity to seize control of the college in a perfectly legal way by purchasing more shares. In 1907, the National Church lost finally control of the college, which was then renamed *Työväen Opisto.*[24]

As a workers college, the institution managed well economically, too, and it was officially made the educational seat ot the Finnish Socialist Federation. The curriculum of the college became centered mainly on practical subjects such as English and mathematics. In fact, the training of the federation's functionaries played a central role in the life of the college.

The ideological side was, however, very important and slowly the Work People's College started to advance more radical ideas, which tended largely to reflect the I.W.W. thinking. When the I.W.W. schism spread to the Finnish federation, the Finnish I.W.W. adherents gradually gained control of the school, and in 1914 it could be seen that the Finnish Socialist Federation no longer controlled the Work People's College.

Between the years 1906 and 1914, Finnish-American socialists took part

EDUCATION

ORGANIZATION—EMANCIPATION

The Work Peoples College at Smithville, Minn., near the city of Duluth, is the only institution in the United States that gives instruction in industrial unionism and also in all such theoretical and technical subjects that are necessary in the industrial labor movement.

This school is controlled entirely by members of the I. W. W. which is a full guarantee for the fact that this institution is serving the purposes of the organization of the I. W. W. and its membership by teaching various subjects pertaining to social sciences, economics, and technical matters which all are useful in the revolutionary labor movement.

KNOWLEDGE IS THE MOTHER OF PROGRESS

The Thirteenth annual convention of the I. W. W. fully endorsed in principle this college and promised its moral support and publicity through the various publications of the organization.

All this shows that the Work Peoples College is the only place of learning for revolutionary workers, that it serves the revolutionary labor movement, and is, so to speak, one of the necessary organs for building up industrial democracy.

In order to emancipate ourselves from industrial slavery we must know our aim. Taking this into consideration the Board of Directors for the Work Peoples College sends an appeal to workers who wish to obtain education that they would make use of this in satisfying their desire for learning.

Following courses are offered:

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

1. Scientific department.
2. Technical elementary sciences and practise.
3. English department.
4. Organization bookkeeping department.

SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT

Lectures in this department will be given on the following subjects: The construction and procedure of industrial unionism, commencing with the preamble of the I. W. W. and concluding in industrial society. Economics, Sociology, Geography and Biology.

PRACTISE DEPARTMENT

Among other work in this department, two hours per week will be devoted to correct pronunciation, reciting poetry, reading and platform department.

Two hours per week will be given to public speaking and presentation, debate, parliamentary drill, and organization work.

In addition to these hours the student body will arrange for two meetings per week in which subjects of the hour and other discussion will be carried on so as to give the students practise in speaking and conducting meetings according to parliamentary rules.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

The teaching of English language is divided into four classes. The first class learn the fundamentals of grammar, pronunciation and the diacritical marks.

The second class goes through the grammar thoroughly and in detail. Considerable attention is given to composition in connection with the points raised in the grammar. Attention is also given to sounds and the pronunciation.

The third class concentrates on composition with reviews now and then in grammar. Considerable time is given to reading.

The fourth class gives most of the time to the study of rhetoric; several long themes are written.

DEPARTMENT OF BOOKKEEPING

I. The duties of a delegate.

II. The duties of a secretary.

III. Fundamentals of double entry bookkeeping according to the Rowe system. The student can take up the work where he had formerly left off, or depending on his former preparation.

Additional information regarding the school year, fees, etc., may be obtained by addressing THE WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Box 39, Morgan Park Station, Duluth, Minnesota.

The school originally founded as a Christian college in the early 1900's at Duluth, Minn. was soon taken over by leftists and turned into an ideological training center under the name of The Work People's College. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center)

Strikers' demonstration in Mohawk, Michigan, 1913. Photo J. Nara Collection. (Institute for Migration, Turku).

in many strikes, which left a clear mark not only on the development of the Finnish Socialist Federation but also on the position of the Finnish-American socialists in American society.

The Finns played a leading part in the strike in the Mesabi area, Northern Minnesota, in 1907.[25] Also in 1912—1913, there were major strike movements in the United States; in particular, the eight-month strike in the Copper Country in Michigan aroused attention. In this Upper-Michigan mining area, there worked many Finns who actively participated in the strike. The conflict between strikers and management became so serious that the Federal Government had to send troops to pacify the situation.

These and many other labor disputes in which Finns played a prominent role had the general effect of giving the American Finns a "reddish" reputation. Some employers placed all Finns on their black list, and this forced many Finns to take up farming. On the other hand, in some areas the church-going Finns organized protest movements to re-establish the reputation of Finns as good workers. Among them were the so-called Judas resolution movements.

The strikes, on the other hand, had their effect on the Finnish Socialist Federation. The labor disputes often took a very tough turn and this provoked discussion about tactics: what were the best methods for the workers to achieve power? During the course of the strikes, the I.W.W. especially flexed its muscles and egged the workers on to "direct action" rather than dabbling in politics, which was the main concern of the Socialist Party's

program. No wonder the I.W.W. drew more and more adherents from the ranks of labor. Among Finnish-Americans, industrial unionism gained a foothold especially in the Midwestern and Western states.

4. THE BREAKUP OF THE FINNISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION

Disagreements between the advocates and the opponents of political action led finally in 1914 to the breakup of the Finnish Socialist Federation. Of the total membership of 12,500, 3,000 quit or were expelled. The largest proportion of expulsions was in Minnesota. Those who joined the I.W.W. soon established their own newspaper, *Sosialisti* (Socialist), which later took the name *Industrialisti* (Industrialist).

The reason for the first major schism in the Finnish Socialist Federation was the disagreement between the advocates and opponents of political action. The opponents of political action were not satisfied with waiting for "slow improvements". They demanded swift changes. A greater embarrassment than membership losses was, however, the weakening of solidarity and confidence in the labor movement.

Hardly had the Finnish Socialist Federation had time to recover from the rupture caused by the I.W.W. faction when the threat of a new schism appeared. This was a result of the Russian October Revolution and the newly born communist movement. The revolution carried out by the Bolsheviks was solidly approved by the Finnish-American workers; but when the question arose whether or not the methods used by the Bolsheviks could be applied in the United States, differences of opinion were voiced.

Feelings became more heated later when the Communist International began to play a leading role in the international labor movement. Moreover, disagreements became sharper over the stand to be taken on the situation following the Civil War in Finland, and friction was created by the issue of the establishment of the Communist Party of Finland by the refugees from Finland in Soviet Russia.

The social democratic wing of the Finnish-American labor movement emphasized the difference in the conditions prevailing in the United States and the fact that, special methods had to be chosen for each country. The Finnish-American left wing tended more and more to follow the Bolshevik line. In the Socialist Party of America there developed a strong left wing, which then in the fall of 1919 split into two rival communist parties. The Socialist Party broke up in this process so that from that time on it became more insignificant than ever in the American community.

Finnish-American Socialists had on the whole opposed every tendency to divide their party. Remembering the confusion into which their ranks had fallen in 1914 they wanted to preserve the unity of the Finnish

Socialist Federation. This was not possible in the long run, however, for support of the left wing continued to grow; and at the next convention of the organization, a resolution was passed in favor of splitting with the Socialist Party because of its "opportunistic aspirations." The vote was not unanimous, however, and it was contended that the delegates from the Midwestern and Western states were bent on driving the Finns into the communist camp.

The vehemence of the debate and the nature of the language used are vividly reflected by the following passage published in Raivaaja. The writer, who used the initials F. H., expressed the fear that the supporters of an independent federation intended to engineer an out-and-out merger with the Communist Party:

"Must the Finnish Socialist Federation follow the example of others by plunging into the same pit where they have fallen? Must everything that has been achieved be destroyed? Must we set out on unknown seas without having a sure course? It would be like casting our compasses into hell and steering the ship only by the Bible. And no sensible person would step on board such a ship of his own volition."[26]

The matter of seceding from the Socialist Party of America was put to the vote among the members of the federation. After a fierce propaganda campaign, the voting ended with over 60 per cent of the membership in favor of remaining in the party. The situation in the Finnish Socialist Federation did not calm down, however, for a long time, and in the convention held at the turn of the years 1920 and 1921, the advocates of secession from the party gained the upper hand. The federation decided to declare itself an independent organization unaffiliated to any party, but each of the Socialist locals was empowered to make its own decision in the matter.

The supporters of the independent organization had no intention of merging the Finnish Socialist Federation — at least, not immediately — with the Communist Party but only aimed to follow developments in a "spirit sympathetic to the Communists." In reality, however, the organization's declaration of independence signified the beginning of the Finnish-American communist movement.

In line with the resolution passed, therefore, each local decided for itself whether to belong to the Socialist Party or to stay with the now independent federation. After disputes that in many cases reached a violent pitch, some 180 socialist locals finally joined the independent organization. About 60 locals remained under the wing of the Socialist Party. Nearly 30 locals split, with the result that in their communities two rival factions formed. Of the 7,000 or so members belonging to the independent organization, about 3,000 were located in the areas of both the Eastern and the

Midwestern states and slightly over 1,000 in the Western states. More than 3,000 members stayed with the Socialist Party of America, and practically all of them lived in the region of the Eastern states.

The communistic parties referred to were soon forced underground because of the persecution to which radicals were subjected by the authorities. Rather few Finns were members of these underground parties. The Finns had always demanded abidance by the law and democratic procedure, and when the Worker's Party of America, a legal communist party, was founded at the turn of the years 1921 and 1922, the independent Finnish Socialist Federation joined it.

At the beginning of 1922, the Finnish-American working class movement was thus divided into three main groups: the "IWWs," or supporters of syndicalistic ideas, the socialists and the communists. In addition, there were a few independent labor associations, which had not joined any of the major organizations.

5. THE I.W.W. FINNS

The Finnish-American supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World had therefore broken away in 1914 from the Finnish Socialist Federation. Right after this, the I.W.W. movement experienced its heyday, with several thousand Finnish-Americans joining its ranks. It is not possible to arrive at any exact count, for the Finns did not form any separate language group officially within the I.W.W. fold but were all members of the same great organization. Conceivably, the number of Finns belonging to the I.W.W. was somewhere between five and ten thousand.

The Finns appear to have been a somewhat deviant group within the organization. Their activity continued in nearly the same style as in connection with the Socialist Party; that is, they still had their own "halls," in which they held social functions, staged plays, arranged dances, and so on. To maintain contact among themselves, the Finns had their own regional associations — but no official organization of their own based on language within the broader framework of the I.W.W.

The activities of the Finnish-American I.W.W.'s seemed to be centered to a fairly large extent around two institutions, the journal called Industrialisti and the Work People's College. After the 1914 split, the Finnish-Americans supporting the I.W.W. had founded their own newspaper, which they named *Sosialisti* (Socialist) and began to publish in Duluth. It was not long before publication had to be discontinued, but the paper made a comeback under the name of *Teollisuustyöläinen* (Industrial Worker). In 1915, the name was changed to *Industrialisti.* Its circulation apparently reached its peak in the early 1920s, when it probably exceeded 10,000. The circulation

of the paper also reflects the distribution of Finnish-American support of the I.W.W. over the different sections of the country. The area of strongest I.W.W. support was clearly the Midwest, particularly Minnesota and Upper Michigan, along with the West Coast. Also the I.W.W. adherents living on the Canadian side of the border were diligent readers of Industrialisti.[27]

The Work People's College continued to operate actively in Duluth but its student enrollment was steadily on the downgrade. It became officially an I.W.W. institution and quite a few English-speaking students began to be admitted, too. The school continued to serve as an I.W.W. seat of learning until World War II, after which it ceased to function as an educational institution.

Finnish-American members of the I.W.W. continued to be active in the publishing field. This activity was also concentrated in Duluth, at the Worker's Socialist Publishing Company. The Work People's College published literature, and the Finnish "wobblies," as the members of the I.W.W. were popularly called, had their own periodical, firstly *Ahjo* (Forge) and later on *Tie Vapauteen* (Road to Freedom). In addition, a special Christmas issue was produced under the name *Industrialistin Joulu* (The Industrialist's Christmas), and now and then other publications came out on the side.

From the beginning of the decade of the 1930s, support of the I.W.W. steadily dwindled among the Finnish-American population. Even before that, at the beginning of the preceding decade, a sizable break in the ranks had occurred, when many Finnish syndicalists moved over to the communist camp. Around 1924, there had also taken place the so-called Rowan rupture, when communistic elements attempted to take over control of the I.W.W. The attempt was foiled, and many "wobblies" with communistic leanings apparently quit the organization to join their ideological brethren.

It was at the end of the 1920s that the Great Depression hit the United States and increasing unemployment forced many of the jobless to wander around the country in search of work. The wobblies' ties to their organization evidently weakened and in certain cases broke entirely. Another reason for the dwindling of the I.W.W.'s influence was the emergence of a new generation. The immigrants who had come over from Finland were getting old and the younger generation did not feel the same interest in the common activities of their elders but preferred to seek their contacts among Americanized contemporaries. The same phenomenon is to be observed in all the organized activities of the Finnish-Americans — in church just as surely as among the wobblies, socialists and communists.

Since World War II, the Finnish-American adherents of the I.W.W. have concentrated more and more on supporting Industrialisti. It appears as if new blood has not come their way, and the support of the paper rests mainly on the shoulders of the old-time immigrants. A new center of I.W.W.

activity among the Finnish-Americans, in addition to Duluth, has developed in Florida, where the wobblies have established a meeting hall, too. Industrialisti has pockets of support in other parts of the country as well.

6. THE FINNISH FEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

With the breakup of the Finnish Socialist Federation, the majority of its members threw in their lot with the communists, while the minority stayed in the Socialist Party. These socialists formed a new Finnish Federation within the fold of the party. Support of the organization came mostly from the Eastern states, where in the 1920s and 1930s it had from three to four thousand members. The main Finnish-American stronghold of socialism was the state of Massachusetts, especially the city of Fitchburg, where the newspaper Raivaaja is published.

The activity of *Yhdysvaltain Sosialistipuolueen Suomalainen Järjestö* or the Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party of the United States has continued along established lines: essentially, it consists of functions held in the meeting halls and the maintenance of contact among people of Finnish blood. Some of the hall associations continue to function to this day; but, as in the case of the wobblies, the activity of the Finnish-American socialists has largely centered on the support given their newspaper, Raivaaja.

The Finnish-American socialists gave the American Socialist Party their loyal backing and participated in its election campaigns. They were also active participants in some of the big labor strikes in the Eastern states in the early 1920s. In the mid-1930s, new factional strife broke out within the Socialist Party, and as a result the Finns parted company with the parent party. According to SULKANEN, the Finns took to waiting for the appearance of a truly influential political working-class party. They did not want to be part of a quarrelsome group whose influence was nearly negligible.[28]

For the maintenance of social and cultural activity, a few years later, in 1940, *Amerikan Suomalaisen Kansanvallan Liitto* or the Finnish-American Democratic League was formed. The members were given a free hand to join progressive movements, provided they remained sincere defenders of democratic institutions.[29] During the Finnish-Soviet Winter War and after World War II, the Finnish-American socialists took quite an active hand in sending material aid to Finland.

As in the case of the syndicalists, the biggest problem facing the socialists has been the steady dwindling of their ranks, owing to the toll taken by age. The young Finnish-American socialists joined English-language organi-

zations and no longer took any noteworthy part in the work of the Finns' own associations. Publication activity continued, but in an ever narrower groove, obviously forced to cut back by dwindling economic resources. Activity has therefore to a large extent been centered around Raivaaja and the work of supporting it. The aim of the movement has been to spread its doctrine and plant its ideas. Its teachings have been based on "enduring social-democratic principles and the results of modern studies of life in society."[30]

Perhaps the most important field in which the Finnish-American socialists have been active since the 1920s is the cooperative movement, which carries the specified, desirable progressive label. The cooperative activities of the Finns were marked by vigor and enterprise not only in the Eastern states, notably the New England area, but also the Midwestern states. In 1917, the Finns formed *Keskusosuuskunta* or the Central Co-operative Exchange in Superior, Wisconsin; in 1931, the name was changed to the *Central Co-operative Wholesale.* In the late 1920s, the Finnish-American socialists and communists worked together for the most part in the same cooperative organizations. Around the year 1930 the final split took place in the Midwestern states between the socialist-controlled and "leftist"cooperatives.

When, at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, the Central Co-operative Exchange was reduced to a field of battle between the advocates of more clean-cut cooperative enterprise and the politically motivated elements, the more radical faction lost and its representatives were removed from leading positions in the organization. The *Workers and Farmers Co-operative Unity Alliance* was then established as the new central organization of the cooperatives that broke with the Central Co-operative Exchange.

Cooperative activity has never been confined solely to the business of wholesaling and retailing. The Finns in America have also established co-operative restaurants and credit institutions based on cooperative principles, built cooperative apartment houses and so on. Since World War II, the co-operatives exclusively owned and managed by Finnish-Americans have generally disappeared: they have become just plain American, without the hyphenated appendage, with the Americanization of their membership, and they have merged into larger organizations.

Since the 1930s, the work of collaboration between the Finnish-American socialists and other groups has been carried on in Minnesota by the *Minnesota Federation of Finnish Civic Clubs.* The associations belonging to it have been the agencies of Finnish collaborative efforts at influencing policy making on the municipal level. They have stimulated social activities and have arranged general festivities.

7. THE COMMUNISTS

The third Finnish-American leftist group, the communists, kept the name of their organization, the Finnish Socialist Federation, for a few years following the great schism in the socialist ranks in the period between 1919 and 1921. The group officially joined the public communist party, known as the Workers' Party, at the beginning of 1922. In 1924, the Finnish Socialist Federation took on the name *Workers Partyn Suomalainen järjestö* or the Finnish Federation of the Workers' Party of America.

During the early years, the activity of the Finnish-Americans in the communist movement consisted of organizational work and building up the party. Party ideology was vigorously propagandized among the Finns, who also took an active part in organizational tasks of the party. The Finns were the biggest national group belonging to the Workers' Party by far, for in 1924 the party had 7,099 Finnish members, or 40.8 % of the total membership.[31]

The Finnish-American communists soon found themselves at heated odds with the parent party. The Communist International, or Comintern, had decided that the world communist movement as a whole would have to be reorganized through so-called Bolshevization. The leadership of the Workers' Party accepted the commands of the Comintern almost totally as early as 1923. According to the directives laid down, common street and working-place cells composed of different nationalities and races were to be formed as the basic units; this meant that the former organizations based on nationality had to be done away with.[32]

It was not very easy to persuade the Finnish communists to accept the new organizational structure, for they would have wanted to keep former organizations based on language. The chief reason for this was the difficulty the Finns had with the English language — Finnish activies in America have always tended to gravitate inward. The Finnish-American resistance to change was so strong that the Comintern had to send Yrjö Sirola from Moscow to settle the differences between the Finnish-American communists and the Workers' Party. It was largely due to Sirola's efforts that the Finns finally yielded and the Finnish organization ceased to function.

Not all the Finnish-American communists joined the new international cells, however, but only less than 2,000 members.[33] Since the international cells exercised such a weak attraction on the rank and file, the Communist leadership took measures to create a new Finnish mass organization. The result was the formation of *Yhdysvaltain Suomalainen Työväenjärjestö* or the Finnish Workers Federation of the United States[34] — controlling power was given through the Finnish party headquarters to the leaders of the Workers' Party and through them to the Comintern.

Yrjö Sirola, a Finnish leftist leader, with his family in Hancock, Mich., in 1913. (Kansan arkisto, Helsinki.)

Oskari Tokoi has told about his colorful life in the United States in the late 19th century in his memoirs, Maanpakolaisen muistelmia, 1947. (John I. Kolehmainen, 1955).

By no means all the Finnish-American communists were happy, however, over the continual interference of the Comintern and the Workers' Party in the internal affairs of the organization. The Finns, again, were accused of bourgeois leanings and adherence to social-democratic ideas. As a consequence, the ranks of the Finnish-American communists were purged and in the years 1928—1930 a large number of Finns, both leaders and ordinary rank-and-file members, were expelled from the Finnish Workers' Federation and also the party.

The opposition critical of the Comintern and the Workers' Party was concentrated for the most part in the area of the Eastern states, especially New York, and the City of Superior in the Midwest. It was in Superior that the newspaper Työmies was published too, sticking fast to the Comintern line in its staunch advocacy of international communism. The opposition assailed the Finnish organization for its dictatorial treatment of members. The critics contended that rank-and-file members had no say in deciding the internal affairs of the organization and that all the activity was directed from party headquarters. The opposition would have wanted to preserve the Finnish character of the organization whereas the leadership unconditionally favored pursuing the more international line proclaimed in the slogan urging all the workers of the world to unite.

Support of the opposition became so widespread that Finnish-American communists were once more sent over from Moscow as advisers. This time, it was the turn of Kullervo Manner and Otto Ville Kuusinen's second wife, Aino Kuusinen. Manner, it is true, operated mainly on the Canadian side, but Aino Kuusinen concentrated her attention on the United States' side between 1930 and 1933. She assumed the name A. Morton and succeeded in establishing her position in the Finnish Workers' Federation so firmly that for a while she was its real leader. In achieving such a position, she was greatly assisted by her husband's fame as an international communist leader. By making use of Otto Ville Kuusinen's name as background support, she was able to carry out quite a number of changes to her liking within the organization.

Further spread of the opposition's support was therefore checked. However, during the 1930s, there were other factors dangerous to the development of the communist movement at work too. Mention has already been made of the rupture in the cooperative movement. In this connection, many members of the Finnish Workers' Federation quit the political field to concentrate their efforts more on purely cooperative activities.

Another important factor was the so-called *Karelia fever* that raged in Finnish-American circles in the early 1930s. Soviet Karelia was in sore need of skilled workmen — construction workers, men with experience in various jobs in the woodworking industry, and so on. Since at the same time the

whole Western world was undergoing a severe economic depression, it is no wonder at all that many Finnish-American communists were overcome by "Karelia fever." After selling all their possessions, they left with their families to return to the old continent to build a "real socialistic state." In the early 1930s, several thousand Finns left the United States and Canada for Karelia[35] and as a result many workers' associations ceased to function altogether.

The growth of the Finnish-American communist movement was, actually, cut short at this point. A more important factor in halting development than the organizational disputes or the emigration to Soviet Karelia was, however, the same as in the case of the socialists and the "wobblies" — the aging of people. The quota system introduced by the Immigration Act of 1924 imposed tight restrictions on immigration to the United States; the measure limited the number of arrivals from Finland each year to only a few hundred. The younger generation did not join the communist organization; the younger people became Americanized and either stayed outside the labor movement or joined the American movement proper. Up to the 1950s, several men of Finnish blood held leading positions in the communist movement in the United States. The best known, perhaps, of these men is Gus Hall (originally Hallberg), who was the communist candidate for president in the 1972 elections.

Finns have made up a substantial part of the membership of the communist movement in the United States. It has already been pointed out that Finns have also held leading positions in the party, but in the main they have been the exceptions. The Finnish contribution to the communist movement has been significant particularly in the economic sense: Finns have participated in countless fund drives; they have given aid and comfort to strikers; and they have taken active part in public demonstrations and generally in the spreading of propaganda.

As in the case of the socialists and the members of the I.W.W., the activity of the Finnish communists in the United States since the heyday of the labor movement has been limited largely to upholding the cultural interests of the Finnish-American community. Newspapers have been among the main channels of communication. To this day, *Työmies-Eteenpäin* and *Naisten Viiri* (Women's Banner) continue to be published in Superior. Social activities have continued vigorously: plays are performed, summer festivals held and various kinds of cooperative projects undertaken.

An examination of the influence of their newspapers on the Finnish-American community reveals that they have zealously endeavored to propagate class ideology. The communist papers have faithfully hewed to the party line. But it is just as true of the communists as of the socialists and

A Finnish American boarding house ("Poikatalo") in Red Lodge, Mont. in 1910. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

I.W.W. adherents that their newspapers have become increasingly vehicles of communication within the Finnish-American community.

In 1941, the *International Workers Order* (IWO) was established in the United States and it was joined by the Finnish-American communists. Operating in association with the IWO, they gained better connections than before with the American labor movement. When, in the late 1940s, repressive action began to be taken once more in the United States against radicals, the IWO had to disband. Since then, the political activity of Finnish-American communists has become increasingly integrated with the American party, and Finnish activities as such have therefore been concentrated in the cultural sphere.

As for trade union activity among the Finnish Americans, the information for the period since the decade of the 1920s is not very accurate because the organizations involved were simply American, with scarcely any differentiation of foreign language groups. On the whole, however, it may be stated that the Finnish-American rôle in the trade-union movement

An American Finnish saloon called Fennia Saloon and Hotel, photographed in 1906. (Åbo Akademis Bildsamling.)

has been noteworthy, for the Finns fall into the ranks of organized labor in American society. The Finns have done estimable work, generally speaking, by promoting the organization of the workers and, in particular, by building up the CIO.

Worthy of mention, furthermore, is the participation of Finnish-Americans in the devolopment of the F-L parties. The rôle played by Finns has been especially significant in the ranks of the Democratic Farmer-Labor party in the Midwestern states.

8. SUMMARY

The Finnish-American labor movement has thus been characterized by divisiveness brought about mainly by disputes of both an ideological and a personal nature. At the same time as other groups of Finnish-American immigrants have dissociated themselves completely from the labor movement, the divisions between the various factions within the movement have been sharp and clear. On the other hand, the so-called bourgeois groups in the Finnish-American immigrant community have by no means put on any united front but have been at least as disunited as the Finnish-American

workers ranks: the temperance movement broke up in its time into different groups, and the same thing happened to the church-going people.

What, then, has been the significance of the Finnish-American workers' organizations to American society? The answer to this question is that the labor movement — the political labor movement, in particular — is an area where the Finnish-Americans have truly called attention to themselves. In the political labor movement, they have made an impact on society at large by agitating for improvements in the general condition of the working class, working for social reforms, and so on. Although the Finnish-American labor movement has always been accused of isolationism, the very fact of its joining the international labor movement and American labor parties indicates that its main objective has not been only social and cultural activity within the circle of its own membership. Compared with certain church groups, for example, the Finnish-American labor movement has shown a far more marked tendency to cooperate with other American groups. Even though the aspirations of the Finnish-American working-class movement have often been branded revolutionary, its dynamic character cannot be denied and the fact remains that its basic aim has been to better the lot of the lower social classes.

Furthermore, the significance of the Finnish-American labor movement must be recognized in fostering cultural interests and promoting feelings of solidarity among the Finnish immigrant population. The aims of the Finnish workmen's organizations have included the raising of the general educational level and the advancement of all kinds of cultural activities, publishing ventures, dramatic performances and other general educational endeavors. What they have done to spread the good word about cooperation among the American population at large should not be forgotten, either. The view has even been expressed that the cooperative movement is the Finns' greatest contribution to American society.

[1]) Few studies relating to the post World War II period, especially the 1950s, exist. The information on this period comes mainly from Mr. Carl Ross of Minneapolis, Minn., and Mr. Onni Kaartinen of Yonkers, N.Y.

[2]) KERO, Reino, Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Vammala 1974, Table 11, p. 88.

[3] Suomen Virallinen Tilasto (Official Statistics of Finland , XXVIII Siirtolaisuustilasto (Emigration Statistics) 1—11.

[4]) KERO, Reino, The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism. Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku, Finland. No. 5. Studies edited by Vilho NIITEMAA. Turku 1973, especially pp. 53—55.

[5]) SULKANEN, Elis, Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia. Fitchburg, Mass. 1951, p. 56.

[6]) For information on Kurikka's activity in the early Finnish labor movement, see SOIKKANEN, Hannu, Sosialismin tulo Suomeen. Ensimmäisen yksikamarisen eduskunnan vaaleihin asti. Porvoo 1961, especially pp. 63—64, 67—68, 149—150.

[7]) SULKANEN, op.cit., pp. 68—72; see also HALMINEN, Matti, Sointula, Kalevan Kansan ja Kanadan suomalaisten historiaa. Helsinki 1936.

[8]) An excellent description of this period is given in Martin Hendrickson's memoirs Muistelmia Kymmenvuotisesta Raivaustyöstäni. Fitchburg, Mass. 1909.

[9]) SULKANEN, op.cit., p. 75

[10]) Hendrickson, op.cit., pp. 67—68.

[11]) SULKANEN, op.cit., pp. 81—82.

[12]) Ibid. p. 83.

[13]) Report of the Secretary-Translator, V. Watia, for the convention of the Finnish Socialist Federation. In Kolmannen Amerikan Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Kokous pidetty Hancockissa, Mich. 23—30 pvä elok. 1909. (Proceedings of the Third Convention of the Finnish Socialist Federation. Convention Held in Hancock, Mich., August 23—30, 1909) Toim. F. J. SYRJÄLÄ. Fitchburg, Mass. n d., p. 15.

[14]) About the formation of the I.W.W., see BRISSENDEN, Paul F., The I.W.W. A Study of American Syndicalism. Second printing of the second edition. New York 1957, pp. 57—82.

[15]) SULKANEN, op.cit., pp. 97—102.

[16]) SYRJÄLÄ, F. J., Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväenliikkeestä. Fitchburg, Mass. n.d., p. 86.

[17]) The number of members for 1906 is evidently quite inaccurate. The incomplete statistics published prior to the Hibbing meeting state that there were 50 associations with a total of 2,695 members These statistics include only two-thirds of the associations. SULKANEN even mentions that, according to some source, at the end of 1906 there were 89 locals with a total membership of about 7,900 SULKANEN, op.cit., p. 89.

[18]) The numbers and membership of the locals were obtained from the minutes of the 1912 convention. Suomalaisten sosialistiosastojen ja työväenyhdistysten viidennen eli suomalaisen sosialistijärjestön kolmannen edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja 1—5, 7—10 p. kesäkuuta, 1912. (The Minutes of the Convention of the Finnish Socialist Locals and Workmen's Associations or the Third Convention of the Finnish Socialist Federation, June 1—5, June 7—10, 1912) Toimittanut Aku RISSANEN. Fitchburg, Mass. n.d., pp. 29—53.

[19]) The 1910 census data were obtained from Askeli, Henry: Suomalainen Sosialistijärjestö. Kalenteri 1918 Amerikan Suomalaiselle Työväestölle. Fitchburg, Mass., 1918, Table on p. 33. In examining the percentages, one should take into consideration the fact that membership statistics for all the locals have not been obtained. On the other hand, the membership figures do not include children, as do population statistics. Accordingly, the proportion of socialists among adult Finnish-Americans is relatively higher.

[20]) Pöytäkirja 1912 (Minutes of 1912 Convention) op. cit. p. 55.

[21]) Report of the Finnish Translator-Secretary to the Socialist Party National Convention 1912. In National Convention of the Socialist Party Held at Indianapolis, Ind. May 12th to 18th, 1912. Edited by John SPARGO. Chicago, Ill., n.d., pp. 237—239.

[22]) SULKANEN, op. cit., p. 64—68.

[23]) Report of the Finnish Translator-Secretary to the Socialist Party National Convention, 1912 op. cit. p. 238.

[24]) For an account of the transformation of the People's College into a Work People's College, see KOSTIAINEN, Auvo, Religion vs. Socialism. Finnish Socialists Capture the People's College and Theological Seminary. A study made at the University of Minnesota, May 1974.

[25]) The best description of the Mesabi strike is in BETTEN, Neil, Strike on the Mesabi —1907. Minnesota History, Fall 1967, pp. 340—347.

[26]) Raivaaja, Nov. 22, 1919.

[27]) The circulation of Industrialisti may be examined by for example looking into the distribution of published Christmas greetings. In December 1930, the greetings were distributed as follows, according to the states: Minnesota 1940, Michigan 930, Washington 760, Montana 320, California 300, New York 260, Wisconsin 250, Illinois 240, Wyoming 210, Ohio 190. The largest number of greetings from Canada came from Ontario, 1440, and British Columbia, 260. The total number of greetings came to 8,150. KERO, Reino, Satakuntalainen amerikansiirtolaisuus ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa. Lähtö ja muuttoliikkeet. Licenciate thesis, University of Turku, April 1970, p. 145, footnote 5.

[28]) SULKANEN, op. cit., p. 254.

[29]) Ibid.

[30]) Ibid. p. 261.

[31]) The Fourth National Convention of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. Report of the Central Executive Committee to the 4th National Convention Held in Chicago, Illinois. August 21st—30th, 1925. Resolutions of the Parity Commission and others. Chicago, Ill., n.d., p. 303.

32) For more detailed information on the Bolshevization among Finnish-American communists, see KOSTIAINEN, Auvo, Finns and the crisis over "Bolshevization" in the Workers' Party 1924—25. In The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives. Editors Michael G. KARNI, Matti E. KAUPS and Douglas J. OLLILA. Vammala 1975, pp. 171—185.

[33]) PURO H., Amerikan kommunistinen liike ja suomalaiset siinä. Lehtipaja. Työmiehen neljännesvuosisatajulkaisu. Superior, Wis 1928, p. 97.

[34]) About the formation of the Finnish Workers' Federation, see Suom. Työväen Yhdistysten Keskustoimiston Toimintakertomus Suomalaisen Työväen Järjestön ensimmäiselle edustajakokoukselle Chicagossa, Ill. tammik. 24, 25, 26 p:nä 1927. Pöytäkirja Yhdysvaltain Suomalaisen Työväen Järjestön Perustavasta Edustajakokouksesta, Chicagossa, Ill., Tammikuun 24, 25 ja 26 p., 1927. (Report on the Activities of the Central Bureau of Finnish Labor Associations to the First Convention of the Finnish Workers' Federation, January 24, 25 and 26, 1927) n.p., n.d., pp. 7—15.

[35]) Estimates on the number of emigrants vary. According to LAHTINEN, over 12,000 Finns left the United States and Canada for Soviet Karelia. 50 vuoden varrelta. Toimittanut William LAHTINEN. Superior, Wis. 1953, p. 172. HOLMIO estimates the number to be 6,000—7,000. HOLMIO, Armas K. E., Michiganin suomalaisten historia. Hancock, Mich. 1967, p. 411.

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X

First-Generation Finnish-Americans Serve the United States

1. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this century most Finnish immigrants in the United States were "miners, farmers and small businessmen." Some of them eventually rose to positions in state government, courts, and educational institutions. For the pre-1930 period, Pastor S. ILMONEN, the first noteworthy historian of the Finnish-Americans, mentions a total of 7 state legislators, 30 mayors of cities, 45 county officials, 190 postal officials, and 75 elementary school teachers, all of them by name. He estimates that more than a thousand Finnish-Americans served in township-level posts.[1] With the exception of postal officials rather few Finnish-Americans were apparently employed by the federal government.

Although a rather broad interpretation of the topic's scope is therefore in order, we need not cast our net wide enough to include Finnish-Americans in business, public service, and state politics. In contrast, those Finnish-Americans who served in the United States military naturally comprise a separate group. Moreover, the topic must include the exceptional career

of Oscar J. Larson, or at least his two terms in the House of Representatives in the 1920s. The post-1930 period is not within the scope of this study. Materials were taken at random from the pages of various historical accounts and memoirs and of course from documents, too. Consequently the study is no more than a beginning; perhaps it will encourage further research on this interesting subject.

2. FINNISH-AMERICANS IN THE U.S. MILITARY

a. The Civil War, 1861—65

Finnish-American enlistment in the federal forces early on does not in itself call for any explanation. The opportunities afforded by war have attracted men through the centuries; they have appealed particularly to immigrants, whose existence was not yet settled. ILMONEN asserts that as early as the American Civil War "there may have been one hundred of our countrymen in the U.S. army and navy,"[2] although he offers no substantiation for this figure. ILMONEN does, however, mention the names and even present some biographical data of 24 persons who took part in the war or at least enlisted in the army or the navy and who remained in America after the war. He adds that many returned to Finland and subsequently died in Helsinki, Oulu, Turku, and Vaasa. He also mentions a few who may have died in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and in New York and says that several moved west after the war, "especially to Nebraska and Iowa, where the federal government granted soldiers land on generous terms."[3] Perhaps the number given by ILMONEN is an estimate based on this information. ILMONEN himself considers the figure high, for the "number of Finns in America at the beginning of the 1860s probably did not exceed one thousand by a very wide margin."

KERO does not want to express an opinion on the figure given by ILMONEN; his research has not permitted a thorough study of conditions in this early period. But he does admit that there may have been several hundred Finnish seamen in America at the beginning of the 1860s. KERO also believes that there were Finns making permanent homes in America during the first half of the 19th century.[4]

Of the 24 men mentioned by ILMONEN, seven at most served in the army; the rest enlisted in the navy. This is quite natural, for the early immigration probably did consist primarily of seamen, a fairly large number of whom remained to drift about the New World after the California Gold Rush and the Crimean War. And the navy paid experienced seamen well during the war. Some served, as marines others only as seamen. Many remained in the navy years after the end of the war. One of the best known was Otto Mauno Geers, of Eura, who stayed in the navy for 21 years and

rose to the rank of quarter-master. He took part in many sea battles, including the landing made by federal forces at New Orleans in late April and early May 1862. The ship on which Geers was serving sank. He survived by swimming ashore, seizing the United States flag, which had just been shot off the ship's mast into the Mississippi, as he went.[5] This vessel must of been the one gun boat lost by the Union in the battle. Another Finn, George Brown (originally Virpi) of Raahe, served throughout the war on the flagship Hartford under Admiral David G. Farragut and saw a good bit of action. New Orleans, for example, was taken by Farragut.

The story of the Finns who took part in the American Civil War may be impossible to study through any solid body of sources; its telling will probably continue to depend on accidental discoveries. The lack of a single Finnish settlement at this time is one reason. Finns in the United States were not concentrated in any one area and furthermore, they often changed their names. Of the 24 mentioned by ILMONEN nine had English surnames; four had Finnish and the rest Swedish. If there had been an established Finnish settlement, the formation of a separate national unit during the war — like that of the Wisconsin Norwegians and the Illinois Swedes — would have been thinkable.

The war did require a lot of men, and the voluntary system in effect at the outset was not sufficient. Minnesota, for example, had to send a total of 22,016 men.[6] Two military service acts were passed during the war: the Militia Act of 1862, which gave the president power to call up 300,000 men for nine months and the Draft Act of 1863, which applied to all men between the ages of 20 and 45, including aliens who had declared their intention to become United States citizens. Both acts permitted the hiring of substitutes; the 1862 law also permitted the purchase of exemption from military service for 300 dollars. Of those few Finns whose service in the army has been verified by ILMONEN, two were substitutes: Peter Lahti (b. 1834), who served 10 months in the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery, and Matti Johnston (born Niemi in 1845), who was in the First Minnesota Infantry for six months.

According to our present knowledge, Pietari Lahti and Matti Niemi were among the first group of Finns,[7] comprising three families and two bachelors, to arrive in Minnesota (1864). The group debarked at the river port of Red Wing and moved from there to Franklin. That same summer two other groups arrived, and a member of one of them, Matti Määttä of Kuusamo,[8] enlisted in the army. As at least three of the immigrants arriving in the summer of that year — 13 out of approximately 23 were eligible for military service — enlisted in the army, there was no lack of desire to take advantage of the opportunity.

The first noteworthy group of Finns did not arrive on Michigan's famous

Copper Peninsula until 1865. By this time the war was already over. A study shows that there was not a single Finn from Michigan on the rolls of the army or navy.[9] It is not known how successful this study was in identifying Finns with English and Swedish names.

b. The Spanish-American War, 1898—1901

Some thirty years elapsed before Finns were to have another opportunity for military service. Conditions in the 1890s were in many ways different from those of the 1860s. There were already a good many Finns in the country: some 72,000[10] by 1898. They were already living in most of the areas eventually settled by Finns. With the exception of the labor movement, all the typical Finnish pastimes and activities were in full bloom: the church, the temperance movement, newpapers, publishing, dances, drama, sports, bands, singing, and summer festivals. Although Finnish immigrant life was already displaying both good points and bad, there remains an urge to call the 1890s a golden age: a period when the joy of activity and group unity were at their peak. The conflicts that were to plague the new century were not yet aggravated.

American society continued to develop and change at a feverish pace. The panic of 1893 was only a small departure from a pattern of continuous economic growth. At the end of the decade (1898) the country found the first outlet for its energy: war against Spain in Cuba. Finnish-Americans also took part in this war. Again, we have only fragmentary information at our disposal. A Finnish-American "war correspondent" during the Spanish-American War states that when the United States declared war on April 24, 1898 "the Finnish-Americans, inspired by freedom, rushed off to a man to fight under the stars and stripes for the cause of humanity and freedom."[11] According to the same source there were several hundred Finns in the war:

> "on warships alone served a couple of hundred men. It has been estimated that 300 Finns served in the U.S. forces, and many more would have gone, had the language barrier not prevented them from doing so. Finns were found in all branches: the artillery, cavalry, infantry, and navy. They were in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and on all the larger warships. According to our information, two Finns served as officers and two or three as engineers. Three Finns apparently died when the battleship Maine exploded; some died in fighting on the Cuban coast and apparently three died of fever in camps after the hostilities had ended."[12]

The quotation cited above is actually a summary of Finnish participation in the war. It need not be regarded as entirely unfounded, even if the source of the author's figures on total participation remains obscure. The fact that the most widely-read Finnish-American newspaper, *Siirtolainen* (The Immigrant), which had moved in 1894 from Astoria, Oregon, to Brooklyn, received

reports from its own two war correspondents provides some indication of the interest in the war. The war correspondents were V. E. Liljeqvist and Abel Remes, both soldiers. They dispatched stories from the campaign. Remes, took part in the invasion of Puerto Rico, which began on July 25.[13] As early as 1893 he had enlisted in the 19th regiment, in which there were already several Finns. Hugo Palander, who served in the Philippines campaign, also acted as a war correspondent.[14]

In Cuba the U.S. forces comprised some 18,000 men; some were draftees and some enlisted men. Of the latter, the "Rough Riders," won special fame. Two units were formed. The first of these, the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, was under the command of Colonel Leonard Wood. He appointed Theodore Roosevelt his Lieutenant Colonel. The Rough Riders became known as Roosevelt's own unit and the name itself had a strong pull on the American imagination; it was a cowboy term and there was evidently a direct appeal to western cowboys themselves, although on the other hand Miller claims that they did not have any horses.[15] But regardless of where the truth lies, Theodore Roosevelt won great personal fame with his unit. The former police commissioner of New York and the recent assistant secretary of the navy was perhaps the most popular hero of the war.

As Finns supposedly served in the cavalry, it is quite possible that some of them were also Rough Riders. The fact that Roosevelt was apparently the first leading American politician who had some knowledge of the Finns and who was personally popular among them lends substance to this assumption. His personal friendship with Oscar J. Larson had not yet begun at the time of the Spanish American War, but he had read some of Topelius' Välskäri Tales which had begun to appear in English during the previous decade. First as the New York state civil service commissioner (1889—95) and then as police commissioner (1895—97) he most likely had contact with Finns, whose role in the city was then at its peak.

Finns also served in the Philippines, where pacification required American troops for several years after the end of the war. There is evidence that Finns were recruited directly for service in the Philippines. In the summer of 1899, Lieutenant George Gibson arrived in the town of Ely, Minnesota and began recruiting volunteers from an office above Gust. Mäki's clothing store. It is not known whether he recruited only Finns, but in any case he was primarily interested in them. To Gibson's apparent satisfaction, sixteen handsome boys were recruited, attracted by good pay and the prospects of an interesting journey.[16] Twelve Finns from the nearby town of Virginia also took part in the war and it is possible that recruiting took place there, too.

We can be almost certain that a positive impression of Finnish attributes — the capacity to endure and strong nerves — was the primary reason for recruiting Finns. Both qualities would be useful in colonial warfare.

Otherwise Gibson would hardly have recruited men who knew only Finnish; according to his own account this led to troubles with the batallion commander, Colonel Sonck. It is possible that most of Gibson's company was Finnish. Its losses during the 20 month campaign were 15 dead and 31 wounded.[17] The Ely men returned home in April 1901.

The story of the Finnish adventurer, Felix Fellman, is an interesting one. Fellman also played a role in the Spanish-American War, although not in the service of the United States. He joined up with the Cubans directly, obtaining a "military passport" from Cuban insurgents in New York before war broke out. The origins of the war date back to at least 1895, when the struggle in Cuba against Spain flared up again and Cuban refugees formed juntas in United States ports in order to make propaganda and supply the movement in Cuba with arms and money. Our adventurer, who knew Spanish, sailed to Cuba on a ship loaded with military supplies. He was sent back to New York in junta business; as a European with Finnish-Russian passport he did not arose Spanish suspicion.[18]

The Cuban struggle was a guerrilla war before the United States became involved. Fellman relates:

"We actually lived on horseback, sometimes I didn't take off my shoes for days. Most often we attacked at night, rushed into the Spanish camps shooting left and right, and then returned to the mountains where the Spanish couldn't find us. We destroyed convoys and generally lived at the expense of the enemy. We did as much damage as possible. Sometimes we rode into a village where enchanting Cuban girls treated us like princes. They served us coffee, sandwiches, and other good food; whatever they could put together in a hurry. They rolled cigarettes between their fingers with unbelievable deftness and then smiling triumphantly, placed them between our smoke-starved lips and lit them. These were the only bright moments in our lives." Fellman may have risen to the rank of captain.[19]

Another Finn, Frans Mikael Schauman, (a few years later his brother was to kill Bobrikoff, the Russian governor general in Finland) served as first mate and commander on various ships, was in the U.S. artillery during the war in Cuba, searched for adventure after the war in Japan and India, joined the Russian navy at the outbreak of the First World War and became an officer, and returned to Finland when the Russian revolution began. Here he joined the recently formed Saksanniemi unit and subsequently the Finnish cavalry, finally taking part in the Finnish Civil War.

Despite the insignificance of the Spanish-American War, historians regard it as a milestone in United States history, the first step toward a role in world politics. The great era of the white man and the Anglo-Saxon was arriving or had already arrived. The upsurge was especially strong in America, and nothing could prevent the development of a strong, expansive foreign policy. Theodore Roosevelt termed the conflict "absolutely the most just of the

century" and in 1899 when Rudyard Kipling addressed his poem "The White Man's Burden" to the people of the United States, Roosevelt remarked that poet talked sense about a policy of expansion.[20]

c. Finns in the U.S. Military during the First World War

Akseli JÄRNEFELT-RAUANHEIMO may have made the earliest mention of Finnish participation in the First World War:

"When America entered the war, thousands of Finns went to serve on the Allies' lines. There may have been 10,000 of them, perhaps even more."

Units containing numerous Finns, for example from Michigan, went as far as Murmansk.[21]

He undoubtedly got this information from ILMONEN, who later wrote the following:

"In the summer of 1918, the last year of the war, there were nearly 10,000 Finns in the United States army and navy. According to this author's calculations, there were about 11,000 at the end of the war. The number of Finns killed in action and of those who died in hospitals or camps may be as high as seven hundred."[22]

On the basis of the detailed studies made by KERO it is possible to approach this problem anew, and on firmer ground. The number of Finns eligible for military service (aged 21—30 according to the draft legislation then in effect) can be computed and cannot have been more than around 25,000.[23] If ILMONEN's figure is accurate, 40 % of the Finns in this age group must have served under the stars and stripes and this is probably impossible. It would have meant fanatical enthusiasm and desire to volunteer.

The Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917 required all men between the ages of 21 and 30 to register, including those aliens who sought United States citizenship. "Alien enemies," however, were excluded.[24] Ten million men registered. All in all, 3.8 million men were taken, i.e. 38 %. Thus considerable selection was made. On the other hand, the law required that fixed quotas based on population be set for each state. Still, there was sufficient leeway in theory to permit inclusion of a rather large number of Finns.

At least at the outset, the boards made a rather selective interpretation of the act. The legislation provided many grounds for avoiding military service. In reality, again at least at the beginning, selective service boards — and in Finnish areas there were numerous Finnish members — chose those they considered suitable, and along with physical qualities one of the best criteria was the enthusiasm for the war effort shown by the prospective draftee. Thus it is understandable why many of those who entered military service regarded themselves as volunteers.

Enthusiasm for the war cannot have been equally great everywhere, and men for whom departure was difficult were surely included in the quotas.

In "East of Eden", John Steinbeck describes a drat board member

"who could not get over the feeling that the young men he passed to the army were under sentence of death. . . he [became] much less likely to accept an excuse or a borderline disability. He took the lists home with him, called on the parents, in fact did much more work than was expected of him."

He explained it this way when a friend chided him:

"It's when there's a choice, and it's my own judgment of the merits, that's when it gets me. I passed Judge Kendal's boy and he was killed in training." The friend replied: "It seems to me it don't do a candidate a damn bit of good for you to worry. You pass boys I could be talked into letting off."[25]

Moreover, Steinbeck's description may indicate that by the time the army had swollen to a force of 3.8 million, the supply of enthusiastic volunteers had long since been exhausted. The entire problem of the use of human reserves had come to the fore. Once the "most qualified" had been chosen, it was necessary to start taking the "best of what remained." It is obvious that the selection of immigrants was discussed. It is equally obvious that drafting immigrants was expedient up to a certain point. In this respect information about the structure of the United States army is probably not readily available, though the matter is of some interest. In any case, it is possible that the draft boards gave precedence to immigrants in their selection. At least O. J. Larson claimed in a speech made before the House of Representatives that while Italians accounted for only 4 % of the total population, their share of the war losses was a "good 10 %." The 300,000 Italians in the army represented a proportion which greatly exceeded that of Italians in the entire population.[26] However, there was considerable negative criticism of Italians in American society; doubts about their military ability were also expressed.

If the information mentioned above is accurate, then immigrants were welcome. It looks as though they were sometimes pressured when they showed no particular desire to go. A long list of aliens who wished to be exempted from military service published by the Sunday Mining Gazette of Calumet, Michigan in September 1917 can be interpreted in this way.[27] At least one wonders why the paper would fill its columns with such a lengthy list of 618 names if the intention was only to amuse the English-speaking readers with the ridiculous-sounding names of unimportant people. At least 101 Finnish names were included.

These references to the problems of building up an army are made only to show that careful inquiry into the number of Finns in the United States forces and the date when they were inducted sheds light on both the attitudes of Finnish immigrants toward American society and the attitudes of that society toward them. It is safe to assume — and the assumption is a familiar one, too — that those in the labor movement generally opposed both the

Finnish American soldiers probably during the First World War. (Folkkultursarkiv, Helsinki.)

war and military service. It must be assumed that among other Finns enthusiasm for the war — or more properly for the opportunities it afforded — was above average. Participation in the war was obviously a merit in terms of future U.S. citizenship. It was something that could never be annulled. (The apparently high figure for Italians may also have been a result of enthusiastic volunteering. After all, it has been suggested — half seriously — that the high proportion of gangsters with Italian backgrounds should be interpreted as the result of an attempt to enter American society.) In any case it appears that immigrant groups in the American armed forces did not arise out af any mechanical, mathematical necessity, but were the product of selection, thereby representing political and social considerations.

ILMONEN estimated that the number of Finns killed in action or by disease may have risen as high as seven hundred. He also lists the Finns who rose to the rank of officer. He mentions 27 lieutenants, including the "flying lieutenant" J. Kulju, who died in an accident. Some ten Finns rose to the rank of captain. ILMONEN states that many Finns distinguished themselves and received medals of honor, some of them even earning the more respected ones. Karl Victor Kyrklund, a ship's master from Helsinki who had already demonstrated bravery in the Spanish-American War, won "uncommon fame for his heroism":

On October 7th, 1918 he along with four comrades saved the lives of 10,000 American soldiers. The warship Downess, carrying torpedoes, and the great liner Aquitania, with 10,000 troops on board, were sailing the same route, the Downess somewhat ahead of the Aquitania. In heavy seas a few loaded torpedoes worked loose from the deck of the Downess and fell in the water. If the fastmoving, heavy-laden Aquitania had sailed over them, they would have exploded and destroyed her and the men on board. Karl Kyrklund, known for his bravery and presence of mind and then serving on the Downess was charged with the task of removing the torpedoes from the route. The job was extremely dangerous and difficult. He had to struggle against the waves and retrieve the heavy torpedoes. Still, Kyrklund succeeded and the troop carrier was saved. This act of heroism was one of Kyrklund's greatest and at the same time his last. He was injured when a heavy object struck him in the chest and ribs. Later on the injuries developed into an illness so serious that it took the heroic Finn to his grave in San Diego, California in 1930. When American newspapers wrote about his heroic deeds, they did not fail to mention the fifteen medals of honor he received in recognition for what he had done."[28]

The memoirs of Antti Aho, who became a corporal, give an overall view of what the individual Finn experienced. His memoirs are compiled from weekly reports he sent to the Duluth *Päivälehti* and to the *Uusi Kotimaa.* Aho had arrived in the United States only a few years before, having previously served three years as a young volunteer in Finland. He was a non-commissioned officer in the Vaasa Sharpshooters batallion. Thus it is understandable that he decided to volunteer for service in company M of

the 3rd Infantry Regiment of the Minnesota National Guard in the town of Hibbing, although at that time he did not yet have his citizenship papers. The National Guard and the regular army existed in peacetime and those who were already serving in them reduced the quota of men for each area.[29]

Participation in the war was a demonstration of true Americanism, and at least at the outset departure for war was recognized by both officials and employers. When the 150 strong Hibbing company (which was quartered in the second floor of the city hall) was to leave for training in New Mexico, the Oliver Company, a large local mining operation, gave a huge dinner at the "club hall." Aho thought it a splendid dinner, even though the old custom of thanking God for the food was not observed. In short speeches the city fathers expressed their thanks for the "noble and self-sacrificing work" the men had taken up, now that "they wish to show, at this critical time, their desire to work with the United States government in realizing the country's noble objective." The company commander declared that his unit "would not tarnish the reputation won for Minnesota by the valor of their forefathers." The company paraded about the town, marching in time to the music of a band. The next morning a great sea of people gathered at the station to see them off. They marched to the station, in time to band music. A "home-guard" composed of old veterans led the way. At six o'clock all the steam whistles of the mining company began to blow. This "dreadful racket" lasted for 15 minutes and got the entire town out of bed. At 6.45 the train pulled out and the band started up the American national anthem. The public listened with heads bared; the soldiers saluted.[30]

For Aho, military service lasted about two years: first 10 months of training at Camp Cody, New Mexico, then about 9 months spent in transit and in France, and three months and 19 days on the front. Aho was discharged from military service sometime in April or May of 1919.

Company M and other companies from the same vicinity must have included a great many Finns. However, they were gradually dispersed at the camp, which had been built for 36,000 men. The formation of certain special units could not be avoided. Aho's unit was made into a light field artillery regiment in September 1917, much to the pleasure of the men. "Converting the unit reduced the number of Finns to no more than 10 men." When Aho crossed the Atlantic in July 1918, in a convoy of 25 ships — "the largest ever sent at one time" and which was to bring the number of American troops overseas to one million — he knew of the presence of only five Finns. The last good-byes were said in France at the huge La Cordina camp, where the men of Aho's unit were split up. Those whose names began with either "A" or "B" were sent to the 26th division and the rest to the 3rd division. Only Aho and Boriin remained together.

Aho had been assigned to one of the most famous United States divisions

in the war. At the time the 350 man — detachment of reinforcements to which Aho and Boriin belonged was transferred, the division was fighting at Chateau Thierry. They had fought there since February and took the town in July. The French christened them the "saviors of Paris." Aho had this to say:

"The story of the deeds of the New England division — the 26th division of the United States Army — will remain forever the most glorious chapter in American military history. No division in any army has ever fought harder, more tenaciously, more vigorously, or more valiantly than the "Yankee" division, the "sacrificial" division, the "saviors of Paris," to use the sincerest expression of French gratitude, the "elite of the shock troops" to use the epithet bestowed on them by the great French generals."

Thus the Päivälehti's war correspondent provided his readers with truly representative reporting of the most heroic action seen by American troops and from the bloodiest battles of the war: Chateau Thierry, the great St. Mihiel salient, the hills of Les Eparges in October, the Argonne and the valley of death at Verdun. Even during the last days of the war before the armistice the division saw some of the most bitter fighting, losing "thousands of men" in the process. "Those who had survived the bombs, bullets, shrapnel and gas were nearly dead from fatigue, lack of sleep, the intolerable nervous strain, the hunger and the filth." The total casualties suffered by "Yankee" division were 11,955 although only 2,000 were killed or lost in action. Some 3,300 were gassed; the rest were wounded. A few were taken prisoner. These great moments of United Statest history were conveyed to Finnish-Americans through their able correspondent and helped forge national ties — almost as in flesh and blood — between the English-speaking population and the immigrants.

Peace and the soldiers' homecoming were celebrated everywhere. Military service usually meant economic security. Every soldier carried 10,000 dollars in life insurance.[31] In addition to their regular pay, the soldiers' dependents received assistance from the federal government. Those buried at the battlefields were later brought home for reburial in their own districts. Life insurance taken out for the men against death in action could be continued on advantageous terms when the men returned from the front. Substantial pensions were paid to the wounded. Moreover, both the states and the federal government rewarded all soldiers with money, land and other benefits.[32]

In all probability Corporal Aho was typical of those Finns who were keen to serve the United States war effort. Admittedly there may have been some members of the labor movement and the I.W.W. in the war, but most were "church Finns," temperance men, and Republicans. They tried in every way to suppress the conflicts caused by language and nationality and accept their adopted country whole-heartedly. Aho was one of these. Having previously served in the Finnish army he could make comparisons and often underscored

the greater degree of democracy and comradeship between officers and men in the United States army. He hoped that his readers would understand "how much freer it was to serve in an army under a democratic government than under a tyrannous one."[33]

Actually Aho could not avoid strong feelings of Finnishness, too. His English certainly prevented him from advancing to a higher rank; there are many indications that he was extremely conscientious, brave, and had good nerves. He also had extensive military training. He reverted to Finnish in athletic contests at the training camp, forgetting himself in his eagerness. He also followed the success of his countrymen intently, was sensitive about their reputation, and quick to point out intentional discrimination. When small groups were already being sent to France in early April 1918, Aho wrote the following:

"It is strange that no Finns have been sent yet. Do they doubt our loyalty, even though we are National Guard volunteers?"[34]

Aho's concern was by no means unfounded. The acting battery commander, Lieutenant Hofflander, came to Aho's tent and asked: "What if Finland is an enemy of the United States?" After Aho had explained Finland's position the Lieutenant replied: "Perhaps you can go to France then." Aho continued, his irritation obvious:

"This indicates to the reader how little even the officers know about Finnish politics. It's no wonder that all kinds of 'Nuortevas and suortuvas, can intrigue about Finnish affairs, when even in the military people aren't any better informed. What can we expect from civilians?"[35]

Aho was apparently unaware that events in Finland at that time had taken a turn which greatly confused both the United States government and the general public. Relations between the Finnish Whites and Germany were the cause. As early as March, before the arrival of von der Goltz's troops, P. J. Valkeapää states that "hostility in the American press toward Finland and its Germanophile people was becoming quite intolerable." The propaganda and publicity campaign launched by Santeri Nuorteva's People's Delegation increased it. Finns were dismissed from their jobs and 14 ships were detained in New York harbor.[36] With this in view the visit by the acting battery commander to Aho's tent was quite understandable; it also shows that Aho's judgment and understanding were respected.

3. THE FINNISH-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

As we mentioned above, numerous Finns held various local posts, and thereby "served the United States." Most of them were undoubtedly part of what we might call the Finnish American "leadership." This group soon developed in areas where there were concentrations of Finns. The leaders served as intermediaries between the immigrant community and the United

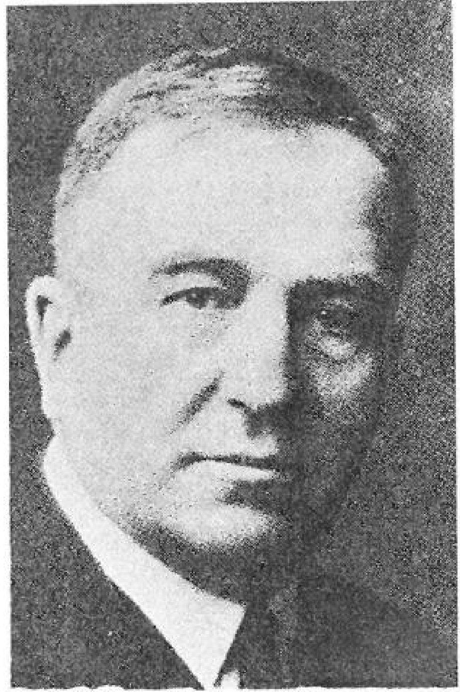
States at large — ideologically, culturally, and financially. A good part of the Finnish immigrant population could not speak English and needed spokesmen. This in turn provided the leaders with a living. Furthermore, the English speaking population needed help in order to advance its own interests with respect to the minority group. This leadership did not, however, merely comprise those Finns in official positions, but successful Finnish businessmen, pastors, and others as well. Neither did all the intermediaries supply information about the immigrant community to the Americans. Predominately "national" leaders were primarily concerned with preserving "Finnishness." American interest in the Finns first focused on election support and later on labor movement matters. With regard to the latter, the position of the Finnish Republican leadership was difficult, particularly during the great strike years.

Beginning in the 1890s, it is possible to speak of the existence of this leadership with some justification. McKinley's great election victory in 1896 was a turning point. Thereafter, the United States economy once more sped off in search of world power. The Finnish leadership was also caught up in the new spirit, sensing a chance to advance themselves. It is probably no coincidence that the Knights of Kaleva was founded by the Finns in 1898. This effort was markedly different from previous communal striving. Formally a secret society, it sought primarily to cultivate the Finnish national spirit and elevate Finnish immigrants — who were slipping into despair and materialism — to a higher plane. But at the same time its purpose was to create from its members a vanguard that would use moral authority to obtain more influence in American society.

The first Finn to succeed in politics and win influence on the national level probably began his rise in this decade.

Oscar J. Larson emigrated to America with his parents at the age of five, in 1876. At the age of 15 he completed elementary school in Calumet, Michigan. A year later he enrolled in the Northern Indiana Normal School. After graduation in 1891 he continued his studies at Michigan State University and obtained a law degree in 1894. He soon opened his own office in Calumet. In 1896 he was elected Keweenaw county attorney. In 1898 he was elected to the same office in Houghton county, clearly the most important in the Copper Country, and served three two-year terms in this capacity. In 1907 he moved to Duluth for reasons yet unexplained. Duluth became his permanent base. In 1910 there was an attempt to bring him back to Calumet as district judge, but he lost the election.

Larson was one of those typical first-generation strivers who plowed ahead, relying on indisputable personal ability. He combined oratorical talents and the ability to move people with an impressive physique. He probably



O. J. Larson.

Emil Hurja.

joined the Republican party early on. By 1900 he was participating in a presidential campaign for a second term, making speeches for McKinley in 11 states. Larson's friendship with Theodore Roosevelt — which became very close — most probably began at this point; after all, Roosevelt was McKinley's running mate. In 1912 he represented Minnesota at the party's national convention in Chicago. Larson was also important in Charles Osborne's large-scale gubernatorial campaign in 1910. Osborne is often said to be the first candidate to use a large staff and abundant financing in an election campaign, a style his still typical of large campaigns in America.

Larson's success was based on both his own talent and on the importance of Finnish-American voters to the Republican party under certain circumstances. Acting as their leader, Larson had occasion to appear in public. Immigrant affairs themselves, however were not his concern. Larson served as a spokesman for Finland in 1899 at a moment of considerable historical significance. At this time the Finnish-American community requested President McKinley to exert influence on behalf of Finland at the Hague Peace Conference. Larson led the delegation that delivered the appeal and there is reason to believe that here, at the very latest, McKinley became aware of his impressive oratorical skill and also of his excellent command of English, which in a sense was the cornerstone of his entire career. If we assume that Finland made her world debut as a political entity at the turn of the century, then Larson was her first unofficial ambassador to the United States. The situation in 1918 was remarkably similar, although in a much more complex way. Larson's activities during the great strikes at the beginning of the new century cannot be taken up here. He was naturally opposed to them on the whole. But particularly during the First World War, when the question of the loyalty of the immigrant nationalities to the United States became an issue, and to some extent a controversial one, Larson took up the Finnish cause. And he did it in a way that permitted him to continue his career as a "real American" and a republican. He unhesitatingly supported the powerful Americanization movement that arose at this time and publically emphasized the necessity of learning English.[37]

For the Finns, the October revolution was a significant shock. Their reaction in the New World was also swift. On November 11, only four days after Lenin's revolution, Finns in Duluth founded the *Lincoln Loyalty League*. Larson was behind the move, along with the lawyer Victor Gran, Pastor Heikki Sarvela and the businessmen J. H. Jasberg (whose three sons were in the army), J. Mattinen, Conrad Mattson, J. E. Porthan, P. Raattama, and Carl Salminen.[38]

The stated aims of the organization were identical with those of the Americanization movement. In this sense it seems to have been a rather unusual phenomenon: an immigrant taking up Americanization on its own

initiative. In those days "Americanization" often meant nationalistic superiority and deeply offended the dignity of the immigrant nationalities. Thus an attempt to provide security against the ever-growing threat of anti-Finnish discrimination, now that Finland itself was in the grip of revolution, may well have been the motive in founding the league. The resolution passed at the meeting in which the league was founded expressed this clearly: "We condemn the lack of patriotism, rebellion, and disloyalty that has appeared in the I.W.W. movement and in the activities of our fellow citizens in socialist organizations."[39]

Since the Lincoln Loyalty League's history has not yet been studied, the existence of similar organizations cannot be verified. The Encyclopedia Americana makes no reference to the League and neither does Higham, who has made a rather detailed study of Americanization phenomena and of the relations between native Americans and the immigrant nationalities.[40] In any case an entirely different situation confronted the league in 1918, for then it had to work hard to show that the Finnish people were not allied with Germany and thus the enemy of the United States. Under these circumstances the league came into its own in the summer of 1918. As many as 3,000 citizens in various parts of the country may have taken an active part.[41] The high point of the league's brief history was its convention in Chicago in 1918, in which it became a national organization. Present at the conference were Edvin Björkman, director of the United States Information Office and former President Taft.[42] It would seem that much more was at stake in Chicago than the league formed the previous year. ILMONEN speaks of a Finnish section of the LLL, operating under the direction of the United States Information Office and of an American organization of the same name which "saw to the rights of different "nationalities" and at the same time forstered Americanism among the immigrants, in particular their loyalty to the government and the laws of the land."[43] Perhaps the policy initiated by President Wilson in the fall of 1918, which aimed at independence for the small nations of Central Europe (the *Mid-European Union*), was behind these efforts. Thomas G. Masaryk, the main force behind the project, asked the Finns to participate.[44] The Mid-European Union was founded in Washington on October 3, 1918. P. J. Valkeapää, then in the United States to purchase grain, represented Finland. Valkeapää took part in the discussion, which he termed "interesting."[45]

Larson played a varied role in the events of 1918, once again serving as the spokesman for Finnish affairs in the United States. But at the same time he also advanced himself as a Republican, and was elected to the House of Representatives. He served in the 67th and 68th Congresses from 1921 to 1925. No study has yet been made of how all this happened. The most influential individual contributing to Larson's success at the polls was

Herbert Hoover. Hoover visited Duluth in late winter 1921 in order to help Larson.[46] Hoover had recently lost out to Warren Harding in his bid for the presidential nomination, but he remained a leading republican. He had won a world-wide reputation as director of the great United States aid programs. As Larson's performance in the House of Representatives shows that he represented the interests of the large grain producers of Minnesota and as his first speech before the House on December 17, 1921 was a defense of the aid program in the Ukraine, directed by Hoover, it is probable that the relationship between Hoover and Larson was based on contacts involving these issues.

Statements about Larson cited in the Larson campaign committee's material describe his position in the party. Thus Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross in Russia, and a close friend of Roosevelt, had the following to say:

"Larson is a republican of the Roosevelt type who understands progressive Americanism and enjoys the confidence and trust of all who know him. He should be triumphantly elected to support the interests of Duluth and Minnesota and the Harding's policies in the next Congress."

Frank B. Kellogg, the nationally-known Senator from Minnesota, had the following to say about Larson:

There is no congressional district in Minnesota where the representation in the lower house at Washington is of such vital importance as this Duluth district. No city has quite such interests as yours. Your shipping and transportation and great harbor interests make it vital that you should have a man of upstanding ability in Congress. The people of the Eighth district have such a man in Oscar J. Larson. It is my earnest hope that he may be elected. Mr. Larson is a man whose ability and high talents would receive instant recognition at Washington. It would not be necessary for him to obtain a second term before he would be recognized. His opinions would have weight from the very beginning of his service."[47]

However, Larson was one of four republican candidates in the election, and if the votes of Duluth alone had been decisive, he would have lost. He relied on votes from St. Louis county, a Finnish area. Larson appealed to both workers and farmers in his campaign. He claimed to know the problems of both groups from the days of his youth when he, too, worked in the mines. Minnesota farmers knew him as the head of the relief committee after the great fire of 1918. He proclaimed his opposition to revolutionary and anarchistic industrialism, but stated his support for American unionism, which attempted by peaceful and legal means to improve the standard of living of the wage-worker.

Larson was attacked from both the right and the left. Finnish socialists branded him the "steel trust's lawyer"; an editorial in the *Duluth News Tribune* claimed that he had contributed articles to the Finnish I.W.W. newspaper,[48] a claim that was a blatant lie. Assertions like these gained wide currency among the English-speaking population and were difficult to refute,

for numerous Finns espoused socialism or one of its variations. Larson's English-language campaign material naturally avoided any reference to the candidate's origins. Larson did the same in speeches before the House of Representatives. Instead, he was termed an "intensive" American who knew what Americanism and democracy meant. Outwardly, Larson resembled a blond Viking with the face of a Roman governor. The voters still regarded him as a Finn. Larson's diplomatic wisdom was apparent in his continual attempt to identify with Americans, something that endeared him to his supporters.

Apparently many local churches felt Larson was reliable. In Congress he spoke on behalf of church organizations and the Free Masons in connection with certain proposals.

The details of Larson's four years in the House of Representatives cannot be taken up here. We can only say that a study of his terms in Congress would be a most interesting task for Finnish and Finnish-American historical research. Larson's name appears relatively often in the record and it is true, as his campaign material predicted, that he was already noticed during his first term.

Larson's work in the House of Representatives included practically everything a single Congressman can do: he introduced bills, made resolutions on bills, paid tribute to the dead, took part in debate, and was later chosen to the judicial committee, thereby taking part in committee work, too. Larson proposed pensions or increases in pensions for private individuals on at least seven occasions; these are examples of ordinary bills. He also requested assistance for representatives of Indian tribes and for a couple of Duluth companies. Acting in the name of numerous churches in June 1921, at the administration would enter disarmament discussions with Great Britain and Japan.[49]

As we mentioned above, Larson first appeared before the House of Representatives in December 1921, in the debate on famine relief for Russia. He defended relief vigorously, opposing those who argued against it for economic reasons. He strongly emphasized the Christian basis of relief:

"They say we are a Christian nation, that we are followers of Christ. Let me ask you, who are trying to kill this bill, by what token could the American Nation be called Christian if its Congress should refuse to save these unfortunate people from starvation?"

Larson thanked God that

"we have in the White House a man whose heart is big enough that it has room in it for sympathy for suffering human beings although they live without the bounds of this country — a man who believes that charity is a universal duty."

And he said:

"— in their zeal for economy the opponents of this measure are going

altogether too far. National wealth is good, but human life is sacred. I refuse to follow them. I prefer rather to follow our President and our Secretary of Commerce (Hoover). Yes; and, I say with all reverence, I prefer to follow Christ."[50]

The most significant issue supported by Larson was the St. Lawrence river project. The intention was to make the St. Lawrence navigable for ocean-going vessels between Lake Ontario and Montreal, i.e. providing a direct link between the Great Lakes of the Middle West and the oceans. The project was supposed to benefit both grain producers and mining companies by lowering freight rates. Here, too, Larson could mention the President, who had given the measure strong support in a meeting of Mid-Western farmers held in Washington.[51] The proposal had first come up in March 1922 and was considered again in 1925.

According to the official record the busiest period in Larson's congressional career was the spring of 1924, when the 1924 immigration acts, restrictions on the use of child labor, and the McNary-Haugen bill (a special agricultural measure) were discussed. Larson spoke on all three proposals, opposing the immigration quotas and the agricultural bill and supporting restrictions on the use of child labor.

It appears that Larson suffered a political setback because of his stand on the McNary-Haugen bill. At least he was criticized for the first time in the House of Representatives. The McNary-Haugen bill would have established parity prices for certain agricultural products, thereby guaranteeing the farmer a living and allieviating the agricultural crisis. Larson opposed the measure, first because he felt that the farmers' difficulties were exaggerated and second, because the law would lead to overproduction of the subsidized products. Larson was attacked vigorously and accused of representing the interests of Julius H. Barnes, a prominent Duluth grain dealer. Larson had to answer some rather scornful criticism. He also made an energetic attempt to refute the charges against Barnes, which were connected with wartime events. Speeches made by opponents show indirectly that Larson was more than a rank and file congressman. He supposedly achieved the "top-most round of fame and material advantage during his fourth year in Congress."[52]

Of course it would be a thankless task to assess Larson's importance as an American politician on the basis of so little information. On the other hand, the above may be sufficient to show that Larson does qualify for inclusion in this category.

Admittedly, he was largely the representative of certain areas and their economic interests, but in a country the size of the United States few congressmen were probably any more than that. In considering Larson's entire political career his position in Mid-Western republican politics must

also be remembered, along with his personal ties with many important Americans, and particularly with Theodore Roosevelt. Larson was so close to Roosevelt that there is surely justification for speaking of a reciprocal influence.[53]

Larson's career has taken us beyond the period of actual immigration, thereby providing an opportunity to discuss another Finn of national prominence. Emil Edvard H u r j a (b.1892) was important in the 1930s. His name is linked in a significant way with the first term of Franklin D. Roosevelt and with the New Deal.

Emil Hurja's father was Matti Hurja, born at Evijärvi in 1863. Matti Hurja emigrated to America in 1886 and soon settled at Crystal Falls in Iron county, Michigan. In 1889 he married Anna L. Keisari (born at Alavus in 1870), who had arrived in America that same year. An injury on the job forced Matti Hurja to become a shopkeeper. Both husband and wife took part in church activities and in the Knights of Kaleva and the Ladies of Kaleva.[54]

After high school graduation in 1910, Emil first saved his money for a year as a shopkeeper's assistant in Butte, Montana. He then drifted to Seattle and on to Alaska, where he soon went to work for *The Fairbanks Daily News,* first as a reporter and eventually as city editor. The Hudson Stuck expedition made the first ascent of Alaska's Mount McKinley — at 20,320 ft. above sea level, the highest in the United States — in June 1913 Hurja wrote an article about it that appeared in various magazines, thereby earning a nationwide reputation. In 1917 he went to Washington as secretary to Charles A. Sulger, the Democratic delegate to Congress for the Alaskan territory. But enthusiasm for the war soon won him over; high places attracted him and he joined the air force. But he had to be content to stay on the ground for he was placed in the finance division.

After the war Hurja continued his varied, perhaps even restless life as a newspaper reporter in California and Texas, until he headed for New York in 1927 and got work in a brokerage office. The move to New York was a turning point in his life, just as was the great crash of 1929. The great depression opened the way for a Democratic come-back and new forces were needed. Hurja was acquainted with several Democratic politicians and joined Roosevelt's supporters for the 1932 election campaign. When the Democratic party nominated its candidate in Chicago in 1932, Hurja was there representing Alaska. It was at this point — if not before — that Hurja got to know James Farley, Roosevelt's campaign manager and later Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Roosevelt later revarded Farley by making him Postmaster General. Farley placed Hurja in the Department of the Interior, which grew immensely under the New Deal; e.g. the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Petroleum Administration were under its

jurisdiction. Hurja's task was to find jobs for as many Democratic politicians as possible in the Department of the Interior. In this capacity, however, Hurja found himself in public conflict with Secretary of the Interior, Ickes, one of the few Republicans in Roosevelt's administration.

Now Farley had to back down. The mystery man of the Department of the Interior had to be transferred. It was rumored that Hurja wanted to be ambassador to Finland or that Farley would assign him to "take" Michigan for the Democrats. But Farley made him his personal aid, and Hurja became his right hand. Beginning in 1934 Hurja was on the Democratic National Committee's payroll as statistician and political prognosticator with an annual salary of 10,000 dollars. Hurja soon proved his worth and won a reputation for "putting mathematics into politics."[55] From 1934 to 1936 Emil Hurja, immersed in charts, tables, and graphs, was a typical man-behind-the-scenes at the highest levels of politics. Farley, Hurja, and press researcher Charles Michelson formed the President's "listening-in machine" and led a huge party organization on a scale previously unknown in the United States.[56] It is generally recognized that Hurja was an important factor in the 1934 elections, and above all in the 1936 presidential election, which was the victory of all times for Roosevelt. But it is likely that Hurja was more than just a clever researcher. The incomplete information we already have at our disposal indicates that Hurja also had his own political will and desire to influence, which provided Farley with support and incentive.[57]

Hurja's political career ended suddenly in 1937, when he resigned and took a position in private business. As the available sources shed no light on this turn of events, we can only make some assumptions. Hurja was offered the governorship of Alaska.[58] He refused, but it is obvious that this offer itself showed he was being excluded from the highest circles. Whether or not it was the result of a break between Hurja and Farley is a question for future research to answer. Farley also became a rival of Roosevelt, attempting to win the Democratic nomination in 1940. He was also forced to withdraw from an active role in the party.

For all the modesty of its scope, the above account may show that at least according to the normal standards of immigrant groups, the Finns were not necessarily clannish. At least such assertions are misleading or at any rate one-sided. It is apparent that as soon as the Finnish community began to produce sufficiently prosperous leaders, a strong interest in politics and desire for influence arose. This same phenomenon was evident on the other side of the "barricades," where Finnish socialist leaders enthusiastically sought to have as much influence on the labor movement as possible. The ordinary Finnish immigrant was apparently rather eager to enlist in the United States army or navy and thereby get ahead, taking advantage of this age-old means of advancement. An examination of efforts by Finnish immi-

FAIRPORT BEACON

FAIRPORT WELCOMES HURJA

Emil Hurja Day Plans Completed

Emil Hurja, of Finnish Descent, Wins National Prominence

Emil Hurja Welcomed by Kasvi Temperance Society

Historical Features of Fairport Harbor, Ohio

"Kalevas" Welcome Hurja

The local newspaper welcomes Mr. Emil Hurja on his visit to Fairport Harbor, Ohio, in 1936 (Emigration History Research Center).

grants to obtain United States citizenship would only confirm this observation. The clannishness of the Finnish community sometimes noticed by outside observers must be attributed to many more factors than a mere natural tendency or trait.

1) ILMONEN, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria.II, Hancock 1931 pp. 144—160.
2) ILMONEN, Amerikansuomalaisten Historia I, 1919 p. 158.
3) Ibid., pp. 158—159, 164—165.
4) KERO, Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Turku 1974, pp. 16—17.
5) ILMONEN, 1919, p. 159.
6) WASASTJERNA, Minnesotan suomalaisten historia Superior. Wis. 1957, p. 75.
7) There were individual arrivals before, such as apparently Juho Välimaa, who arrived in Minneapolis in 1861. HOLMIO, Michiganin suomalaisten historia. Hancock, 1976, p. 125.
8) WASASTJERNA, 1957 pp. 80—81.
9) HOLMIO, 1967, p. 123. HOLMIO refers to a study by Ida C. BROWN: "Michigan Men in the Civil War." Michigan Historical Collection. Bulletin No. 9, Jan. 1959. Supplement, Oct. 1960. Since this type of study was made for Michigan, one assumes that similar studies could be made for the other states, too.
10) KERO, pp 27—28, 36.
11) "Suomalaiset Amerikkalais-Espanjalaisessa sodassa" (Finns in the Spanish-American War), Edistys, November 1898.
12) Ibid.
13) "Porto Ricon retki" (The Puerto Rico Campaign), Edistys, November 1898.
14) "Suomalaisia sotilaita" (Finnish soldiers), Edistys no. 3, March 1899.
15) MILLER, Yhdysvaltain Historia. Porvoo 1969, pp. 447—448.
15a. Heikki POHJANPÄÄ, "Frans Mikael Schauman", Iltasanomat, November 3. 1961.
16) WASASTJERNA, 1957 p. 455.
17) Ibid., pp. 456—457.
18) HEDMAN, Amerikan Muistoja. Helsinki 1926, pp. 69—71.
19) Ibid.
20) MILLER, pp 432—433.
21) JÄRNEFELT—RAUANHEIMO, Meikäläisiä merten takana. Porvoo 1921, pp. 151—152.

[22]) ILMONEN 1931, p. 8.
[23]) Based on a calculation made by Dr. KERO for this article.
[24]) 65th Congress. Session I. Ch. 15 1917, p. 78.
[25]) Steinbeck, East of Eden, pp. 520—521.
[26]) 68th Congress. Session I. Part 6, p. 6243.
[27]) The Sunday Mining Gazette. Sept 30, 1917.
[28]) ILMONEN 1931, II pp. 8—10.
[29]) 65th Congress. Session I. Ch. 15 1917, p. 78.
[30]) Aho, Sotilaan Muistiinpano Päiväkirja (A Soldiers Diary), Duluth, Minnesota, 1919, p. 7. 12—14.
[31]) Ibid pp. 69—70.
[32]) JÄRNEFELT—RAUANHEIMO, p. 152.
[33]) Aho 1919, p. 98.
[34]) Ibid., pp. 94.
[35]) Ibid., p. 123.
[36]) Valkeapää, Selostus toiminnastaan elintarpeiden hankkimiseksi Amerikasta Suomeen 1918—1919, (Report on efforts to secure food for Finland from America), Helsinki 1919, p. 15.
[37]) O. J. Larson: "The Importance of Learning English." Kansan Henki. Midsummer 1918.
[38]) WASASTJERNA, 1957. p. 300.
[39]) Ibid., p. 300: ILMONEN 1931, pp. 31—40.
[40]) HIGHAM, Strangers in the Land. Patterns of American Nativism 1860—1925. New York, 1963.
[41]) ILMONEN, 1931 II, p. 17.
[42]) WASASTJERNA, 1957, p. 300; "Nykyhetken kysymyksiä...." (Questions of today): Lincoln Loyalty League series no 1, Hancock i.a.
[43]) ILMONEN 1931 II, p. 16—17.
[44]) Valkeapää, 1919 p. 35—36.
[45]) Ibid., p. 39.
[46]) The Duluth Herald, August 2, 1957.
[47]) "O. J. Larson, Republican Candidate to Congress." Election campaign material.
[48]) John L. Morrison: "Oscar J. Larson — A Man who keeps fit" newspaper interview.
[49]) 67th Congress, I Session, Vol 61, Part 3. pp. 2880, 3327, 3138.
[50]) 67th Congress, II Session, Vol 62, Part I p. 482.
[51]) 67th Congress, II Session, Vol. 62. Part 5, pp. 4651—4654.
[52]) 68th Congress, I Session Vol 62, Part 10, p. 10403.
[53]) Statement made by Mrs. W. W. Cuypers, Larson's daughter, to the writer.
[54]) NIKANDER, Amerikan suomalaisia I, Hancock 1927, p. 80. HOLMIO 1967, p. 219. HOLMIO 1967, p. 219.
[55]) New York Times, January 7, 1934. Section IV, p. 6; Ibid, March 9, 1937, p. 19.
[56]) Ibid., September 2, 1934. Section VI, pp 1, 2, 10; Ibid., September 1, 1935. Section VII, pp. 3, 14.
[57]) Of course, his work in the Department of the Interior is already an indication of this. Hurja prepared a handbook showing how much the various New Deal relief programs meant to individual citizens in dollars. The handbook was intended for use in campaign speeches; it aroused a great deal of resentment among Republicans. New York Times, October 12, 1934 "Cost of Translation"; Ibid., October 22, 1934. p. 7.
[58]) Prof. Niitemaa, July 10, 1975.

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XI
Americanization and the Search for Identity

REFLECTIONS ON THE FINNISH-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

In Lewis Carroll's universally-beloved Alice in Wonderland, you may recall, the caterpillar asked repeatedly from his imperious perch, "WHO ARE YOU?" It served to raise immediately another soul-searching question, "WHO AM I?".

The query is as old as mankind. The answers given through the ages by theologians, philosophers, and poets (to mention only three categories) have demonstrated how complex, ambivalent, and inexplicable the *I* in every man turns out to be. Plutarch said, "If the 'Know Thyself' of the oracle were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction." Consider, too, the assessment of Blaise Pascal (1623—1662):

"What a chimera then is man! What a novelty! What a monster, what a chaos, what a contradiction, what a prodigy! Judge of all things, a feeble worm of the earth, depository of truth, a sink of uncertainty and error, the glory and the shame of the universe".

Fortunately today we can limit our observations to the ethnic dimension

of "WHO AM I?" In Finland a simple patronymic response would probably suffice: I am Johan (John is a mild concession to the pressures of americanization!) Ilmari Kolehmainen. No more needs to be said. But in the United States there are difficulties. Who, indeed, is a "Kolehmainen" in a "house inhabited by many strange people, unacquainted with each other"?

Who am I, then, truly? Ah,
Who indeed?
This is a riddle monstrous
Hard to read.

In place of the much-used designations "Finns in America" or "The American Finns," which are insufficiently precise for analysis, the following five-fold classification is proposed:

Category	*Approximate Number*
1. Finnish aliens (non-immigrants)	20,000
2. Foreign-born immigrants	45,000
3. First generation American-born (AB^1)	204,000
4. Second generation of American-born (AB^2)	Unrecognized in the censuses and swallowed up in the category of 'native' "
5. Succeeding generations of American-born (AB^3, AB^4, . . .)	

A word of caution. The division may be interpreted too simplistically. The generations were not simply blocks, placidly placed edge to edge in time, with an orderly and smooth transition from one to another. Between them (not least on the immigrant scene, where assimilative processes played an important, continuing, and often unpredictable role), there was "yelling, screaming, punishing, threatening, and not carrying out the threat." There were frequent and unexpected crosscurrents between generations and within them. Nor was assimilation any more orderly. It was not merely a steady fading of memories and the facile adoption of new values and life styles. On the contrary, it was often a series of conflicts between competing influences, with one environment pressing upon another, influences from the wider American society battling with the entrenched leadership of ethnic institutions.

Not much has to be said about Category 1, which consists of Finnish

citizens who for varying periods of time have visited or sojourned in the United States. They included shy but highly expectant exchange students, curious middle-aged and elderly tourists, and most significant culturally, internationally preeminent figures. Among contemporaries, just in the field of music, one might mention the exciting young conductor Okko Kamu ("A Tiger on the Platform," a newspaper headline proclaimed), who has scored brilliant successes with some of America's major symphonic orchestras, and Martti Talvela, whose unforgettable performances as Boris in the Metropolitan Opera's new production of *Boris Godunov* attained new levels of artistic achievement. Finland's cultural contributions to the United States, relatively speaking, have been varied and impressive. They can serve in the future, as they already have done in the past, as catalysts, engendering and stimulating interest in Finland, not only among those with blood ties (however diluted), but also among long-established native Americans. The building of cultural bridges between Finland and the United States can play a very important role in the quest for identity.

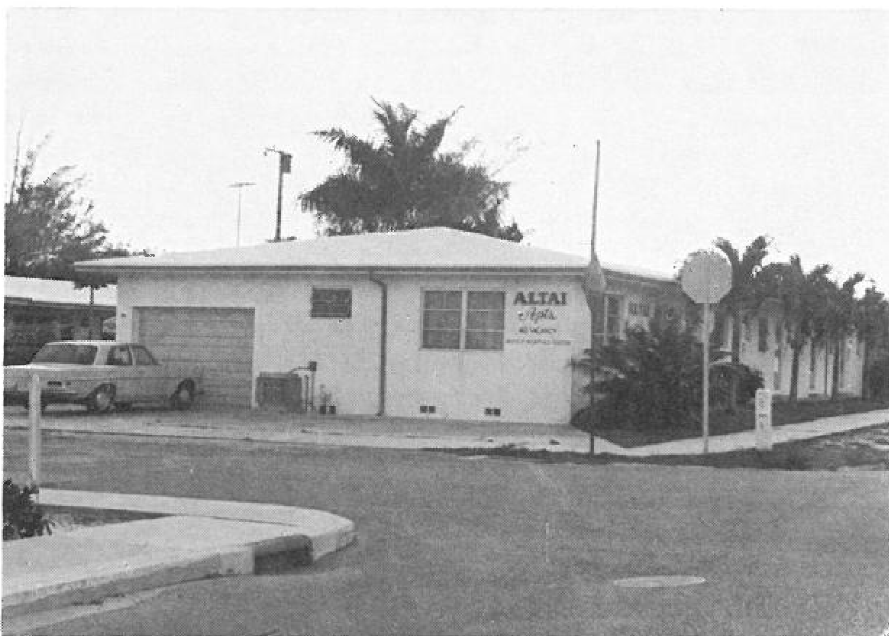
A few comments, too, about Category 2, the foreign-born immigrant generation. Their number presently is small and swiftly diminishing, although one can find profoundly poignant remainders of their characteristic insti-

LaDuke A J 514 Pine ... 884-2433
LAHTI C R DR
Ofc 750 Seventh ... 884-2824
If No Answer Dial ... 884-4134
Res Lakeshore ... 884-4338
Children's Phone ... 884-4456
Laila's Beauty Shop
415 Chippewa ... 884-4669
Laingren Lily Mrs RFD 1 ... 884-4361
Laitala Sulo RFD ... 884-4438
Lake Donna R 714 Michigan St ... 884-4757
Lakeshore Cabins Silver City ... 884-2404
LAKESIDE BEAUTY SALON
516 River ... 884-2481
Lamoureaux Roy Mrs
Greenland Rd ... 884-4214
LAND O'LAKES CLEANERS & LAUNDERERS 538 River ... 884-2205
Landree Hector 312 Minnesota ... 884-4687
Lange Fred RFD ... 884-2478
LANGE FUNERAL HOME
514 Chippewa ... 884-2105
Children's Phone ... 884-4722
Lange John L 514 Chippewa ... 884-2105
Lanker Stanley Jr RFD 2 ... 884-2469
Lantry John 407 Minnesota ... 884-2499
Lapointe David A Silver City ... 884-2836
Large Jack 315 Walnut ... 884-4782
Larson Marvin RFD 2 ... 884-4767
Latimer Marilyn RFD 2 ... 884-4441
Laurila Albert 509 Zinc ... 884-2316
Laurila Finn RFD ... 884-2265

M

Maatta Peter 608 Michigan St ... 884-2627
Machamer Paul RFD 2 ... 884-2394
Mac's Place 411 River ... 884-9400
Makela George RFD ... 884-4587
Makela Leonard RFD ... 884-2312
Maki Elmer 710 Epidote ... 884-2490
Maki Herbert 901 Rockland Rd ... 884-2181
Maki JFK Septic Tank Cleaning
Watton ... 355-2221
Maki Matt V 509 S Fourth ... 884-4533
Maki Wesley 106 N 4th ... 884-2664
Maki Wm 507 S Fourth ... 884-2436
Makimaa Arne 411 Minnesota ... 884-4345
Malaga P N Mrs 417 Parker ... 884-4279
Mannan Cecil Mrs Lakeshore Rd ... 884-2374
Mannan Stanley 220 Diamond ... 884-2488
Mannikko Ed 700 Zinc ... 884-2585
Mannikko Einard RFD ... 884-4562
Mansell Travis 110 E River ... 884-2560
Mantela Hilma Mrs 614 Prehnite ... 884-2388
MAPLE MANOR NURSING CENTER
102-3rd ... 884-2882
Marcuzzi S P 1206 Rockland Rd ... 884-2508
Marina River Rd ... 884-9702
Marincel Joseph 110 Mercury ... 884-2288
Markie Emil RFD ... 884-4528
Marks Augusta Mrs
Apt 501 Cane Court ... 884-2572
Marley C L Mrs 307 Walnut ... 884-2672

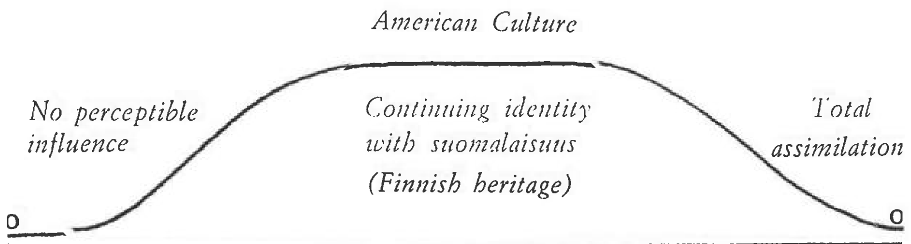
Plenty of Finnish names can be found for instance in the County Telephone Company Directory of Ontonagon, Mich., in 1971. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)



After World War II thousands of American Finns have moved to the sun of Florida to spend their retirement or to stay the winter season in its warm climate. Finnish clubs, motels and convalescent homes have been built there. (Above a motel founded by American Finns at Lake Worth and below American Finnish Tourist Club in Lantana.) (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

tutional life here and there, notably in the Florida settlements of Lake Worth, Lantana, and New Port Richey.

The immigrants have been almost exclusively the subjects of historical study and it is to the scholars, rather than the policy planners and bridge builders, that they shall be very shortly and irretrievably consigned. Much exploration into the vicissitudes of Finnish immigrant life in the New World remains to be done. In some areas, the investigation has scarcely begun — for example, the exact extent and the manner of their assimilation into the general American cultural milieu. It might be mentioned in passing that the logical spectrum pattern of assimilation can be depicted in the following manner:



In a broad sense, the Finnish immigrants were in contact with at least three different worlds:

1) The immigrant world, with its cherished Finnish language, its self-created churches, temperance societies, socialist halls, Kaleva Lodges, cooperatives, newspapers and magazines and so forth, in which many immigrants spent much of their time.
2) The American world, the world of the *"toiskieliset,"* which they penetrated in different ways, to varying degrees, and with uneven sense of ease and satisfaction.
3) The Old Country, the beloved, never-to-be-forgotten motherland, with its kinsfolk and mounting memories.

A Norwegian—American clergyman said of his countrymen, "Ours is the riches of two cultures and often the poverty of the desert wanderer. We live between memory and reality." While there is a great deal of truth in this observation, it does not fully describe the situation of the Finnish immigrants for the most part. As with all immigrants, there were adjustment problems. As a recent visitor from Finland noted: "Innumerable friends told us of difficult times, loneliness, disillusionment, hunger, and unemployment, which they had experienced in earlier years. The immigrants had to swallow many bitter pills before they began to obtain more secure ground under their feet."

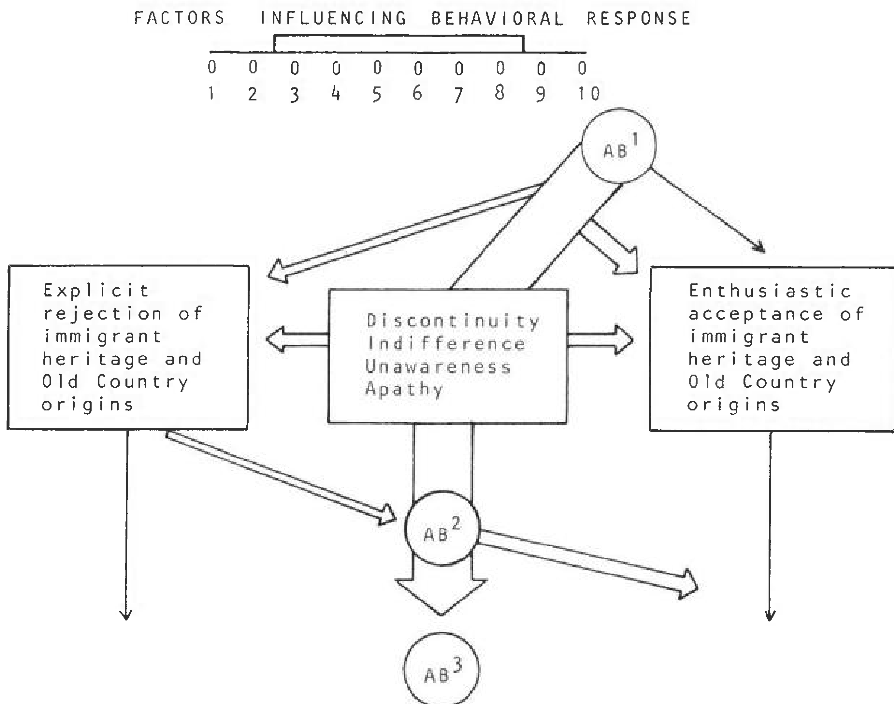
But the writer concludes: "For many the hardships now have been won.

It is enjoyable to step through the door of a Finnish private dwelling, one after another, and sense the peace and homelike feeling, which have been achieved through toil as well as an upright way of life, sincerely honoring all the values in the heritage of their forebears."

Indeed, most immigrants, in time, made not only a tolerable but often a satisfying accommodation to a new set of circumstances. Not many Finns spent time or money (least of all the *Laihialaiset!)* in consulting psychologists. As to their identity with the land of birth, their *suomalaisuus,* it was broken only by death.

Let us now turn to our major concerns, Categories 3 and 4, the first (AB^1) and the second (AB^2) generations of American-born offspring of Finnish or mixed parentage (increasingly the latter), and explore their problems of assimilation and the quest for identity, which hopefully might include some kind of recognition of, or attachment to, the immigrant and the Old World heritages.

A chart, whose artistic merit is surely questionable, may be helpful as we proceed on this complex, many-sided, and open-ended investigation. Although based on more than forty years of observation and study, it is tentative, hypothetical, and logical; scientific data for constructing a more systematic and precise model are not yet accessible.



Firstly, what were the factors or forces that influenced the responses of the first generation of American-born (AB[1])? They were virtually numberless, constantly consequential, highly dynamic, and often contradictory. We shall suggest ten of them, by broad descriptive titles only. In random order, they were: 1) The prevailing climates of opinion in the United States; 2) The demographic, geographical, physical, and other features of the settlements in which the immigrants and their offspring lived; 3) The parents and their families; 4) The language situation; 5) Family names or patronymics; 6) Life's many experiences; 7) Contingency or the play of chance; 8) Age and sex; 9) The psychic make-up of each individual; 10) The nature, frequency, and continuity of ties with the Old Country.

Before proceeding to describe the varied responses of the first generation American-born offspring to some of these forces, I am reminded of Proverbs 25:25:

> As cold waters to a thirsty soul,
> So is good news from a far country.

I truly wish I could bring you nothing but sweet tidings. For example, of a middle-aged woman, who had married an American, and recently discovered the Kalevala, in English translation, for she had largely forgotten the Finnish learned on a mother's knee. She has lately come into modest inheritance, and wrote last March to me about it. "I expect to end up with funds with which I can do anything I want. I have been saying right along that if I ever won our state lottery, I would set up some sort of fund in Finland probably for the translation of Finnish poetry. This money can be the beginning of such a fund or something similar."

Or the older account of an immigrant family's daughter, whose dream of visiting her parents' land of birth came true. Her stay in Finland was literally intoxicating, every moment of it, and of course, it was too short. She concluded her odyssey:

"My departure from Finland took place amidst flowers, singing, smiles, and tears. It is perhaps not necessary to say that I left on my return journey reluctantly — too soon. I would have wished greatly to stay much longer. When I glanced at Helsinki's outlines, receding and finally vanishing into the sea, I felt in my heart something of the same sadness that my earlier emigrated relatives no doubt had experienced. But along side it there remained in my heart a warm, lasting feeling: love for Finland and its people."

Regrettably, these two examples are not typical. The main thrust of the first generation American-born has been in the direction of indifference, and sometimes to the extreme of explicit rejection of the immigrant heritage and Old Country values. Powerful forces have impelled this movement. Among them were the following:

Evening class in English language for American Finns at Clinton in the years of World War I. (Collection of Urho Haavisto.)

1— The intermittent yet powerful prejudices in the nation as well as in local regions and communities against the maintenance of separate ethnic enclaves. Two American presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, for example, "upbraided immigrants who failed to break loose from every Old World tie." "Hyphenated Americanism," they warned, would transform the United States into "a tangle of squabbling nationalities," and they insisted, "We intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house." Even in less oppressive periods, when ethnicity was at least nominally embraced as national policy, discrimination persisted, especially if economic competition was involved. It is perhaps accurate to conclude that in the United States, "it is always difficult to have a double identity."

2— The victory of the American Little Red Schoolhouse over parochial education, which was epitomized in the saying, "In the morning as the children go off to school, they still speak Finnish; in the evening when they return, it has been forgotten." How could Finnish-language Saturday, Sunday, or Confirmation schools successfully compete with an 8:00 A. M. to 3:30 P. M. arrangement, five days a week, particularly when the first-named had the world's most reluctant pupils, and where Luther's Small Catechism was everybody's millstone? The public school not only shattered the previous home monopoly of the Finnish language, but opened

When the children of the first generation Finnishborn Americans came to school age, the parents built Finnish schools for them. The photograph shows one of these "first schools" built in Brimson, Minn. (Collection of Mrs. Astrid Kolehmainen.)

the doors to the new and beguiling world of the Americans. The New World's penetration was accelerated by the older children (immigrant families often had as many as six or more children), who paradoxically a) were better versed in Finnish, retained it longer, and in most respects were closer to the parental hearth, but b) yet acted as effective mediators of the outside world, subjecting fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, to ever greater americanizing influences. It should be added, in considering the swift inroads of the English language, that some immigrant institutions themselves (the Socialist movement, for one) pressured their foreign-born members to learn English and to become naturalized citizens.

3— The demographic, geographical, and other physical features of Finnish settlements. The immigrants settled in a variety of settings, ranging from isolated rural villages with distinguishable place names likes Toivola and Wäinölä to great metropolitan centers like New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles. In between these extremes were many differing sites, each bearing a unique set of cicumstances, and in which the density of Finnish population ranged from heavy to negligible. The kind of settlement greatly affected the assimilative and identity processes. How relatively easy it was to remain "Finnish," and maintain Finnish patronymics (like Kolehmainen) in communities like Kaleva, Michigan, where even

the street names came from the epic, and Conneaut Harbor and Ashtabula Harbor, Ohio, where the Finns dominated the lake front residential areas. But how much more difficult it was to do the same in a situation where there was merely a handful of Finns widely scattered from one distant section of a metropolis to another. In some large cities, as is well known, the melting pot has not worked the way it was earlier anticipated: "In other parts of America, it is possible that immigrants do melt in and re-form. In New York they do not, mostly because there is no majority for them to melt into. That is why there are Albanians in the Bronx, Indians in Flushing, Greeks in Astoria, Ukrainians on Seventh Street, and Irish, Jews and Italians all over in neighborhoods of their own." The same is true of Boston. But these two polyglot cities are not like contemporary Finnish America. Finnish settlements, diminutive in size, unable to form permanent ghettos, have manifested a dispersing tendency, which has facilitated the assimilative process, especially among the first (and second) generation American-born, who in droves have moved away from the original settlements.

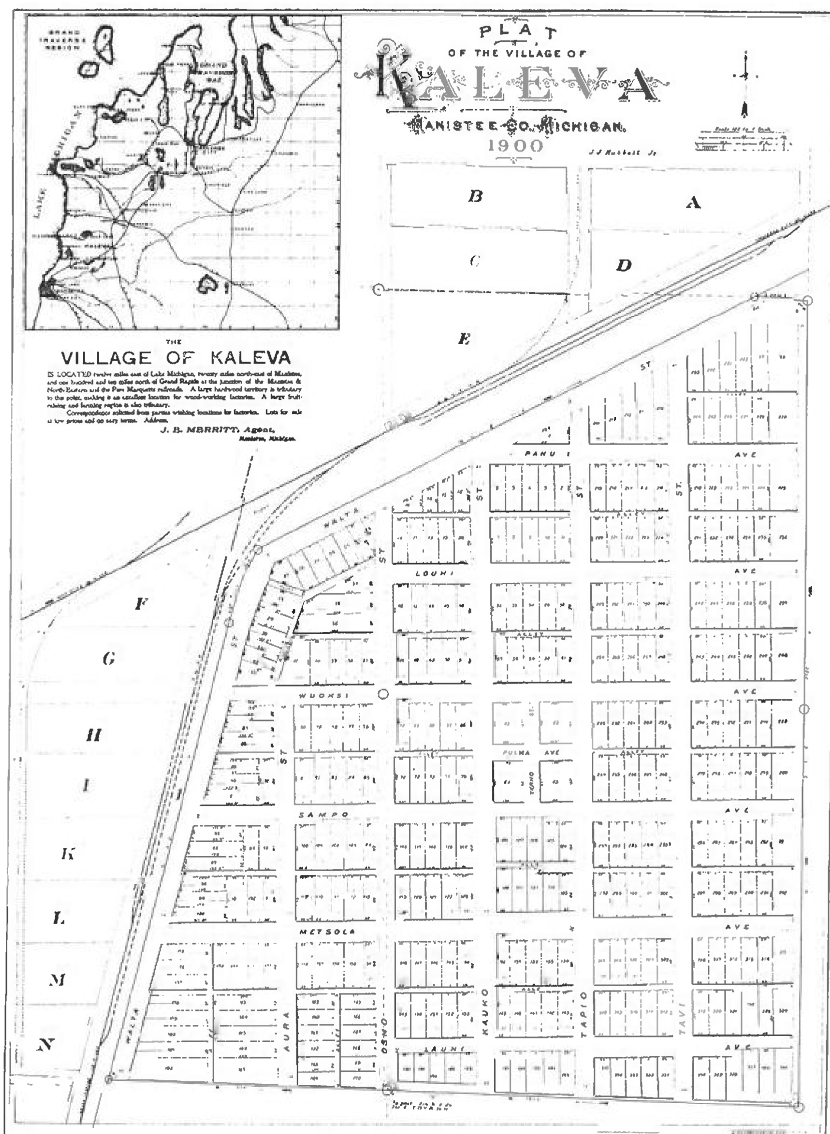
Certificate of naturalization given to Henry Haavisto in 1911 (Collection of Urho Haavisto).

4— Immigrants and their children. Most immigrants, however well-intentioned, were in no position to mediate Finland's cultural heritage to their offspring. Overwhelmingly humble and rural in origin, largely deficient (although through no fault of their own) in the educational advantages enjoyed by the country's "better classes," often possessing as their only literary treasures the family Bible, the hymnal, and sometimes the Maammekirja, the culturally impoverished immigrants obviously could not transmit what they themselves did not have — an intimate and comprehensive understanding of Finland's cultural history. This is not to say that they were anti-intellectual (a few were). Their own institutions, in a profound sense, were unique and effective instrumentalities for self-enlightenment. They had a commendable commitment to the education of their children, so that they might advance farther and more readily in a competitive world.

There were other obstacles. Communication between parents and children, troublesome even in normal circumstances ("Who knows the thoughts of a child?"), was very much more difficult in a situation when differing ways of life competed, on unequal terms, for the loyalty and devotion of the young. The unemotional character of the Finns undoubtedly further estranged the relations between parents and children. The youth rebelled against the elders' language demands, religious orthodoxy, strict codes of behavior, attempted supervision of reading materials, recreation, courtship and marriage. Very often, too, the immigrant family was, in effect, devoid of full-time parental care. Consider, for example, the father, utterly exhausted after toiling ten to twelve hours a day, six to seven days a week, in the mines, docks, logging camps, railroads, or elsewhere. How, indeed, could he fulfill his parental responsibility under such circumstances?

Nonetheless, total alienation did not follow. Although the first generation American-born children moved steadily and in large numbers toward indifference and discontinuity, some things were passed on: knowledge of the Finnish language; bits of anecdotal information about parental homes and experiences in the Old Country. Some features of immigrant life were not rejected. I, for one, shall never forget the productions of the Conneaut, Ohio, Socialist theatrical troupe. Tukkijoella, Laulu Tulipunaisesta kukasta, and many other classics, remain a cherished part of my childhood memories (much more delightfully so than Luther's Small Catechism).

5— Mixed marriages. Most immigrants, for obvious reasons, married among themselves. Such has not been the case with their offspring. As early as the mid—1930s, in the heavily Finnish settlement of Conneaut Harbor, Ohio, a sample of 230 first generation American-born marriages showed 54 % of them mixed, 40 % inter-Finnish, and 6 % intergenerational.



Entire villages of Finnish-origin Americans can be found in the Great Lakes region. One of these is Kaleva. The plan completed in 1900 shows the Finnish national enthusiasm of the planners: the street names are all inspired by ancient Finnish heathen mythology. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

Street view of the village of Kaleva, Mich. showing a Finnish American cooperative store (left) and the Lutheran church (right). (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

Since then, although studies are not available, one gets the impression that the floodgates to mixed marriages have opened even wider, tumbling over ethnic, religious, and geographical barriers. While mixed marriages in and of themselves do not necessarily result in the further weakening of the Finnish heritage, such in most cases has been the outcome. When the woman in a mixed marriage is of Finnish background, there is greater likelihood that some connection will be maintained. But it must be also stressed that native Americans of venerable vintage can be reached by one avenue or another, or by pure accident.

6— The role of chance. In The Prince, Niccolò Machiavelli wrote, "I hold it to be true that Fortune is the arbiter of one-half of our actions." Frederick the Great went further: "The older one gets the more convinced one becomes that his Majesty King Chance does three-quarters of the business of this miserable universe." While not subscribing fully to the misery theory, one cannot but be impressed by the role of contigency in human affairs. The lives of immigrants and their offspring have not been immune to the workings of this inexorable and baffling law. How often, indeed, has one's interest in his cultural heritage been the result of unpremeditated or unanticipated events!

Perhaps you will forgive a personal testimonial. When I became a graduate student at the university, I was not much different from my peers, who had become largely indifferent to their origins. We were, or so we

Algumasta se 26 päivä ~~tou~~
kesäkuta 1887.

Minun rakas vaimonin

Nyt tartun taaskin kynänin kini
tervehtääsenin sinua mutamalla sa-
dilla tältä kaukaiselta vieralta
maalta jonka luona en minä tunis
puutesta olla taidaa vaan ainoas
tansa sydämmen halulla ja huo kau
kella ja saan myös ilmoitta että
minä voin hyvin ja olen terve
josta samaa jumalan kallista
lahia san sydämmestänin sinullekin
toivotan
ja nyt lähätän sinulle tulemaan
raha ja sitä on kaks kymmentä
taallari sitte kos minut luovan
silä puristä nin ota papi

Letter by an immigrant from Michigan to Finland in 1887. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center.)

thought, thoroughly americanized. My projected thesis was on "The Italian Problem at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919." Struggling without much success to learn Italian, my situation looked desperate. Suddenly, out of nowhere, came a flash of lightning. Why not do my doctoral dissertation on a subject in which I could use the Finnish language? Besides, I could satisfy one of the language requirements with Finnish at the same time. The subject of investigation was on my very doorstep — a history of the Finnish settlements in Ohio. And so, swiftly and unexpectedly, my course was changed — by mere happenstance. There followed forty enriching years of research and writing on Finnish and Finnish-American affairs. Fortune was kind to me.

We turn finally to the fate of our children, the second generation of American-born (AB^2). In a broad sense, they have been subjected to the same influences which played on us, with however the important exception that the 1930s to the 1970s constituted a much different matrix of development than did the years of our childhood and adolescence. Most of them fell in the major category of the dissociated, the indifferent, the uninformed. Their contacts with Old World culture and the heritage of their grandparents have been irregular, indirect, and infrequent. However there has been relatively little outright hostility or rejection, for one generally cannot hate or reject that which he has not experienced. On the other hand, there are still great opportunities for arousing in our children, most of whom are now in the fullness of life, a genuine and fruitful association with their cultural sources. As secure Americans, certain of their economic and social status, they can afford the preoccupations of genealogical and cultural pursuits. And they can mediate, in some way or other, the results of these endeavors to their offspring, our grandchildren, as well as to their fellow Americans.

In preparing this paper, I thought it might be interesting to ask our three children to tell me, frankly and openly, what it has meant to be a "Kolehmainen" in the United States. It should be mentioned, in advance, that they are not to be taken as typical of their generation (indeed, who is typical?). They have been nurtured in a home where Finnish culture has been omnipresent and revered — perhaps excessively. They have lived in Finland, two of them on two separate occasions. Yet I found their comments illuminating and instructive.

The first comes from our 31- year old daughter, happily married to a native American, by name Kerry Reynolds. She wrote:

It's a little difficult for me to write down what it means to be of Finnish descent — because the effort contradicts what I was taught as I grew up in America — that the melting pot is good, that pride of "race" is bad. Yet I have come to feel that the cultural wealth of America depends

on the diversity of her citizens' heritage and that the melting pot, to be really good, should not be totally successful in obliterating differences among people. Thus I have managed to rationalize my pride of heritage, and to believe that it is a positive feeling as long as it does not become an exultation over (or at the expense of) others.

I have some thoughts on what of the heritage is most often lost quickly, and what is preserved.

What goes: 1. Language goes quickly, if one must learn English to make money. What remains is a vocabulary of child to parent, frozen in time as of the date of migration.

2. In this society, the physical clannishness breaks up at least by the second generation. The sense of atomized ethnic communities does not survive for long where one is not tied to the land.

3. I'm afraid I see a notable lack of sympathy with later immigrants and the "nouveaux pauvres" — There is little identification today with the sub-poor — the maids and laborers — by persons who came up the same route 50 years ago.

What stays: 1. "Personal traits" that may or may not be ascribable to heritage — I feel heir to the myth of the taciturn Finn — (and I guess Kerry is used to it by now!).

2. The names — unless they're married into oblivion, or "Americanized," the Finnish polysyllables remain, hung about the necks of kids smaller than they are. (This sounds too negative. — I'm proud to be Joy Kolehmainen Reynolds.)

3. The sauna — what can I say?!

4. The cuisine — ha! Here, my Finnish heritage has left me only an enduring affection for potatoes and pickled fish. Who else, on a diet, would dream of cold potatoes and salt? Alas, there are no Finnish Julia Childs!

5. A general identification with Finnish music, design, accomplishments — at least when others around me are being ethnic. But, when I'm surrounded by Finns, I often feel more "American" — (explore these chameleon sentiments of the hyphenated Americans).

It seems to me, in general, that the lasting elements of my Finnish heritage are not group influences, like language, but the points of contact and identity between an individual and a heritage — points can be cultivated or left alone according to individual choice.

The second is by our 20-year old college student, who in her external manifestations seems to be as anti-Finnish as anyone could possibly be. I expected her reactions to be full of "hell, fire, and brimstone." But from the deep recesses of her heart came this calm and reasoned response:

"It is difficult to pin down and express the varied feelings that one has about his ethnic background. I suppose everyone has mixed feelings about their ethnicity. At times it is a source of pride, a certain distinguishing characteristic, at other times one would just as soon push away the ties of ancestry to become 'just like everyone else.'

"To me, being of Finnish descent has meant having a name that no one can pronounce, much less spell with any degree of accuracy — a name which also was never meant to fit into the space marked 'last name' on job applications or standardized tests. Being Finnish has meant experiencing

Two Finnish-American girls photographed in 1912. (University of Turku, Emigration History Research Center).

(if not fully appreciating) the sauna long before it became an American fad. It has meant having knowledge of foreign words with which to mystify and impress friends as a child. Being Finnish has meant the exchange of gifts at Christmas time — gifts which represented vastly different cultures and life styles. The experience of living and and traveling in foreign countries, meeting their people and sharing ideas has been important in widening the boundaries of my mind and my life.

Being Finnish has been for me, what every other person's ethnic background must have meant to them. It is having a special subculture, a heritage that enriches and widens one's life as an American."

The comments of our son (aged 35) were likewise thoughtful. He wrote: "The first reaction, or level of memory, would indicate to me that most of

the memorable and characteristic details of growing up related to the unique circumstances of parental nature, occupation, attitude, and geography. The next level, I guess, would reflect the less important character building elements of our particular heritage. I have always been proud of being of Finnish descent, due in large part again to parental pride, interests, and knowledge. The opportunity to live in Finland while in high school undoubtedly enhanced this feeling. The very unique aspects of this heritage — the sauna, the complex language, the strange surnames, sisu, and the relatively few of Finnish descent in this country — are perhaps elements in my attitudes toward my heritage. In thinking about it, all of those characteristics could be reversed in effect, and combined into a negative environment in which one would wish to negate all elements of his 'non-American' past. I am glad this didn't happen despite, by a conservative estimate, having spent at least six full months of my life spelling and pronouncing Kolehmainen."

Our son continued:

"Other positive results of this heritage include an appreciation for much of Finnish and Scandinavian cultural activity, as well as a desire to instill in our children an appreciation for their ties to Finland. On the negative side, I recall feeling very bored and 'out of it' at family gatherings involving grandparents and others where Finnish became the language of the day. I think our children will have closer ties to their grandparents because of their ability to understand what is happening. This raises the question of whether we should have been encouraged (or forced) to learn Finnish as children, even before English. For this I have no answer. I do not recall having to put up with childhood ridicule because of a strange name, plus I always seemed to know a little more about Finland than most of my teachers, so that was good. I guess I would like to know more about the details of the emigration of my grandparents, and that this would add to my heritage."

In summary, the main thrust of the first generation American-born has been in the direction of indifference, sometimes to the extreme of explicit rejection of the immigrant heritage and Old Country values. There are nonetheless, many examples of a more positive orientation.

As to the second and third generation of American-born, they have been subjected largely to the same kinds of forces which played upon the first generation, with however the important difference that the decades from the 1930s to the present constituted a very different matrix than did the years from the turn of the century to the First World War. Most of them, as far as their attitudes toward the immigrant and Old World heritages were concerned, fell into the major categories of the dissociated, the indifferent, and the uninformed. While there is relatively little outright hostility, there is much apathy and disinterest. American life is a demanding and jealous taskmistress.

Yet on the other hand, there are still great opportunities for instilling in the second, third, and subsequent generations a genuine and fruitful association with their cultural sources. As secure Americans, assured of their economic and social status, they can afford the preoccupations of genealogical and cultural pursuits. And they can mediate, in one way or another, the results of these endeavors to future generations of Americans.

C

Finland and the United States in 1917—1976

Kalevi Sorsa
Minister for Foreign Affairs

XII
Relations between Finland and the United States since 1917

Traditionally the relations between Finland and the United States have been good. Viewed as a whole, the major emphasis in the relations between our countries has been on cultural and economic ties since, fortunately, there have been no really serious political difficulties or crises.

An important contribution to the relations between our countries comes from the Finnish emigrants, the first of whom left their homeland long before the birth of the United States. In the course of time, hundreds of thousands of Finns have crossed the ocean to the New World. Whatever the motives prompting their departure, they have, collectively, with their industriousness and Finnish *sisu* created for themselves a place in the great new homeland and at the same time won a good name for themselves and for Finland.

In looking at the development of Finnish-American relations in a historical prespective, we must note that the first official contacts between our countries took place in a connection which has subsequently had a far-reaching impact on the development of our relations and on the formation of Finland's image in the United States. I refer to the relief loans which the United States granted in 1919 to the newly independent Finland beset

by internal difficulties. Discussions concerning the loans were held in London and Paris in 1918—1919 between the Finnish Foreign Minister and Mr. Herbert Hoover, then director of the relief plan. Relief was granted even before the United States and other allied powers recognized the independence of Finland, which is, of course, the formal starting point of our political relations. The United States recognized Finland's independence in May 1919, simultaneously with Great Britain. The desperately needed relief fashioned in an important way a favourable picture of the United States in Finland. Originally there were two loans, which were consolidated by agreement in 1923 into a State debt. The total credit was $ 8.4 million, and its payment term is still running.

When Finland under the terms of the 1923 agreement made its first repayment on the loan, while other European countries refused to make repayments on the plea of poor economic conditions, Finland became known in the United States as a conscientious payer of its debts. There was thus born the myth of "the brave, small Finland that always paid her debts", which has been preserved in America to this day. But it is not a myth. Finland still pays puncually the interest and amortization on its loans.

After World War II Finland gained unexpected benefits from this loan, for which we can thank its punctual payments and the good will which resulted therefrom. The United States Congress voted in 1949 to use the balance of the principal and interest payments to promote cultural exchanges between the two countries by establishing a Finnish-American scholarship fund. This program has made it possible for hundreds of Finns to study in the United States and for Americans to study in Finland. In addition, many Finnish research institutions have been able to obtain through these funds expensive research equipment and books from the United States. I would say that the program has greatly strengthened our cultural relations and promoted friendship between our peoples.

After Finland received the diplomatic recognition of the Western powers, the United States assumed a peripheral position for a long time in its foreign relations. The young nation, which lacked all foreign policy traditions and men with experience in the field of foreign affairs, had to start by concentrating on establishing relations with more proximate countries and regions. Relations across the ocean were normal, but there were not enough resources to give them added weight.

In American foreign relations during the 1920s, Finland was not an important area either. At the end of World War I, the mood of isolationism narrowed the United States' interest in Europe perceptibly. The United States did not join the League of Nations, although President Woodrow Wilson had been the ideological parent of the world organization and the moving spirit behind its Covenant. It might also be mentioned in this

connection that the United States Department of State did not take a position on the Tartu Peace negotiations of 1920 or the Aland Islands issue, both of which were important for Finland.

In the European policies of the United States there occurred, however, a change — noteworthy from the Finnish point of view — when America recognized the Soviet Union in 1933. Now that it had its own embassy in Moscow, Helsinki was no longer needed as a "window to the East". The political interest of the United States shifted further eastward from Finland. It may indeed be said that the United States had no important political interest in Finland during the 1920s and the 1930s.

The absence of political interest did not, however, signify the end of cultural and economic exchange. The Nordic countries, among them Finland, came to represent in the United States a sort of exemplary social model, especially since many democratic systems in Central and Eastern Europe experienced during the early 1930s effects of "a late winter". President F. D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies needed the support of foreign examples, as a result of which the Nordic countries rose to rightful prominence .

A 300th anniversary monument presented to the United States by Government of Finland, was unveiled at Crozer Park, Chester, Pennsylvania, in June 29, 1938 to honour the first Finnish settlers in America.

Despite the understandable lack of interest in political matters, the economic relations between Finland and the United States developed favourably. Already during the course of World War I, Finland had begun to look for new export markets, especially for the products of its forest industry. When its eastern markets were cut off, an effort was made to direct exports to western Europe and the United States. As our country developed and recovered from the wartime situation and due to technological advances, the production capacity of Finland's forest industries rose significantly throughout the 1920s.

As a trading partner of America, young Finland during the 1920s imported far more than it exported. But the balance of trade changed in the early 1930s in Finland's favour. Economic relations were strengthened by an active sales network and the active efforts of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association to promote exports. In 1934, a Friendship, Trade and Consular Treaty was signed by the two countries, which is still in force as the basis of trade and legal relations. Under this treaty Finland and the United States also granted each other most-favoured-nation treatment and reduced tariffs on many imports. This agreement concurred already at this time with the principles of the subsequent GATT Agreements, and at the present time trade between the two countries is conducted on a multilateral basis under this agreement.

Over the years the share of the United States in Finnish trade has declined as our trade has grown with neighboring and other European countries. During the 1920s the United States placed fifth in Finnish exports, while in recent years the American share in Finland's total trade has been in the neighborhood of five per cent. Our exports to the United States today are much more diversified than in earlier times, when they consisted almost exclusively of forest industry products. Now more than half of the exports come from other sectors of industry.

In surveying the development of the relations of our two countries, the short break that occurred during the war years must also be borne in mind. The outbreak of the Winter War in late 1939 brought a powerful upsurge of pro-Finland enthusiasm among the American public. Finland's position as the small neighbor of the eastern great power appealed to the traditional sentiments of freedom and democracy in America. Officially, the United States attempted to influence the end of the war by immediately offering to mediate. The offer, however, was of no avail in the prevailing circumstances. Finland received no official assistance from the United States or any other country. However, a widespread relief campaign was organized in America and produced a variety of important humanitarian assistance.

When the so-called Continuation War erupted in 1941, relations remained normal, for the United States did not immediately go to war against Germany.

Goods are packed to be sent to Finland during the Winter War in the office of the Consul-General of Finland in New York. (At work for Finland, An album of the relief work for Finland in the state of New England in 1939—41).

As the war went on, the United States Government attempted through diplomatic channels to get Finland to withdraw from the war, which would have promoted the interests of the Allied Powers. From the viewpoint of the United States, it was undoubtedly difficult to view the Finnish war as a separate conflict, and to see Finland as other than a Germany ally. Efforts to obtain a separate peace between Finland and the Soviet Union were unavailing, and some of the allied powers, among them England, declared war against Finland. The United States, however, did not go that far, but was content merely to sever diplomatic relations with Finland in 1944. After the war, normal relations were restored by the close of 1945.

Finland had to begin to reconstruct both its economy and its foreign policy after the war. It was natural that in this situation our chief concern was directed elsewhere than towards the United States, which had become the leading great power of the western alliance, and which was known to view Finland with understanding. As a consequence of the lessons taught by the war, it was realized that a policy of neutrality would not succeed unless it enjoyed confidence among major powers. The role of President J. K. Paasikivi, the architect of the new foreign policy, was to secure the trust of the Soviet Union in Finland's new foreign policy orientation. This line was sealed by the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, the preamble to which recognizes Finland's desire to stay outside great power conflicts. This agreement formed a corner-stone of Finland's policy of neutrality.

Finland's relations with the other victorious states were normalized after the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947. Since the United States had not been at war with Finland, it was not a signatory to the treaty. A noteworthy phase in the subsequent development of relations toward the West was Finland's attitude on the Marshall Plan, which the United States had initiated as part of largescale economic reconstruction of Europe. In the summer of 1947 Finland declined to participate in the planning meeting for Marshall aid and remained outside the project on the ground that the plan had become "an object of great power controversy." Finland paid in full and without outside help the war reparations to the Soviet Union imposed by the peace treaty.

During the period of Finland's economic reconstruction, it did nonetheless receive invaluable assistance from American banking institutions in the form of many loans to Finnish industry. Nor can we overestimate the previously-mentioned scholarship program's significance in training Finnish technicians and in providing research and other materials in the technical field.

Developments since the World War II among the great powers and their defence alliances did not particularly encourage to pursue a policy of neutrality. During the Cold War, neutrality was indeed regarded as a kind of "desertion" even an immoral position. The political line adopted by Fin-

land and the efforts to strengthen it have nevertheless been demonstrated to have been successful and enduring. The basic solution to Finland's security policy does not rest upon military alliances directed against any other groupings, but Finland pursues a peace-oriented policy of neutrality, staying outside great power conflicts and striving to promote peaceful negotiations in the world.

Two Finnish presidents, Paasikivi and after him Urho K. Kekkonen, have made the stabilization and development of this policy their life's work. While the first stabilized relations with the East, the second's achievement has been, the further strengthening of ties with the Soviet Union on one hand, and gaining recognition from the leading western powers of Finland's policy of neutrality on the other.

In 1961, President Kekkonen was the first Finnish Head of State to pay an official visit to the United States. He discussed Finland's policy at length with President John F. Kennedy and informed him of our foreign policy. The joint communiqué issued after the talks reads:

> On Finland's international status, the President of the United States stated having taken into consideration the obligations embodied in Finnish treaties and publicly announced his understanding of the bases of the neutral policy pursued by Finland. He declared that the United States will scrupulously respect Finland's adopted policies.

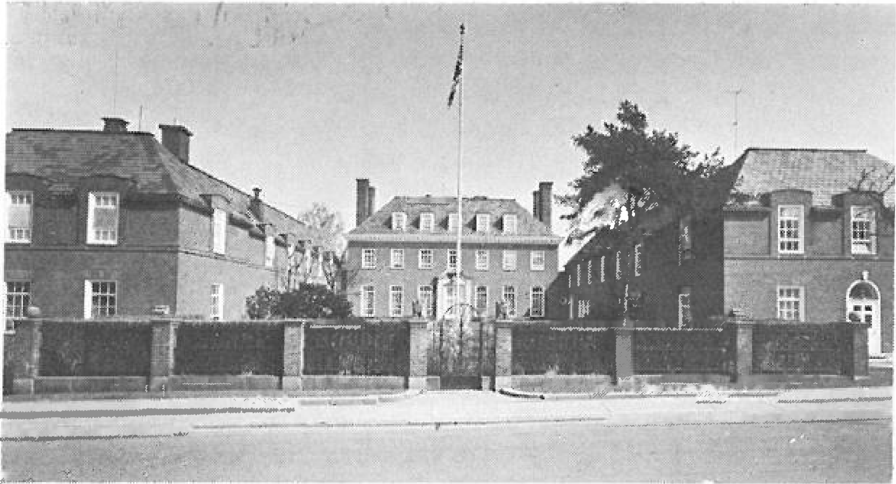
We in Finland continued to set great store by this statement. The international significance of Finland's neutral policy grew when similar acknowledgements were received by President Kekkonen on his visits to England in 1961 and France in 1962. The United States has truly remained faithful to its promise, which was reaffirmed in 1970 when President Kekkonen made a second official visit to the United States. On this occasion President Richard M. Nixon stated, in the Finnish President's presence, that the United States respected Finland as a state which is independent and neutral, and which works on behalf of world peace, trying to relieve tensions between great and small states. High-level contacts between our countries included the visits of Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1963 and President Gerald Ford in 1975. President Ford, in addressing the 35-nation summit meeting at Helsinki of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, said on August 1:

> Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the long-standing affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land.
>
> We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius. Our visit here, though short,

The Vice-President of the United States Lyndon B. Johnson visited Finland in 1963 and showed interest in old-fashioned marketplace in Helsinki. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The approval that Finland's active neutral policy has won is also reflected in many international conferences and negotiations that have been held in Helsinki.



The Embassy of the United States in Kaivopuisto, Helsinki. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

The United States has participated in two important conferences: the SALT talks with the Soviet Union, concerned with the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, which were held at various intervals in Helsinki in 1969—1972; and the several sessions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1972—1975, which culminated in the adoption of the Helsinki Declaration in early August, 1975. The prominent role played by the United States in these negotiations of primary importance for the security of our continent illustrates clearly how changed the international situation now is. The United States no longer is a remote, transoceanic, isolated nation, but a great power to be taken into account also in speaking of European politics.

The many-sided character of Finnish-American relations is also reflected in the network of agreements between the two countries, which number fourteen at present. They cover many areas, ranging from social and legal matters to the civil use of atomic energy. Interchanges also occur, of course, in spheres where bilateral agreements are unnecessary or where they are part of international, multilateral arrangements.

In 1976, the political relations in most parts of the world are characterized by determined efforts of states to lessen tension in their mutual relations. In this development, currently called détente, the United States has given its precious contribution as a world power. Finland, a small country, has also tried to advance this process which it believes is in its interest and in the interest of all other countries, too. This work is an example of the many possibilities offered today for us to co-operate closely in building a world in which we and our children can live in peace and security.

JUSSI SAUKKONEN
Chairman of the League
of Finnish-American Societies
Helsinki

XIII

The Cultural Bridge between Finland and the United States

1. INTRODUCTION

Finland's cultural bridge to the U.S.A. is an apt description of the diverse contacts that have been made across the Atlantic between Finland and America. This cultural bridge has borne influences back and forth between East and West. More often America has been the benefactor but the role of Finns in the material and spiritual growth of the United States should not be disparaged. This question is touched on here only briefly since it is dealt with more fully in other articles.

Many factors have contributed to the continuance of the contacts over this bridge. The contacts have increased over the years and their influence has grown. Sailors, merchants, emigrants, tourists, students, scholars, and representatives of the various arts have been conveyors of Finnish and American cultural influences. Literary journals and letters have been very important in maintaining contacts. Technical media — motion pictures, radio, television — have increased and speeded the communications over the cultural bridge between the two countries during the last decade.

2. EARLIEST CONTACTS

The first reports about North America, the new continent, to reach Finland under Swedish rule came by way of other European countries. Dutch sailors and merchants were active disseminators of information in the 17th century. The Dutch were the skippers during the establishment of the Swedish-Finnish Delaware colony. The first Finns to reach America were people who had experienced hard times in the forests of Sweden or who had been recruited or forced into the army. They had no opportunity, however, during those times to send back news of themselves to the old homeland.

As ship traffic increased and information reached the old country, the New World became a target of interest and hope in Sweden—Finland as well. Peter Kalm, the son of Finnish emigrants to Sweden, who was named Professor of Economics at Turku University in 1747, planned with Karl von Linné, the famous natural scientist, to make an expedition to the eastern coast of North America. This took place in 1748—51. Kalm's Swedish diary of his trip was translated into Dutch, English, German and, partly, French. During his journey, he gathered a large selection of useful and interesting plants from the New World. Karl von Linné made use of them in his botanical studies and Kalm tried to grow them in the botanical garden he had started at the University. As a result of the experiments carried on by Kalm's students and the knowledge gained, the educated Finns developed a broader picture of America.

The freedom from British rule won by the North American colonies and their Declaration of Independence 200 years ago created great interest in Europe, and a groundswell reached Finland as well. It appears that the Valhalla Society and its members and others so inclined, especially Georg Magnus Sprengtporten, followed with keen interest the birthpangs of the United States. This society agitated for Finnish independence in the late 1700s and its members hatched plans to separate from Sweden and establish a government patterned after that of the new United States.

3. DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, THE AMERICAN IMAGE TAKES ON DIVERSITY

In response to the increasing spread of tidings from the United States and Canada to continental Europe during the 1800s through emigration, trade and travel, Finland also experienced a great interest in American affairs. The Swedish-speaking cultured classes received information from books, newspapers and study trips. The governmental conditions under Russian rule aroused a new political awareness; the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance prompted the country's newspapers to print news and publish descriptions of American freedom despite the fact that their columns were perused by censors.

Articles of this kind appeared in the following papers: Åbo Tidningar, Åbo Underrättelser, Finlands Allmänna Tidning, Litteraturblad, Kirjallinen Kuukausilehti, Oulun Wiikko-Sanomat, Valvoja, Mehiläinen, Helsingfors Dagblad, and Suometar. Most educated Finns and Swedish-Finns in the 1800s were interested in the affairs of the United States, among them, J. W. Lillja, S. G. Elmgren, C. I. Qvist, J. V. Snellman, Y. Koskinen and F. F. Ahlman.

Original works describing American conditions and Swedish and, later, Finnish translations spread by way of newspaper articles, with facts and portrayals of the New World, among the educated classes. Often mentioned in the newspapers of the 1800s were the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, "De la démocratie en Amérique", P. A. Siljeström's "Resa i Förenta Staterna", Fredrik Bremer's "Hemmen i den Nya Verlden", Harriet Beecher-Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", O. Tandefelt's "The Fortunes of Christopher Columbus or a History of His Journeys and the Discovery of America". The last-mentioned evolved into a novel which was read with interest for a decade. Such was also the story of "Old Sarah in America'.

During the last half of the 19th century, the United States was the scene of manysided intellectual activity and far-reaching technological developments. Their influence was also felt in the Old World. The new ideas and inventions reached even Finland, partly by way of continental Europe and partly through Scandinavia. The Declaration of the Seneca Falls Women's Convention (1848) also aroused interest in Finland and influenced the organization of the feminist movement here. The American-born temperance movement, which demanded absolute abstinence, also became known in Finland by way of Sweden and led to the organization of the *Raittiuden Ystävät* (Friends of Temperance) Society and the promotion of a general prohibition law. From the United States came also to our country the principle of universal education, which led to the organization of elementary schools.

The fame of the century's greatest inventors and inventions further stimulated in even greater numbers the Finns' interest in America. The names of Thomas Edison and Henry Ford became known to us. The telegraph, telephone, phonograph, motion pictures, and the automobile signified the new conquest of technology. The Singer sewing machine and American agricultural machines began to spread to Finnish homes and farms. Simultaneously, reports, rumors and facts about the great employment opportunities that America offered spread in Finland during the last decades of the 1800s. A genuine "America fever" gripped people, drawing annually thousands of Finns across the Atlantic. The culture bridge had mediated to us an abundance of new intellectual and material elements. It led to the United States from Finland her healthiest and most energetic manpower. The Finnish contribution to American life was seen particularly in the field of material cultures. It was seen in farms cleared out of the forest and in the excavation of many mines.

Finnish place names appearing in areas of immigrant settlement reflect their ties to their former homeland. Only in the following century does the intellectual contribution of the Finns begin to be felt.

4. FINNISH CULTURAL BRIDGE TO AMERICA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The cultural exchange in our own century differed in character before the First World War, between the wars, and after World War II. During the first decades, cultural exchange across the Atlantic became more active as a result of an enlarged emigration stream speeded up by the exchange of letters and the return of emigrants to Finland. There appeared in part a romanticized picture, in part a caricature of the United States. This is reflected, for example, in numerous couplets composed at the beginning of the century, the most familiar being those sung by Alfred Tanner. In addition, there appeared caricatures of those who had gone to America in Finnish literature. Letters, shipments of goods, and gifts from visitors also conveyed impressions of American life, customs, and manners. Everything across the ocean appeared different in comparison with the old homeland and excited curiosity.

"America fever" spread equally among Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns. As is known, the majority of emigrants settled in the northern United States, especially along the Great Lakes, in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Swedish-speaking Finns came also to the same regions and scattered elsewhere. Indeed, it is said that there were at the beginning of the century in the vicinity of San Francisco people from more than ten of Finland's Swedish church congregations and in the New York area there were also many Swedish-speaking settlements. The Swedish-Finnish emigrants had at a rather early date begun to form associations in the United States. In the main, their activity focused on the temperance question. At the end of the 19th century, the International Order of Runeberg was organized and in the early 1900s the temperance society Facklan. The organized activity of the Finnish-speaking emigrants awakened somewhat later but resulted in the 1900s in an extremely varied Finnish press, which maintained active communication among the settlers. The First World War interrupted the migratory stream in both directions and, at the same time, the exchange of culture. During the peace negotiations after the war, the activity of President Wilson and the United States in assisting Europe in recovery brought America in even greater measure to the attention of Finnish people. President Hoover's work in helping the Finns was appreciated. More far-reaching results in cultural exchange came about from the loan granted by the United States to Finland and its repayment arrangements. Finland became known in the United States as the only nation in Europe to repay its debts with interest. In 1949, a fund was

established from which ASLA scholarships are granted until the loan is completely repaid in 1984. This scholarship program is discussed in Professor KOLEHMAINEN's article, the Notes on Finland's Role on the American Cultural Scene and also later in this article.

To the United States came news of the tragic events attending the attainment of Finland's independence. Some members of Finland's Communist government moved either to Sweden or across the Atlantic by way of Murmansk. The more famous of these were Oskar Tokoi and Santeri Nuorteva, who carried on their correspondence about the probability of the success of the Russian revolution in the fall of 1918 on the pages of the Finnish-American newspaper "Raivaaja". At this time, matters concerning Finland were also discussed. Other Finnish-American newspapers also carried on passionate arguments about the happenings in Finland during 1918—1919 and in the 1920s. In this way, contradictory information about Finnish affairs reached the emigrants and through them also other Americans. The image of Finland during that time has now been clarified and it has become favorable to us. The movement on Finland's cultural bridge to America has been lively in both directions.

Movies, plays and scientific and fictional literature, which have increasingly been translated into Finnish, have made Americans known in Finland. Radio and television have also activated the spread of information. Since Finland's attainment of independence, the activity of its various cultural representatives has enriched markedly the cultural exchange between our countries. Finnish-American scholars and representatives of various arts have in many ways completed the picture.

Since the end of World War I, the central position the United States occupies in the fields of commerce, industry and research has had a particularly positive effect on Finland.

5. THE PERIOD FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II

During World War II, cultural contacts between Finland and the United States weakened for practical and political reasons. Radio, newspaper articles and personal correspondence were the only contacts. At the end of the war, reciprocal activities increased in even greater measure. At first, the main thrust was relief parcels and the resulting correspondence. At the same time, an attempt was made to develop some systematic cultural exchange.

During the last decade, many important cultural exchanges have been initiated in both Finland and the United States. This kind of activity seems to be getting continually stronger. During the Winter War and the Continuation War, Finland's economic, physical, and spiritual strengths were totally dedicated to the national defense. A considerable number of gifted young

artists and promising scholars as well as persons trained for economic administrative work were lost in the war. In the peace treaty, the country lost in territory ceded to the U.S.S.R. thousands of schools and other educational institutions, but all the people moved to other parts of Finland. Their schooling had to be arranged through special measures.

During the years of domestic and foreign political uncertainties following the wars, many scholars went overseas to continue their studies. In Finland, research in many fields had fallen behind that of the rest of the world. Funds appropriated for reconstruction and war reparations did not stretch to cover wide research or the cultivation of the arts.

For the aforementioned reasons, the attention of officials and institutions involved in the development of cultural endeavors as well as directors of private foundations was drawn to the possibility of foreign study and research. Understandably, the first glances were cast towards the United States, whose universities and research facilities were known for their excellence as well as for their economic soundness.

Through cultural exchanges, ambitious and talented Finnish scholars could become acquainted with the latest achievements of many branches of science. After returning home, they have developed research in Finnish universities and research facilities. It has been important to the culture of Finland that researchers unable to carry on their studies in their own country for lack of funds have received grants to work in the United States. Experience has shown that a continuing interchange of ideas has developed between scholars of both countries.

Along with scientific research, the number of scholarships awarded students in universities and other schools has grown. These students have attained a good foundation in speaking the English language and in other studies. A variety of artists on travel grants to the United States have achieved new perspectives and growth in their arts.

The cultural exchange between the two countries has given the Finns a unique picture of the social and economic conditions in the United States. Many personal friendships, which are never too many for a small nation, have developed.

The cultural exchange is not so important to the United States as it is to Finland. However, it is quite fair to say that many Finnish scholars have contributed notably to research in the United States, as Professor KOLEHMAINEN points out in his article. Finnish architecture and music have enriched the art world of America. Many thousands of American citizens have become interested in Finnish affairs, which in many ways differ from that of a large country but which may have notable points of view.

Following World War II, members of university faculties and foundations who had previously worked in the United States began to renew their

contacts. The first to do so were Professors V. A. Heiskanen and Heikki Waris, and the American professor Sebeak by contacting Finland's Culture Fund, whose officials began to form a Finnish-American cultural committee. This committee received research funds over a period of years from Helsinki University. The Culture Fund also used its resources for this purpose. Later, this work was taken over by the Finnish-American Scholarship Committee.

Varied and long-lasting in developing and continuing cultural exchange between Finland and the United States was the Finnish-American Society, now the League of Finnish-American Societies (SAYL). It was established July 1, 1943. The Second World War was then in progress. Germany's losses were increasing. The Finns studying the situation objectively reacted with increasing concern to the turn of events. It was unfortunate that the sympathy of the United States toward Finland was weakening, and yet the United States was its last link with the allies. Personal contacts with the U.S. were also weak because of the prevailing conditions.

Since previously no general civic organization had been working for closer relationships between the two countries, some 20 people on the aforementioned date formed a citizens' group called the Finnish-American Society. It provoked severe criticism from the Germans, since Germany at that time feared Finland would seek a separate peace. Newspapers in Sweden felt that the establishment of this society was a politically noteworthy event. In Finland, it received both criticism and praise. Marshal Mannerheim and Foreign Minister Ramsay were to have joined in the hope that the establishment of the society would improve relations with the United States. Although, in the beginning, the political aspect was uppermost, the organization since has been active only in the promotion of cultural affairs.

More precisely, the society's by-laws define its purpose. Its first register states:

"The society's purpose is to promote cooperation between Finland and America. To bring about its goals, the society plans by dissemination of information and other means to increase the knowledge about Finland in the United States and by way of lectures, art exhibitions, introduction to its literature and other such means familiarize Finnish citizens with the spiritual and economic life of the United States as well as its government and social conditions."

In 1972, the by-laws were crystallized in brief with the same goals:

"The league's purpose is to maintain good and friendly relations between Finland and the United States by promoting the exchange of information about cultural and economic as well as governmental and social conditions in both countries. The league does not attempt to influence political affairs."

The league's aims have been carried out by its conferences and cultural meetings, the most important being *"America Days"*. The first of these annual events were held in 1946 in Hämeenlinna. Since then, they have been held in various parts of Finland. The programs have always included greetings and

Kindergartens are an integral part of activities of Finnish-American Societies in Finland. Pictured the kindergarten of the League of Finnish-American Societies in 1970, in Helsinki. (League of Finnish-American Societies).

lectures by wellknown American guests and artists as well as American exhibitions.

Guests at meetings of the League of Finnish-American Societies have been the following well-known Americans: President Johnson while he was Vice-President, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Walter Lippman, Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, Governor Adlai Stevenson, Robert H. Estabrook, Ambassador Lithgow Osborne, etc. This list indicates that the society, with the help of U.S.I.S., has been successful in attracting to its meetings distinguished representatives of the sciences, arts and government.

Other American lecturers and artists by the hundreds have appeared at meetings of the league or its member societies. Numerous exhibitions by various artists have been arranged in Helsinki and other cities with member societies. Finland has also sent many different exhibitions to the United States. This kind of exchange has familiarized many Americans and Finns with each other's cultural and social conditions.

The range of their field work is indicated by the number of affiliated societies, 55, extending from southern Finland to Lapland. Most of them are in the cities. Members in Finland number about 30.000 and in the United States, 1.500. The league in Finland has the second largest membership of any foreign society in Finland and apparently is the largest America society in Europe. The organization has its own publication, Suomi-Finland U.S.A. Its circulation is approximately 30.000 copies. It contains articles in Finnish, Swedish and English and it contains a review of conditions in the

U.S. The group with the most participants involves the study of English in language studios, classes, and kindergartens. The society has kindergartens in six different communities. The league's mission or purpose is also realized through its group charter flights to the United States. In recent years, 18.000 members have taken part in these tours.

Highly important, too, is the work done by the *Suomi-Seura* (Suomi-Society) among the Finnish immigrants in the United States and Canada. Through its long-ranging work, the Suomi-Seura has also promoted understanding of the United States among their relatives back in the Old Country; this it has done through the columns of *"Suomen Silta"*, the magazine published for its members, the collaboration of its broad membership, the organization of overseas tours, both ways. The society has also regularly held summer festivals for Finns living abroad and visiting their old homeland, and these festivals have been enthusiastically attended by representatives of both the emigrant population and the Finnish citizenry.

Both organizations, Suomi-Seura and SAYL, are supporting the work of the *Emigration Institute* which was established in 1974. The Finnish universities, foreign ministry, commission on emigrant affairs, Suomi-Seura and SAYL have all worked to organize the institute. Located at Turku, where for quite some time there has been fruitful research at the University of Turku in progress into emigrant affairs, the institute publishes such studies.

Between Finland and the United States there are many other avenues of cultural exchange that have not been mentioned in the foregoing. Many American foundations, research organizations, and universities distribute grants-in-aid and exhange teachers and and researchers with Finnish universities, institutes of higher learning and research institutions.

Worthy sponsorship of Finnish culture and its interpretation in the U.S. is carried out by the *Finlandia Foundation,* whose purpose it is to assemble present-day Finns to uphold and foster the national traditions of their forebearers. It also seeks to make known Finnish culture in the U.S. It is particularly fitting to mention here the work of familiarizing the American public with the music of Sibelius on the occasion of the composer's centennial in 1965. As a continuation of this work, scholarships to the Sibelius Academy are granted to American music students. The Finlandia Foundation also assists in the organization of Finnish exhibits and visit of artists to the United States. The Foundation and its members have gained wide public notice by their drives for funds to assist Finnish Olympic teams.

Valuable work in making Finnish culture known and disseminating information about Finland is done in the U.S. by *Suomi College,* which has just celebrated its 75th anniversary. Also in the U.S., the Väinö Hoover Foundation is active in the field of cultural exchange. It has assisted the work of Suomi College and given scholarships to students. Dr. Hoover has person-

ally donated much work and funds to the foundations mentioned and has furthered Finnish-American cooperation and friendship.

6. SCHOLARSHIP EXCHANGE — CULTURAL COOPERATION

As soon as contacts opened up in the United States, the League of Finnish-American Societies began its scholarship work. In December of 1945, the first four scholarship recipients were chosen to be sent to the U.S. From this beginning, the broad and varied cultural work began. It has been mentioned earlier that, because of the great demand for scholarships, the work of selection was delegated to a special *Finnish-American Scholarship Committee,* into which was merged the Finnish Culture Funds' Finnish-American Scholarship Committee. At present, according to the by-laws of the SAYL, the Finnish-American Scholarship Committee is its active agency. The executive board of the SAYL selects eight of its 20 members and nominates eight others whom the committee has recommended for their knowledge. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education each appoint one member to the committee. There are also two members who are nominated by the United States Embassy in Helsinki.

The Finnish-American Scholarship Committee at first handled private scholarships that came from individuals and American institutions and chose the recipients from among the Finnish applicants. They were people who had completed their academic studies and university or other students. The Committee's work here increased markedly when the 81st U.S. Congress passed Public Law 265 in 1949. According to this law, the interest and payments on the principle of the 1919 loan from the U.S. to Finland would be used beginning in 1950 for the purpose of promoting cultural exchange. The Finnish-American Scholarship Committee has been in charge of the work involved in distributing the scholarships provided for by the law — the so-called ASLA scholarships. The name comes from the Finnish designation, *"Amerikan Suomen Lainan Apurahat"* (Grants from Finland's American Loan). ASLA scholarships can be applied for by researchers, teachers and students. The Committee advertises their availability and submits the applications to the American Scholarship Committee. After the initiation of the *Fulbright Scholarship program,* which is a general cultural exchange program, the name ASLA-Fulbright scholarships came into use. It refers to the funds with which ASLA scholarship holders pay their living costs in the U.S., the Fulbright funds paying for the transportation. This kind of scholarship program involves cooperation with the United States Educational Foundation, which also takes care of Fulbright grant recipients studying in Finland. The League of Finnish-American Societies and its members, particularly the ASLA-Alumni Society, maintain contacts in various ways with the recipients of the

Fulbright grants. Up to the present the Scholarship Committee has granted 1.115 scholarships. Their combined worth is about four million dollars or approximately 16 million marks.

In addition to the ASLA-Fulbright scholarships, the Finnish-American Scholarship Committee has awarded a group of individual scholarships, as mentioned. Particular note must be taken of its cooperation with the *American Field Service-Finnish Committee.*

As a result of ASLA-Fulbright and individual scholarships distributed by the Finnish-American Scholarship Committee, many scholars who have completed their studies in Finland have been able to do research in American universities and research laboratories. Specifically, from 1949 to 1974, over 200 grants have been made. Other recipients in the same category have continued their studies in the United States universities and other institutions of learning for which 700 scholarships were granted. Finnish teachers have been able to become familiar with American schools for 3—6 month periods. This group has diminished greatly in recent years. Young people eligible for admission to college and those who had not completed their studies have been

The Hon. J. William Fulbright, "father" of the Fulbright Program, visited Finland in October 1975. The representatives of the League of Finnish-American Societies and the Committee on Study and Training in the U.S. expressed their profound gratitude to Senator Fulbright in Helsinki (League of Finnish-American Societies).

enabled by grants to study in U.S. colleges and universities. There were 300 of these. Individual grants have been received in Finland from about 30 foundations and firms. Moreover, with the help of the U.S. Embassy in Helsinki, we have received a number of leader and specialist grants. In addition to the aforementioned grants and scholarships, several hundred on-the-job training programs for university graduates were granted. Work training programs for people with less schooling were also available. Many other opportunities for Finnish students to study in the United States have been provided, as discussed in a later connection.

The reasons, besides the ones previously mentioned, for such a broad scholarship program is that, in Finnish secondary schools and now in certain elementary schools, English has been taught as the first foreign language, alongside Finnish and Swedish. Before World War II, German was in this position. Increasingly, Finns wish to continue the learning of English in the United States with other studies.

An examination of the lists of Finnish scholarship recipients for the years 1949—1975 reveals that among them have been many of Finland's present-day research scientists, university and other teachers as well as persons in public administration and economic affairs. Finland has reciprocated by arranging equal opportunities for American scholars, teachers and students. The number of scholarship recipients arriving in Finland has, however, been small compared with those going to America. A cultural exchange, in any event, does take place. Imported cultural influences have been balanced by cultural "exports", with Finnish scholarship students working for brief or longer periods in the service of American scientific and economic life. Frequently, in the years following the World War II, the ASLA-Fulbright scholars and others with independent scholarships have had a far-reaching influence on our cultural development.

7. OTHER SCHOLARSHIP ACTIVITY

Other scholarship activity between Finland and the United States has taken place. In this, the League of Finnish-American Societies has received valuable assistance from the *American-Scandinavian Foundation.* In 1956, an agreement, was made to begin a trainee program. According to this agreement, the ASF assists the SAYL in finding suitable posts for Finns who have completed their schooling to practice their trades, most frequently in economic fields. Up to 1975, six to 12 month training have been granted to 365 persons. The trainee program has been useful in developing their skills and has increased business relations on both sides.

The cooperation between the SAYL and the ASF achieved a more solid form when the by-laws of the ASF were amended after long negotiations so that

Finland could be accepted as an equal member of the Foundation with other Scandinavian countries and the SAYL as its representative. In the spirit of cooperation the ASF has brought to Finland many independent scholarships. In honor of Finland's celebration of its 50th year of independence, the ASF established a scholarship fund, the *American-Scandinavian Foundation's Finn ish Fund.* The government of Finland contributed $25.000 to the fund. Collection of money for the fund continues in the United States. By mutual understanding with the ASF, the SAYL set up a parallel fund, which at this time is being accumulated. The idea is to raise both funds to such a level that they together would make up for the ASLA program, which ends in 1984. In recent years, small sums have been granted from these funds to scholars going to the U.S. The ASF has, in addition to its scholarship program, helped the cultural exchange between Finland and the U.S. in many ways. It has sent lecturers and exhibitions to Finland and has welcomed Finnish lecturers, artists and exhibits to the United States. The League has also cooperated with the *Ford Foundation,* handling the nominations for Ford leader scholarships. This program was carried out during 1957—61. Altogether 50 representatives of Finnish economic and cultural life received Ford leader grants. Their total value in 1957 was $140.000.

8. YOUNG PEOPLE'S EXCHANGE

After the World War II, much interest was aroused in the exchange of young people both in Finland and the U.S.A. It has been viewed as an effective means to cement friendly relations for the future. Many independent societies have participated in this exchange. Finland's previously mentioned AFS has worked longest in this program. It is the AFS *International Scholarships Society's* representative in Finland. The society is a non-political, independent and self-supporting international organization, whose purpose is to further the exchange and understanding of young people of different lands. Its scholarship recipients are 16—18-year-old students who attend school for the whole scholastic year in America living with families as their "sons" or "daughters". Similarly, American students stay for a summer or a school year in foreign homes as members of a family. The AFS student exchange was begun in 1949. Through its auspices, 1.150 Finnish students have attended schools in the United States and 1.075 Americans have stayed in Finland.

Another noteworthy society working in the field of youth exchange in Finland is the *Youth for Understanding-Finland Committee.* This exchange program also tries to promote international understanding and friendship as well as familiarizing young people with the home and school life as well as society of other lands. The exchange students are 16—18-year-olds. The Finnish YFU program began in 1958. It has achieved very wide dimensions.

The committee has arranged for schooling and a home in America for 2.410 secondary-school students. Of these, 16 were recipients of Sibelius scholarships, who have received excellent music training in the United States. The Finnish committee has arranged homes in Finland for the summer for 1.200 American students. Scholarships for a school term stay in Finland have been received by 50 American students. These figures also contain the 1975 scholarships.

In addition to the aforementioned committees, there are the following youth scholarship programs which also reach Finland: *Camp Rising Sun, International Christian Youth Exchange, Experiment in International Living,* and *the Scandinavian Seminar.*

Finland does not have as broad a student exchange with any other country as with the United States of America. It has increased knowledge and mutual understanding among enlightened people of both nations.

Finland's cultural bridge to America has developed into a cultural exchange highway.

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MANUSCRIPT:

Suomalais-Amerikkalaisen Stipenditoimikunnan kertomukset vv. 1949—1974.

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XIV
Notes on Finland's Role on the American Cultural Scene

Many Americans know Finland as the birthplace of Jean Sibelius and Paavo Nurmi and as the nation that paid its war debts and fought the Russians to a standstill in the Winter War of 1939—1940.

Jussi SAUKKONEN's excellent essay on Finland's cultural bridges to the United States suggests how surprisingly varied and rich the country's role has been, especially when one considers, not only the very modest number of immigrants, but Finland's sparse population, its distance from the historic centers of European culture, its linguistic isolation, and the lateness of its own cultural renascence.

What follows here is simply a straightforward and inevitably an incomplete enumeration of specific persons, items, and events of Finnish origin that have in varying degree been visible on the American cultural scene.

1. ARCHITECTURE:

The first uniquely Finnish-designed structures in the United States were log cabins, built during the colonial era when Sweden, too, attempted to establish a foothold in the New World, along the banks of the Delaware River in the years following 1638. Perhaps as many as one-half, if not more, of the settlers were Finns. In a carefully documented study,

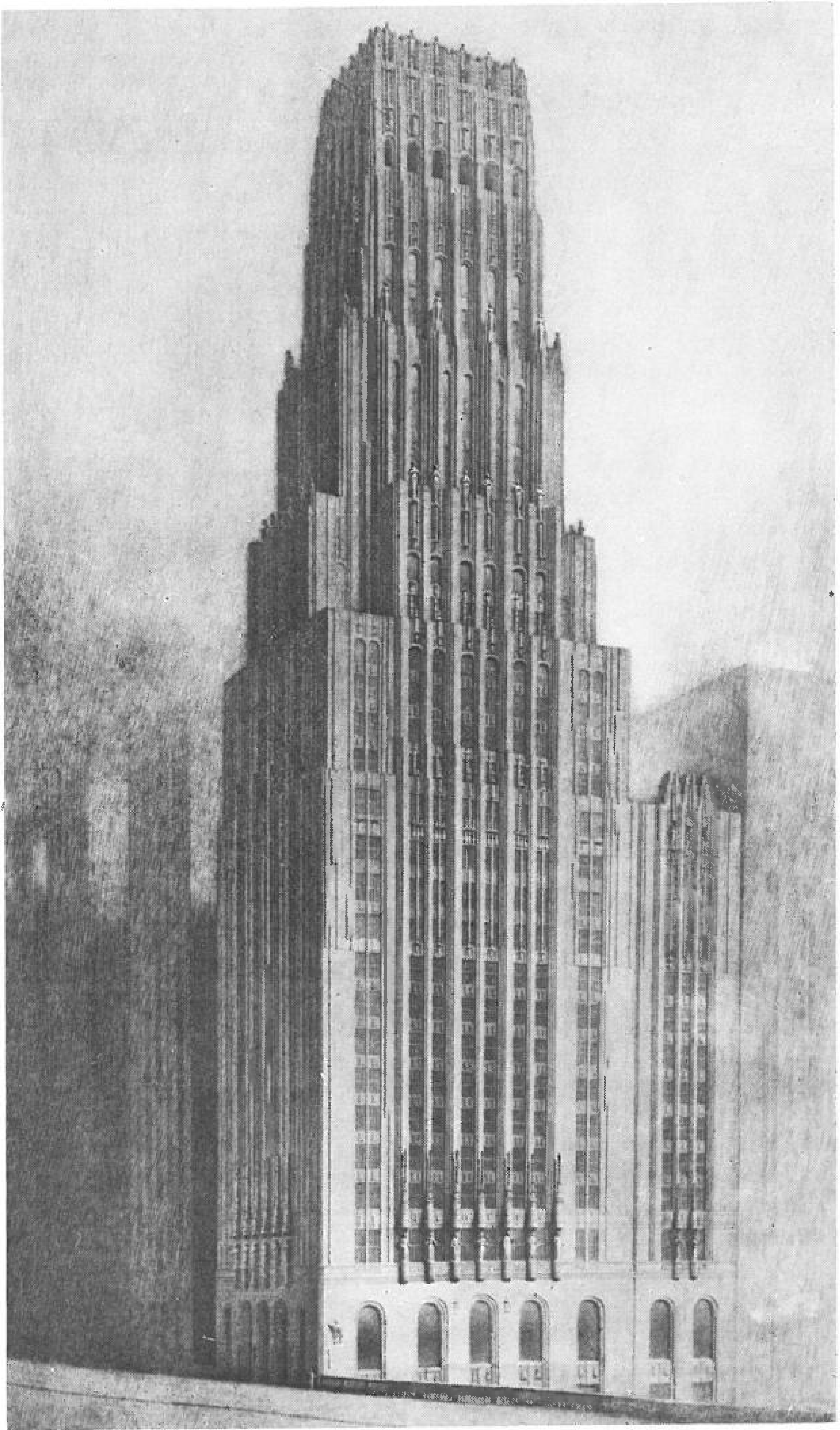
The Log Cabin in America. From Pioneer Days to the Present (1969), C. A. WESLAGER concluded: "It should be crystal clear to the reader that prototypes of many of the log dwellings built in New Sweden were actually part of the housing complex of Finland, and this is of utmost significance when one recognizes that the majority of log houses in New Sweden were built by the Finns."

In contemporary professional architecture, three names stand out: Eliel Saarinen (1873—1950), his son Eero Saarinen (1911—1961), and Alvar Aalto (1898—1976). The senior Saarinen first attained prominance with the second prize in the Chicago Tribune Tower design competition in 1922. Emigrating to the United States the following year, he settled in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, where for over two decades he was the inspirer, the designer, and the director of the Cranbrook Foundation's famed Academy of Art. He designed other buildings at the Cranbrook complex and elsewhere — the performance halls at the Berkshire Music Center, Nikander Hall at Suomi College in Michigan, and a number of church edifices, some jointly with his son. His approach and outlook were described in two books, The City: Its Growth — Its Decay — Its Future (1943) and Search for Form (1948).

The younger Saarinen was imaginative and far-ranging. His interests spanned from lamps, chairs, and tables, to massive buildings (Trans World Airlines Terminal in New York, the General Motors Technical Center in Michigan) and towering arches (Gateway to the West in St. Louis). His untimely death was a great loss. As a critic wrote in 1961, "His influence, as well as that of his father, on American and world architecture may hardly be fully assessed at the present, but it is safe to say that it is bound to grow in future years."

A major exhibition of the Saarinen family output was held in 1970—1971 in New York, Cranbrook, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. One of its features was a Saarinen room. A visitor spoke glowingly of "its urbane sense of style, of ultimate tastefulness . . . a threshold in time when the higher creative intelligence and deepest human sensibilities of the Saarinens once conjointly gave origin to these noble works." Mrs. Eliel Saarinen, whose works also graced the exhibit, was a very talented weaver, and her contributions will be considered later.

Although Alvar Aalto's output is largely situated in his homeland and other European countries, he is well known in the United States as the designer of such striking edifices as the Finnish pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, the Senior Dormitory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1947—1948), the Kaufman Conference Room in New York (1964), and the Benedictine Monastery Library in Oregon (1970). His influence spread further as a result of his appointment as a visiting



Eliel Saarinen's draft for the Chicago Tribune building in 1922. This design created much public interest, but the conservative jury placed it second. The design is an excellent exemple of Eliel Saarinen's style. (Suomen Rakennustaiteen Museo.)

professor at M.I.T. His Artek furniture is in great demand. A photographic exhibition of Aalto's works toured the United States in 1965—1966 under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. An Aalto Museum was opened in 1973 at Jyväskylä, the site of many of his architectural gems. He is the recipient of many internationally-coveted awards.

The model city of Tapiola has attracted worldwide attention, not least in the United States. Those unable personally to visit the lovely city, which is "more than just dwellings . . . an optimum environment for modern man . . . socially and biologically correct," had an opportunity in 1964 to view a nationwide Tapiola exhibit.

Viljo Rewell (1910—1964), it might be added, won an international contest in 1958 for Toronto's new city hall. The success of Finnish designers abroad prompted the editor of a tourist folder to comment half-seriously, "Modern architecture? Now, that is another thing. So well does it flourish that for the sake of safety the Finns perform their experiments in foreign lands, and win prizes for their caution."

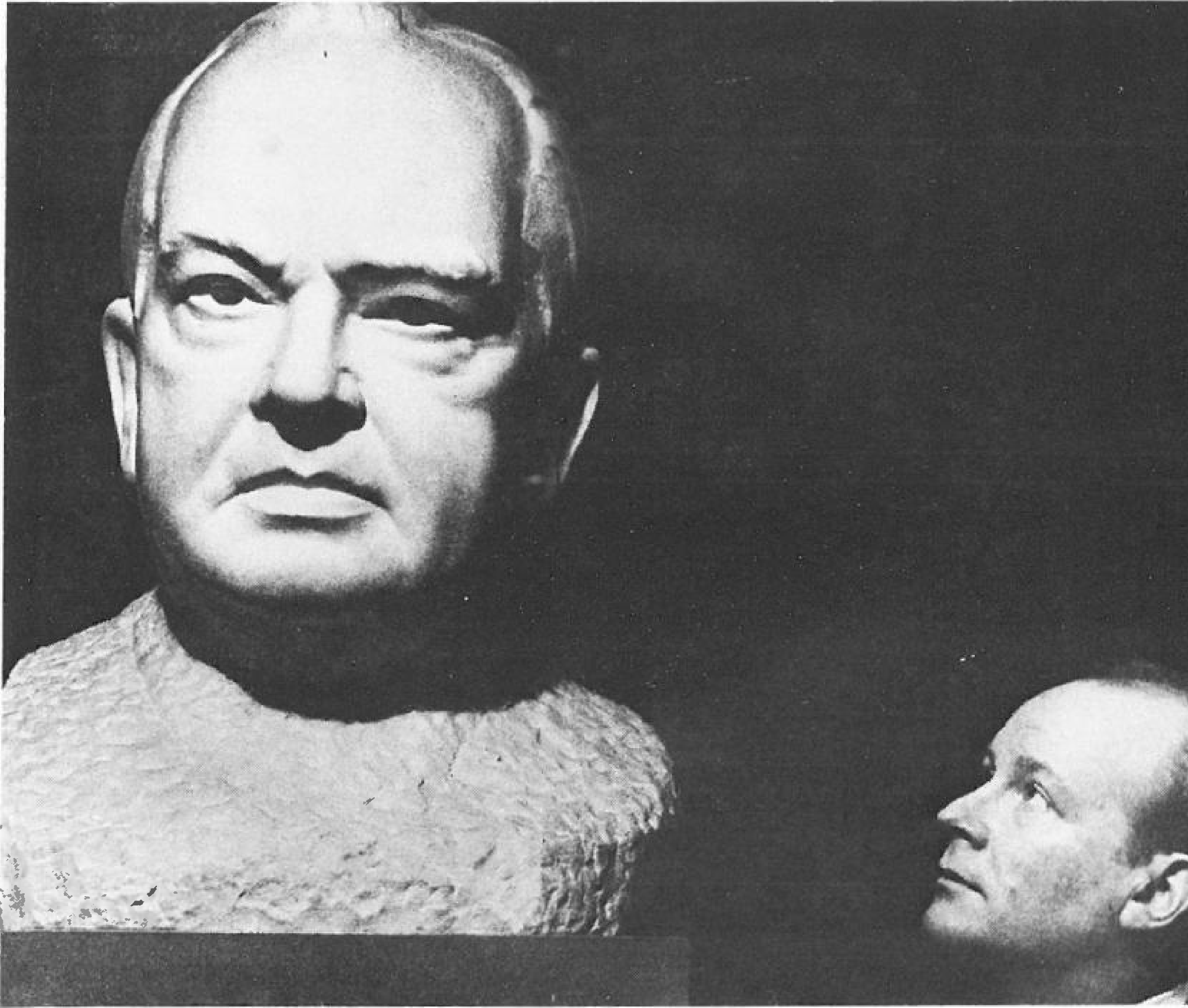
2. ART:

Unlike architecture, the impress of Finnish painting on the American scene has not been conspicuously visible. Perhaps this arises from the nature of the art form itself. There has been, in addition, a tendency for critics to dismiss Finnish art as a) typically Finnish, or b) derivative of already established international figures.

Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865—1931), one of Finland's greatest painters, displayed seventy of his works at the San Francisco World's Fair in 1914; he won a first prize and a gold medal. Due to the outbreak of the war, his collection remained in the country for several years, and was subsequently shown in Chicago, New York, and other major cities. He spent the years 1923—1925 in the United States, working at an art colony in Taos, New Mexico, and Chicago, where he began the illustrations for a projected *Great Kalevala*. It is probably true that Kallela absorbed much more than he gave during his American sojourn. At Chicago in the following decades, Professor Elmer Forsberg was a recognized artist, who taught at the Art Institute. Also in Chicago, early in the 1940s, Warner Sallman, whose father had been born on the Åland Islands and emigrated sometime during the 1890s, painted his internationally-known Head of Christ, which, it is claimed, has been reproduced and sold in hundreds of millions copies, probably more than any other work of art.

Exhibitions of Finnish art have been fairly numerous in the United States. A display of Finnish graphics, commemorating the 50th anniversary of Finland's independence, opened at the Smithsonian Institution in Octo-

ber, 1967. An exhibition of Finnish children's art toured the country in 1971. Nineteen artists showed fifty-eight works of contemporary art in 1972, which according to a critic, provided "artistic riches for eye, intellect, and spirit." What was said about a Finnish-American exhibition at the Riverside Museum, New York, in 1963, might be repeated here: "Science has not yet been able to isolate the factors or measure the extent to which ethnic roots reveal themselves in the artistic configuration." Yet the writer felt the art in question "visually communicated many concomitant qualities which we could most respectfully relate in kinship to cultural Finland."



Sculptor Kalervo Kallio and a monumental portrait of former U.S.A. President Herbert Hoover, done in 1954. (The Kallio family, Nivala.)

The most famous work of Finnish sculpture in America is undoubtedly Wäinö Aaltonen's (1894—1966) granite memorial to the Delaware colonial Finns. It was dedicated at Crozier Park, Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1938, amid tricentennial celebrations at the site and throughout Finnish-settled communities in the New World. Like his other large-scale creations, the Delaware Monument "combines the mighty massivity of the Egyptian style and forceful reliefs with classical accents."

Kalervo Kallio (1909—1969), son of Finland's fourth president, was in the United States during 1949—1953, and fashioned busts of Presidents Herbert Hoover and Harry Truman, and of other notable Americans, among them John L. Lewis, James Forrestal, and Alban Barkley. The careers of other contemporary Finnish sculptors have occasionally been sketched in American journals. For example, Eila Hiltunen, creator of the controversial Sibelius monument in Helsinki, who uses metals and welding in place of traditional materials, is the subject of an article in The American-Scandinavian Review, March, 1971.

3. ATHLETICS AND SPORTS:

To the Finns, especially those in America, the most important single

Gymnastic Club Wasa in Worcester, Mass., 1905; active until 1918. (Anders Myhrman, Lewiston, Maine.)

sporting event was the annual Boston Marathon. Finland provided the eager contestants, while the necessary funds were collected from Finnish—Americans. A total of eight Finns have finished first between 1934—1972. Six of these victories came between 1954—1962. The winners, in chronological order, were: 1934: Dave Komonen (a Canadian Finn); 1954: Veikko Karvonen; 1956: Antti Viskari; 1959: Eino Oksanen; 1960: Paavo Kotila; 1961 and 1962: Eino Oksanen; 1972: Olavi Suomalainen. Other long distance runners performing in the United States have included Hannes and Willie Kolehmainen (1912—1914) and the "Flying Finn," Paavo Nurmi (1924—1927). The last-named returned to Madison Square Garden in February, 1966, and ran one lap of the two-mile race he had first won forty-one years earlier with the record time of 8:52.2.

The only Finn prominent in American boxing was Gunnar "Gee-Bee" Bärlund (1911—), who emigrated to this country in 1936 after winning the Finnish and the European heavyweight titles. His autobiography, From the Cradle to the Garden's Ring, appeared in Finnish in 1938.

Finnish sporting equipment has found a flourishing market in America. Skiers have used the Järvinen, Karhu, and other models, especially for cross-country skiing. Ice fishermen have found the Finnish hole-borer effective. The fastest selling lures are Finnish-made, like the Rapala and Järvinen (there are also some good Finnish—American invented ones, like Helin's "Flatfish" line). Sheath knives *(puukko),* bearing the names of Kauhava, Rapala, Järvinen, Marttiini, are both attractive and functional.

4. CRAFTS AND DESIGN:

The special Finland issue of Sphere/The Betty Crocker Magazine, March, 1975, abounds with colorful illustrations and high praise for contemporary Finnish crafts, design, and cookery. In a short piece, "Design for Living, Monday through Sunday," one of the writers revealed her enthusiasm:

> The designing Finns have revolutionized the "commonplaces" of everybody's morning, noon and night by giving a new look and feel to basic things like knives, coat hangers and mixing bowls. The Finnish theorem can be reduced to Simple plus Practical equals Beautiful . . .
>
> Clothing and home furnishings are designed to delight the eye, yet provide comfort and practicality. There are magnificent colors . . .
>
> The Finns doggedly developed unique patterns in architecture, fabrics, rugs, jewelry, glass, wood, pottery . . .
>
> Finnish design is based on clean lines and the absence of the extraneous. Its organic rightness is like cool hands applied to the fever and frustration of contemporary life.
>
> Quite understandably, the whole world has responded.
>
> The reception in the United States and elsewhere has been excellent,

and as a result, these "new exports" constitute a rapidly growing part of Finland's foreign trade. At a Sacramento, California, exhibit in 1961, Finnish entries won a total of twenty-three gold medals, more than any other single nation. In four Triennial exhibitions to 1963, Finland was awarded twenty-one Grand Prix, thirty-two gold medals, and twenty-seven silver medals. The story, however, is too long and complex to be related here in any detail: Finnish designers work in many different fields, and their number is virtually legion. "Finland is, in fact, bursting at her seams," concluded an overwhelmed observer in 1964.

In recent decades weaving, not only of *ryijys* (Neovius is the leading firm), but also of fabrics and textiles has progressed swiftly. Among the leading Old Country designers, who are known in the United States, are Dora Jung, Eva Brummer, Kirsti Ilvessalo, and Eva Anttila. Three brand-names of fabrics and clothing are very popular in the United States: Marimekko (Armi Ratia), Finn Flair (Maj Kuhlefelt and Pi Sarpaneva), and Vuokko (Vuokko Eskolin-Nurmesniemi). The last-named goods are not, by prevailing middle-class standards, inexpensive. One New Jersey woman was attracted to a Marimekko creation on display in 1975, but was repelled by the price. "I've never been in this shop," she remarked, "but at $ 62.00 for a cotton apron, I'd have to be satisfied to look in the window."

Finnish weaving and fabric design, as a matter of fact, was first introduced directly to Americans by Mrs. Eliel (Soja) Saarinen, who after study at Helsinki and Paris, opened a department in this field at the Cranbrook Academy, Michigan, in 1927. She enlisted the support of other distinguished Finnish designers (among them Marianne Strengell) and artists from other countries, in part to help her teach a mounting number of pupils. Why this endeavor in time achieved world fame was amply demonstrated in an exhibition, "Cranbrook Weavers: Pacesetters and Prototypes," held at the Detroit Institute of Art during July—September, 1973.

Traditional-styled and modern jewelry is marketed under such trade names as Kalevala Koru and Lapponia. Leading craftsmen include Bertel Gardberg and Björn Weckström. The first-named is also renown for his silverwork and stainless steel flatware. Striking dinner services, ceramics, and pottery, are among the many creations of Kaj Franck, Birger Kaipiainen, Rut Bryk, and Toini Muona. Finnish glass holds universal fascination, and often, to a novice at least, it is difficult to tell where utility glass ends and art glass begins. Outstanding designers have been Gunnel Nyman, Tapio Wirkkala, Kaj Franck, Timo Sarpaneva, and Saara Hopea. Among the leading producers of glassware are Wärtsilä—Arabia, Karhula—Iittala, Nuutajärvi, and Riihimäki.

The best known names in furniture are Artek, Asko, and Polar Design, and their output, like that of other firms, has been designed by Alvar Aalto,

Ilmari Tapiovaara, Totti Laakso, and Antti Nurmesjärvi, to mention only a few. In the field of lighting fixtures, the establishments of Orno and Taito stand out, along with designers Lisa Johannson Pape and Yki Nurmi.

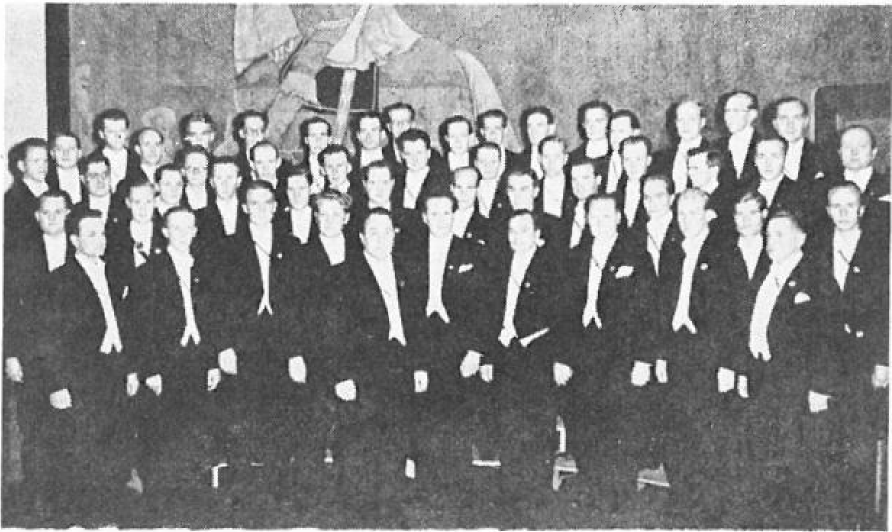
To conclude with the culinary arts, it is probably fair to say that while there are excellent chefs and restaurants in Finland, Finnish foods, with few exceptions, have not influenced markedly American tastes. Some articles, to be sure, are exported to the United States: a variety of Valio-made cheeses, Finn Crisp and other hard rye breads; tinned sill and herring; and three unusually rare and delicate liqueurs — the brambleberry Mesimarja, the cloudberry Lakka, and the wild cranberry Karpalo. But perhaps a brighter future is in store: Finnish recipes appear more often in women's magazines, and an American publisher has brought out The Finnish Cook Book (1964), compiled by Beatrice Ojakangas.

In its crafts and design, Finland thus has, as someone has appropriately said, "a visiting Card one can proudly present to the world." The creations, lovely and useful, can be seen in such New York outlets as Georg Jensen, Bonniers, Norsk, and in the hundreds of Scandinavian shops which are springing up across the country.

5. MUSIC:

The name of Jean Sibelius needs no introduction to lovers of classical music, and the vicissitudes of his American performances are ably surveyed by Paul Sjöblom in "Sibelius in the American Orchestral Repertory" the Finns in North America. A Social Symposium (1969). The centennial (1965) of the composer's birth witnessed over fifty special concerts, from Boston and New York to Duluth and on to the West Coast. Sibelius discs and tapes were widely circulated among top FM radio stations. In Helsinki meanwhile Herbert von Karajan, George Szell, John Barbirolli, and Eugene Ormandy conducted the Berlin, Cleveland, and Finnish orchestras. Soloists for the Sibelius Festival Week were Birgit Nilsson and David Oistrakh.

As is well known, Sibelius has long dominated Finnish music, but thanks to new recording companies and recordings, which are faithfully and professionally reviewed by David Hall in The American-Scandinavian Review, Americans now have a better opportunity of hearing some of Sibelius's contemporaries like Selim Palmgren, Armas Järnefelt, and Yrjö Kilpinen. Most present-day composers, nonetheless, are not often heard outside of Finland. "It is, however, a tragedy in its own way that so little of the work of the young Finns — in many ways the most gifted and least corrupted of the postwar Scandinavians — has found its way to publication, recording, and international performance," observed Hall in 1965. In 1974 the reviewer called attention to a new recording of Aarre Merikanto's (1893—1958) opera



The consert tour of the Helsinki University Male Chorus under the direction of Martti Turunen to the U.S. in 1937—38 was an important landmark in the cultural relations between Finland and the U.S.. The chorus performed in many cities in North America. The picture shows the chorus in Helsinki shortly before its departure (YL in America).

Juha. "Hopefully," he said, "the *Juha* recording will be made available in some way through American channels, for it is a work worth the knowing, almost always fascinating and at times truly powerful."

A number of Finland's finest musical organizations have toured the United States. The Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Jorma Panula, gave forty-eight concerts in eight weeks, February-March, 1968, from Massachusetts to the Far West. The YL (Helsinki University) Singers have been in America in 1938, 1953, and 1965, while less frequent appearances were made by the Polytechnic Choir, the Finlandia Chorus, the National *(Kansallis)* Chorus, and The Klemetti Institute Chamber Choir. Their directors included Martti Turunen, Heikki Klemetti, L. Arvi P. Poijärvi, and Ensti Pohjola, all first-rate musicians, who often amazed Americans by the severe restraint they used in leading their ensembles.

Finnish symphonic conductors who have directed American orchestras for varying periods of time, sometimes on a guest arrangement, have included George Schneevoigt (Los Angeles), Tauno Hannikainen (Duluth, Chicago), Boris Sirpo (Portland), Martti Similä (New York), Jussi Jalas (Sibelius' son-in-law, who conducted a number of American orchestras during the 1965 centennial), Okko Komu (Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, D. C., and Boston), and Leif Segerstam (Metropolitan Opera). In this connection, it is interesting to recall that Sibelius conducted the world premiere of this Oceanides (*Aallottaret*) in 1914 at Norfolk, Connecticut.

Seven Finns have made their way to the highly-esteemed Metropolitan Opera on New York. In chronological order, they are, in their respective roles:

Alma Fohström: *Les Huguenots,* Marguerite de Valois 1888—1889
William Tell, Mathilde, 1888
Faust, Margaretha, 1889
The *Prophet,* Bertha, 1889
The Jewess, Eudora, 1889

Aino Ackté: *Faust,* Marguerite, 1904
Carmen, Micaela, 1904
Lohengrin, Elsa, 1904
Meistersinger, Eva, 1904
Romeo, Julietta, 1904
Siegfried, Brunnhilde, 1905

Kim Borg: *Boris,* Rangoni, 1960
Don Giovanni, Don Giovanni, 1960
Fidelio, Pizarro, 1960
Nozze di Figaro, Count, 1959—1962
Parsifal, Amfortas, 1960
Pelleas, Golaud, 1960
Tristan, King Marke, 1960

Anita Välkki: *Fl. Holländer,* Senta, 1965
Parsifal, Kundry, 1966
Tannhäuser, Venus, 1966
Turandot, Turandot, 1965—1966
Walkuere, Brunnhilde, 1962, 1965

Pekka Nuotio: *Tannhäuser,* Tannhäuser, 1966
Tristan, Tristan, 1966

Tom Krause: *Carmen,* Escamillo, 1972—1973
Cosi fan tutte, Cuglielmo, 1971
Don Pasquale, Malatesta, 1970
Nozze di Figaro, Count, 1967, 1970

Martti Talvela: *Boris,* Boris, 1974—1976

The full story of these Finnish Metropolitan singers remains to be told by some future chronicler. Of Anita Välkki's debut in 1962, a New York critic wrote, "Whether or not Miss Välkki's name has anything to do with the Valkyries of northern mythology, her singing certainly has a lot to do with Wagner's warrior heroine." Martti Talvela's Boris was an unforgettable experience during the 1974--1976 seasons at the Metropolitan. Possessing a powerful basso voice and a massive physique to match, Talvela, according to a Time Magazine article, exuded "oval warmth and human shadings. One never doubts that this Boris can be compassionate, a killer or mad. Accomplished without any personal padding or rubberizing of steps, Talvela's deathchroes roll down the stairway from the throne has shocking impact."

Other Finns have found success in the United States. Baritone Matti Lehtinen performed in the Hollywood Bowl in 1965. Kari Nurmela sang with Richard Tucker in the Seattle Opera Company's production of I Pagliacci in 1974. The Finnish-American soprano Sylvia Aarnio is well-known in the East. The pianist Selim Palmgren concertized during 1921—1926, when he also taught composition at the Eastman School of Music. The number of Finnish musical groups and performers who traveled the "immigrant circuit" is almost impossible to count.

Finally, a few notes on ballet and theatre. A group of dancers from the Finnish State Ballet gave some American performances in 1960. The repertoire was modern; the music was composed by Einar Englund and Ahti Sonninen. Although the only musical accompaniment was the piano, the reviews were generally favorable. The Times critic expressed the hope that the entire company would come, with full symphonic support. Some Finnish dancers have performed with American troupes, one of the best being Seija Simonen, a former member of the Bolshoi, who danced with the Manhattan Festival Ballet in 1967.

While the Finnish National Theatre has visited a number of European cities, it has not been seen in the United States. However, an exhibition, prepared by the Finnish National Theatre, toured American colleges and universities in 1961 under the direction of Ritva Heikkilä, who had studied theatre at Stanford University. There have, of course, been contacts between Finnish and American experts. Wrote an American in 1963, "Of late years the Finnish theatre has become increasingly well known in the United States. Articles about the theatre have appeared in American magazines, and the fame of the directors of the National Theatre — Arvi Kivimaa and Jack Witikka — has spread remarkably." A later report, from 1971, was not as buoyant: "There is no doubt that Broadway and the American theatre in general has neglected Finnish plays and playwrights but, conversely, the Finns have not reacted in the same way. Instead they have been eager to

Talvela in the Met production of B o r i s.

stage American plays and introduce American dramatists." During the early 1960s, the favorites included Maxwell Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Eugene O'Neil, Tennessee Williams, and Arthur Miller.

6. RADIO-TELEVISION-FILMS:

During the 1930's there was occasional use of Finnish shortwave broadcasts to the United States, particularly the immigrant audience. Regular broadcasting in English, aimed at a wider listening audience group, began later. A sample program is reproduced below:

FINLAND ON THE AIR IN ENGLISH

November 4th, 1973—March 3rd, 1974

Time (GMT)	Direction	kHz	metre	kW
14—14.30	Europe	9550	31.40	15
	Europe	11755	25.52	15
	North America (East and west coast)	15185	19.76	100
	South America	21605	13.89	1
18—18.30	Europe	9550	31.40	15
	Europe	11755	25.52	15
	South America	15185	19.76	100
	South America	21605	13.89	1
20.30—21	Europe and South America	9550	31.41	100
	Europe	11755	25.52	15
03—03.30	North America (East and west coast)	9585	31.30	100

WEEKLY SCHEDULE

Day	Program
Monday	News
	Spotlight on Finland (social and cultural affairs)
Tuesday	News
	Finnpop (light and popular music with disc-jockey)
Wednesday	News
	Finland in Focus (literature, serious music, general topics)
Thursday	News
	Spotlight on Finland (repeat)
Friday	News magazine (press review, news, interviews, special reports, etc.)
Saturday	DX Corner
	It's Saturday (light entertainment)
Sunday	Letterbox (listeners' letters, replies to questions, music requests)

These overseas broadcasts, while obviously of limited appeal in the American setting, have nonetheless attracted some listeners, especially latecomers from Finland and their offspring, as well as shortwave enthusiasts. American radio stations are also provided with tapes produced in Finland, chiefly of music, from the office of the Finnish cultural attaché. It might also be noted that a half-dozen, perhaps more, American commercial radio stations carry once-a-week Finnish-language programs, usually on Sundays, either of a religious nature, or a popular potpourri of Finnish music (a Polish polkka is acceptable), community news, and of course, advertisements. There is at least one similar television program, *Suomi kutsuu* (Finland Calls), on a Marquette, Michigan station.

Radio and television programs have also been produced in the United States for Old Country listeners and viewers. The Finnish State Radio has had a regular correspondent in New York City. Both Finnish television networks have had teams in recent years covering even the most remote Finnish-settled areas.

It should also be recalled that the Voice of America in the early 1950s carried a twice-daily, seven days a week, broadcast in the Finnish language, hopefully aimed to reach the far-distant Finns. Its thrust was, for the most part, educational and cultural, and a great deal of immigrant materials was used in its program. The head of the Finnish VOA operation was Professor John I. Kolehmainen.

Finnish art films were slow in reaching the general American audiences. The first Finnish film festival, sponsored by the New York Public Library, was shown for two weeks in September 1973, at the Lincoln Center. In all, twelve films were screened, among them the popular, three-hour version of Väinö Linna's great novel, Under the Northern Star, directed by the talented Edvin Laine. According to a tabulation made by Eila Kaarresalo-Kasari in The American-Scandinavian Review, June, 1974, some fifty Finnish films have been distributed internationally, six of them worldwide. The six include, in addition to the aforementioned, The Unknown Soldier, The White Reindeer, The Earth is a Sinful Song, Time of Roses, Worker's Diary. Old Country films, of course, are no novelty in the immigrant world. Apparently only one Finn, Taina Elg, has appeared in American-made films.

7. SAUNA:

The Finnish sauna (previously one had to describe it, somewhat inaccurately, as a steambath) in recent times has become so integral a part of the American vocabulary and the American life style that it should suffice here merely to call attention to two books published in the United States (readers should be warned that they are entirely prejudiced in favor of their subject). The first is S. C. Olin's Sauna. The Way to Health (1963). The other is John O. Virtanen's profusely illustrated (!) The Finnish Sauna. Peace of Mind, Body and Soul (1974). (Note: this present writer has two saunas, but they don't quite attain the promise of the last book's title — at least, not always. But it's worth a try.)

8. SCHOLARLY EXCHANGES AND PURSUITS:

The exchange of persons (to say nothing of tourism) has long been recognized as an effectual way of promoting intercultural understanding, and in this regard Finland and the United States enjoy a very favorable relationship. In 1949 Finland's large first World War indebtedness was converted into so-called ASLA scholarships, which supported as many as eighty scholars annually for study in the United States. In 1952 ASLA was incorporated into an expanded Fulbright-Hays Exchange Program. In its quarter-century report (1971), the administering agency, The Board of

Foreign Scholarships, revealed that a total of 467 Americans had studied in Finland during 1949—1971, while 1,487 Finns had had a similar opportunity in the United States. As of June, 1971, no less than forty former Fulbrighters held professorial rank in Finland.

When Finland became affiliated with The American-Scandinavian Foundation in 1960, it became party to the organization's exchange program. Currently under the fellowship division, several Americans study in Finland, usually for one year, and about the same number of Finns come to the United States. The trainee program is more extensive, and from fifteen to twenty Finns arrive annually to serve as interns in a variety of American establishments. A highlight in the ASF's Finnish activity was the Leader Program of 1957—1960, financed by a Ford Foundation grant, which gave fifty outstanding representatives from the fields of journalism, art, law, and theology, an opportunity to spend several months in the United States.

Other exchanges have been arranged by the California-based Finlandia Foundation and at the secondary school level by the American Field Service and other organizations. Some American colleges and universities also have exchanges with Finland. Whether the recipients were Americans or Finns, they invariably turned out to be permanent "good-will ambassadors."

Many Finnish scholars who came to the United States were internationally-recognized authorities in their respective fields, and by sharing their expertise, they made significant contributions to American science. Among them may be listed the following: Erik Allardt (sociology), Väinö Auer (geography-forestry), Kurt Buch (oceanography), Erik Elfving (mathematics), Kai von Fieandt (psychology), Arthur Granit (neurology), Kaarlo Hartiala (medicine), Veikko Heiskanen (geodesy), Ilmo Hela (oceanography), Kaarlo Hintikka (philosophy), K. J. Holsti (sociology), Risto Hukki (mineralogy), Valentin Kiparsky (Russian), Ukko Kokko (public health), Perttu Laakso (chemistry), Veikko Laasonen (mathematics), Aimo Mikkola (geology), Erik Palmén (meteorology), Lauri Posti (linguistics), Armas Salonen (Middle East), Arno Saxén (medicine), Jakob Sederholm (geology), Veikko Väänänen (Roman philology), Alvar Wilska (physiology), and Seppo Wilska (chemistry).

Details about these and other scholars may be obtained from biographical dictionaries: Aikalaiskirja. Henkilötietoja nykypolven suomalaisista 1934, and Kuka Kukin On (Aikalaiskirja). Who's Who in Finland. Henkilötietoja nykypolven suomalaisista 1960. Some Finland-born specialists have chosen to remain permanently in the United States, among them such Luther-scholars as Toivo Harjunpää, Aarne Siirala, and Uuras Saarnivaara. A few Finns emigrated early in life and received their education in the United States, and served on the staffs of American universities, for example, John H. Wuorinen (history, Columbia) and John B. Olli (German, City College of New York).

Some scholars, both named and others unidentified here, as well as churchmen, journalists, and other professional people, were also keen observers of the American scene, and on their return to Finland, they wrote articles and books about what they saw and did in the United States. There is a considerable list in John I. Kolehmainen's The Finns in America. A Bibliographical Guide to Their History (1947). Obviously since then new books have appeared, and among the best are Oskari Tokoi: Maanpakolaisen muistelmia, Lahti 1947, Niilo Tuomenoksa, Amerikkaa pitkin ja poikin, Tampere 1955, Arvo Puukari: Näin Amerikassa, Helsinki 1966, Niilo Wälläri: Antoisia vuosia, Helsinki 1967 and Aino Kuusinen: Jumala syöksee enkelinsä, Keuruu 1972.

In American colleges and universities the emergence of "Finnish Studies" (language, literature, folklore, history) has been relatively slow, although there are signs of somewhat greater interest, spurred in part by the ethnicity currents prevalent in today's academic world. A survey taken in 1972, Gene Gage's Scandinavian Studies in America, reported that of fifty-five participating institutions of higher learning, only eight had Finnish courses. Of 268 scholars identified in the same directory, twenty-five indicated interest in Finnish affairs. Early in 1975, according to an admittedly incomplete count, there were eleven institutions with Finnish programs or course offerings. They were the University of California at Los Angeles, Columbia University, Indiana University, Kent State University, Minnesota University, New York University, North Idaho College, Northern Michigan University, Portland State University, University of Wisconsin, and Suomi College at Hancock, Michigan.

Suomi College, as the only Finnish-initiated (1896) institution of collegiate rank (junior college) in the United States, deserves special comment. About one-third of its students are of Finnish background. Its Finnish-related studies in 1974—1975 comprised elementary Finnish, Finnish life and literature, weaving, and folk dance. The language of instruction is almost exclusively English. As to the future, President Ralph J. Jalkanen wrote in February, 1975: "We expect — as the college constitution decrees it — to offer the teaching of Finnish into perpetuity. I guess the important relation of Suomi College to Finnish life and culture is that it is what Edward Eddy defined as 'a mist must fall on every distinctive college campus' worth its salt. On the Suomi campus I'd say it's 'Finn-mist'. We see the interest in Finnish life and culture continuing into perpetuity, albeit in the English language for the most part."

It might be noted that several high schools in Finnish-settled centers (Minneapolis, for one) are either giving Finnish-language instruction or are planning to incorporate Finnish study-units into their curricula. Community groups have occasionally sponsored evening or extension courses in Finnish.

Generally speaking, it has not been easy to find American publishers for Finnish literature in translation. Some university presses, notably Wisconsin, Columbia, Indiana, Harvard, and Washington, have brought out occasional volumes. The American-Scandinavian Foundation has sponsored about a half-dozen books, including a detailed History of Finnish Literature (1973) by Jaakko Ahokas. Commercial firms have apparently found the market for Finnish books too risky, although they have found non-Finnish oriented writers like Mika Waltari and Tove Jansson (of Moomintroll fame) very profitable. There is some interest in the Kalevala and Finland's oral traditions generally among American folklorists. A good introduction to the subject is John I. Kolehmainen's Epic of the North. The Story of Finland's National Epic, The Kalevala (1973). Guides to what is available in English translation of Finnish classical literature may be found, for example, in the 1960 and 1963 editions of Introduction to Finland (Helsinki).

Indispensable is Hilkka Aaltonen's, "Books in English on Finland: A Bibliographical List of Publications Concerning Finland Until 1960, Including Finnish Literature in English Translation" (1964).

In addition to sponsoring Finnish studies, some of the colleges and universities mentioned above have held conferences or symposia on Finnish affairs, most frequently dealing with Finnish emigration and immigrant life in the New World. Suomi College, Northern Michigan University, and the University of Minnesota have been hosts in recent years to such gatherings. Occasionally the papers have been published in book form. On a few campuses there are "Finnish rooms," replete with authentic Old Country furnishings. Such endeavors, confessed a visitor, "engendered the feeling that all of Finland had come to America."

9. THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION:

The diplomatic mission in the United States obviously has played a key role in promoting, *inter alia,* intercultural relations. Structurally the Finnish operation is relatively small, simple, and (hopefully) efficient. The status of its head was raised from minister to ambassador in 1954. The post has been held by the following: Armas Saastamoinen (1919—1921); Axel Åström (1921—1934); Eero Järnefelt (1934—1938); Hjalmar Procopé (1939—1944); Kalle Jutila (1945—1951); Johan Nykopp (1951—1958); Richard Seppälä (1958—1965); Olavi Munkki (1965—1972); and the incumbent, Leo Tuominen (1972—). President Urho K. Kekkonen, it might be added, has made two visits to the United States, in 1961 and 1970.

The press attaché is located in the Washington embassy, and is responsible for relations with American publications, primarily in the political and economic fields. The cultural attaché is attached to the New York Consulate

General (there is a Consulate General also in San Francisco), and covers music, films, radio, the cultural requirements of the American press, television, exhibitions, fairs, and so forth. Scattered throughout the country are some forty-five consuls and vice-consuls, who at times are called upon to engage in culturally-oriented assignments.

Official or semi-official publications aimed at the American audience (including naturally those of Finnish origin) include the well-conceived Look at Finland, The Bank of Finland Monthly Bulletin (several private banks have similar publications. Unitas is a good source), The Finnish Trade Review, Finn Facts (New York), the Foreign Ministry's daily press summaries (in Finnish), and irregular publications like the Introduction to Finland series. There are also comparable private informational services. Two Helsinki-based organizations vitally involved with Finnish and American relations issue very readable bi-lingual magazines: the Suomi Seura has its Suomen Silta, while the League of Finnish-American Societies' organ is Suomi-Finland USA. Both of these groups, it might be added, operate large-scale tourist services. Since 1960 Finland has been included in the scope of the New York quarterly, The American-Scandinavian Review and its sister monthly newsletter SCAN.

10. CONCLUSION:

Inasmuch as the foregoing has been a fairly specific and detailed Résumé of Finland's role on the American cultural scene, this conclusion can be very brief.

Finland's primary objective has been to reveal to the citizens of the great Western *"Fri kontri"* some of its own talents and its unique way of life. If there is anything adaptable to American use, well and good. But that really is not the important matter. What counts is the sharing of the knowledge and understanding of each other's culture and the promotion of friendly reciprocal relations.

JUSSI LINNAMO
General Director of the
Bank Inspectorate,
Helsinki

XV
Finland's Migration Bridge to America

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of a migration bridge has a strong emotional appeal. As a social phenomenon, it may comprehend the emigration movement as such, or the return of the migrants, or the relations with the old homeland of those persons and their descendants who remained in the new country.

All the studies of Finnish emigration to the United States have shown that, during the decades of the heaviest migratory traffic, the Finns travelling to the United States came for the most part from the ranks of the lower social classes. Undoubtedly, there has been a "brain-power drain" to some extent from Finland to the United States, but it has amounted to only a small fraction of the total migratory movement. This being the case, the movement from Finland to the United States is explained best by answering the questions: Were the emigrants political or religious refugees? Were they compelled to move or did they migrate of their own choice? This part of the emigration phenomenon has been most clearly illuminated statistically.

The return of emigrants, on the other hand, may be explained either in terms of whether they had originally intended to stay permanently in the

United States or whether after a time some development caused them to change their minds about remaining. Such a cause may have been expulsion or, more likely, material success or failure. The return of emigrants is clearly not as easily handled statistically as emigration. Finding the true motives at a later date is often impossible.

Often the migration bridge is regarded merely as a single span of relations between the first and succeeding immigrant families and their former homeland, whether through visits or in other ways. This side of the migration bridge is also poorly illuminated statistically. It remains a challenge to emigration research.

Emigration from Finland to the United States during the early decades of this century reached such dimensions that it affected many families in Finnish society deeply; in some provinces, its effects continued to be felt, in fact, uninterruptedly for decades. It is not surprising, therefore, that organizations have been formed in Finland for the purpose of maintaining ties with the Finns living abroad and promoting their interests in Finland as well as in their new homeland. This in turn has gradually resulted in changing the character of these organizations from being culturally-oriented to action-pressure groups, at least in part. A large part of the immigrant-based cultural exchanges between Finland and the United States undoubtedly took place spontaneously through family and other ties of kinship, but in this connection the work of publicly organized groups should not be overlooked either. Some of them, as for example in Canada and Sweden, add their own particular color to this activity.

The scientific and artistic exchange that developed as a by-product of the migratory process has created in Finnish and American cultural relations a uniquely democratic, popular, colorful and powerful additional force.

2. FINNISH EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The first Finnish emigrants made their way to a region of the present-day United States before it became part of the federal union, namely, Alaska. The contributions of Finns to the building of Alaska under Russian rule have, however, remained largely unexplored. The role of New Sweden in the birth of the United States is described in another chapter of this book. It is not known whether a single Finnish settler of New Sweden ever returned to Finland. The earliest Finnish settlers in Alaska have enriched our ethnographic knowledge of this region, which is not surprising, since these Finns represented Russian Alaska's highest social classes.

However, emigration to the United States began, properly speaking, in 1865. The annual number of emigrants to the year 1880 was less than 1.000, but it rose after that systematically to over 2.000 a year, and remained at this

level until 1924. In some years during the first decades of the 20th century, the emigrant stream reached a volume of over 10.000 persons a year.

For the most part, the Finnish emigrants traveled from Finland to East coast cities of the United States by arrangements made with steamship companies specializing in those matters. Finns moved in some numbers to the United States after having first spent some time in Canada, northern Norway, St. Petersburg (Russia), or even Australia.

No emigrants, apparently, left Finland for the United States to escape religious oppression or persecution. On the other hand, political factors, at least in part, influenced people to emigrate during the early years of the present century in 1918—1919 and, to a slighter degree, in 1944. The beginning of the century marked the advent of the Russification Era in Finland (then under Czarist rule), and young men emigrated to the United States to avoid illegal military conscription. The Civil War of 1918, which accompanied the birth of Finnish independence, also resulted in the emigration of some Finns to the United States, especially those who had been associated or had sympathized with the defeated uprising; they hoped thereby to avoid acts of retaliation. After the Second World War, some persons moved to the United States because of dissatisfaction with the turn of events in Finland.

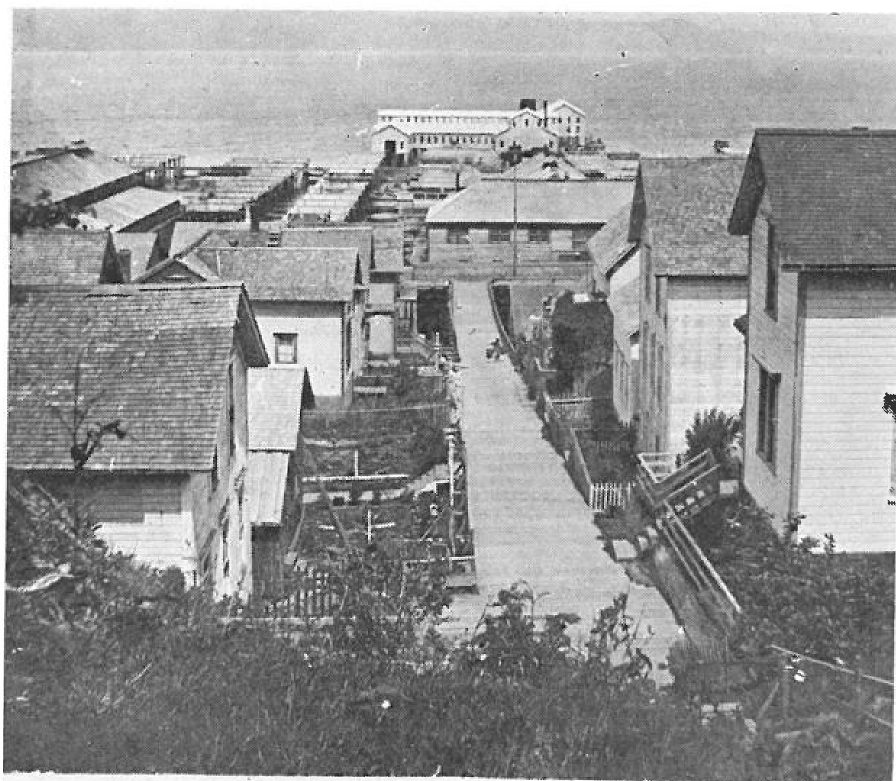
The great majority of the emigrants were nonetheless those who were attracted by the swift economic development of the early 1900s. In the mid-1800s, Finland ranked among Europe's underdeveloped countries. Although Russian markets had opened up to certain metal, textile and paper products, and although the export of butter and wood products to Western Europe had developed rapidly, much of the Finnish rural area was overpopulated. Finland's population growth was rapid, while land reform in the rural countryside was slow in coming before independence. Under these circumstances, tenants and the younger children of small holders found it impossible to find employment. In this sense, they were involuntary emigrants. Besides, the spread of information about the opportunities open in the United States prompted an ever-increasing number of persons to reflect on their prospects for security and advancement in Finland, and to consider what temporary or permanent residence in the United States might mean. They were clearly emigrants by deliberate choice. Finland's "push" forces together with the "pull" of the United States created a situation favoring migration. At the same time, a decline in the price of steamship tickets and the efforts and agencies of the stemship compaines set up the mechanisms for fulfilling the desire to migrate.

Most of the emigrants originated in the rural regions and followed agricultural pursuits. Some came from the industrial centers of southern and southeastern Finland, mainly workers with experience in the sawmill and metal-working industries; but some were unskilled. Among the emigrants

were naturally a small number of handicraftsmen, such as shoemakers and tailors, and a very much smaller number of businessmen or persons with an academic background.

As Finland was a bilingual country, some of the emigrants came from Swedish-speaking communities; most, however, were from Finnish-speaking areas.

These people brought to the United States their energy, their willingness to work hard, their eagerness to put to use their skills as lumberjacks,



A wooden street bridge in Astoria, Ore., built by American Finns, was named Suomi Avenue. (Museovirasto, Helsinki.)

construction workers and carpenters. Alongside other emigrants, they came to work in the mines, on the railroads and canals, and as domestic servants. Finnish communities appeared in the large Eastern cities, the mining and farming regions of the northern Midwest, and, later, in California and the northwest coastal regions. The significance of these communities is portrayed elsewhere in this volume. In this short essay, one cannot begin to appraise the significance Finnish settlements have had on, for example, the life of some New England and Midwestern middle-sized and small communities. A tiny ethnic group could exert a greater influence at local than state or national levels.

Research has shown that Finnish differs structurally in many respects from the Indo-European languages. For this reason, immigrants from Finland undoubtedly have been exceptionally resistant to assimilation in the great Melting Pot of the United States. They have preserved their ethnic identity, specifically their language, more tenaciously than, for example, the Swedish-Finns, the Scandinavians generally, or the Germans and the Dutch. Under these circumstances, the Finns have created an extraordinarily rich native culture, centered around the Finnish language. From the late 1880s on, Finnish immigrants in the United States were able to lead a relatively rich social life without much knowledge of the English language — in their own communities, churches, temperance societies, workmen's associations, voluntary fire departments, choruses and athletic clubs.

The image of Finland that appeared to the American public was one mediated by young Finnish immigrants — farm and factory workers and miners. Without question, it was different from the image created by élite travellers from Finland. It was no doubt distorted, yet earthy. The image of the United States that appeared in Finland was likewise transmitted by the same humble individuals, one again not balanced but nevertheless vivid.

The first migration bridge was built by poor immigrants who had settled in different areas from the East coast to California and Oregon — notably in the Midwest, as in Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Some of these people had emigrated involuntarily, others in search of a better livelihood. At first, they lacked a common voice, but similar working conditions and the harshness and insecurity experienced by the lower social classes created a joint basis from which to strive.

Not until after the Second World War were the migrants drawn in noteworthy numbers from the ranks of those with academic training. One should not underestimate the problems of Finns trying to adjust to the American campus and American intellectual life, but it is too early to write the history of these newer immigrants.

3. THE RETURN OF FINNISH-AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

The lack of adequate research into the return of migrants makes it difficult to trace definitely their role in various cultural activities.

It has been reliably estimated, however, that about one-fourth to one-fifth of the Finns in the United States have returned to their old homeland. This return migration has clearly been more selective than the outward movement. Among the returnees, there have been relatively few young women, while unmarried young men have been more numerous.

A large majority of the returnees had lived in the United States less than six years. Their motives for returning have evidently been many and varied. Some of the emigrants had originally crossed the ocean to earn the money to buy a plot of land or to redeem their share of the family holding. This kind of migrant obviously had felt no necessity to adjust to the American culture, institutions and values. More important to him was the chance to earn enough to buy a return ticket and improve his material well-being once he was back in Finland. The achievement of this goal was made possible by working in industries where the periods of unemployment were short, wages relatively high, and the investment in tools and lodging as small as possible.

A number of the immigrants, both involuntary and voluntary, experienced the difficulties of adjustment even after the first year, despite the opportunities for economic advancement. Maladjustment was interpreted as a kind of homesickness. Or again, the return to Finland was caused by the death of a parent or parents, which required the immigrant's going back to ensure the continuity of the family holding.

The decision to return may also have been influenced as much by economic success or failure in the United States. In either situation, the immigrant apparently interpreted his condition in the light that social and economic advancement in the homeland would be easier. Economic success in the United States may have signified that becoming modestly well-to-do there would not elevate the immigrant's social status because of the obstacles resulting from, for example, his lack of a fluent command of the English language, while the same economic well-being in Finland would assure him a relatively respectable status.

Economic failure, on the other hand, would mean that there was no hope at all of making a go of it in the United States, while in Finland the immigrant's status would not be harmed by the fact he had seen and lived in the "outside world".

Whatever may have been the motives for returning to Finland, even a short stay in the United States left its impress upon the migrant. Those who had gone West had absorbed something of the American material culture, its institutions and its values, without regard to whether they had adjusted

well or badly. Upon their return, emigrants were often an influential force in their community.

Up to the First World War, at least, there had prevailed in Finland especially the rural regions, a relatively homogeneous culture. For economic, geographical and historical reasons, there were, to be sure, certain cultural and institutional differences between the country's various regions.

The returned migrants undoubtedly brought back with them American goods: clothes more colorful than ordinarily worn in Finland and household furnishings, as well as new skills, a faster tempo of work learned in the mines and factories, and an understanding of the fact that the conditions in the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland (under Russian rule) could and should be democratized. Research has not systematically shown as yet what influence the returnees had on the material culture in those regions of Finland where their numbers were considerable.

It may be assumed that the former immigrants noticeably influenced the spread of certain kinds of economic innovations. The promotion of the fur husbandry and the growing of vegetables for the market developed more than usually was the case in areas where the returnees settled. Technical innovations spread throughout Finland around the turn of the century for a variety of reasons. Without additional research, it is virtually impossible to state categorically the precise role played by the former immigrants after their return.

The returned migrants have also influenced the political life of Finland. The prime minister of the last government during the period of autonomy (the vice-chairman of the Senate) was a former emigrant. The annals of the Finnish Parliament contain the names of a number of emigrants. In the development of the Finnish trade union movement, there is also to be seen the work of men who had learned their trade union principles and techniques in the United States. A subjective judgment would suggest that for many who went West, the effect was a degree of radicalization. Those who had been in America were more often found in the ranks of the political left than the right.

It is natural that the former immigrant, who had often begun his life as a landless tenant or agricultural hired hand and who had worked in the mines and logging camps of the United States, could not give very much of an account of the swiftly-developing culture of the New World. Obviously, he had perhaps never heard about the Metropolitan Opera, Longfellow or Henry James. He had not seen the paintings of Turnbull or read the works of Mark Twain. But those who had gone West nonetheless had lived within the American social order and thus were able, without doubt, to mediate fresh and vivid descriptions of conditions across the ocean. Some of the returned migrants found it impossible to adjust anew to Finland. It is likely that,

under Finland's social system of estates, some of the privileged classes displayed attitudes that made readjustment of the returnees much more difficult. Attitudes toward the returnees could be negative, even hostile.

Under these circumstances, some returnees once again became emigrants. Some of them felt that they were always on the wrong side of the Atlantic Ocean. They were apparently happy only when they were on the high seas, whether traveling East or West.

The movement across the Finnish and the American cultural bridge has always been in both directions. Naturally, among the participants have been relatively small numbers of intellectuals and others with academic backgrounds. The powerful American development of arts and sciences naturally enriched the experience of these returnees as well. Intellectuals have been able to put their American experiences into literary and artistic forms. Their impact individually has been doubtless greater than the experiences of ordinary men and women. But it is still impossible to argue against the viewpoint that, in the last analysis, the greatest work in interpreting the United States in Finland has been done by anonymous immigrants. The image of the United States held in Finland has been broadened and deepened as a result of their efforts; this was true especially during the period before the advent of mass communications.

4. INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE FINNISH-AMERICANS

The first Finnish-American institutions in the United States naturally used the Finnish language, while the Swedish-Finns, of course, relied on Swedish. There was no alternative. The Finnish immigrants as they entered the United States knew little or no English. The main purpose of these institutions was obviously to gather Finns together to deal with common problems, not least those involved in adjusting to a new environment. Thus were born mutual sickness and burial aid societies, athletic clubs, churches, workmen's associations, volunteer fire departments, cooperative enterprises, choruses, and many other joint endeavors.

The network of Finnish institutions as such offered aid to the new immigrants. On their part, the newcomers brought with them a fresh Finnish language and novel cultural influences from Finland. It is clear that the variety of Finnish institutions operated primarily in their own respective areas and as such formed important entities among themselves as well as in cooperation with similar American organizations. Thus organizational contacts were established at the Finnish immigrant and the American levels. Some societies, such as a number of regional and local historical societies, performed pioneering work in exploring the history of their regions, particularly the role of Finnish and other settlements. The larger significance of local Finnish

institutions is indisputable, at least in the Midwest and the Northwest.

If the Finnish immigrant institutions were to remain Finnish in a linguistic sense, it would have been necessary for them to achieve their own literary culture. There was a particular need for "literary men" in the churches and in the press. Migration from rural conditions to urban and industrializing communities created the need for an entirely new vocabulary. Altough there may have been Finnish equivalents for the required English vocabulary, there was no assurance that the Finnish-American immigrant, coming largely from a rural background, would have recognized them. Quite soon, at least in the Finnish immigrant communities, there developed a situation in which the vocabulary in the Finnish language no longer sufficed to depict and relate the phenomena that became indispensable in the new society. On the other hand, English was learned slowly, although the immigrants acquired some kind of a vocabulary. The Finnish language persisted as the language of the family and of the Finnish community, but it was not adequate for meeting all situations. The English language, on the other hand, was the official language, used at places of employment and by the general American public, the so-called *"toiskieliset"* (=people who spoke a different language). Some learned this language, but as adults with the aid of a "Nature method". The Finnish language served the immigrant community; the English language was the link to the outside world. Changes occurred in both languages.

The large majority of American Finns were persons who had not used the literary language to any significant degree. The freshness of the Finnish language, whether spoken or written, was preserved by the arrival of new immigrants. On the other hand, the Finns lacked the material resources for the creation and preservation of an indigenous Finnish culture in the United States. The number and circulation of Finnish-language newspapers among the immigrants were nevertheless surprisingly large. Most of the editors were journalists, who had emigrated to the United States with this specific calling in mind. In the same way, some of the clergymen were obtained through the good services of the Church of Finland or from other religious organizations registered in Finland.

The press, church publications, calendars and histories were the endowment of Finnish-American literary culture. It is also important to recall that well into the 1930s, a considerable number of Finnish-American literary works — novels, short stories, plays, etc. — was published. An enduring landmark of Finnish-American cultural endeavor remains Suomi College, Hancock, Michigan, where for over seventy-five years the Finnish language and culture have been fostered. Suomi College has become a noteworthy local junior college.

The Finns, for the most part, were unable to maintain Finnish schools to instruct their children in the outlines of Finnish-language culture. This led

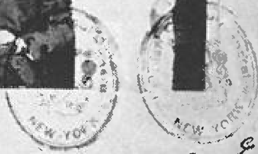
to a situation in which the American school and educational environment swiftly transformed the second-generation Finns into users of the English language. The school milieu and English-speaking fellow students created new motivations for the spread of English. It was, of course, indispensable from the perspective of adjusting to a new social order. On the other hand, the elders generally lacked the strength to provide Finnish-language instruction to their children, and as a result, in many situations, Finnish lost its significance as a language that could provide new literary insights. Between the immigrant generation, which spoke mainly Finnish, and the American-born children, who spoke chiefly English, there emerged as a language of communication either English or a mixture of Finnish and English, popularly known as *"fingliska"* (=Finnglish). To second-generation American Finns, Finnish-language institutional activity was thus not organizational, but rather peripheral (a sort of hobby interest), which competed often with many purely English-language, American institutions.

The prominent role of Finnish institutions would obviously not have ceased if emigration from Finland had continued. But it was cut off abruptly in the early 1920s as a result of new legislation enacted in the United States. The Finnish immigrant institutions retained their importance among the immigrant generation as cultural and social organizations. The Finnish Civil War of 1918 undoubtedly affected adversely the immigrant working class and other organizations among whom relations were sometimes embittered. The sympathies stirred by Finland's Winter War (1939—40) softened these divisions.

In more recent times, the greatest achievement of the American Finns in their own social field has been the establishment of old people's homes. For this reason, Florida, for example, has developed into one of the most important immigrant centers, although in earlier years there was very little migration to Florida.

The Finnish-American institutions participated actively in assisting Finland during the war years of 1939—1945 as well as during the postwar reconstruction period, often with financial gifts. And relatively early in their history, the Finnish-American institutions invited into their midst performers from Finland — artists, choruses, orchestras, athletes and gymnastic groups. These visits deepened the immigrants' identification with Finnish culture, regardless of whether or not these people had maintained their Finnish citizenship. Although some of the visits were restricted in their itineraries to a limited number of places, the net result was often the interpretation of Finnish culture to Americans of Finnish descent and other Americans.

The contacts of the second- and third-generation Finnish-Americans with Finnish cultural life have brought about the transformation of Finnish institutions from pressure groups to cultural organizations. This, in turn,



Signature of the bearer Elis H. Haavisto,

Date of birth September 23rd 1884

Place of birth ~~[illegible]~~ Ähtäri

Profession Labour

Domicile Töysä

Height 5-10 1/2

Hair Dark

Face Oval

Eyes Blue

Purpose of journey To take care of his aged mother

For the certification of the signature of Elis Heikki Haavisto

whose photograph is affixed above.

[illegible signature]

CONSUL GENERAL

Passport of Mr. and Mrs. Heikki Haavisto and child to visit Finland in 1920. (Collection of Urho Haavisto.)

Thousands of American Finns visited their old home country in summer between the two World Wars. In the picture the steamer Lancastria about to leave for a voyage for this purpose in the harbour of New York on June 5th, 1937. (The Finnish Steamship Company, Helsinki.)

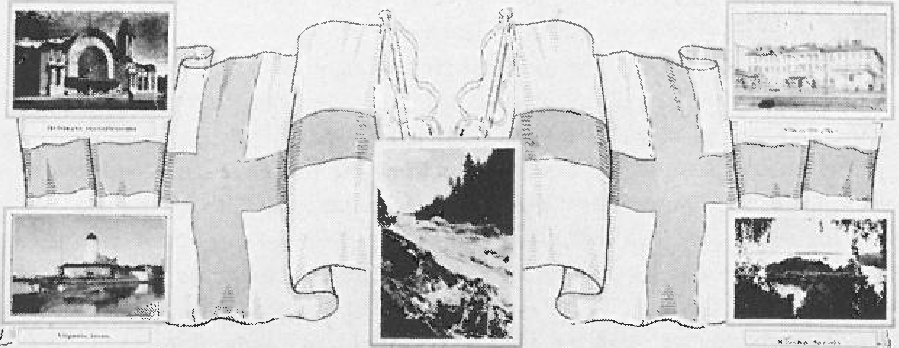
has facilitated the participation in Finnish activities of those non-Finns who were married to persons of Finnish background, and thereby again promoted the spread of Finnish cultural understanding more widely in the United States.

Some Finnish organizations and foundations have arranged for immigrant group travel to Finland, and have also offered scholarships in the cultural field both in the United States and Finland. Finnish-American artists, choral groups, orchestras, etc., have performed in Finland. During their visits, they have represented not only Finnish-American but also American culture at the same time.

In individual terms, the movement over the migration bridge has been overwhelmingly from Finland to the United States. The cultural movement has been essentially in the same direction. But this is not to underestimate the significance of the movements in the other direction: the return of the immigrants, and the cultural contributions to Finnish society by Finnish-American institutions.

It seems highly likely that the character of Finnish institutions in the

SUOMI KUTSUU



KAIKKI TERVETULLEITA TÄLLE RETKELLE

SUURI KIRKKOKANSAN HUVIMATKA 1935

S. S. FREDERIK VIII:LLA

Scandinavian-Amerikan Linjan lippulaiva.

HELSINKIIN

Lähtee New Yorkista toukokuun 22 p. 1935

LAHEMPIA TIETOJA ANTAVAT SCANDINAVIAN AMERIKAN LINJAN ASIAMIEHET SEKA KOMITEAN JASENET.

SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN LINE

Visits to the old home-land were organized also by Finnish-American congregations and societies (Suomi-Society).

United States as prominent immigrant organizations will weaken, while their cultural role will be enchanced. Perhaps the best cultural ambassadors will be those who have become fully adjusted to the American scene, but who retain something of their Finnish identity.

It is clear that not all the migrants from Finland either returned or became adjusted to their new environment and joined in constructive institutional activity. The heat of the Melting Pot might have been so intense as to make neither choice possible for some people. It might also have happened that the immigrant found himself in a region where institutional activity did not exist, because there were too few fellow Finns. For such an individual the choice was either to assimilate fully into the American community or to remain outside all institutions. As far as the latter is concerned, it must be admitted that both the Bowery and the Skid Row have known some Finns.

5. ORGANIZATIONS IN FINLAND CONCERNED WITH EMIGRANT AFFAIRS

Finland was not an independent nation at the time when the largest number of emigrants left for the United States. The interests of the immigrants were nominally represented by the Russian embassy and consulates, in which there were no Finnish personnel. As a rule, the Finnish immigrants did not speak Russian. Thus the contacts between them and the Russian officials remained slight, if not indeed non-existent.

During the Finnish Civil War of 1918, both so-called Red Finns and White Finns attempted to establish formal contacts with the United States. These unofficial bodies sought to gain diplomatic recognition as well as to obtain aid to fend off threatening famine. The more mundane problems of the immigrants were thrust into the background. It was not until the formal establishment of Finland's diplomatic representation in the United States that attention could be focused on the needs of the immigrants. The major responsibility fell upon the legation in Washington and the consulate-general in New York. The former, however, was organized chiefly to handle diplomatic relations with the United States; the latter, to promote trade. Both Washington and New York were far distant from the Midwest and the far West. For this reason, the Finnish Government established consulates at Duluth and Seattle as early as the 1920s, and later a network of vice- and honorary-consulates. Whenever possible, such posts were set up in areas of extensive Finnish settlement, and the appointees were often of Finnish descent.

The establishment of Finland's diplomatic representation in the United States solved some of the worst difficulties in the immigrant situation. An

opportunity had been provided for the immigrants to take their problems to Finnish-speaking officials, problems such as those involving inheritances, custody of property, military service. But the formal diplomatic activity was not adequate to promote immigrant interests in Finland.

As late as the 1920s, the attitude persisted in Finland that emigration was some sort of national betrayal. The immigrants were regarded as lost souls; those who returned aroused resentments by their tendencies toward greater social mobility. But it came to be understood in Finland that support of the cultural activity of Finnish institutions indispensably required an organization in Finland, one which would serve as the immigrants' full-time spokesman. This organization emerged in 1927 with the founding of the *Suomi-Seura* (Suomi-Society).

The central feature of the Suomi-Seura's activity has been the organization of immigrant visits. In earlier years, such tours were by steamship; later, by charter air flights. In the best times, the number of participants has been around 5.000 annually. The Suomi-Seura has also sponsored and managed appearances at Finnish settlements in America of various groups of performers and individual artists from Finland.

The Suomi-Seura magazine, *Suomen Silta,* has been, especially since the 1960s, the most widely circulated periodical among the Finnish-Americans. The Suomi-Seura's activities have also included, on a limited scale, the search for missing persons. Through its large membership and its available machinery, it has been able to obtain information about Finns whose whereabouts, etc., were unknown to relatives and other interested parties.

Until 1972, Suomi-Seura served as an official agency of information concerning emigration matters. However, emigration from Finland to Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s took on such proportions that the society was not able to represent adequately the interests of the migrants either in the new country of settlement or in Finland. At the suggestion of the Suomi-Seura, the Government of Finland decided in 1970 to establish a special *emigration council.* The major preoccupations of this body were naturally with questions stemming from the large-scale emigration from Finland to Scandinavia, Sweden in particular. But one of the council's sections dealt with the problems of non-Scandinavian emigrants. One practical result thus far of the council's work has been the provision of financial support for all Finnish newspapers printed abroad.

Since the 1950s, the Suomi-Seura has organized annual *summer festivals* in Finland for Finns visiting from abroad. At these gatherings, an effort has been made to present glimpses of Finland's cultural life. A regular feature has also been the presentation of immigrant greetings. Similarly, since 1974, the Suomi-Seura has sponsored annually a *summer seminar in Finnish culture and language* of several weeks' duration, designed particularly for younger

The summer Festival of the Suomi Society was held in Turku in 1971. The program included a visit to Kultaranta, the President's Summer Residence, in Naantali. (Suomi-Society.)

people of Finnish descent. The course has been conducted in the English language.

A major objective of the Suomi-Seura has therefore been to stimulate interest in Finland in questions arising from emigration. The society has financially supported historical research, the microfilming of archives, the collection of data, etc. *The Finnish Emigration History Research Center of the University Turku* founded in 1963, will complete the work begun by the Suomi-Seura.

In the 1970s, it can be said that the Finnish public has become increasingly interested in and informed about the problems of migrants. At the same time, national organizations have become involved in this activity. This interest and these developments have meant an entirely new approach toward migrants. It is understood that the social and employment problems of the first generation of immigrants are different from those of people born in the country. It has also been appreciated that the heaviest burden of migration is borne by children whose education has been interrupted in the land of their birth, and who must continue their schooling in a new country with an insufficient knowledge of either their mother tongue or the language of their new homeland. Such linguistic complications ultimately threaten the solidarity of immigrant families.

If an immigrant intends to remain permanently in his new homeland, his own interests require that he learn as quickly as possible the language of the new country. This does not, however, necessarily mean that he must

assimilate totally into the new culture. From the viewpoint of an individual's identity, it may be desirable to make the essential adjustments, but at the same time to preserve his cultural heritage. The preservation of one's own cultural heritage calls for a full command of one's mother tongue. Thus an immigrant enjoys the opportunity of becoming emotionally and intellectually enriched, for he is a citizen of two cultures. The immigrant can truly be a mediator of cultures. He is a builder of the migration bridge.

Organizations were indispensable to the immigrants. From the standpoint of immigrant culture, it is useful, too, that the former citizens of the home country and active immigrants established common institutions. The continuance of culture also requires governmental financial support, as well as the use of other available resources. Various kinds of public organizations have acted to awaken and to prod the official government apparatus to take interest in these matters.

Emigration from Finland to the United States is one of the oldest and best known of Finnish migratory movements. But it is not the only example of this phenomenon, although it provides many valuable insights. Finnish emigration represents only a ripple in the huge migratory wave that swept the shores of the United States. Its interpretation also as a factor in cultural exchange is a worthwhile endeavor. Much remains unknown about this social phenomenon or has been only feebly explored. But overseas migration has nonetheless been so vast a movement of peoples that it could not but leave a permanent impress on the countries at both ends. Not only people but ideas, too, have migrated, and it was from these components that the migration bridge was built.

To commemorate the extensive Finnish emigration movement, Suomi-Society erected in 1967 a memorial created by the sculptor Mauno Oittinen in Hanko, which was the emigrants' most important port of departure. (Suomi-Society, Helsinki.)

SUOMEN SUUREN
SIIRTOLAISUUDEN
1880-1930 MUISTOKSI
TILL MINNET AV DEN
STORA EMIGRATIONEN
1880-1930

EPILOGUE

It was President Urho Kekkonen who took the first steps toward producing this book to celebrate the 200th anniversary of American independence in 1976. When he made his second official visit to the United States in 1970, the President was told by Finnish-Americans that preparations for the celebration of the Bicentennial had already been started and that foreign nations would be asked to take official note, too, of the event. In response to these unofficial discussions, President Kekkonen wrote immediately to the historians of Finland and urged them to undertake measures to produce a special volume dedicated to the American Bicentennial. After various stages in the treatment of the matter, the task devolved on the Emigration History Research Center, which had been established at Turku University in 1963.

Since the historical relations between the United States and Finland had been dominated by a strong migratory flow to America from Finland, it was natural that attention would have to be concentrated primarily on the problems involved in this sector. Account would have to be taken at the same time of the trend of events of world-historical significance that had raised the United States to its status of a major world power. On the basis of these points of view, I drafted a memorandum on the theme of "The Finns Building the United States of America." The Historical Society of Finland, which took the matter up, submitted it as a proposal to the Ministry of Education. All this took place in 1970.

It was on this basis that the plans for the anniversary publication were developed further at the Emigration History Research Center of the University of Turku. The idea was to produce a collection of studies dealing in the spirit of scientific inquiry with the subject of Finnish emigration to America, its vicissitudes and the accomplishments of the emigrant population, with the various contributions divided into separate chapters but kept within the bounds of a unified frame of reference. The material would be set forth in a style intelligible to the lay reader; and, although produced by a team of Finnish research scholars, the book would be designed for the American public. The close collaboration of the University of Turku with corresponding research centers of certain American universities made it possible, however, to persuade certain Finnish-American specialists in emigration history to contribute to the work. The ranks of the contributors swelled appreciably when they were joined by not only representatives of the first generation of emigrants but also Finnish-American scholars whose forebears had emigrated from the Old Country as long as four generations ago.

Meanwhile, developments had taken a new turn. After President Kekkonen returned to Finland from his trip to America in 1970, he urged represen-

tatives of Finnish organizations to give support to the Finnish-Americans and their organizations in the preparations being made to celebrate the Bicentennial of the United States. The organizations in Finland contacted the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus the participation of Finland in the anniversary celebrations began to be built up on a broader basis than one scholarly volume alone. Moreover, Finland received an official invitation through diplomatic channels to take part in the Bicentennial festivities in the United States in 1976. Such participation was expected to take many different forms.

The League of Finnish-American Societies then rose to a position of central importance in the work of making the arrangements. The negotiations between the chairman of the league, Mr. Jussi Saukkonen, and the two ministries led to the appointment of a special committee under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education to make the preparations for Finland's participation in the American Bicentennial celebrations. In a letter dated November 20, 1974, the Ministry of Education designated as members of this committee representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Swedish-language Finnish organizations, the League of Finnish-American Societies, the Suomi Society and the Institute for Migration, which had started its work the same year under the auspices of the Emigration History Research Center of the University of Turku.

When the U.S.A. Bicentennial Finnish Committee began to gather ideas for the celebrations, it was only natural that the anniversary publication should be taken up as one of the main items for inclusion in the program. The task of publishing the work was assigned to the Institute for Migration. The institute set up a special publication committee, on which Professor Vilho Niitemaa sat as editor-in-chief, the other members being Mr. Jussi Saukkonen, chairman of the League of Finnish-American Societies, Mr. Tauri Aaltio, Executive Secretary of Suomi Society, and Dr. Olavi Koivukangas, Director of the Institute for Migration. President Urho Kekkonen agreed to write the salutatory preface to the volume. In addition, the scope of the work was broadened to include chapters dealing with the political and cultural relations between the United States and the independent Republic of Finland as well as the relations between individual emigrants and Finns and the various organizations acting on their behalf. The chapter delineating the general features that mark the development of relations between Finland and the United States was written by Foreign Minister Kalevi Sorsa.

The availability of material from the photographic exhibition depicting Finnish emigration to America arranged by the Institute for Migration to be sent to the United States by the U.S.A. Bicentennial Finnish Committee enabled the editors to vary substantially the selection of illustrations used in the volume. The poster design created by the artist Erik Bruun for the U.S.A.

Bicentennial Finnish Committee was chosen for the book jacket. Two-thirds of the publication costs will be paid to the Institute for Migration by the Ministry of Education and one-third by Suomi Society. The editorial work was done at the Emigration History Research Center of the University of Turku. The manuscripts of the Finnish authors were translated by a number of different people, but several of the translations were corrected and, in some cases, thoroughly revised by Mr. Paul Sjöblom, who also translated or retranslated much of the rest of the material.

The title of the book, "Old Friends — Strong Ties", is the motto of the U.S.A. Bicentennial Finnish Committee, which was adopted on a proposal made by Professor Jorma Pohjanpalo. The title characterizes pithily the content of the work in tracing the historical development of the long-lasting relations between the United States and Finland.

Helsinki, March 1, 1976

Vilho Niitemaa

Vaasa 1976. Vaasa Oy:n kirjapaino