The Finns in the United States: a Sociological Interpretation.

Walfrid John Jokinen

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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THE FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

Walfrid John Jokinen
A. B., University of Minnesota, 1951
M. A., Louisiana State University, 1953
August, 1955
OMISTETTU SUOMALAISELLE SIIRTOLAINSVAESTOLLE
JONKA TOIMINTAAN OSALLISTUMINEN ON NIIN
SUURESTI RIKASTUTTANUT TAMAN
KIRJOITTAJAN ELAMAA
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ABSTRACT

This study reviews the development of the present demographic status of the Finnish population in the United States, and describes and interprets the institutionalized patterns of behavior developed by the Finns. The interpretations are based on data from historical and statistical sources, supplemented by participant-observation. Immigration is viewed as a social process involving motivations for migration, the actual transplantation of peoples, and the institutionalization of behavior in the United States. The relationships between the foreign-born and their American-born descendants are explored in terms of cultural expectations.

Economic necessity and political oppression were the prime reasons impelling people to leave Finland. The demand for unskilled labor created by America's rapid industrial growth following the Civil War, the availability of homestead land, and the freedom to form political organizations channeled the migration mainly to the United States.

The first immigrants from Finland arrived as early as the seventeenth century, but the mass exodus, which transplanted some 150,000 persons, did not start until the turn of the twentieth century. In the main, the immigrants were young, unmarried males from the rural areas, although the urban proportion showed a steady increase.

There were 62,641 foreign-born Finns in the United States in 1900. The historical peak of 149,824 was reached in 1920. Since that time there has been an accelerating decline, due mainly to the immigration
restrictions imposed by the United States in the 1920's. The heaviest concentration of immigrant Finns is in the northern parts of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin, although sizable contingents are to be found in Massachusetts, New York, California, and Washington. The distribution indicates that the Finns settled in areas in which the demand for unskilled labor was the greatest. The immigrant Finns are a rapidly aging population. There are more males than females. However, as a result of the almost complete cessation of immigration and the lower rate of mortality among the females, a balance is being reached.

There has been a movement of aging immigrant Finns away from their traditional areas of settlement to warmer climates, especially to Florida. Most of those who migrate appear to be recipients of old-age benefits. The occupational reasons which held them in the northern states are no longer operative.

The language barrier caused the immigrant Finns to withdraw into their own groupings for the satisfaction of their social needs. They developed a variety of religious, political, economic, and educational institutions. Despite the differences in their overt purposes, each of the institutions helped to fulfill the social needs of the immigrants in a strange environment.

The American-born Finns, who now form the major part of the Finnish population, have not been attracted to the socio-cultural aspirations of their parents. The pressures to conform to the dominant "American" patterns of behavior have offset the immigrants' deliberate attempts to draw their offspring into Finnish endeavors.

As a result of the numerical decline of the foreign-born population and the lack of interest exhibited by the American-born in the activities
of their parents, the Finnish-initiated institutions, with the exception of the consumers' cooperative, are now in a stage of rapid disintegration. As far as the cooperative movement is concerned, the American-born, who are now forging into the decision-making positions, emphasize the economic benefits to be derived through cooperatives, whereas the immigrant Finns placed their stress upon social objectives. This difference in value orientations has led to many misunderstandings.

The foreign-born appear to be content to live out their lives within their own institutional framework. Their American-born descendents, however, have gravitated toward the more "American" designs for living.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and Scope of Study

The purpose of this study is fourfold: (a) to review the development and the present demographic status of the Finnish population in the United States, (b) to compare the native and foreign-born Finnish elements as to growth, composition, and some pertinent demographic characteristics, (c) to determine the underlying factors contributing to the changes which have occurred, and (d) to survey and analyze the social relationships of the Finnish people in the United States.

The choice of this subject was prompted by the writer's general interest in the sociological implications of immigration and ethnic activities in the United States and his more specific interest in the Finnish people whose cultural life he has shared.

The basic problem is this: There are more than 300,000 persons of Finnish extraction in the United States. During the past three decades this population has shifted from one which was predominantly foreign-born to one in which the numerical dominance favors those born in the United States. In addition to these two categories, the Finnish people in the United States are divided into many occupational, religious, political, and other groupings. How and why has this situation developed? That is the basic question to which this study is addressed.
Other questions commanding attention are the following: (a) Why did the immigrants engage in activities which tended to set them apart from the general public? (b) How are the demographic characteristics of the Finnish population related to the social changes which have occurred? (c) How have the native-born Finns reacted to the activities of their parents?

Another matter which receives consideration concerns the latent and manifest functions of the organized activities of the Finns. The author contends that the mere study of manifest functions fails to provide an adequate analysis of institutionalized Finnish life in America. It is also necessary to try to determine the latent function, or functions, of a group. Moreover, the author hypothesizes that often where manifest functions appear to be in conflict latent functions are similar.

It should be made quite clear that the objective is not merely to seek a better understanding of still another ethnic group—commendable though this be—but to make a contribution to the study of immigration, intergroup relations, and the problem of social change. It is also hoped that this study will provide much-needed demographic knowledge about the Finns in America and thus become a source of data for further study.¹

This study is not designed to condemn or praise the Finnish people in the United States or any particular grouping of Finns. However, it should be stated at the outset that the author has tended to view with sympathy certain activities in which the Finnish people have engaged. He believes, for example, in light of our present acceptance of unionism as

¹There is a conspicuous lack of demographic studies of the Finnish population in the United States. While this study is not set up as a demographic analysis, it does contain a considerable amount of data never before compiled or analyzed. In addition to presenting new information, the author endeavors to provide a more complete analysis and integration of facts and interpretations now available.
an integral part of the American scene, that the labor union activities of the Finns have resulted in advantages to the American public in general as well as to the Finns themselves. Moreover, he feels that the cooperative movement originated and sustained by the Finns has much to offer in the way of a model for the democratization of production and distribution. While this study strives to be as objective as possible and the author does not consciously attempt to fit facts into his own particular value system, it would be well for the reader to keep these biases of the author in mind.

B. Sources and Limitations of Data

The observations and interpretations in this study are based on information gathered from the following diverse sources:

1. Published historical treatments in Finnish and English about the Finns in Finland and in the New World. These historical accounts provide excellent background material which facilitated the interpretation of other data.

---

2This view is shared by several economists and social scientists who have studied the role of the immigrant Finns in the development of the cooperative movement in the United States. See Bertram B. Fowler, The Cooperative Challenge (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948); Leonard D. Kercher, V. W. Kebker, and Wilfred C. Leland, Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941); and H. Haines Turner, Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

3In this connection it should be noted that the bias of an investigator in favor of a particular group or activity does not inevitably lead to an overstatement of his case. In fact, he may leave certain favorable things unsaid because he fears they may be interpreted as being indicative of a bias. Likewise, a writer who does portray a given group to which he owes allegiance, or admires, in a favorable way need not be doing so merely because he is biased in that direction. After all, his statements may be supported by statistical and other quantifiable data.
2. Contemporary historical sources including newspaper and magazine articles written by immigrants and their descendants. Newspapers, especially, have provided much valuable information. In recent years leading Finnish language newspapers have featured human document-like articles written by so-called "old timers" who have been in the United States from thirty to fifty years and now spend a great deal of their time reminiscing about the past. In most cases the reminiscer relies upon his memory of past events, but in some cases diaries kept through the years are utilized.

3. Various publications issued by the United States Bureau of the Census, including special reports relative to the foreign white stock. In the presentation of the present demographic status of the Finns in America, 1950 data are used wherever possible. However, it is necessary at times to resort to 1940 and even 1930 data where 1950 data are not available. Wherever this is done it is specifically noted. Special significance is attached to the data from states in which the Finns are concentrated in large numbers.

4. Immigration and emigration reports issued by governmental agencies of Finland and the United States. Special attention is paid to the years when immigration from Finland was at its height.

5. Letters and novels by immigrants about their life in America.

6. Informal interviews and discussions with leaders of Finnish activities as well as with ordinary immigrants and their offspring.

Footnote: Special newspaper issues containing articles in which immigrants "look back" and evaluate their lives in the United States include the following: *Industrialisti 35th Anniversary Issue* (Duluth, Minnesota), April 16, 1952; *Paivalehti "Old Timers!" Issue* (Duluth, Minnesota), February 24, 1948; *Raivaja 40th Anniversary Issue* (Fitchburg, Massachusetts), June 27, 1946; and *Raivaja 50th Anniversary Issue* (Fitchburg, Massachusetts), January 31, 1955. These newspapers also publish special mid-summer and Christmas issues that contain much valuable material.
7. Questionnaires circulated with the cooperation of the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin, to all of the consumers' cooperatives organized by the Finns in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The purpose of these questionnaires was to elicit information about changes that have occurred in the Finnish initiated societies. Almost seventy per cent of the questionnaires were completed and returned.

Each of these sources has limitations and no one of them alone could provide adequate data on which to base such an analysis as is herein attempted.

With regard to the use of historical material, the problem of the objectivity of the source is always present. Often Finnish historians, like others, have written from a particular point of view in an obvious attempt to espouse the "correctness" of the views and procedures of a given group or association. Such histories, biased though they be, are not sociologically irrelevant. The very reasons for particular interpretations at particular periods of history and their acceptance by large numbers of people are legitimate data of investigation. Furthermore, all history is selective and all of the facts on which to base an analysis are not to be found in any one. Thus various sources and various interpretations must be utilized. 5

The same lack-of-objectivity charge may be leveled by some against the accounts written by immigrants about their experiences in America. It is true that these accounts are subjective and that many of the immigrant writers rely almost entirely upon their memories. It is also true

5It is important to remember that "some highly accurate accounts have occasionally been written by biased reporters; and some avowedly disinterested narrators have sometimes gone wide of the mark at which they have aimed." Harold A. Larrabee, Reliable Knowledge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), p. 522.
that one's memory recall can be, and often is, faulty. That does not make such data unacceptable, however, since the recollection of an event or a situation does represent the way a person looks upon a past experience now. Because of memory errors, a current description of a past event may differ from a description presented earlier by the very same person, but it is necessary to know, not only the objective situation, but how it is viewed by the actor at different times.

Immigration and emigration data are always subject to certain limitations.\(^6\) Difficulties arise not only with regard to the lack of data but from the fact that the statistics compiled by the agencies of various countries are not always comparable. Definitions of "emigrant" and "immigrant" vary not only from one country to another but within the same country over a period of years. Moreover, the time references differ. Some countries compile immigration data on a calendar year basis while others use a fiscal year which usually ends in May or June. Difficulties in the analysis of the statistics on immigration from Finland to the United States arise from the following sources:

1. The compilation of emigration data did not begin in Finland until 1893. Up to 1924 these data considered an emigrant to be a person who had received a passport to go to work in a country outside of Europe whether the passport was actually used or not. After 1924 only those recipients of passports who actually left the country have been counted as emigrants, and migration to European countries is included in the compilations.

\(^6\)Demographers for the United Nations are of the opinion that "statistical tables of international migration are subject to many more difficulties than are tables on population, vital statistics and most other demographic subjects." Demographic Yearbook, 1948 (Lake Success: Statistical Office of the United Nations and the Department of Social Affairs, 1949), p. 31.
2. Prior to 1924 Finnish records did not distinguish between emigration to the United States, Canada and other American countries. The data for these countries were lumped into one category labeled "America."

3. The Statistical Bureau of Finland and the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service use different time references. The former employs the calendar year, the latter a twelve-month period ending on June 30.

4. Only since 1920, after the peak of Finnish immigration had passed, has the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service listed Finland separately from Russia as a "country of last residence" for immigrants. Earlier data, from 1872 through 1892, enumerated the immigrant Finns on the basis of "country of origin" or "nationality." Data gathered on the basis of "race or people" goes back to 1899. The statistics based on the "country of last residence" include, in addition to Finns, persons of other nationalities who had established residence in Finland prior to migrating to America. The statistics based on nationality and "race or people" include Finns who were living in other countries prior to their arrival to America as well as those who came from Finland.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, much reliance is placed upon the participant-observer role of the author in Finnish circles.

An interesting question relative to participant-observation is how far an observer should go in his participation in the life of the group he is studying. It is this writer's opinion that no clear and fast rule exists. Some situations are studied best with a minimum amount of participation; in others more intense participation is fruitful. "Through intensive participation in community life, the observer exposes himself to experiences which give him a firsthand knowledge of the more subtle pressures and counterpressures to which the members of the community are exposed. His introspection about his own experiences as a participant represents one of the most fruitful means of understanding the community's characteristics."

Rearmed in a Finnish immigrant home, he acquired early the ability to speak Finnish fluently. This language ability and his cultural training enabled him to participate in the social activities of the immigrants. Later when he began to observe these activities from a sociological point of view, he was not looked upon as an outsider who was trying to get information. He was, more or less, an accepted participant. This enabled him to gain some insight into the way the Finnish immigrant looks upon his life in the New World. At the same time, as a second generation Finn who felt the pull of American culture, he gained some appreciation of the "marginal" individual, the person who finds himself caught between cultures.

Needless to say, the author does not subscribe to the view that an individual who is part of the sub-culture he investigates inevitably introduces a bias which makes his interpretations and conclusions invalid. To the contrary, it is precisely because he has shared the culture of the Finns that he has chosen to study them. He feels, along with Simmel, that if participant-observation is productive of insights which might not be otherwise gained, it is justified.

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8Professor G. H. Sabine in discussing the role of the observer in the social sciences makes this pertinent comment: "The behavior which he observes and describes has as its frame of reference the common meaning of the actors—their purposes, valuations, and customs; and this body of meanings, if not shared by the observer, must at least be apprehended by him and accepted as an adequate ground for the action...it is the body of his own experiences which enables him to enter into and comprehend the experience of others." George H. Sabine, "Logic and Social Studies," Philosophical Review, XLVIII, p. 168.

C. Review of the Literature

A review of the literature is generally considered to be an indispensable part of a study of this nature. Its purpose is to indicate the author's familiarity with the studies and writings relating to the topic he has chosen for investigation. Since the author has already reviewed in an earlier study the pertinent Finnish and English-language literature pertaining to immigration from Finland and immigrant Finnish life in America, this review is concerned with a few major works that, because of spatial limitations, were not expanded upon in the earlier work, and one recently published historical treatment which merits consideration.

In 1944, Rafael Engelberg, an official of Suomi-Seura, a Finnish organization dedicated to the cultivation of goodwill between Finland and the Finnish immigrants in America, completed a 491 page work on Finland and the American Finns. Engelberg's thesis, which reflects his association with Suomi-Seura, is that the Finns in America are goodwill "ambassadors" and to the extent that they become "honorable" citizens of the United

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10Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, op. cit., I, pp. 34-6.

11The review revealed the following inadequacies: (1) little has been written on the Finns in comparison to the voluminous literature devoted to other ethnic groups; (2) only a few of the studies on the Finns have been conducted by sociologists; (3) the Finnish-language literature on the Finns in America is largely historical and much of it has been written to eulogize the "achievements" of individual Finns in their new homeland. See Walfrid J. Jokinen, The Finns in Minnesota: A Sociological Survey (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1953), pp. 9 ff.

12Suomi ja Amerikan Suomalaiset (Helsinki: Suomi Seura, 1944).
States to that extent they also reflect glory upon their fatherland.

Engelberg traces the relationships between Finland and the Finns in America from the early period when the immigrants were condemned in the press of Finland as betrayers of their fatherland to the present which is characterized by an emphasis on the maintenance of friendly relationships.

Much of the work is devoted to a description of the religious life of the Finnish immigrants. The history of the considerable number of Finnish immigrants who supported the cause of socialism receives scant notice, largely because this is the kind of activity which, Engelberg implies, tends to give the Finns a "bad name" in their new homeland.

Although falling short of desired objectivity, Engelberg's work must be rated among the better books now available on the activities of the immigrant Finns in America. The authenticity of its historical treatment (dates, places, and names) has been vouched for by other Finnish historians. In view of this fact, Engelberg's text is one of the basic sources used in this dissertation in the chapters devoted to the religious life of the immigrant Finns.

What Engelberg passes over with little notice is the central core of the history written by Elis Sulkanen. In fact, Sulkanen's work does not pretend to be a complete history of the Finns but the story of the role of the Finnish-Americans in the labor movement. Although writing for the large part dispassionately and with a conscious effort to be as objective as possible, Sulkanen makes it quite plain that he looks upon the activities of the Finns in the labor movement as a major contribution

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to the United States. At the same time, however, he does not condone all of the labor activities of the Finns. "Everything done on behalf of labor," he writes, "has not been beautiful nor to be approved." But he finds much more to condemn in the organized endeavors of Finnish religionists and others who actively opposed the socialistically inclined Finns. The history of all of the Finnish labor organizations, including the pro-I.W.W. clubs and socialist societies, as well as those that have been faithful in their adherence to the Stalinist "line," is recorded in Sulka¨nen's book which supplements an earlier standard text on Finnish labor organizations written by the late Franz Joseph Syrjala, a well-known editor.

An English-language contribution to the scholarly literature of one aspect of immigrant Finnish life was completed recently by John I. Kolehmainen, foremost historian of Finnish-American life. This latest work of his, Sow the Golden Seed, is the story, the first of its kind, of a Finnish-language newspaper. The paper is the Raivaaja (The Pioneer), which was affiliated with the American Socialist Party for thirty years and is now published by the Finnish-American League for Democracy.

Issued as a part of the newspaper's 50th anniversary celebration, Sow the Golden Seed is not considered by its author to be an "official" history. It is much more modest in scope. However, it does represent the first attempt to record for posterity the birth, growth, and decline of a major Finnish-language newspaper.

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14 Ibid., p. 6.


Kolehmainen relates the emergence of socialistic newspapers among the Finns to four factors: (a) the miserable working conditions that prevailed among the immigrants and gave rise to feelings of dissatisfaction; (b) the emergence of an anti-church movement as a reaction against the extremely puritanical programs promulgated by the Finnish clergy; (c) a growing faith in man's reason and the power of knowledge; and (d) the arrival of agitators who took the lead in the formation of associations for the advancement of socialism.

Using newspaper sources to good advantage, Kolehmainen follows the turbulent trail of the Raivaaja, describing the newspaper's battles with other labor publications, each of which also professed to be the voice of the vanguard in the struggle against capitalism.

Of interest sociologically, and warranting further study, are the changes that occurred in the Raivaaja's view of the world (and in the views of other Finnish newspapers as well) as a result of domestic and international events and the demographic changes in the immigrant population. Kolehmainen's study provides additional data on which to base speculations regarding the manifest and latent functions of Finnish-language newspapers.

Many other works, both Finnish and English, provided specific information, as well as orientation, to this study. Since they will be introduced to the reader in the contexts in which they are used, a recounting of them here is not considered necessary.

D. Frame of Reference

Since this is a sociological study, tools, concepts, and theories of that science are employed. Findings of other sciences, physical as
well as social, are introduced whenever such findings give added insight into the problem being investigated or provide data for sociological interpretations. In determining what facts to use from the accumulated knowledge of other sciences, the following question was kept in mind: Will this information broaden our understanding of the social relations that characterize the Finnish people in the United States? Needless to say, many things which would be considered to be of great significance from other points of view are omitted or given only scant attention.

Several methods were utilized in the collection, organization, and interpretation of the data of this study. The principal ones are the historical, statistical, and participant-observation methods.

Although a detailed historical account of Finland and the Finnish people is not incorporated into this work, a historical perspective is maintained throughout, and history is relied upon in the description and interpretation of changes that have occurred in the lives of the immigrants and their descendants.

The limitations of historical data and the justification for the participant-observation approach have been outlined in the paragraphs devoted to sources and limitations of data.

Statistical procedures are used mainly in the presentation, comparison, and interpretation of immigration and census data. Much of the data is presented in graphic form to make it more meaningful and to facilitate interpretation. Differences are measured by percentages, ratios, and rates.

As a result of his review of the literature on immigration and during the course of his sociological investigations, the author has evolved a frame of reference he considers to be of considerable value in the understanding of immigration and the social life of immigrants and their
offspring in America. No claims to originality are made in regard to this conceptual scheme. It draws heavily upon conclusions reached by various students of ethnic relations.  

Immigration is viewed in this dissertation as a social process which includes, in addition to the actual transplantation of people from one country to another, motivations for migration, and the institutionalization of immigrant behavior in the receiving country. Motivations for migration exist in both countries. The country of origin supplies the so-called "push" factors, the receiving country the "pull" factors. The former give the initial impetus to migration, the latter determine its direction. The "push" factors include such things as famines, population pressure, and political oppression. Within the individual these factors give rise to "a feeling of frustration and inadequacy." The "pull" factors, on the other hand, represent the existence or imagined existence of opportunities to relieve the frustration.

It is important to note that the "push" factors do not necessarily represent within the individual a feeling of insecurity and inadequacy in every main sphere of social life. Eisenstadt distinguishes four such spheres:

First he (the immigrant) may feel that his original society does not provide him with enough facilities for and possibilities of adaptation, i.e., that he cannot

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17 Special mention should be made of S. N. Eisenstadt whose general frame of reference the author discovered to coincide closely with the one he was developing. See S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigration (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), pp. 1-26.

18 For a general analysis of immigration in terms of these factors see William C. Smith, Americans in the Making (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939), Chapters 2 and 3.

19 Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 2.
maintain a given level of physical existence or ensure his, or his family's survival within it. Secondly...his migration may be prompted by the feeling that certain goals, mainly instrumental in nature (e.g., economic or other satisfactions) cannot be attained within the institutional structure of his society of origin...Thirdly, the immigrant may feel that within the old society he cannot fully gratify his aspirations to solidarity, i.e., to complete mutual identification with other persons and with the society as a whole...Fourthly, he may feel that his society of origin does not afford him the chance of attaining a worthwhile and sincere pattern of life, or of following out a progressive social theory, or at any rate does so only partially.20

The immigrant's image of the new country and his expectations are determined to a large degree by the felt inadequacies or frustrations which caused him to look beyond the borders of his native land. Similarly his reactions to his new environment indicate to some extent the success or lack of success he has in removing the frustrations which prompted him to migrate.

That the actual physical process of migration involves great social changes in the lives of the immigrants individually and collectively has been pointed out by numerous writers.21 Generally, following Thomas and Znaniecki, the concept of social disorganization and its corollary, reorganization, are used to describe and analyze this change. Social disorganization is said to exist when mores and other social rules no longer

20Tbid., p. 3.

exert their usual influence and the people formerly under the sway of these rules have not, as yet, developed new frames of reference for their behavior. Historian Oscar Handlin sums up this process in the following words:

Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replaced them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behavior were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances...Without the whole complex of institutions and social patterns which formerly guided their actions, these people became incapable of making or evading decisions.

Another—and a supplementary—way to look at this process is in terms of social roles. In leaving his native land the immigrant "detaches himself from many—sometimes most—of the social roles he had previously performed, and becomes limited to a restricted field and group." Thus, for the immigrant there arises in his new environment the necessity to "forget" old roles and adopt new ones. In other words, in order to become absorbed into the receiving society, he must expand


24 A social role is used here as the set of prescribed behaviors expected of individuals who fill given positions in specific groups. Social roles provide the basis for communication between people by defining how certain people should behave in relation to other people. Consequently they may be looked upon as mediums which facilitate, or limit, the integration of individuals into a group. See Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 485-7.

25 Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 4.
his field of social participation. Often, however, there is no need, or at least little desire on his part to do so. Suppose, for example, that the initial impetus which caused him to leave his native land was of economic origin. In such an event he might conceive of his role only in terms of finding ways to overcome his economic frustrations. His aspiration may be merely to earn enough money to return to his native land with the financial security with which to assume there the position and roles he imagines are his. Thus he does not feel any need to learn other roles which would fit him into the social life of the new country. Moreover, if the primary-like groups to which he belongs provide him with a feeling of acceptance and belonging, he may never become "Americanized" in his total behavior pattern. However, as far as the role which helps to allay his frustrations is concerned, he does follow the "American" pattern. For example, the farmer who has never learned English, who retains his old country food habits, and who keeps aloof from the outside

26 The terms reference group and membership group are applicable in the analysis of this situation. The group to which an individual's standards, attitudes and status aspirations are related to is his reference group. The group to which he actually belongs is his membership group. Often the group to which an individual relates himself and the one to which he belongs are the same. Sometimes, however, he is a member of one group but uses another group as the frame of reference for his behavior and aspirations. The immigrant whose ethnic group is both his membership and reference group expands his field of social participation in the receiving society only to the extent to which his group calls for such expansion. On the other hand, the member of an ethnic group who relates his attitudes, standards, and aspirations to another group of which he is not a member, is not satisfied with all of the role-expectations of his membership group. Often, of course, he may misinterpret the behavior-expectations of his reference group. For discussions of the role of membership and reference groups in social relations see: Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), p. 225 ff., and Munasfer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 122-156.
society, learns quite readily the norms and patterns of behavior expected of him as a dealer in farm commodities. In short, the immigrant's behavior in one area of his life may become "Americanized" much sooner and more thoroughly than in other areas.

As Eisenstadt indicates, the number and kinds of roles the immigrant achieves or assumes are related in part to the social structure of the receiving country. Students of society are familiar with Linton's three-fold typology of societal roles—Universals, Specialties, and Alternatives. The Universal roles are those which are common to all the members of the society, the Specialties are those which are shared by certain socially recognized groupings, and the Alternatives are those which "represent different reactions to the same situations or different techniques for achieving the same ends." In a multi-group society such as ours, immigrants are expected to conform to certain Universal roles. They also have Special roles which are allocated only to people of their status, and Alternative roles which provide them with some choice in the matter of techniques to be employed. The Special and Alternative roles of the various groups do not remain unchanged. At the time when immigration to the United States was at its height, the arrival of new groups of immigrants tended to increase the Alternatives of those who had arrived earlier. That is essentially what occurs when the arrival of new immigrants pushes earlier arrivals up the social and occupational ladder.


28 Ibid., p. 274.

An analysis in terms of Universal, Alternative, and Special roles helps to explain why the existence of distinct ethnic communities should not be looked upon as absolute indicators of a lack of adjustment on the part of the members of the ethnic groups. The members of such groups may have accepted and perform adequately the necessary Universal roles while the Special and Alternative roles which are theirs do not endanger the position of the dominant groups. Tensions may often develop not because the members of an ethnic or racial group have failed to perform certain roles but because they have strived to achieve or assume roles which are barred to them. If the members of the sub-culture are satisfied with the roles as they are defined by the dominant groups their behavior is such that they do not infringe upon forbidden ground. As Linton puts it:

Once a satisfactory adaptation has been achieved there is no incentive for the individuals who share a particular sub-culture to give up their distinctive habits. These habits constitute Specialties, from the point of view of the culture as a whole, and are an integral part of it. While they may subject those who share them to jests and good-natured ridicule, they have the reinforcement of general recognition.

Unable to speak English and looked upon as inferior beings in the dominant groups' scheme of things, most Finns, like the members of other ethnic groups, found it necessary to realize many of their social and

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30 Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 276.

31 E.g., Thomas Capek, The Czechs in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920); Galitz, op. cit.; Wasyl Halich, Ukrainians in the United States (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937); Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit.; and John Wargelin, Americanization of the Finn (Hancock, Michigan: Lutheran Book Concern, 1924).
personal needs through their own nationality groupings. These groupings, irrespective of their stated functions, helped to make life a little more bearable in a strange environment.

As far as the native-born children of immigrants are concerned, they, like other children, acquire at birth the status of their parents. In the socialization process these children are exposed to the values and patterns of behavior of their family-groups as well as to those outside of the ethnic community. Often the role-expectations developed in the family circle are quite different from those that are expected of the child outside the home. Sometimes a conflicting set of attitudes and values places the native-born individual in a "marginal" position. The extent to which these conflicting expectations disturb him depends upon the degree to which he has internalized them. Even if they do disturb him, he does not always become maladjusted, disorganized, or demoralized. In fact, in some cases "marginality" may have "a highly stimulating effect...leading to extraordinary accomplishments." The second generation "marginal" person may react in one of three possible ways. He may reject his parental group and relate his behavior,

32The term "marginal" man was coined by Robert E. Park who described such an individual as "a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted...in the new society in which he now sought to find a place." "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIII (May, 1928), p. 892. W. C. Smith considers a member of the second generation to be a "marginal" man "par excellence." op. cit., p. 246.


34Ibid., p. 513.
as completely as possible, to what he believes to be the norms and values of American society; he may withdraw from the "outside" culture which stamps him as an inferior person and become an "immigrant" in his attitudes, values and norms; or he may attempt to ignore the differences that exist between the cultures, moving back and forth from one to the other without identifying himself with either.

The way of life of an immigrant group does not remain unchanged in the United States. In the changes which occur the second generation child plays an important role. By his behavior he may either strengthen the family's adherence to "old country" values or he may be the agency through which the family begins to absorb parts of the new culture. When the child enters school he comes into contact with a new language and new ways of behavior. He carries this language and these new ways of behavior to his home. In other words, he becomes the interpreter of the new culture to his parents. In many situations in which the use of English is imperative, the parents come to be dependent upon the child, thus reversing the earlier family situation in which the child was the dependent member of the family.

It is true, of course, that all ethnic groups do not have the same status. Some are rated somewhat "better" or more "desirable" than others. The legislation which was enacted in the 1920's to restrict immigration to the United States was designed to give preference to the

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immigrants from the countries of northern and western Europe.\textsuperscript{36} This fact deserves attention in the analysis of the absorption of immigrants into American society.

The frame of reference presented in this chapter is not intended to be definitive. It merely represents, in general, the process of migration as it appears to the writer. All too briefly, the main points of this frame of reference may be summarized as follows:

1. Immigration is a social process involving motivations for migration, the transplantation of persons to a new social environment, and the institutionalization of behavior in new surroundings.

2. The institutionalization of behavior is related to the learning of new social roles and the "forgetting" of old ones.

3. The new roles include Universals, Specialties, and Alternatives. Misinterpretations of roles and refusals to accept the role-definitions of the dominant groups lead to tensions and conflicts. The "adjusted" group, from the point of view of the dominant groups, is the one which accepts, or adheres to, the dominant groups' role-definitions.

4. Unable to communicate in the language of their new homeland, and with their area of social participation limited because of their lowly economic position and the restrictive role-definitions of the dominant groups, the immigrants find it necessary to withdraw into their own social groupings for the fulfillment of many of their personal and

\textsuperscript{36} The details of these legislative acts and their effect upon the movement of peoples from Finland to the United States are discussed in Chapters II, III, and IV. For a general discussion of immigration in the national history of the United States see T. Lynn Smith, \textit{Population Analysis} (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948), pp. 306-23.
social needs. This withdrawal reinforces "in group" feelings. As a consequence, the dominant culture tends to be looked upon by the "in group" immigrants as something inferior, and attempts are made to prevent the children from being "swallowed" by it.

5. The foreign-language organizations formed in the United States, although often bitterly at odds, help to return to the immigrant the feeling of belonging which he tends to lose in the early phases of the migration process and which is not supplied for him by the receiving country.

6. The children of the immigrants are exposed in the socialization process to new values and patterns of behavior, and although they may be the interpreters of this new culture to their parents, they may become "marginal" individuals finding themselves not quite accepted by either group.

E. Order of Presentation

The fourfold purpose of this dissertation is reflected in its plan. Four chapters are devoted to the history, development, growth and decline, and the present demographic and economic status of the immigrant Finns in the United States. Special reference is made to the factors contributing to the changes which have occurred.

These chapters are followed by a demographic comparison of the immigrant and native-born Finns. Then the discussion turns to an analysis of the social life of the Finns in the United States. Domestic, religious, educational, political, and economic patterns of behavior are investigated. The final chapter summarizes the status of the Finn in the United States today.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND IMMIGRATION FROM FINLAND

A. Introduction

It is customary to approach the study of an immigrant group in the United States with a detailed presentation of the history of the land from which the immigrants have arrived. While this approach has the advantage of establishing a backdrop against which later developments can be viewed, it often becomes merely a separate and isolated part of the study, and the linking of the historical aspects to other parts of the study is left up to the critical reader.

In this study only the broad outlines of the history of Finland are presented at the outset. More detailed analyses of specific phases of Finnish history are made in later chapters dealing with the institutionalized activities of the Finnish people in the United States. The justification for this approach is that the social institutions developed by the Finns must be viewed through time in order to get a better perspective of what they mean today.

Before considering the history of Finland, a few words are in order regarding the geographical location and population characteristics
of this small country.¹

Finland is one of the most northerly countries in the world, lying between 50° 30' 10" and 70° 05' 30" North latitude and 19° 7' 3" and 31° 35' 20" East longitude. About one-third of the country's length, including Lapland, lies north of the Arctic Circle.

Finland is bounded on the west by Sweden, Norway, and the Gulf of Bothnia, on the south by the Gulf of Finland, on the east by Russia, and on the north by Norway. It has common land boundaries with three countries, Norway, Sweden, and Russia. The longest of these is the 793 mile border with Russia. The land boundary with Sweden runs 335 miles, and the one with Norway 465 miles.

The total area of Finland is 130,085 square miles of which nine per cent is comprised of lakes. Most of the major cities are located along the sea coasts or on rivers.

The first census in Finland, in 1749, returned a population of slightly more than 500,000. The one million mark was reached in 1811, two million in 1880, and three million in 1910. During the forty-year period following 1910 the population increased by more than one million, the official figure in 1950 being 4,032,698.²

¹The geographic data and population statistics presented in this section come from the following sources: The Finland Yearbook, 1947 (Helsinki: Mercatorio Kirjapaino ja Kustannus Oy, 1948); Jaakko Kihlberg, Speaking of Finland (Helsinki: Kustannus Oy Mantere, 1952); Jukka Miesmaa, Facts About Finland (Helsinki: Otava Publishing Company, 1952); and Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja, 1951 (Helsinki: Tilastollinen Paatoinisto, 1951).

²This figure does not include the population remaining in the areas ceded to Russia following the Russo-Finnish War, 1941-44. Most of the people in ceded areas moved to Finland.
One of Europe's most sparsely populated countries, Finland had a population density (in ratio to land area) of 34.2 persons per square mile in 1950. The distribution of the population has always been uneven, the southern region being the most densely populated.³

Ethnically the population of Finland is composed of two groups, Finnish and Swedish. The Lapps, the original group, are located in the northernmost portions of the country and are numerically insignificant, only 2,500 of them being enumerated in 1950.

The Swedish minority lives on the western coast of Finland, along the southern shores, on the Aland Islands, and in Helsinki, the capital. Numerically the Swedish population has shown a continuous increase, but in relative importance it has declined. The 69,000 Swedes in Finland in 1749 made up 16.3 per cent of the population. By 1865 the total number of Swedes had increased to 250,000, but their proportion of the population had dwindled to 13.9 per cent. In 1910, the absolute number was 338,967, the percentage, 11.6. Twenty-five years later, in 1930, the number of Swedes had reached 343,000 but they constituted only 10.1 per cent of the population. During the two decades, 1930-1950, the Swedish population increased slowly. In 1950, there were 346,813 Swedes in Finland, this figure representing 8.6 per cent of the population.

While Finland is still predominantly a rural country, there has been an accelerating growth of urban areas during the present century. This urbanization can be accounted for by the annexation of suburbs by

³The reasons for this pattern of settlement are largely historical. The southernmost parts of the country were settled first and received the greatest attention from Sweden and Russia during the periods when Finland belonged to these countries.
towns and the expected rural-urban migration which generally accompanies industrialization.

In 1900, 12.5 per cent of Finland's 2,655,900 people lived in urban areas. By 1925, the percentage had reached 17.1. In 1950, 32.3 per cent of Finland's 4,032,698 persons were reported living in urban areas.

The rural-urban shift in the population is even more pronounced if the agricultural population (those who make their living from farming) is compared with the number and percentage of those engaged in industry and handicrafts. The percentage of agriculturists is on the decline while the percentage in industry and handicrafts is on the increase. In 1880, 77.1 per cent of the population was dependent on agriculture. By 1940, the percentage was down to 51.5.

A relative excess of females has characterized the population of Finland for the past two centuries. In 1750, the sex ratio was 90.8. In 1800, it was 94.8. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the females still outnumbered the males, the sex ratio being 97.9. In 1938, just prior to the outbreak of war with Russia, the sex ratio was 97.2. By 1944, it had dropped to 93.3. The postwar period has seen a slight increase in the numerical importance of the males, although the females continue to outnumber them. In 1949 the sex ratio was 93.6.

This historical imbalance between the sexes has resulted from the following factors: (1) war losses suffered by the men,4 (2) emigration

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4How many hundreds of thousands of Finns lost their lives in the wars between Sweden and Russia during the centuries when Finland was under the domination of these countries is not known. Fifty thousand persons are known to have lost their lives in the Civil War of 1918. The number of persons, mostly young men, killed in the Finno-Russian Wars, 1939-44, was 79,047, 61 per cent of them between 20 and 29 years of age. They left behind them 30,000 widows and 50,000 orphans. Fifty thousand men were permanently disabled. See Arne Halonen, Suomen Luokkasota (Superior, Wisconsin: Tyomics Society, 1928), pp. 336-344; and Jukka Miesmaa, op. cit., p. 9.
which drained off more males than females, and (3) longevity of life which favors the female.

During the twentieth century the sex ratio has favored the female in the rural as well as the urban environment, but the difference has been greater in the urban areas. The sex ratio for the rural areas for the years 1900 and 1949 was 98.8 and 96.2 respectively. In the urban areas for the corresponding years it was 88.1 and 81.7.

The effect of the wars with Russia on the composition of Finland's population is clearly noticeable in the changes which have occurred in the age-sex and marital make-up of the population. In 1930, nine years before the outbreak of the first Finno-Russian war, the males outnumbered females in all the ten-year categories below the age of thirty. From the age of thirty upward, the females predominated numerically reflecting the longevity which favors them. Ten years later, in 1940, after only one year of war, the predominance of females began at the age of twenty. This situation still existed in 1949.

In 1949, 38.7 per cent of Finland's males were under twenty years of age, 29.9 per cent were 20-39, 22 per cent were 40-59, 8.3 per cent were 60-79, and .8 of one per cent were 80 or over. Among the females the percentages for the corresponding age categories were 34.3, 29.9, 22.3, 11.1 and 1.1.

With regard to marital status, in 1948, the last year for which the author has official figures, 55.9 per cent of the males were single, 40.6 per cent were married and 3.4 per cent were widowed, divorced, or separated. Among the females, 51.6 per cent were unmarried, 37.8 per cent were married, and 10.6 per cent, or better than one out of every ten, were widowed, divorced, or separated.
B. **Historical Background**

In the first centuries of the Christian era nomadic fur hunters, presumably from central Russia,\(^5\) settled in the southern part of the country now known as Finland.\(^6\) Pushing the original settlers, the Lapps, northward, the Finns established themselves in three southern areas by the eighth century.

As far as is known, the Finns made no efforts to establish a united nation and remained in a tribal state until the twelfth century when political unity was achieved as a result of the crusades initiated by King Erick IX of Sweden. The stated objective of these crusades was to "Christianize" the pagan Finns.\(^7\) The end justified the means, and

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\(^5\)The ancestral home of the Finno-Ugric linguistic family to which the Finns belong, along with the Esthonians, Turks, and the Magyars of Hungary, is believed to have been between the bend of the Volga and the Ural mountains. The once-proclaimed theory that the Finns are of a Mongolian strain has few adherents today. Most modern anthropologists agree with Carleton Coons that the Finns were originally purely European in race, although their geographical propinquity to Mongolian groups lends some credence to the view that some intermingling occurred. For discussions regarding the origin of the Finns see Carleton S. Coons, *The Races of Europe* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 326-42; Roland B. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 42; Uno T. Sirelius, *The Genealogy of the Finns: The Finno-Ugrian Peoples* (Helsinki, Finland: Government Printing Office, 1925); and Hans R. Wasastjerna, "Nykysuomalaisten Tiedemiesten Kasityksia Suomen Esihistoriasta," *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* (Duluth, Minnesota: Finnish-American Historical Society, 1955), pp. 60-63.

\(^6\)The Swedes are believed to have been the first to use the name "Finland" which is generally interpreted to mean, "Land of the Finns." However, since the Swedish word "fenna" means "to find" it may be that originally Finland meant "Discovered Land." The Finns call their country "Suomi" and themselves "Suomalaiset." Since the Finnish word "suo" means "marsh" the word "Suomi" is interpreted as "Land of the Marshes" and "Suomalaiset" as "People of the Marshland."

\(^7\)Hugh Shearman questions the pious motives advanced by the Swedish rulers during the crusades by noting that "the sixteenth century of our era found the inhabitants of the northern and less profitable parts of Finland still unconverted to Christianity." *The Adventures of a Small Power* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1950), p. 3.
consequently, much blood was spilled in the "Christianization" process.

By the end of the thirteenth century, Finland had become a part of the Swedish kingdom, although it was not until the middle decades of the fourteenth century that Finland was granted the right to participate in the election of the king and was called upon to supply men for Sweden's expanding and militant armed forces. Swedish nobles were rewarded with huge tracts of land in Finland and were nominally the rulers, although many districts were actually administered by influential Swedish traders. In fact, "the limits of real Swedish influence correspond to the limits of the areas exploited by these traders."§

In the sixteenth century, led by Gustavus I (1523-1560), of the powerful Vasa dynasty, Sweden became, for a time, a power to be reckoned with in Europe. It was Gustavus I who brought the Reformation to Finland and converted the Finns from Catholicism to Lutheranism.⁹

The Vasa dynasty, led by soldier kings, warred with Russia through the latter half of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. These wars left Finland on the brink of exhaustion¹⁰ and gave rise to a stratified society in which Swedish generals, who had been given huge tracts of land, formed the highest strata. Beneath them were the clergy, the business elements, and the functionaries of the state. Forming the base of

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§Ibid., p. 8.

⁹The teaching of Lutheranism, according to Hampden Jackson, was an "afterthought." King Gustavus was primarily concerned with political measures which included the confiscation of wealth from the Catholic Church to finance the Swedish army. Finland (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1938), p. 35.

¹⁰It has been estimated that a third of the population of Finland had perished through famine about the time Gustavus II assumed the throne. Shearman, op. cit., p. 11.
the social pyramid were the "uneducated" Finns, who did not speak Swedish. All governmental activities were carried on in Swedish.

During the last half of the eighteenth century, Finland was able to live at peace, and it was during this period that the first rumblings of nationalism were heard.

Early in 1808, Napoleon of France tried to get Sweden to participate in a blockade against England. When these attempts failed, Napoleon induced Emperor Alexander of Russia to make war upon Sweden. In the fall of 1808 Sweden was forced to surrender Finland to Russia. In 1809, Alexander announced that the new territory would have the status of an autonomous Grand Duchy. But the conduct of Finnish affairs was left in the hands of the Swedish-Finn upper classes, thereby deepening the gulf which existed between the Finnish population and the Swedish-Finn minority.\(^\text{11}\)

Alexander I and his successor, Alexander II, opposed the growing imperialist elements in Russia who were clamoring for complete absorption of Finland. During the reign of Alexander III, however, the nationalists began to exert their influence, and various measures were passed limiting the autonomy of the Finnish Diet.

In 1894, young Nicholas II succeeded his father and opened the first of two campaigns to Russify Finland.\(^\text{12}\) The Finnish constitution

\(^{11}\)It is believed that Tsar Alexander was under the assumption that he had annexed a Swedish province. "The culture was Swedish, the religion was Swedish; when he visited the country the language in which the Diet greeted him was Swedish. The peasants, he was told, spoke a barbarous tongue of their own; but for all Alexander knew that might well be a dialect of Swedish, as Little Russian was of Russian." Ralph Butler, The New Eastern Europe (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1919), p. 9.

\(^{12}\)Finland was not the only country in which a Russification program was conducted. From 1876 to 1903, and from 1906 to 1917, the Ukraine was subjected to the same sort of treatment as Finland. See Halich, op. cit., pp. 5-6.
was virtually suspended, Finnish officials were replaced by Russians, Lutheranism was made a subservient religion, and the Russian language was forced upon the Finns in every possible way. Led by nationalists, who were calling for a Finland for the Finns, and the Social democrats, who were successful in gaining nation-wide support for an anti-Russian general strike in 1905, the Finnish people forced the Tsar to revoke his plans.

In 1908, when Russia began her second Russification campaign in Finland, Finns began to talk more demandingly about complete independence. Finally, in 1918, shortly after the Russian revolution, Finland declared herself free. The declaration was recognized by the Bolshevik government of Russia but a bitter civil war broke out in Finland between the workers, led by the Social-Democratic Party, and the old landed aristocracy which was supported by the bourgeoisie. The crux of the difference lay in the

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13 Nationalism began in Finland in the nineteenth century as a literary movement. It was felt that complete absorption by Russia could be prevented only by developing a distinct national culture. The nationalists strived to make Finnish the official language along with Swedish. The standard work on the development of nationalism in Finland is John H. Wuorinen, *Nationalism in Modern Finland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

14 The rise of the labor movement in Finland was closely associated with the development of nationalism. The earliest workers' organizations were educational clubs established in the 1860's by middle-class elements to promote the nationalist movement. Later in the 1880's and 1890's, after the development of trade-unions, a radicalization of labor occurred and the middle-class elements could no longer control the Workers' Associations. The Social-Democratic Party was formed in 1899 as the Labor Party of Finland. It adopted its present name in 1903. An excellent account of the labor movement in Finland is Y. K. Laine, *Suomen Poliittisen Tyovaenliikkeen Historia* (Helsinki: Tammi Kustannusyhtiö, 1946).

15 In some quarters preparations were made to use military force, if necessary. University students, aided by their professors, made their way to Germany to receive military training. Wuorinen, *Nationalism in Modern Finland*, p. 217.
fact that while the nationalists wanted political independence for Finland, the Socialists were looking for more fundamental changes in the social and economic structure of the country. The Socialists received some aid from Russian Bolshevists while the forces of the landed aristocracy were supported by Germany in the form of men and guns. At the conclusion of the war, one faction of the landed aristocracy made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a monarchy and import a king from Germany.\(^\text{16}\) Although the landed aristocracy emerged victorious, the Social Democrats were to play an important role in the future political life of the nation. A new republican constitution, which has remained virtually unchanged, was ratified on July 17, 1919.

The period from 1920 to 1939 is generally considered to have been one of progress, although the nation was affected by the world-wide depression in early 1930's and had to stave off a fascist threat in 1929-32.\(^\text{17}\)

Twice during the five-year period from 1939 to 1944 Finland became embroiled in war with the Soviet Union. The first of these wars broke out on November 26, 1939, after the Finnish government had refused to grant military bases to the Russians and ended after sixteen weeks of intense fighting with Finland being forced to capitulate and cede more than one-tenth of her arable land and industrial capacity to Russia.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{16}\) For interpretations of the Finnish Civil War see Ibid.; Halonen, op. cit.; and Laine, op. cit.

\(^{17}\) For the story of the rise and fall of the fascist movement in Finland and its ties with the Hitler regime in Germany, see Erwin C. Lessner, "Finland," Encyclopedia Americana, 1947 (New York: Americana Corporation, 1947).

\(^{18}\) Kihlberg, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
The second Finno-Russian war broke out in June, 1941, and lasted until September, 1944. For the greater part of this war Finland was an ally of Hitler's German government. The United States, which had strongly supported Finland during the first Finno-Russian conflict, now found itself, as an ally of Soviet Russia, pleading with Finland to withdraw from the war. Finally, in 1942, after the Finnish government had made a pledge to Hitler not to make a separate peace with Russia, the United States was forced to break off diplomatic relations with the Helsinki government.  

In the Armistice Agreement, signed in September, 1944, Finland ceded additional areas to Russia and was ordered to disarm and turn over to the Soviet authorities the German military units, some 200,000 men, in northern Finland. When the Germans refused to surrender, the Finns found themselves at war with their recent allies. After eight months of fighting the last German was driven across the border into Norway.

During the post-World War II period the Finnish government has attempted to remain on friendly terms with the Russian government but has refused to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. The Communists have not been able to take over the government.

Internally Finland has made great progress since 1945. The cities, factories, and homes destroyed during the wars have been rebuilt, the social security program has been broadened, and living standards have

19 The effect that the Finno-Russian wars and the position taken by the United States had on Finnish activities in the United States is discussed in Chapter VII.

20 That Russia is not at all certain about Finland politically is indicated by the fact that the Soviet government has vetoed all of Finland's attempts to get into the United Nations.
been raised. The reparations’ payments to Russia have been completed and more than 40,000 farm families, who voluntarily evacuated the areas Finland was compelled to surrender or lease to Russia, have been re-settled. 21

C. Emigration to America

On the basis of historical and statistical evidence the emigration of Finnish people to America can be said to have occurred during three historical periods. The first was the period of the seventeenth century when Finns accompanied Swedes into the Delaware Valley and helped to establish the New Sweden colony. The second extended from 1800 to the middle of the nineteenth century and saw the migration of Finns into Alaska which at that time was owned by Russia. The third, and most important phase, began in the late 1850’s and continued in three separate waves up to the outbreak of World War I and the erection of immigration barriers by the United States government.

1. The Delaware Period

Least is known about the first of these periods. 22 Finland was then a part of the Swedish kingdom and many Finns, as subjects of Sweden,


22 Serious research on the role of the Finns in the settlement of the Delaware Valley which includes portions of three states, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, was not begun until 1938 when a celebration was arranged to observe the three-hundredth anniversary of the first permanent settlement in the Delaware River Valley. Preparations for this celebration were initiated by Swedish organizations. The U. S. Congress, on June 5, 1936, approved a resolution authorizing the President to extend
had migrated to central and western Sweden to engage in agricultural pur-
suits. It was these areas which furnished the Finns who joined the
Swedes on their first trips to the New World.

The first Swedish-Finnish colony was established near the present
site of Wilmington, Delaware, in 1638. A total of thirteen expeditions
followed. A small settlement named Finland made its appearance on the
shore of the Delaware River, and an area in New Jersey is still known
today as Finn's Point.

Although the Finns who settled in central Sweden in the sixteenth
and seventeenth centuries had done so at the invitation of the Swedish
government, their ancient method of making forest land arable by burning
forests and underbrush brought them by the middle of the seventeenth
century into conflict with the authorities, who complained about the waste-
fulness of the method. Ordinances were passed condemning the practice,

 Footnote continued to the Swedish government an invitation to partici-
pate in the festivities. Later, on August 21, 1937, after numerous com-
plaints from Finnish dignitaries and organizations regarding the omission
of Finland, this resolution was amended to include an invitation to the
Government of Finland. For an account of the deliberations in the United
States' Congress including an eloquent, if not historically accurate,
testimonial to the Finns by Hon. Frank H. Hook, see John H. Wuorinen,
Finns on the Delaware (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 121-
167.

23 Emigration from Finland to Sweden started about 1580 and contin-
ued to about 1700, reaching a total of about 13,000. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

24 Wuorinen notes that an earlier policy in Sweden had encouraged
the Finns to use this method and that the Swedes themselves were familiar
with the technique and practiced it. Ibid., pp. 15-16, and p. 100.
INSCRIPTION ON FINNISH MONUMENT, CHESTER, PA.

Kalevaiset kaukopursin
Yli Aaltojen Ajoivat
Tata Maata Mahtamahan
Rantoa Rankentamahan
Tanne Pallot Perkasivat
Piilusivat Pirtit Uudet

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NAILLA PAIKOIN OLI FINLAND NIMINEN UUDISASUTUS
TAMAN MANTEREEN ENSIMMAISTEN SUOMALAISTEN
SITEN KOTIMAansa MUISTOKSI NIMITTAMANA

TAMAN MUISTOMERKIN PYSTYTTIVAT VUONNA 1938
SUOMEN KANSA JA AMERIKAN SUOMALAISet
DELAWARE-JOKILAAKSON ENSIMMAlsEN
PYSYVAN VUONNA 1638 PERUSTETUN
SIIRTOKUNNAN SUOMALAISTEN MUISTOKSI

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Sons of Kaleva far sailing
Passed an ocean’s western reaches
To this soil their strength applying
On this shore a home established
Toiled their crops to sow and garner
Hewed their dwellings from the forest

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Near this spot stood a settlement named Finland
so called by the first Finnish settlers on this
continent in remembrance of their homeland

This memorial erected in 1938 by the Finnish nation
and the Finns in America in commemoration
of the Finnish pioneers of the first permanent
settlement in the Delaware River Valley in 1638

Figure 1. The inscription on the Finnish monument which
was unveiled on the 300th anniversary of the first Finnish
settlement in America at Chester, Pennsylvania, June 29,
1638.
one of them providing for the jailing and deportation of guilty persons
to the New Sweden colony. According to Engelberg, many of the con-
victed were brought aboard ships in chains. However, no "professional
criminals" were ever sent from Sweden to America.

Only estimates are available regarding the number of Finns in the
Swedish-Finnish settlements in the Delaware River area in the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries. These estimates place the proportion of Finns
at one-third to one-half of the inhabitants of the area. Ilmonen has
estimated the figure at 500. According to Wuorinen, Finns and Swedes
together numbered about 400 at the end of the Swedish period and the last
arrivals in 1664 brought 140 more Finns. Since the total population of
New England, Maryland, and Virginia was approximately 100,000 in 1664, it
is evident that the Finns and Swedes were numerically insignificant.
Moreover, this small group was speedily amalgamated into the English popu-
lation and New Sweden has become "only an historical incident, largely
lost in the greater, more compelling and more dramatic story of a new
nation in the making." The colony retained the name New Sweden for only

25 Ibid., p. 17. See also The Swedes and Finns in New Jersey (Bay-
onne, New Jersey: The New Jersey Commission to Commemorate the 300th
Anniversary of the Settlement of the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware,
1938), p. 27.
27 Naboth Hedin and Adolph B. Benson, Americans From Sweden (New
York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1950), p. 29. In addition to the prac-
ticing of so-called fire-agriculture, the petty crimes for which men were
deported included desertion, vagrancy, poaching, adultery, and failure to
pay debts.
28 See Engelberg, op. cit., p. 16.
29 Finns on the Delaware, p. 112.
30 Ibid., p. 118.
eighteen years. In 1656, the Dutch captured it and eight years later it became a British possession in the agreement which changed New Amsterdam into New York.

2. Migration to Alaska

When Finland became a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809, the way was opened for Finns to migrate to Alaska to participate in the fur trade which the Russians had begun to develop a few centuries earlier.\footnote{31}

Although immigration of Finns to Alaska increased from year to year up to the outbreak of the Crimean War, it is doubtful if the Finnish population of Alaska ever reached more than 500. During the war, 1854-55, a number of Russian fur companies, some of which had branch offices and recruiting services in Finland, were forced to cease their operations. When Russia finally sold Alaska to the United States in 1867, most of the Finns returned to their homeland. Others dispersed into Canada and the United States. Those who remained became absorbed into the Alaskan culture.\footnote{32}


\footnote{32}Perhaps the most prominent Finn in the Alaskan fur trade was Admiral A. A. Etholen, who served as a captain on several fur company ships and became governor-general of Alaska in 1839. Twenty years and four governors later another Finn, Captain Johan Hampus Furuhjelm, was named governor of the area. See Engelberg, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
3. The Modern Period

The modern period of migration from Finland to America can be said to have begun during the last half of the nineteenth century. In its earliest phase it involved seamen who were known to have "jumped" their ships, especially in San Francisco, to join the prospectors in the gold fields of California.

Later, during the Crimean War, 1854-55, many Finnish-manned Russian ships were captured by the English and the French or were sold in American harbors to prevent such capture. Many Finnish sailors who thus "lost" their ships became residents of American harbor cities. During the American Civil War, 1861-65, at least a small number of Finnish seamen joined the naval forces of the North and remained in the United States after the war.33

It was during the 1860's that immigration from Finland to the United States began to assume the character of a mass migration. In 1864, a group of Finns34 and Norwegians, recruited by the Quincy Mining Company of Hancock, Michigan, arrived to work in the copper mines in Upper Michigan. They were followed later by more Finns from Norway and directly from Finland. In 1873, when a panic swept across the United States opening a six-year period of industrial stagnation, nearly 1,000 Finns


34Large numbers of Finns, driven by hunger and poverty, migrated from northern Finland to Norway in the eighteenth century. Later, during the second decade of the nineteenth century, many Finns were attracted to the copper mines in northern Norway. Thus at least some of the Finns had knowledge of mining when they arrived in Michigan. For the story of the early migration from Finland to Norway see John I. Kolehmainen, Suomalaisten Siirtolaisuus Norjasta Amerikkaan (Fitchburg, Massachusetts: Raivaaja Kirjapaino, n.d.).
were reported living in the mining area of Michigan.\textsuperscript{35}

During the late 1870's migration to the United States began to increase again so that by 1890 it was estimated at five to six thousand persons per year. Ilmonen and Jarnefelt have estimated the number of Finns in the United States and Canada to have reached a total of 100,000 by 1893.\textsuperscript{36}

Another depression in the United States in 1893 curtailed immigration for a few years, but at the turn of the century the number of persons leaving Finland for the United States began to rise again and stayed on a relatively high level until the outbreak of World War I.

The compilation of official data on emigration did not begin in Finland until 1893, just as the exodus was beginning to assume group characteristics. Until 1924, all those who were granted a passport to seek employment in countries outside of Europe were classified as emigrants. After 1924, migration to European countries was included in the figures and only those who actually left the country were classified as emigrants.

According to the Finnish data nearly 365,000 persons left Finland during the fifty-seven year period from 1893 to 1950. As Table I indicates, the greatest out-migration occurred during the first decade of the twentieth century when 158,832 persons, or 43.8 per cent of the fifty-seven year total, left the country. A total of 67,346 persons, or 18.5 per cent of the total, emigrated between 1911 and 1920. The decade 1921 to 1930 saw 58,559, or 16.1 per cent of the total, leave the country. The period 1901 to 1920 thus contributed 62.3 per cent of the total emigration for the period 1893 to 1950, inclusive.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{36}S. Ilmonen, \textit{Amerikan Suomalaisten Sivistyshistoria} (Hancock, Michigan: Suomalais-Luterilainen Kustannusliike, 1930), pp. 9-10.
TABLE I
EMIGRATION FROM FINLAND, 1893-1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants</th>
<th>Percentage of the Total Emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-1900</td>
<td>47,557</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1910</td>
<td>158,832</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>67,346</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>58,559</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>8,844</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1950</td>
<td>22,329</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>363,467</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja, 1950 (Helsinki, Finland: Tilastollinen Paatolmisto, 1951), pp. 66-67. The first class interval contains only eight years as compared to ten years in the remaining intervals because the official compilation of emigration data did not begin until 1893.

Prior to 1924 Finnish records did not designate the United States as a "destination" of emigration. The United States, Canada, and other American nations were shown together as "America" in the tabulations. It has been estimated on the basis of reports issued by trans-Atlantic shipping concerns that forty per cent of the immigrants returned to their homeland. Deducting forty per cent from 248,635 leaves 149,181 as the net migration of Finns to "America" from 1893 to 1924. That the United States became the home for the bulk of those who remained overseas is

37 See Engelberg, op. cit., p. 34.
established by the census report of 1920 which enumerated nearly 150,000 foreign-born Finns in the forty-eight states. For the same year Canadian statistics indicate that only 12,156 foreign-born Finns were living in that country.\textsuperscript{39}

After 1924, as a result of the immigration restrictions enacted by the United States, the stream of emigration from Finland shifted to Canada. A study\textsuperscript{40} of the data shows that 28,090 persons migrated from Finland to Canada between 1924 and 1930 while only 3,212 traveled to the United States. After 1930, despite restrictions, the United States began to receive more Finnish migrants than Canada but not as many as Sweden. In fact, since 1930 Sweden has been the country most favored by those leaving Finland.

In addition to the statistics compiled by the Finnish government, the United States has two sets of statistical data on immigration. One of these, which goes back to 1820, classifies the arrivals to the United States on the basis of nationality or country of origin. The enumeration of the Finns does not begin, however, until 1872 and ceases in 1891. After 1891, in this set of data, the country of origin of the Finns is listed as Russia.

The second set of statistical data begins with the year 1899 and relates to the country of last residence of the migrants as well as to

\textsuperscript{38}This figure is larger than the total net migration of Finns to "America" for the period 1893 to 1924 because it includes the net migration, minus mortality, for the years preceding 1893.

\textsuperscript{39}The Canada Yearbook, 1922-23 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1924), p. 159.

\textsuperscript{40}See Jokinen, op. cit., p. 42.
"race or people." Finland, however, is not listed as a country of last residence for immigrants until 1920. Prior to that date Russia is listed in this set of data as the country of last residence for those who arrived from Finland. In view of the fact that the peak of Finnish immigration to the United States had passed by 1920, it is obvious that the data compiled on the basis of country of last residence are less complete than the data collected on the basis of "race or people." Therefore, it is the last-mentioned data that are relied upon most heavily in this chapter.

The various agencies[^1] that have collected immigration data have not always employed the same definition of terms. From 1820 to 1867 the statistics relate to alien passengers, not immigrants. From 1868 to 1900 and from 1895 to 1897 data were collected for alien immigrants, that is, those aliens, whether they were admitted or not, who planned to stay in the United States. For the remaining years the figures relate to the immigrants who were admitted.

Several other changes should be noted. Until 1903 only third-class passengers were counted as immigrants, and the aliens who traveled in the first and second class were omitted. Up to 1907 aliens who had been enumerated once as immigrants but had gone abroad for a visit were counted again as immigrants on their second arrival. Since 1907 an alien has been

[^1]: From 1820 to 1874 the immigration statistics were compiled by the Department of State, from 1867 to 1895 by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, and from 1892 to 1932 by the Bureau of Immigration, now a part of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. From 1933 to 1940 the Reports of the Secretary of Labor included a summary of the work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. For 1941, the report was contained in the Annual Report of the Attorney-General. No report was published in 1942. Beginning with 1943, the statistical data have been collected and published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. See Brinley Thomas, op. cit., pp. 42-55.
enumerated as an immigrant only on his first arrival. Beginning in 1906, data on the immigrant aliens have been compiled separately from the data on non-immigrants. The non-immigrants are those who state that they are not planning to settle in the United States, and all those who are returning from a stay abroad to homes established earlier in the United States.42

It is obvious from the foregoing description that it is impossible to know accurately the total number of Finnish immigrants admitted to the United States. By piecing the data together we can, however, ascertain the pattern of migration and the general characteristics of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival to our shores.

During the fiscal year 1872 (June 30, 1871 to June 30, 1872), a total of twenty-four persons who said that their nationality was Finnish arrived to the United States (see Table II). The annual figures remained below one thousand until 1887 when 1,822 Finns were reported among the arrivals. In 1888 the number increased to 2,231 and in 1891 to 5,281. After 1892, as has been noted, the data on nationality include the Finns with the Russians.

Table III, prepared from the data for the years 1899-1950, points up the period of heaviest migration from Finland to the United States. A study of this data reveals that approximately ninety per cent of the immigrants came during the period 1899 to 1920. In fact, six out of ten (64.1 per cent) were admitted between 1899 and 1910. A little more than seven per cent were admitted during the ten-year period 1921-30. Since 1930

### Table II

**Immigrant Finnish Aliens Admitted to the United States, by Nationality (Fiscal Year Ended June 30), 1872-1891***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Admitted</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Admitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>2,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>2,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>5,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17,635</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the number admitted has been negligible. These figures support the Fin-
nish data presented earlier (see Table I).

TABLE III

<p>| IMMIGRANT FINNISH ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BY PEOPLE (FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30), 1899-1950*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Since the first two decades of the twentieth century produced the
greatest influx of immigrants from Finland to the United States, the
annual figures from 1899 to 1924, the year which marks the enactment of
the restrictive legislation which reduced Finland's annual quota of im-
migrants to 569, are presented in Table IV. These figures show that a
total of 6,097 immigrant Finns were admitted into the United States in
1899. During the following year the number more than doubled, reaching
12,612. In 1901, it dropped slightly to 9,999. During the following
# TABLE IV

**IMMIGRANT FINNISH ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, BY PEOPLE (FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30), 1899-1924***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Admitted</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Admitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>6,097</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>6,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>12,612</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>12,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9,999</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>12,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>13,868</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>18,864</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>5,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>10,157</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>17,012</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>14,136</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>14,860</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>6,746</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>11,687</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>15,736</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>9,779</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>226,922</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

two years the stream of Finnish immigration was extremely strong, the all-time peak of 18,864 being reached in 1903. There was a dip in 1904, but the number climbed upward again to 17,012 in 1905. With the exception of the years 1908, 1911, and 1912, immigration from Finland exceeded 10,000 annually until 1915 when it dropped to 3,472. Needless to say, this reflects the effect of World War I.

Figure 2 has been prepared to show graphically the course of immigration from Finland to the United States. The point already made, that the bulk of the Finnish immigrants arrived during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, is clearly shown.

4. Quota Immigration

Relatively unimpeded immigration from Finland to the United States came to an end in 1921 with the enactment of the first quota law restricting the number of people that could be admitted into the country in any given year. The act of 1921 established an annual quota for each nation

---

43 Finnish data show the greatest outflow from Finland to have occurred in 1902. The discrepancy between the Finnish figures and those published by the United States can be accounted for, in part, by the fact that the Finnish figures are for calendar years while the United States data are for fiscal years ending on June 30.

44 A quota immigrant is anyone who is not a non-quota immigrant. Those who may at present enter as non-quota immigrants are as follows: (1) an unmarried child under 21 or the spouse of a citizen of the United States; (2) a lawfully admitted immigrant who is returning from a temporary visit abroad; (3) an immigrant born in Canada, Newfoundland, or any of the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere; (4) a former immigrant who has lost his citizenship but is eligible for reacquisition of citizenship; (5) a bona-fide minister, his wife and any children under 21 years of age; and (6) an immigrant who has been employed by the United States Government abroad for fifteen years, his wife and any children under 21 years of age. See World Almanac, 1954 (New York: World-Telegram and The Sun, 1954), p. 645.
Figure 2. Immigration from Finland to the United States, 1899-1924.
at three per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of that nationality living in the United States in 1910. The quota assigned to Finland on this basis was 3,921.

With an increasing demand for more rigid restriction, especially of persons from Southern and Eastern Europe, the United States Congress passed a new immigration law in 1924. This new law set up two systems of quotas, one temporary, the other "permanent." The temporary system was intended to remain in effect until July 1, 1927, in order to provide time for the working out of the "permanent" system. Subsequently extended to 1929, the temporary system limited the number of quota immigrants of each eligible country to two per cent of the number of foreign-born of that country in the United States in 1890, as enumerated by the Census Bureau. On this basis Finland's quota was slashed to a mere 471.

The "permanent" quota system of the 1924 act, the so-called national origins plan, went into effect in 1929. It provided for the apportionment of the total annual quota---153,774---among the eligible countries in the same proportions as the persons of those national origins were represented in the population of the United States in 1920.45

45According to the congressional committee that computed the quotas, there were 339,000 persons of Finnish origin in the United States in 1920. This number included 4,000 of colonial stock (that portion which is descended from population enumerated in the first census in 1790) and 335,000 of post-colonial stock (that portion which is descended from or consists of immigrants coming to the United States after 1790). The latter category was comprised of 150,000 immigrants, 147,000 children of immigrants, and 39,000 grandchildren of immigrants and their descendants. See Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1929 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), Table XVI, p. 105.
The quota system was modified slightly in 1952 with the passage of the controversial McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. This new act, which went into effect by Presidential Proclamation No. 2980 on January 1, 1953, limits the number of quota immigrants of each eligible country to six-tenths of one per cent of the number of inhabitants of that national origin living in the United States in 1920. Finland's quota on this basis was reduced by three to 566.

While several writers have implied that Finland has met its quota regularly, the figures published by the United States' Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that quite the opposite is true.

During the five-year period in which the quota law of 1921 was in effect (1921-1924), Finland failed to meet its quota only once, namely, in 1923 when 3,038 quota immigrants were admitted against the quota of 3,921. Each year from 1925 to 1929—with the exception of 1928—Finland fell short of its quota of 471.

The data on the number of quota immigrants admitted from Finland, 1930-1953, are presented in Table V. These data show that Finland has failed to meet its quota in every year, coming closest in 1930 and 1951 when 559 and 556 persons respectively were admitted against the quota of 569. In 1953 Finland fell short by 39 of filling the allotment allocated to it by the Walter-McCarran Act.

For the entire period 1930 to 1953 a total of 7,198 quota Finns were admitted to the United States. The number that might have been admitted under the quota system was 13,087. Finland thus fell short of its total allocation for the period by 5,889 persons, or 45 per cent.

TABLE V
QUOTA IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED FROM FINLAND
(FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30), 1930-53*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quota</th>
<th>Number Admitted</th>
<th>Number Less Than Quota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,087</td>
<td>7,198</td>
<td>5,889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sources: Statistical Abstract of the United States, for each of the years 1930-53 (Washington: Government Printing Office).
As was shown earlier in this chapter, people migrating from Finland are turning their attention to Sweden and Canada. Entry into both of these countries is considerably freer than it is into the United States.

C. Emigration

It is impossible to evaluate accurately the total volume of Finnish emigration from the United States because no records were kept of out-migration until the year 1908. Estimates mentioned earlier in this chapter place the percentage of those leaving at forty per cent of the total admitted into the United States. These estimates seem a little high, at least as far as the years 1908 to 1950 are concerned. A study of the data for this period (see Table VI) shows that 118,968 Finnish immigrants were admitted and 39,023 Finns departed. The percentage of those that left represented approximately 33 per cent of the number that were admitted.

An interesting situation, thus far unexplored sociologically, exists in Canada, in Port Arthur, Ontario, the locality which is a focal point of Finnish activities. It appears that the recent arrivals from Finland find much to criticize in the activities and behavior of the older Finnish immigrants. Ethnocentrism, with all its connotations of "in-group" and "out-group" feelings, is manifest. The newly-arrived Finns are forming their own cultural groups to keep from becoming contaminated by the "less civilized" older Finns. In comparing life in Canada to that in Finland, the newcomers generally find little to their liking in Canada. On the other hand, the older Finnish immigrants, including many former critics of Canada, rush to the defense of the Canadian way of doing things and tell the new arrivals, in effect, to "go back where you came from."
## TABLE VI

**IMMIGRANT FINNISH ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, AND EMIGRANT FINNISH ALIENS DEPARTING (FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30), 1908-1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Immigrants Admitted</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants Departing</th>
<th>Excess of Immigration Over Emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908-10</td>
<td>34,169</td>
<td>5,796</td>
<td>28,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-20</td>
<td>61,347</td>
<td>20,545</td>
<td>40,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-30</td>
<td>17,402</td>
<td>7,668</td>
<td>9,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-40</td>
<td>2,551</td>
<td>4,519</td>
<td>-1,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-50</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>3,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>118,968</td>
<td>39,023</td>
<td>79,945</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Only during one decade, 1931-40, did the number of Finnish emigrants exceed the number of Finnish aliens admitted into the United States. During this decade the number of immigrants was 2,551, the number of emigrants 4,519.

The basic reason underlying the increase in the outgoing movement of Finns and a corresponding decrease in immigration to the United States was, perhaps, the economic depression of the early thirties which lessened opportunities for employment in the United States and caused many Finns to return to their homeland. Finnish emigrants outnumbered the immigrants 694 to 310 in 1931; 1,227 to 133 in 1932; 751 to 137 in 1933; 341 to 212 in 1934; 237 to 166 in 1935; 319 to 131 in 1936; and 267 to 266 in 1937.
Beginning in 1938, the immigrants have outnumbered the emigrants each year through 1952.

In this chapter the writer traced the history of Finland and analyzed the data, historical and statistical, pertaining to Finnish immigration to the United States. It was noted that although a few Finns arrived during the colonial period, the mass exodus, which transplanted more than 150,000 persons did not get underway until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The first fifteen years of the twentieth century marked the period of greatest influx. After the erection of immigration barriers in the 1920's, relatively few Finns have come to the United States. In fact, Finland has failed to meet its quota during the past twenty-three years. Data tabulated for the years 1908 to 1953 indicate that approximately one-third of the Finnish immigrants returned to their homeland. Many of these came back to the United States, but it is impossible to evaluate the number.
CHAPTER III

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FINNISH IMMIGRANTS,
AND FACTORS MOTIVATING IMMIGRATION

Since many social changes are related to basic population phenomena, attention must be given to certain demographic characteristics of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival to the United States. Because of the lack of data and the various changes in the classifications and definitions employed by federal immigration agencies, the data presented in the tables in this chapter are not all for the same years. Most of the data cover in part, or completely, the period of heaviest immigration from Finland, namely, the first two decades of the twentieth century. Sufficient data are presented to indicate the main demographic features of the Finnish immigrants. Most of the data referred to, including figures quoted from other studies, came originally from the annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

A. Characteristics of the Finnish Immigrants at the Time of Entry

1. Sex

An analysis of the available data on the sex distribution of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival shows conclusively that

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considerably more men than women were admitted to the United States. The total of 230,523 immigrant Finns admitted from 1899 to 1930 was comprised of 145,038 men and 85,485 women. The sex ratio was 169.7. As the data in Table VII indicate, the predominance of males is greatest during the years of heaviest immigration. The sex ratio was 194.8 for the period 1899-1910, and 152.8 for 1910-1920. A reversal occurred between 1921 and 1930. The data show that during that decade more women than men migrated to the United States.

TABLE VII

FINNISH IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX (FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30), 1899-1930*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899-1910</td>
<td>151,774</td>
<td>100,289</td>
<td>51,485</td>
<td>194.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1920</td>
<td>61,347</td>
<td>37,083</td>
<td>24,264</td>
<td>152.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>17,402</td>
<td>7,666</td>
<td>9,736</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>230,523</td>
<td>145,038</td>
<td>85,485</td>
<td>169.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table VIII has been prepared to show the sex ratio of the Finnish immigrants admitted each year from 1899 to 1924. With the exception of three years—1921, 1922, and 1923—the males greatly outnumber the females. In fact, for the years 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909, and 1910, the sex ratio is more than 200 males to 100 females.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>6,097</td>
<td>3,942</td>
<td>2,155</td>
<td>182.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>12,612</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>4,612</td>
<td>173.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9,999</td>
<td>6,458</td>
<td>3,541</td>
<td>182.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>13,868</td>
<td>9,585</td>
<td>4,283</td>
<td>223.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>18,864</td>
<td>12,755</td>
<td>6,109</td>
<td>208.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>10,157</td>
<td>5,583</td>
<td>4,574</td>
<td>122.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>17,012</td>
<td>11,907</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td>233.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>14,136</td>
<td>9,525</td>
<td>4,611</td>
<td>206.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>14,860</td>
<td>10,326</td>
<td>4,534</td>
<td>227.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>6,746</td>
<td>3,652</td>
<td>3,094</td>
<td>118.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>11,687</td>
<td>7,832</td>
<td>3,855</td>
<td>203.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>15,736</td>
<td>10,724</td>
<td>5,012</td>
<td>214.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>9,779</td>
<td>5,645</td>
<td>4,134</td>
<td>136.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>6,641</td>
<td>3,354</td>
<td>3,287</td>
<td>102.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>12,756</td>
<td>8,219</td>
<td>4,537</td>
<td>181.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>12,805</td>
<td>7,582</td>
<td>5,223</td>
<td>145.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td>2,210</td>
<td>1,262</td>
<td>175.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>5,649</td>
<td>3,479</td>
<td>2,170</td>
<td>160.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>3,657</td>
<td>2,243</td>
<td>163.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,867</td>
<td>1,242</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>198.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>437.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>150.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,233</td>
<td>1,623</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,506</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>1,555</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,087</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>1,692</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,975</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>118.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predominance of females during the period 1921-23 is explained by the fact that most of the males traveled alone to the New World but once they began to look upon the United States, for one reason or another, as a place of permanent abode, women from home began to join them.\textsuperscript{2} Considering the low sex ratio which prevailed in Finland, some single women may have migrated with the hope of marrying.

Another factor which affected the change in the sex ratio among the immigrants in the 1920's was the enactment of the quota laws described in the previous chapter. The wives and children of the male immigrants who had become citizens of the United States were eligible to be admitted as non-quota immigrants, whereas most of the males arriving from Finland were in the quota category. This made it possible for proportionately more women to be admitted into the United States.

2. Age

Two facts emerge from an examination of the age classifications of Finnish immigrants: (1) The bulk of the immigration is made up of persons in the productive age category; and (2) the percentage of children is very low indicating that most of the Finns did not migrate in family groups.

From 1899 to 1917 immigrants arriving to the United States were classified into three age categories. They were the following: under 14 years of age, 14-44, and 45 years of age and over. In 1918, the upper limit of the youngest age category was raised to fifteen, and the middle category was changed to 16-44. The oldest age classification remained unchanged at 45 years of age and over.

TABLE IX

FINNISH IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES,
BY AGE (YEAR ENDED JUNE 30), 1899-1924*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Under 14</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>14-44</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>45 and Over</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>6,097</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5,299</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>12,612</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10,799</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9,999</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,099</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>8,557</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>13,868</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,289</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>12,209</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>18,864</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,807</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>16,540</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>10,157</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>8,323</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>17,012</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,483</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>15,047</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>14,136</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>12,840</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>14,860</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13,559</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>6,746</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>5,946</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>11,687</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10,652</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>15,736</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,235</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>14,182</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>9,777</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8,617</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>6,641</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>5,969</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>12,756</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>11,651</td>
<td>91.3</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>12,805</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11,646</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>5,649</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>5,900</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>4,866</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918(1)</td>
<td>1,867</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,510</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4,233</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,506</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>2,081</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,087</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>3,975</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>3,207</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>226,922</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>22,098</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>198,476</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>6,348</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Beginning with 1918, the age groups are as follows: under 16, 16-44, and 45 and over.

For the entire period 1899 through 1917 children under fourteen years of age made up only 9.3 per cent of the total Finnish immigration. Most of the Finnish immigrants, percentagewise 88.2, were in the age category 14 to 44. Those 45 years of age or over represented only 2.5 per cent of the total.

From 1918 to 1924, 14.4 per cent were under sixteen years of age, 79.5 per cent 16 to 44, and 10.4 per cent over 45. The increases in the percentages in the lowest and highest age categories are a further indication that families were beginning to migrate from Finland to join relatives who had settled in the United States. Those in the productive age category continued, however, to outnumber all other immigrants almost eight to one.

The figures for each year from 1899 to 1924 are shown in Table IX. Without an exception it is the middle age category, 14-44 (16-44 after 1918) which predominates, the percentages ranging from 71.9 in 1901 to 91.3 in 1913. In no year did the lowest age category exceed 15.8 per cent of the total for the year. The percentage of those over 45 years of age was never more than 12.5. In most years it was less than four. Life sketches of Finnish immigrants indicate that most of the migrants were in their early twenties.³

3. Marital Condition

In the foregoing analysis it was ascertained that there were relatively few children among the Finnish people who migrated to the United States. It was concluded that the Finns did not arrive in family groups.

³See Siirtokansan Kalenteri, for each of the years 1936–53 (Duluth: Finnish-American Historical Society).
This conclusion is supported by data pertaining to the marital condition of the migrants. During the years for which complete and comparable data are available, 1910-12, the number of single persons outnumbered the married 20,918 to 8,005, or more than two to one. Seventy-one per cent of the males and 75 per cent of the females were married.

Of particular interest is the fact that there were more married men than married women among these early migrants. Sixty-seven per cent of the married arrivals were males, thirty-three per cent females. These data suggest that the married males tend to migrate alone. Later, following World War I, the number of married women began to exceed the number of married men among the immigrants indicating that families were beginning to join husbands who had migrated earlier.

4. Occupations

Ferenczi and Willcox have compiled data on the occupations of the various immigrant groups entering the United States during the period 1899-1924. Presented in Table X for the Finns, these data disclose that the vast majority of the Finnish immigrants were laborers and servants.

4Information about the marital conditions of immigrants was collected by the Immigration Commission of the United States for the first time in 1910. In Finland, the recording of the marital conditions of those leaving the country was not begun until 1911. Consequently no official data exists, either in Finland or the United States, on the marital status of the Finnish migrants during the period of heaviest migration from Finland, 1900-10.

5These and the other figures on the marital conditions of the Finnish immigrants were compiled from the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration (Washington: Government Printing Office), Table VIIb, pp. 178-79. The figures presented here do not include the children under fourteen years of age, nor the widowed or divorced persons.
For the entire period, two out of three of the immigrants fell into this category. The percentages were highest during the years when the influx of Finns was the greatest, namely 1899-1914. The number reporting commerce and finance as their occupation was at all times very low. Professional people formed the smallest category.

Supplementing the data presented in Table X, is the report issued by the Immigration Commission of the United States for the years 1899-1910. This report indicates that 62.0 per cent of the Finnish immigrants who reported an occupation at the time of entry said that they were unskilled laborers. This was considerably higher than the 35.9 per cent reported among all the immigrants admitted during these years. In addition to those classified as unskilled laborers, another 5.2 per cent of the Finnish immigrants were listed as farm laborers, raising the total percentage of laborers, farm and unskilled, to 67.2 per cent. Only three-tenths of one per cent of the Finns were professional people (actors, clergy, editors, lawyers, etc.); six per cent were skilled (bakers, barbers, bookbinders, carpenters, mariners, etc.); and 26.5 per cent were in the miscellaneous category. The percentage of unskilled among the immigrant Finns was exceeded during this period only among the Mexicans, East Indians, and Greeks.

Additional information on the economic condition of the Finnish immigrants who arrived during the decade of heaviest immigration is obtained from the information collected on the amount of money that the immigrants exhibited to the immigration officials at the port of entry.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1899-1904</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>1905-1909</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>1910-1914</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>1915-1919</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>1920-1924</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2,837</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4,369</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3,019</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12,779</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>1,596</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2,107</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>1,667</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>11,859</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Finance</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1,266</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>941</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, Servants</td>
<td>50,411</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>45,383</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>39,158</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>8,832</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>6,222</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>150,036</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>15,636</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>10,572</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>10,394</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>4,607</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>4,876</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>46,085</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71,597</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>64,441</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>57,717</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17,856</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15,311</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>226,922</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be remembered in considering these data that no search was conducted to see to it that all the monies were reported. However, in view of the fact that financial condition was not one of the criteria for debarment, these figures can be considered to be fairly reliable.

Between 1899 and 1910, 128,086 Finnish immigrants exhibited their wealth to the immigration officials. The average amount, based on the number showing their money, was $22.67. The averages ranged from a low of $16.82 in 1910 to a high of $32.24 in 1910 (see Table XI). The average amount exhibited by the Finnish immigrants was less than the average among all of the immigrants, which was $28.95. In fact, the average amount shown by the Finns fell short of the average for all of the immigrants in each of the years from 1899 to 1910.

B. Destinations of the Immigrants

In the next chapter a detailed analysis is made of the geographic distribution of the Finnish immigrants in the United States from 1900 to 1950. It is interesting to note here that the destinations reported by the immigrant Finns at the time of their arrival to the United States between 1899 to 1910 were, for the most part, the very areas which to this day contain the greatest numbers of immigrant Finns. A total of 109,229 of the Finnish immigrants admitted were destined to four states: Michigan, 40,915; Massachusetts, 25,153; Minnesota, 22,799; New York, 20,362.

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7Ibid., Table XXX, p. 350.

8Ibid., Tables XXXV and XXXVI, pp. 357-8.

## TABLE XI

AMOUNT OF HONEY BROUGHT INTO THE UNITED STATES BY FINNISH IMMIGRANTS (FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30), 1899-1924*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Showing Money</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>4,854</td>
<td>$98,485</td>
<td>$20.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>9,761</td>
<td>164,765</td>
<td>16.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>8,130</td>
<td>136,719</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>12,304</td>
<td>206,935</td>
<td>16.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>16,066</td>
<td>332,742</td>
<td>20.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>8,085</td>
<td>206,309</td>
<td>25.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>14,718</td>
<td>362,047</td>
<td>24.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>12,209</td>
<td>293,825</td>
<td>24.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>12,589</td>
<td>270,417</td>
<td>21.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>5,515</td>
<td>140,012</td>
<td>25.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>10,163</td>
<td>250,149</td>
<td>24.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>13,692</td>
<td>441,467</td>
<td>32.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>128,086</td>
<td>$2,903,872</td>
<td>$22.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-seven per cent of the Finns went to Michigan and fifteen per cent to Minnesota. More Finns than any other nationality went to Michigan. Among those reporting Minnesota as their destination, only the Scandinavians outnumbered the Finns.

A summary of the main characteristics of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival to the United States discloses that most of the Finns were young, unmarried males who had no trade or profession but who could provide much-needed unskilled labor. There were few children and old people in the stream of migration. Financially the Finnish immigrants were ill-prepared to be selective in their choice of work. Most arrived to the United States with little money in their pockets.

C. Factors Motivating Immigration

Men do not migrate without reason. It is much easier to remain at home than it is to go away. What, then, prompted approximately ten per cent of the population of Finland to leave familiar surroundings and

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11The data on the Finns tend to corroborate other studies which have demonstrated that population movements are highly selective as to both age and sex. It has been found that migration generally draws most heavily from those in the productive ages, that short distance migration carries away more females than males and that long-distance migration, including international movements, attracts more males. See T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, Chapter 19. For tabulations and analysis of the main characteristics of the Finnish migrants based on data published in Finland see Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 41-50.

12For an excellent summary account of the motivational factors involved in the migration of European peoples to the United States see William C. Smith, op. cit., pp. 3-43.
brave the hardships\textsuperscript{13} of the long journey across the Atlantic?

Factors motivating immigration, it was stated in the introductory chapter, are a part of a social process which involves the actual movement of peoples and the changes which occur in their behavior patterns under the impact of the new environment. The motivational factors are to be found in both countries, the country of the origin of migration and the receiving country. One set of factors creates a desire on the part of the individual to leave his homeland; the other set determines the direction he takes when he leaves. Both sets of factors—the "push" and the "pull"—will be treated in this section as they apply to immigration from Finland.

1. The Situation in Finland

In 1911, the Immigration Commission of the United States attributed population movements from Europe almost exclusively to economic causes.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}The conditions aboard the ships into which the immigrant Finns were crammed are described in Aksali Jarnefelt-Rauanheimo, Suomalaiset Amerikassa (Helsinki: W. ja G., 1899); pp. 23 ff. Research conducted by John I. Kolehmainen discloses that "two hundred and fifty-four persons were packed like Baltic herrings" on the 280-foot, black-stacked Arcturus in late October of 1899; 119 were squeezed into the 136-ton Urania about the same time. Brass-buttoned captains and mates, dignified but unfriendly and unaccommodating, herded 1,445 men, women and children into their ships at Hanko in March 1903 and 2,381 in April." Haven in the Woods (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951), p. 4. For a vivid and moving description of the crossing of the Atlantic see Handlin, op. cit., pp. 37-62.

Certainly in the case of Finland the economic factors were of fundamental importance. A study of the economic situation which prevailed in the country just prior to and during the period of heaviest emigration bears this out. The Swedish-Russian wars in which the Finns were forced to participate and which were fought largely on Finnish soil, periodic famines, and the niggardliness of the soil kept the bulk of the people in an almost constant state of poverty and insecurity throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and even during the first two decades of the present century.

Famine stalked the land in 1696, from 1862-1868, again in 1892-1893, and as late as 1903. The first famine took more than a quarter of the population. During the second, mass deaths from starvation rose in number into the tens of thousands. In addition there were thousands of deaths from contagious diseases. In a period of two months, in 1867, deaths in Finland totaled 45,874, exceeding normal mortality for the country by 600 per cent. In Parkano every fourth person was buried, in Ruovesi almost one out of six.

Even during so-called "normal" times the situation was grave. Agricultural techniques were primitive, and the growing season was short. There was a constant lack of food. In many areas, ground pine-bark was added to the bread dough; otherwise there would not have been enough bread for all.

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15 Kolehmainen, "Why We Came to America: The Finns," Common Ground (Autumn, 1944), pp. 77-79.


Johan Runeberg, Finland's poet laureate, tells of a visit he made as a young student to Saarijarvi. He stopped to rest in a small cabin and saw long strips of pine-bark hanging near the oven. Runeberg wanted to know what they were. The answer he received was, "Good Sir, they will be made into bread!" Runeberg, in describing the event, adds: "That is all he said, but his voice which seemed to say, 'Don't you know that?' or 'You don't know that!' tore at my heart."¹⁸

The social structure, which had emerged in Finland as a result of the granting of huge tracts of land to Swedish nobles during the period when Finland was a part of Sweden, aggravated the situation as far as the majority of the Finnish population was concerned. The large landowners had established a tenancy system which kept the landless laboring classes at their mercy. As late as 1901, only twenty-three per cent of the Finnish rural families owned land; seventy-seven per cent, tenants and laborers, were landless.¹⁹ Tenants paid for the small holdings they occupied in rent and work or both. In 1912 56,616 of the country's tenants were spending 596,260 'horse days' and 1,788,408 'foot days' on the holdings of their landlords, at the same time paying cash rentals amounting to nearly two million marks."²⁰

Still another factor giving rise to dissatisfaction was the system of primogeniture. As the lands were divided and given to the oldest sons, younger male members were forced to become laborers, either in the city or the country. Many chose to migrate to America.

¹⁹Shearman, op. cit., p. 34.
One such immigrant describes his decision to migrate in the following words:

A neighbor advised me not to remain and work like a slave for my brothers...So, I looked on as my brother who had grown "wealthy" on a trip to America, divided the land with my other elder brother...Then, in the fall of 1907, after I had sold the only thing I owned—a horse—I bought a ticket to America.\(^{21}\)

Agricultural techniques were improved, but while they increased productivity, they also forced increasing numbers of laborers into the ranks of the unemployed. Industrial development was slow, and the cities into which the unemployed flocked could not provide for them. Those who were fortunate enough to be employed found conditions to be almost intolerable, not only in the workshops but in cities themselves. Prior to 1900 the work day in most instances was longer than twelve hours. Child labor was used extensively. Housing conditions were bad. As late as 1920, in the capital city of Finland—Helsinki—there were 173 persons to 100 rooms.\(^{22}\)

The political situation in Finland around the turn of the century also gave rise to frustrations and dissatisfactions which loosened the ties holding people to their homeland. When the Tsar of Russia attempted to Russify Finland, many Finns found the resulting situation so intolerable that they preferred to leave the country. Moreover, they had begun to hear of the greater freedom that existed in America. This freedom appealed to those who found their own liberties at home subjected to severe restrictions. Others, as a result of their opposition to Russia

\(^{21}\)Kusti Siirtolainen, unpublished life-history. A condensation of this life-history is to be found in Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 170-76.

\(^{22}\)Shearman, op. cit., p. 36.
and their participation in underground activities, found it sometimes wiser to withdraw from the scene and make their way to America. Many of these, as we shall see, became leading figures in the development of the Finnish radical movement in the United States.

Still another political event which motivated emigration was the introduction of compulsory military training by Russia several decades before the Russification programs were begun. America offered a place of refuge for those who refused to serve.

The reign of terror following the Finnish Civil War in 1918 also drove large numbers of Finns to America.

In the frame of reference outlined in the introductory chapter, it was stated that the factors motivating emigration do not "necessarily represent within the individual a feeling of inadequacy and frustration in every sphere of social life." Following Eisenstadt, four such spheres—each related to the social structure of the country of origin—were distinguished. Using this framework as a point of departure, the migration from Finland may be analyzed as follows: (1) Many people migrated because the famines, unemployment, and the deplorable living conditions in both rural and urban areas threatened their very survival. (2) Others, not plagued by poverty, left because the system of primogeniture and other factors prevented them from advancing to desired positions. (3) Many political refugees departed because they felt that they could never become completely identified with a system in which they were outcasts. (4) Those who were extremely active in promoting a social theory left, or had to leave, because the society prevented them from reaching their goal.
3. The Situation in the United States

Inadequacies, in and of themselves, do not cause migration unless they are associated with a feeling that opportunities for the removal of the frustrations are present in another country. In the case of the Finns, as well as other peoples, America provided—or was imagined to provide—these opportunities.

During the period referred to in this study as the modern era of immigration from Finland, from about 1865 to 1920, the United States was in the process of developing from an agricultural country into a powerful industrial nation. This process created an almost constant need for cheap, unskilled labor at the very time when Europe, Finland included, had large numbers of people who were living in poverty.

The great movement westward also occurred during this period, having been stimulated greatly by the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862. Free land was offered to settlers, and land-hungry peoples of Europe flocked to our shores. The Finns were not among the first-comers, and consequently much of the better land had been taken when they arrived.23

4. Contributory Causes

How did the future migrants hear about the opportunities existing in the United States? Largely through newspapers and letters, from immigrants who returned to visit in the homeland, and from circulars distributed by American industrial concerns and shipping lines in Finland urging people to migrate.

23 This explains, in part, why the Finns settled in the northern and less productive areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, whereas the earlier arrivals, the Scandinavians and the Germans, are located for the most part in the southern and more productive areas.
The visitor from America was a particularly potent promoter of migration. When he arrived home, the entire community wanted to hear about America. During his stay no person, not even the mayor of the community, outranked him in status. The writer's father tells of the visit of his older brother from America in the early 1900's:

There he sat at the end of the long wooden table, a "hero" in the eyes of all of the young men of Kihnio who had gathered to hear him tell of fabulous Western Eldorado. I know now that much of what he said was greatly exaggerated—a little truth spiced with imagination. But his words fell on receptive ears and rang with promise.

His visit lasted only a few months; he returned to America. But during his stay he had infected almost every one of us with the "Amerikan kuume" (American fever). The day after he left I made my decision. It was America for me!

The stories that circulated in the Finnish communities were sometimes fantastic. Immigrants have related to the writer that before they arrived to the United States they believed that the story of streets lined with gold was only a slight exaggeration. Perhaps the streets weren't paved with gold, but everyone was rich!

The letters from immigrants to folks back home were great advertisers of America. In these letters the immigrants described their "good fortune"—again not without exaggeration. The letters were passed from hand to hand in the community until they were almost illegible.

Often the letters carried passage money. Data compiled by the United States Immigration Bureau indicate that during the period 1908-1912,

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24 A story told among other immigrant groups as well as the Finns tells of the new-arrival who kicked aside a twenty-dollar gold piece he saw on a street in New York and exclaimed to his friend, "Why pick up this chicken feed; we'll have more than enough before long."
almost 35 per cent of the Finnish immigrants admitted into the country had had their passage paid by relatives or friends.

The influence of the immigrants upon the folks back home is further illustrated by the data which show that the bulk of those who arrived came to join relatives or friends. During the period 1908-1912, 95 per cent of the Finnish arrivals stated that this was the case; 58 per cent came to join relatives, 37 per cent to join friends, leaving only five per cent who said that they were completely on their own. 25

D. First Impressions

The immigrant's image of the United States was a product of the economic, political, and personal factors mentioned above. The stories he heard promised relief from the frustrations which beset him; the more he heard about America, the keener he felt the dissatisfactions at home—and the brighter the image became.

The arduous journey across the Atlantic tended to dim the image for some. The writer's mother, for example, tells that she felt tricked and cheated and, after only one day at sea, had decided to take the first ship back to Finland. She never did. For one reason because she dreaded another trip like the one she had just endured.

In other immigrants the image continued to shine brightly, despite the terrible conditions that prevailed aboard the ships. After all, America was the destination!

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25 These percentages were calculated from figures published in the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, for each of the years 1908-1912 (Washington: Government Printing Office).
Generally the Finnish immigrant's first impression of the United States was one of disillusionment and disappointment. He was treated harshly by the immigration officials, the police and the general public. His first home was usually in one of the poorest sections of the city, in an isolated backwoods area, or in a dirty mining town.

The reactions of the Finns and other immigrants are summed up in the following words of Edward J. Corsi:

America dawns upon the immigrant with his landing at Ellis Island, chilling him to the marrow of his bones. It presents no streets paved with gold, no fortunes easily acquired, no liberty unrestrained. On the other hand, its offering is hard, incessant labor and bitter struggle... This America is variable, disappointing, not as ideal as imagined. Its impression on the newly arrived is a discouraging one. It compels him to work long hours in steel mills...live segregated in mining towns, with no opportunities to learn English, to read, study, distinguish. It subjects him to injustices and misunderstandings in court... continual cheating by "banker," "boss," "lawyer," and "promoter." It offers no protection from the thousands of abuses practiced on the "ignorant foreigner." The wonderful impression...turns to a psychic disappointment at the end of a few years of work in our factories.

This, then, is the situation out of which the immigrant began to build a new life for himself. At first he was at a loss. The standards of behavior he brought with him did not seem applicable. He could not understand the new environment in which he found himself. This initial period of social disorganization eventually gave way to reorganization and the institutionalization of the immigrant's behavior. This process among the Finns is described in later chapters. But first it is necessary to review certain salient demographic features of the Finnish population in the United States. This is done in the following chapter.

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26 Sulkananen, op. cit., p. 25.
CHAPTER IV

THE FOREIGN-BORN FINN IN THE UNITED STATES

In the preceding chapter attention was directed to the demographic characteristics of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival to the United States. This chapter summarizes some of the data concerning the present demographic situation and trends among this ethnic group. The analysis revolves around three topics: (1) the growth and decline of the immigrant Finnish population; (2) the age, sex, and residential characteristics; and (3) internal migration. The author also ventures to make a few "speculations" regarding the demographic future of the immigrant Finns.

For the most part the analysis is based upon data derived from regular and special reports issued by the Census Bureau of the United States. In the interpretation of the data, use is made of historical information and knowledge gained through personal observation.

A. Growth and Decline

In 1900, when the United States' Census Bureau for the first time enumerated the persons born in Finland separately from the Russians, a total of 62,641 gave Finland as the land of their birth (see Table XII). During the following decade the number more than doubled, reaching 129,669. This was the ten-year span during which immigration from Finland reached an all-time high. Although the immigrant Finnish population did
not increase as rapidly during the inter-censal period 1910-1920 as it had during the first decade of the twentieth century, the total number climbed to a peak of 149,824 in 1920. The percentage increase was 15.5.

There has been a continuous decline after that date. The number enumerated by the Census in 1930 as having been born in Finland was 142,478. This figure represented a 4.9 per cent decline. By 1940 the number had sunk another 17.7 per cent to 117,210, and, in 1950, the Seventeenth Decennial Census found only 95,506 people from Finland in the United States. The per cent of decrease from 1940 was 18.5.

TABLE XII

FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Foreign-born Finns</th>
<th>Increase or Decrease Over Preceding Census</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase or Decrease</th>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>62,641</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>129,669</td>
<td>67,028</td>
<td>107.0</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>149,824</td>
<td>20,155</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>142,478</td>
<td>-7,346</td>
<td>-4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>117,210</td>
<td>-25,268</td>
<td>-17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>95,506</td>
<td>-21,704</td>
<td>-18.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Three factors are generally used to explain population growth and decline, namely births, deaths, and migration. However, in the case of

1T. Lynn Smith, op. cit., p. 371.
an immigrant population births do not constitute a factor since the
native-born children of the immigrants are not included in the same clas-
sification as their parents. It is obvious, then, that an immigrant pop-
ulation increases numerically only when immigration is greater than the
deaths and emigration losses suffered by that nationality. A decrease,
on the other hand, is associated with: (1) a cessation or decrease in
immigration, emigration remaining constant or increasing; (2) an increase
in emigration over immigration; and (3) deaths.

Specifically, the decline of the foreign-born Finnish population
after 1920 can be attributed to the following reasons: (1) a voluntary
slowdown in emigration from Finland as a result of the general improvement
in living conditions in that country following World War I; (2) World War
I itself, which discouraged people from traveling and affected the avail-
ability of ships for the transportation of civilians; (3) the restrictive
immigration legislation enacted by the United States in the 1920's, which
practically closed the door to the Finns and numerous other nationalities;
and (4) World War II and the unsettled post-war situation.

As far as the future is concerned—barring an unforeseen relaxation
in immigration restrictions—a continued decline is to be expected. If
the present rate of decline continues—and there is actually reason to
believe that it will increase since the bulk of the Finns are in the age
categories in which mortality is high—the number of foreign-born Finns
in 1960 will be approximately 77,800. In 1970 the number will be less
than 64,000.

Although they may not be able to quote the exact or even an approx-
imate rate of decline, most foreign-born Finns will tell you that their
numbers are dying off rapidly—so rapidly, in fact, that the affect is
being felt in both formally and informally organized social activities. Those who subscribe to a Finnish-language newspaper know that hardly an issue goes by without a listing of deaths suffered by Finnish "old timers."

B. Geographic Distribution

The geographic distribution of the foreign-born Finns has changed very little since 1900. Regionally the heaviest concentration continues to be in the North Central States, more specifically in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Region of northeastern Minnesota, northern Wisconsin, and Upper Michigan (see Figure 3). A considerable proportion are to be found in the northeastern part of the United States and on the Pacific Coast. The areas which have been almost completely devoid of Finns are the Great Plains, the Southeast and the Southwest.

Among the regions, as delineated by the Census Bureau, the North Central States accounted for 43 per cent, the Northeast, 32 per cent, the West, 22 per cent, and the South, three per cent, of the total foreign-born Finnish population in 1950. Thirty years earlier the respective percentages were 52, 25, 22, and one. The Northeast and the South thus showed gains in percentages, the North Central States a loss; the percentage in the West remained unchanged.

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2 For an analysis of the physical, social, and cultural changes in this region see Clarence A. Storla, Jr., The Great Lakes Cut-Over Region: A Social Analysis of an Area in Transition (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1951).


Figure 3. Geographic Distribution of the Foreign-Born Finnish Population of the United States, 1950.
Viewed in terms of states (see Table XIII), the distribution of the foreign-born Finns presented the following picture in 1950: Michigan accounted for the largest number, 15,501, followed by Minnesota with 14,475. New York was third with 12,897, Massachusetts fourth with 9,190, and California fifth with 7,467. Ranked behind California were Washington, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Illinois. These ten states, with a few exceptions, were ranked in the same order in 1900 and 1910.

Michigan and Minnesota have been the leading states. Together they accounted for more than thirty per cent of the foreign-born Finns enumerated in 1950. In both states, as has been indicated, the concentration is particularly heavy in the northern areas. Three northern Minnesota counties contained more than 75 per cent of the State's foreign-born Finns in 1950. Six out of ten lived in St. Louis county alone.\(^5\) In each of these counties the Finns formed the numerically dominant ethnic group.

In Michigan most of the foreign-born Finns are located in Houghton, Marquette, and Gogebic counties, all in the northern part of the State.

The state with the smallest number of foreign-born Finns is Arkansas, which reported only nineteen in 1950. Other states with a mere handful include the following: South Carolina, 30, Tennessee, 31, Mississippi, 32, and Nebraska, 33.

A few states which loomed fairly large in the Finnish population picture during the first two decades of the twentieth century, have declined to a point of relative unimportance. South Dakota, Colorado, North Dakota, Wyoming, and Utah, each had more than a thousand immigrant Finns.

\(^5\)For a description of the distribution of the Finns in Minnesota see Jokinen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-76.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1900</th>
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<td>30,096</td>
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<td>104</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals       | 95,506| 117,210| 142,478| 149,824| 129,669| 62,641|

In 1910. Now the combined foreign-born Finnish population of these states scarcely exceeds 1,000.6

The pattern of distribution described above reflects the fact that the Finnish immigrants were—for the most part—young, unmarried males who were drawn to the areas in which there was a demand for the kind of labor they had to offer.

The Finnish seamen who remained in the United States in the 1860's and 1870's became construction workers, carpenters, hod carriers, and painters in port cities.7

Most of the Finns who settled in the Northern Great Lakes region came as unskilled laborers to work in the woods and in the mines. Many worked only long enough to begin payments on a plot of land they could call their own. Others were driven into subsistence farming as a result of depressions, strikes, and "blacklists."8

Mining operations played an important part in the settlement of Finns in other areas as well. Most of the Finns in South Dakota in 1910 worked in the gold and silver mines in the Black Hills region. Finnish miners have also worked in mines in Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, and Idaho.9 Places like Rock Springs, Hanna, and Superior in Wyoming once teemed with Finnish miners. Red Lodge, Stockett, and Butte,

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6In explanation of the relatively large number of immigrant Finns in these states in 1910, it is important to note that mining activities were then at their peak, and there was a great demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor.


9Sulkanen, op. cit., p. 34.
Montana—much tamer now than in the "old" days—were known from coast to coast among the Finns. 10

On the Pacific Coast the first Finns were sailors who caught the gold fever and "jumped" their ships. But they were small in number. Those who came later, across the continent, went to work in the redwood forests. Later, many moved as farmers into the fertile valleys of the region.

In the State of Washington the early Finns sought employment in the woods and sawmills. They settled in such places as Aberdeen, Grays Harbor, Hoquiam, and Woodland. The Finns near Kelso "retained their language and customs until good roads and city industries drew them into contact with American culture." 11

In the East, in addition to the expected concentration in the port city of New York, Finns have supplied labor for textile and other mills in Massachusetts in such places as Fitchburg, Maynard, and Gardner. The bulk of the Finns in Connecticut, mostly small farmers, have settled in Windham County, especially around Brooklyn and Canterbury.

C. Rural-Urban Distribution

The Finns, along with the immigrants from Scandinavia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, have been less inclined to stop in urban centers than the bulk of the immigrants. 12 Of the 95,506 foreign-born Finnish persons in the United States in 1950, a total of 57,468, or 60.2 per cent, were classed as urban and

10 For an exciting and documented story of Butte, "the richest hill on earth," see Copper Camp (Helena: Montana State Department of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, 1943).


38,038, or 39.8 per cent, as rural. For the entire population of the
nation the comparable percentage figures were 64.0 and 36.0. For the
foreign-born population as a whole they were 80.3 and 19.7.

The residential distribution of the foreign-born Finns from 1910
to 1950 is shown in Table XIV. It is apparent that there has been a slow
but unmistakable trend toward a relative gain on the part of the urban
population, although the absolute figures in both categories have declined.\(^{13}\)

In 1910 there existed an almost equitable distribution of those living in
rural areas and those in the urban classification. Only in 1940 did the
figures show a slight reversal in the trend toward greater urbanity. This
probably reflected the movement of people from urban to rural areas—as
well as back to Finland—as a result of the economic depression of the
early 1930's.\(^{14}\)

Among the foreign-born Finns the trend away from farming areas is
emphasized by comparing the percentages of foreign-born Finns in the
rural-farm and rural-nonfarm categories. In 1950, 16,277, or 17 per cent,
were reported living on farms; 22.8 per cent were living in rural-nonfarm
areas. Twenty years earlier, in 1930, the comparable percentage figures

\(^{13}\)The definitions of rural and urban have not remained constant
over the years. This affects the comparability of the figures but the
trend is clear. Prior to 1950 the urban population was limited, with a
few exceptions, to all persons living in incorporated places of 2,500
persons or more. In 1950 the criteria of incorporation was eliminated.
The rural-farm includes all those persons living on farms without regard
to occupation. The rural-nonfarm includes all persons outside of urban
areas who do not live on farms. United States Census of Population: 1950,
Detailed Characteristics U. S. Summary, Preprint of Volume II, Part 1,
Chapter C, p. ix.

\(^{14}\)From 1931-36 more migrants left than entered the United States,
probably the only years when this has been true. See Smith, Population
Analysis, p. 317.
TABLE XIV
FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES,
BY RESIDENCE, 1910-1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>64,802</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>64,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>79,974</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>69,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>79,867</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>62,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>63,759</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>53,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>57,468</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>38,038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


were 25.1 and 18.9.\(^{15}\)

Of course the residential distribution is not the same in every state. Looking at the six states—two in the mid-West (Minnesota and Michigan), two in the West (California and Washington), and two in the East (New York and Massachusetts)—which account for 88 per cent of the foreign-born Finnish population in the United States we get the following picture for 1940 (see Table XV): In the West, in California approximately seven out of ten foreign-born Finns were living in urban areas, whereas

\(^{15}\)On the basis of his own observations the writer is inclined to the view that aged Finns who are no longer able to work their farms and whose children have gone on to other occupations, are moving into urban areas and rural-nonfarm areas near cities. The movement has not been large enough to offset mortality, however, and consequently there has been a decrease in the absolute numbers of foreign-born Finns in all three residential categories.
### Table XV

**FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN SIX SELECTED STATES, BY RESIDENCE, 1940**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Urban No.</th>
<th>Urban Per Cent</th>
<th>Rural-nonfarm No.</th>
<th>Rural-nonfarm Per Cent</th>
<th>Rural-farm No.</th>
<th>Rural-farm Per Cent</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>7,534</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>5,828</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>7,789</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>21,151</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>7,757</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>3,081</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>9,314</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>20,152</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>12,663</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>15,101</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>8,232</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>10,696</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>4,281</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>1,844</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>3,074</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>9,199</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>5,583</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7,798</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>46,050</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>14,650</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>23,397</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>84,097</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In Washington slightly less than half were urban dwellers. In the two mid-West states which account for more than thirty per cent of the nation's foreign-born Finnish population, Michigan and Wisconsin, the rural dwellers predominated. Only 35.6 per cent of the foreign-born Finns in Michigan, and 38.5 per cent in Minnesota, were living in urban areas. Most of those in the rural category in both states were living on rural farms. In both states the very names of many small rural communities reveal their Finnish origin. In Minnesota there are Suomi, Alanko (now usually spelled Alango), Toimi, Maidinen, Palo, Toivola, Onnela, and Esko. In Michigan there are Aura, Toivola, Elo, Salo, and Tapiola. In the East, in the industrial states of New York and Massachusetts, as was to be expected, the urban category was the largest, the percentages for the two states being 83.9
and 77.0 respectively. Only six per cent of the foreign-born Finns in New York were living on rural farms. In Massachusetts the percentage figure was 12.9.

The urban centers reporting the largest numbers of foreign-born Finns in 1950 are shown in Table XVI. In absolute numbers New York headed the list with 8,891, followed by Duluth, Minnesota, with 2,117, and Detroit, Michigan, with 1,869. However, when the ratio of the foreign-born Finns to the total foreign-born in each city is considered, Duluth was in a class by itself. Its 2,117 foreign-born Finns accounted for 14.5 per cent of the city's foreign-born population. Only the Swedes with a percentage of 24.6 and the Norwegians with 16.5 outranked them.

**TABLE XVI**

**CITIES WITH 50,000 OR MORE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK REPORTING 1,000 OR MORE FOREIGN-BORN FINNS, 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Total Foreign-Born Population</th>
<th>Number of Foreign-Born Finns</th>
<th>Per Cent of City's Foreign-Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
<td>1,784,206</td>
<td>8,891</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duluth, Minn.</td>
<td>14,590</td>
<td>2,117</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>276,470</td>
<td>1,869</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>526,058</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>55,441</td>
<td>1,458</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Cal.</td>
<td>120,393</td>
<td>1,333</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Mass.</td>
<td>33,786</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: 1950 Census of Population, Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock, Series Pc-14, No. 20, Table 13, pp. 5-8.*
The foreign-born Finns in Worcester, Mass., one of centers of Finnish activities in the Northeast, make up only three per cent of the city's foreign-born population. The percentage figure for Seattle is 2.6. In all of the other cities with more than 50,000 foreign white stock, the percentage of the foreign-born whites made up of Finns is less than one per cent.

D. Age Composition

The United States, like other major nations of Western civilization, is experiencing an aging process, which means that "increasingly large proportions of the people are in the advanced age brackets." In 1880 only 3.4 per cent of the total population of the United States were sixty-five years of age and over. In 1930, when the foreign-born population was numerically at its peak, the figure was 5.4 per cent. By 1950 it had reached 8.5 per cent. The long-time downward trend in the birth rate, increased life expectancy, and a marked slowing-up of immigration have been the factors involved in this process.

The aging trend has been particularly noticeable among the foreign-born. The percentage of those 65 years of age and over was 12.0 in 1930. In 1940 it was 18.0 per cent. By 1950 the figure had risen to 26.7 per cent.

Figures are not available pertaining to the age composition of the foreign-born Finnish population in 1950. In 1940, the age distribution was compiled for the foreign-born on the basis of country of birth of the parents. Since there were some 5,000 persons who were born in Finland but of parents who had been born in other countries, the figures for all

of the foreign-born Finns and the number of those classified on the basis of the country of birth of their parents do not coincide exactly. However, the discrepancy is slight and the fact that the Finnish immigrant population is a rapidly aging one is clearly indicated. The percentages of foreign-born Finns in the various age categories whose parents had been born in Finland are shown in Table XVII. These figures make clear that more than 26 per cent of the Finns were 60 years of age or over, 14.4 per cent were over 65. Only a little more than 3.5 per cent were under 25 years of age.

The data on the median ages of the various foreign-born populations in the United States in 1940 show that the median age among the Finns was 53.2. For the total foreign-born population of the United States it was 50.9.17

The most commonly utilized device for studying the age-sex structure of a population is the so-called age-sex pyramid which relates the percentages of both sexes in the various age categories to the total population. Data which would permit the age-sex structuring of the Finnish foreign-born population for 1950 are not available. Therefore, use is made here of the 1940 data for the foreign-born whose parents were also born in Finland. The unavailability and inadequacy of earlier age-sex data prevent the comparing of the 1940 structure to that of earlier years. However, conclusions about the present status of the foreign-born Finns and inferences regarding the future can be drawn from the age-sex profile for 1940. The percentages used in the preparation of the pyramid are the ones

17 These figures are from Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Country of Birth of the Foreign-Born (Washington: Government Printing Office), Table V, p. 5.
TABLE XVII

PERCENTAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN FINNS (WHOSE PARENTS WERE ALSO BORN IN FINLAND) IN THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Per Cent Males in Total Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Females in Total Population</th>
<th>Total Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>5.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>8.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>8.28</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>15.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>18.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>9.55</td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td>17.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td>5.77</td>
<td>12.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>7.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 75</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>3.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>50.89</td>
<td>49.11</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

presented in Table XVII. The age-sex profile of the foreign-born Finns (see Figure 4) shows the distinctive age and sex distribution of an immigrant population—the younger ages are practically unrepresented, and there are more males than females. The age-sex profile of an immigrant group never has a broad base since the percentage of children in the voluntary migratory movements is usually small. With immigration practically shut off, those who formed a bulge in the age-sex profile in the productive age categories during the period of heavy migration are now practically all in the categories above 40 years of age. Pictorially the age-sex profile of the foreign-born Finns resembles a mushroom more than it does a "pyramid." It is obvious that in a few decades the bulk of those who arrived during the years of heaviest migration to the United States will have passed out of the picture.

E. **Balance Between the Sexes**

Sufficient statistical evidence has been presented to demonstrate that immigration from Finland adhered to the general pattern of sex selectivity in long-distance migration; namely, that the males outnumbered the females. This numerical preponderance of men was so great that the sex ratio among the foreign-born Finns still favored the males in 1940 despite the known fact that mortality takes away more males than females.

The most noteworthy aspect revealed by the study of the sex ratios among the foreign-born Finns since 1900 is the uninterrupted decline. Whereas there were 181.9 foreign-born Finnish males to 100 females in 1900, by 1940 the ratio had dropped to 107.7 (see Table XVIII). For the total foreign-born population of the United States the sex ratio was 129.2 in 1910, 115.8 in 1930, and 110.9 in 1940. By 1950 it had dropped to 103.8.
Figure 4. Age-Sex Pyramid of the Foreign-Born Population of the United States, 1940.
Figures are not, as yet, available regarding the sex distribution of the foreign-born Finnish population for 1950, but if the rate of decline has remained constant a balance between the sexes has been, or is being, reached. It is almost a certainty that the data for 1960 will show a preponderance of females.

Residentially in 1940—the year for which the data are complete—the sex ratio among the foreign-born Finns in the urban areas already favored the females. There were a total of 31,104 males and 32,655 females, the sex ratio being 95.3 males to 100 females. In the rural categories the males continued to predominate. In the rural-farm areas the sex ratio was 122.1 (17,747 males to 14,537 females), and in the rural-nonfarm areas 128.9 (11,919 males to 9,248 females). In 1930, the sex ratios for the urban, rural-farm, and rural-nonfarm areas were 106.5, 122.8, and 151.4 respectively. In each category the sex ratio showed a decline. 18

TABLE XVIII

FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY SEX, 1900-1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>62,641</td>
<td>40,421</td>
<td>22,220</td>
<td>181.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>129,680</td>
<td>79,096</td>
<td>50,583</td>
<td>156.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>149,824</td>
<td>85,237</td>
<td>64,587</td>
<td>132.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>142,478</td>
<td>77,059</td>
<td>65,419</td>
<td>117.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>117,210</td>
<td>60,770</td>
<td>56,440</td>
<td>107.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


18 These figures were computed from Ibid., Table 3, pp. 11-18.
F. Internal Migration

No studies have been made regarding the movement of Finnish immigrants within the United States. Certain conclusions may be drawn, however, from an analysis of the increases and decreases in the numbers of foreign-born Finns in the various regions and states since 1940. Since the offspring of the immigrants are not included in the foreign-born Finnish population, and since immigration from Finland has been shut off almost entirely, whatever changes have occurred in the foreign-born Finnish population are largely explainable in terms of deaths and internal migration. Whenever the statistics for a state show an increase in the number of foreign-born Finns, that increment may be attributed to net immigration. Whenever a state shows a decrease, the decrement is the consequence of deaths, net out-migration, or an excess of deaths over a net influx of Finns into the state.

The statistics show that the number of foreign-born Finns increased in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia during the decade 1940-1950. These states can be assumed to have received foreign-born Finns from other areas. The largest gain was recorded by Florida whose immigrant Finnish population increased from 461 to 1,082, a percentage gain of 132.3. Following Florida, the four with the largest gains were: New Jersey, from 2,156 in 1940, to 2,281 in 1950; Connecticut, from 1,815 to 2,092; Maryland, from 392 to 559; and Virginia, from 73 to 159.

Twenty-six states showed decreases, the largest losses being experienced by Minnesota and Michigan. Minnesota's foreign-born Finnish population declined by 5,677 persons during the decade, a reduction of 28.2 per cent. Michigan lost 5,650 persons, a decrease of 26.7 per cent. New York lost 2,204 (14.6 per cent), Washington 1,962 (21.4 per cent), Massachusetts 1,506 (14.1 per cent), and Wisconsin 1,433 (30.3 per cent).
It cannot be assumed that all of the states in which the foreign-born Finnish population declined suffered the losses as a result of deaths and out-migration. In some cases, although the population decreased, there was a net migration into the state, but it was not sufficient to offset mortality.

It is impossible to determine the exact amount gained or lost through migration. However, a method employed by Homer L. Hitt in a study of the part played by migration in population change among the aged provides a technique by which rough estimates may be made regarding the movement of Finns in the United States.

Hitt assumed for the sake of his study that mortality rates for the aged are roughly similar throughout the country. A similar assumption is made here regarding the death rates for the foreign-born Finnish population. Since both immigration and emigration are slight among the Finns, they had little effect upon the population changes that occurred during 1940-1950. Therefore, if it were not for migration, the rate of decline of the number of foreign-born Finns from 1940 to 1950 would have been approximately the same throughout the country. The decrease in the foreign-born Finnish population for the entire nation, 1940-1950, was 18.5 per cent. Those states in which the decrease was greater than 18.5 per cent may be assumed to have lost foreign-born Finns through migration. Conversely, those states in which the loss was considerably less may be assumed to have had a net in-migration of foreign-born Finns.

The absolute and relative gains or losses attributable to migration are shown in Table XIX. Following Hitt, the procedure used to calculate these figures was as follows: (1) The number of foreign-born Finns in each state in 1940 was reduced by 18.5 per cent, the average decline of foreign-born Finns for the country as a whole, to determine the size of the population had there been no migration. (2) The difference between this figure—the expected population—and the actual population enumerated in 1950, was computed to determine the absolute gain or loss attributable to net migration. (3) The absolute gain or loss in each case was then converted into a percentage of the state's expected foreign-born Finnish population.

Altogether, thirty states and the District of Columbia registered net migration gains. With the exception of several New England states, most are located south of the traditional areas of Finnish settlement.

California registered the largest absolute gain, a total of 1,112. Connecticut received 857, Florida 706, New York 590, and New Jersey 524.

Percentagewise, among the states with 500 or more foreign-born Finns, Florida registered the greatest gain due to migration, 187.5 per cent. Each of the other states that showed gains of more than 100 per cent—North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, Alabama, and West Virginia—accounts for a mere handful of foreign-born Finns. But, significantly, these states are in the South and the Southwest.

20It may be assumed that what little effect immigration had was the greatest in the northeastern seaboard states since the ports to which the migrants arrive are located there, and many migrants tend to remain in the eastern cities for a time before moving to other parts of the country.
**TABLE XIX**

**ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE GAINS AND LOSSES DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign-Born Finns 1950</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Finns 1940</th>
<th>Expec.Pop. Had no Migration Occurred</th>
<th>Absolute Gain or Loss Due to Migration</th>
<th>Per Cent Gain or Loss Due to Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>15,501</td>
<td>21,151</td>
<td>-1,737</td>
<td>-10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>14,475</td>
<td>20,152</td>
<td>-1,677</td>
<td>-8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>12,897</td>
<td>15,101</td>
<td>-2,204</td>
<td>-14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>9,190</td>
<td>10,696</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>7,467</td>
<td>7,798</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>7,237</td>
<td>9,199</td>
<td>-1,962</td>
<td>-21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3,682</td>
<td>4,337</td>
<td>-655</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>3,530</td>
<td>4,343</td>
<td>-813</td>
<td>-18.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>3,282</td>
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<td>-30.1</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Florida</td>
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<td>187.5</td>
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<td>167</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<td>-27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>-61</td>
<td>-12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>-215</td>
<td>-60.6</td>
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<td>Colorado</td>
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<td>North Dakota</td>
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<td>-229</td>
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<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>11.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>-192</td>
<td>-62.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dist. of Columbia</td>
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<tr>
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<td>192</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
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<td>91</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nevada</td>
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</tr>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Continued)
ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE GAINS AND LOSSES DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION AMONG THE FOREIGN-BORN FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Finns 1950</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Finns 1940</th>
<th>Expec.Pop. Had no Migration Occurred</th>
<th>Absolute Gain or Loss Due to Migration</th>
<th>Per Cent Gain or Loss Due to Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>140.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>43</td>
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<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>-5.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>18</td>
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</tr>
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<td>South Carolina</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>141.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Special note should be made of the losses suffered through migration by the states in the region in which the concentration of foreign-born Finns has been the greatest, namely, the Great Lakes region. Michigan recorded a loss of 1,737 persons, or 10.1 per cent of the expected population had no migration occurred; Minnesota lost 1,949 (11.8 per cent), and Wisconsin, 561 (11.9 per cent).

It should be emphasized again that this method of calculating does not give precise figures regarding the change attributable to migration. It does, however, provide rough estimates, and it shows conclusively...

21 Actually the figures arrive at by this method under-estimate the gains due to migration. The migrants, by and large, appear to be individuals who have reached the retirement age of 65 and the age category in
that foreign-born Finns are moving out of their traditional area of settlement—the Great Lakes region. In some cases, notably Florida, the movement is into an area in which the number of foreign-born Finns has been relatively small.

What are the reasons for this pattern of migration? The migrants themselves attribute it mainly to the southern climate. In their letters to Finnish newspapers they compare the warmth and sunshine of Florida to the snow and sleet of the North and "feel sorry" for the folks "back home."

One aged former Minnesota Finn, a retired iron miner now living in Florida, told the writer in reference to Minnesota, "I don't know why I lived in that icebox for forty years."

Another immigrant, now a resident of Lake Worth, Florida, commented ruefully that once, soon after his arrival to the United States around the turn of the century, he had traveled as far south as South Carolina, but "crazy fool that I was, I returned to New York. It took me more than forty years to come to my senses."

While it appears true that the seasonable climate of the southern areas is a factor in promoting migration, consideration should also be given to the improvements in transportation and the increase in economic opportunities. But perhaps the most important factor as far as the Finns are concerned is related to the change in their economic position. Most of the migrants are aged, either retired farmers and business men, or

Footnote continued 7 which mortality is extremely high. This means that an influx of aged Finnish migrants into a given state results in an increase in the rate of mortality among the foreign-born Finns in that state. Figures based on a constant rate of decline for the entire country fail to take into account, or compensate for, this increase in the mortality rate due to migration. An under-estimate of in-migration is the result.
workers who are receiving old-age pensions. Thus employment, the main factor in attracting them to northern mining and agricultural areas, is no longer of major importance in determining the place of their residence. The retirement pensions may not be very large, but they are providing increasing numbers of people with opportunities to free themselves from the demands of a daily job.

In conclusion, the topics covered in this chapter may be summarized as follows:

1. There were 62,000 foreign-born Finns in the United States in 1910 when the Bureau of the Census for the first time enumerated the Finns separately from the Russians. The historical high of 149,280 was reached in 1920. There has been a steady decline for the past three decades due principally to the immigration barriers established by the Government of the United States in the 1920's. Only 95,506 foreign-born Finns were counted in 1950.

2. The heaviest concentration of foreign-born Finns has always been in the Great Lakes region, especially in the northern parts of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These three states accounted for more than 30 per cent of the nation's foreign-born Finnish population in 1950. The region which has been historically devoid of Finns is the South.

3. The pattern of distribution of the foreign-born Finns indicates that the Finns tended to settle in areas in which the demand for unskilled labor was the greatest.

22In addition to those who are making a permanent move from traditional areas of Finnish settlement, hundreds of Finns travel each winter to California and Florida to visit for several months with relatives or friends.
4. The foreign-born Finnish population is aging very rapidly. There are proportionately fewer people in the younger age categories and an increasing proportion in the older age groups.

5. The sex ratio of the foreign-born Finns has always favored the males, but as a result of the almost complete cessation of immigration and the longer life expectancy of women, a balance has been—or is being reached.

6. The decade 1940–1950 witnessed a movement of aging immigrant Finns from the Great Lakes region to California and the South, notably Florida.
CHAPTER V

THE SECOND GENERATION

Thus far this study has concerned itself almost exclusively with the pattern of immigration from Finland and with certain demographic features of the foreign-born Finnish people in the United States. Attention is now focused upon the American-born descendants of these people. Unfortunately, the Bureau of the Census of the United States makes no regular tabulations of ethnic groups beyond the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. Comparisons may be made, however, between the

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1 Sampling techniques were used by the Bureau of the Census for the first time in 1940. This permitted collection of statistics on many more characteristics of the population than formerly. A 5-per cent sample was used in the collection of data on the country of origin of the foreign white stock and on the mother tongue of the white population. Some of these statistics are presented in this chapter. However, because statistics were not collected on many of these characteristics in earlier censuses, few comparisons can be made. For a discussion on the reliability of the sampling procedure used in 1940 see Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, Mother Tongue, p. 6.

2 According to the Bureau of the Census, the white population is composed of two categories: Native white and foreign-born white. Native white refers to any person born in the United States or any of its territories; all others are foreign-born. In the native white population are those of native parentage (both parents born in the United States or its outlying possessions); foreign parentage (both parents foreign-born); mixed parentage (one parent foreign-born, the other native-born). The term "foreign white stock" includes both foreign-born white and the native white of foreign or mixed parentage. See 1950 Census of Population, Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock, p. 1. The term "first generation" is used in this study to refer to the foreign-born; "second generation" indicates the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage; "third generation" refers to those who were born in this country of native-born parents who had at least one foreign-born parent.
foreign-born Finns and the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage—that is, between the first and second generations—to indicate some of the changes that are taking place.

A. Growth and Decline

All ethnic populations in the United States, not excluding the Finns, are becoming predominantly native-born. While the foreign-born population has decreased both absolutely and relatively, the native-born descendants of immigrants have increased in numerical significance.

Numerically the total foreign-born white population of the United States reached its all-time peak of 13,983,405 in 1930. This figure constituted 11.4 per cent of the total population of the nation. By 1940 the number of foreign-born whites had decreased to 11,419,138, the percentage figure to 8.7. In 1950, the total number reported was 10,161,168; the percentage was down to 6.7.

The native white of foreign or mixed parentage have increased from 22,686,204 in 1930, to 23,589,485 in 1950. The predominance of the native-born persons of foreign white stock would be even more striking if figures were available showing the number in the third and subsequent generations.

Among the Finnish people the shift toward a predominantly native-born population has occurred as follows: In 1910, the foreign-born outnumbered the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, 129,669 to 85,672 (see Table XX). By 1920, the year the foreign-born Finnish population reached its highest peak, the native Finns of foreign or mixed parentage had forged slightly ahead, 152,161 to 149,824. Since 1930 the gap has been widening, so that in 1950 there were more than 172,000 native Finns of foreign or mixed parentage to 95,506 foreign-born.
The growth and decline of the Finnish population in the United States is shown in Figure 5. All three categories have experienced a decrease since 1930. If the present trend continues, the foreign-born Finns will be outnumbered by the second generation by more than two to one in 1960.

TABLE XX

NATIVITY OF THE FOREIGN FINNISH STOCK, 1910-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Foreign Finnish Stock</th>
<th>Foreign-Born</th>
<th>Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>215,341</td>
<td>129,669</td>
<td>85,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>301,985</td>
<td>149,824</td>
<td>152,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>320,536</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>284,290</td>
<td>117,210</td>
<td>167,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>267,876</td>
<td>95,506</td>
<td>172,370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


B. Geographic Distribution

Census data indicate that most of the second generation Finns are to be found in the same areas in which their parents are located. In Table XXI, the numbers of Finns in the three nativity categories—foreign Finnish stock, native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, and the foreign-born—are ranked by states. The similarities in the rankings stand out. The first ten states, with only slight differences in rankings, are the
Figure 5. The Growth and Decline of the Finnish Population of the United States, 1910–1950.
TABLE XXI

NATIVITY OF THE FOREIGN FINNISH STOCK, BY STATES, 1950*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Foreign Finnish Stock Number</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Finns Number</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Native Finns of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Number</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>54,521</td>
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<td>15,501</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39,020</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
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<td>14,475</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29,540</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>23,192</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12,897</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
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<td>9,190</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12,915</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>California</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>7,467</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13,635</td>
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<td>7,237</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>3,282</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>2,478</td>
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<td>1,063</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,415</td>
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<td>2,258</td>
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<td>873</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1,385</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>2,137</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1,082</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,055</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>1,741</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>1,544</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1,309</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>720</td>
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<td>Texas</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dist. of Columbia</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: 1950 Census of Population, Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock, Series PC-14, No. 20, Table 13, p. 2.*
same in each category. These ten states account for 84.6 per cent of
the foreign Finnish stock, 85.1 per cent of the foreign-born Finns, and
86.7 per cent of the native-born Finns of foreign or mixed parentage.

Michigan and Minnesota are the leading states in each classifica-
tion, which emphasizes again the concentration of Finns in the Great
Lakes region. Almost 37 per cent of the foreign Finnish stock, 31.4 per
cent of the foreign-born Finns, and 39.8 per cent of the native born
Finns of foreign or mixed parentage are located in these two states.

Making the poorest showings in regard to the numbers of Finns
within their borders are the Southern states. Ranked highest among them
is Florida, whose phenomenal gain in foreign-born Finns as a result of
migration was illustrated in the preceding chapter. The others make up
the tail end of the listings in each category.

C. Rural-Urban Distribution

According to the data for 1940, presented in Table XXII, the
native-born Finns of foreign or mixed parentage tend to settle in rural
areas to a slightly greater degree than do the foreign-born Finns. In
the rural-farm category the percentages were almost equal, 27.5 among
the foreign-born and 28.1 among the second generation Finns. In the
rural-nonfarm category the second generation had a slight edge, 28.1 to
27.5 per cent. Almost 55 per cent of the foreign-born and 50.9 per cent
of the native Finns of foreign or mixed parentage were reported residing
in urban areas.

In the preceding chapter it was shown that there has been a trend
toward increasing urbanity among the foreign-born Finns. A similar trend
exists among the second generation. The census data for 1910 show that
TABLE XXII
FOREIGN FINNISH STOCK IN THE UNITED STATES, 
BY NATIVITY AND RESIDENCE, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Foreign Finnish Stock Number</th>
<th>Foreign-Born Number</th>
<th>Native-Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
<td>Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>148,759 52.3</td>
<td>63,759 54.4</td>
<td>85,000 50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-nonfarm</td>
<td>56,307 19.8</td>
<td>21,167 18.1</td>
<td>35,140 21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-farm</td>
<td>79,224 27.9</td>
<td>32,284 27.5</td>
<td>46,940 28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>284,290 100.0</td>
<td>117,210 100.0</td>
<td>167,080 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


of the 81,357 native-born Finns of foreign or mixed parentage, a total of 50,199 (61.7 per cent) were classed as rural and only 31,158 (38.3 per cent) as urban. By 1930 the percentage figures were 50.9 and 49.1 for the respective categories; and in 1950, as was indicated earlier, slightly more than half (50.9 per cent) of the second generation Finns was living in urban areas.

The reasons for the declining proportion of native-born Finns of foreign or mixed parentage in the rural areas are not hard to find. For one thing, this trend is not something which is unique to the Finns. There has been a general net movement of people from rural to urban areas during the twentieth century as a result of industrialization and the rise in agricultural productivity. Another major factor contributing to the reduction of the proportion of second generation Finns living in rural
areas was the shutting off of immigration as a result of World War I and the immigration restrictions of the early 1920's. At the time when immigration was bringing thousands of young Finns to American shores yearly, the birth rate was higher among the foreign-born than it is today, now that most of the foreign-born Finnish women have passed the child-bearing ages. This means that fewer native-born Finns of foreign parentage are being added to the population. Those native-born Finns who were born during the period of heaviest migration are now adults, and it appears that they are following the general trend of moving away from the farms.

A comparison of the rural-urban distribution of the Finnish people to that of the total foreign white stock of the United States indicates that the Finns tend to be rural dwellers to a greater extent than does the foreign white population in general. In 1940, 76 per cent of the total foreign white stock was classed as urban. Among the foreign-born the percentage figure was 80.1; among the second generation it was 74.0. These figures are considerably higher than those shown above for the Finnish population.

Looking at the 1940 data for the six states most heavily populated by Finns (see Table XXIII) we see that in Michigan and Minnesota the native-born Finns of foreign or mixed parentage were located for the most part in rural areas, whereas in New York and Massachusetts on the East Coast and in California in the West, most of the second generation were to be found in the cities. In the State of Washington there was an almost equitable distribution; 47.8 per cent were living in cities and 52.2 per cent in rural areas.
# TABLE XXIII

NATIVE-BORN FINNS IN SIX SELECTED STATES, BY RESIDENCE, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Urban Number</th>
<th>Urban Per Cent</th>
<th>Rural Number</th>
<th>Rural Per Cent</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Total Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>17,620</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>24,900</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>42,520</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>12,540</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>21,560</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>34,100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>9,920</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>2,580</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>2,120</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>9,620</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>6,640</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>2,420</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>9,060</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The 1950 data for the cities in which most of the first and second generation Finns are located are shown in Table XXIV. New York with 8,891 foreign-born and 5,805 native Finns of foreign or mixed parentage accounted for 14,969 persons of Finnish stock. Ranked second was Detroit with a total of 8,974. Third was Duluth with 5,807.

As far as the native Finns of foreign or mixed parentage were concerned, the city with the largest number was Detroit with 7,105. This figure was almost three times larger than the number of foreign-born Finns in the city and represented 40.4 per cent of all of the second generation urban Finns in the state. This would seem to indicate that Detroit is a magnet of no small proportions in attracting native-born Finns of foreign parentage.

New York and Duluth ranked second and third respectively as far as second generation Finns were concerned. New York had a total of 5,805, Duluth, 3,690.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Foreign Finnish Stock</th>
<th>Foreign-Born</th>
<th>Native Finns of Foreign or Mixed Parentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
<td>14,696</td>
<td>8,891</td>
<td>5,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>8,974</td>
<td>1,869</td>
<td>7,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duluth, Minn.</td>
<td>5,807</td>
<td>2,117</td>
<td>3,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>5,114</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>3,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle, Wash.</td>
<td>3,828</td>
<td>1,458</td>
<td>2,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>3,073</td>
<td>1,333</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>2,942</td>
<td>1,007</td>
<td>1,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester, Mass.</td>
<td>2,622</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>1,595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: 1950 Census of Population, Series PC-14, No. 20, Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock, Table 13, pp. 5-8.

Just as it was shown earlier with regard to the foreign-born, the number of second generation Finns in Duluth represented a much larger proportion of the city's native white population of foreign or mixed parentage than was the case in any other city. In Duluth, the second generation Finns made up 10.2 per cent of the total second generation population. The percentage figures in Seattle, Washington, and Worcester, Massachusetts were identical, 2.2. In Detroit, which had the largest absolute number, the proportion was 1.5 per cent. The percentages in the other cities were as follows: San Francisco, 0.9; Chicago, 0.3; New York,
D. Age Composition

The latest available data on the age distribution of the Finnish population are the figures released by the Bureau of the Census for 1940. They show that the median age of the foreign-born was 53.2 years and that of the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage 26.6 years. The comparable medians for the entire foreign white stock in the United States were 50.9 and 29.4. The median age for the nation as a whole was 29.0 years.

A closer comparison of the age distribution of the Finnish population is shown in Table XXV. The figures leave no doubt about the differences in the age structures between the first and second generations. More than seven out of ten of the native-born were under 33 years of age, whereas the same proportion of the foreign-born were 45 years of age or over. The figures for those above 55 years of age show that 43.5 percent of the foreign-born were in that category. The percentage figure for the native-born was only 1.5.

The age-sex structure of the foreign-born Finnish population is contrasted to that of the second generation in Figure 6. The essential differences stand out in bold outline. Both populations show a deficiency in children, but the deficit is more striking among the foreign-born.

3These percentage figures are based upon the data in 1950 Census of Population, Series PC-14, No. 20, Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock, Table 13, pp. 5-8.

Figure 6. Age-Sex Pyramid of the Foreign-Born Finnish Population of the United States Compared with that of the Native-Born Finns of Foreign or Mixed Parentage, 1940.
TABLE XXV

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN FINNISH STOCK IN
THE UNITED STATES, BY NATIVITY AND AGE, 1940*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Foreign Finnish Stock</th>
<th>Foreign-Born</th>
<th>Native-Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 35</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 and Over</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The second generation has a considerably greater proportion of its population in the productive age category, 25-45 years. The dominance of the foreign-born above the age of 45 years is clearly indicated.

The deficiency in children in the foreign-born population was explained in the preceding chapter. A similar explanation holds for the same phenomenon in the second generation. The children of the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage are native-born of native parents and, consequently, they are not included in the same population classification as their parents. In other words, the only replacements for the second generation population are the children born to the foreign-born. However, as a result of the aging of the foreign-born population due to the almost complete shutting off of immigration, the number of children
being reproduced by the foreign-born has been sharply reduced.

The age-sex pyramid for the total foreign Finnish stock is presented in Figure 7. In view of the foregoing analysis of the age-sex structure of the first and second generations, it is obvious that the upper half of the pyramid is made up mostly of the foreign-born while the lower proportion is comprised largely of native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. The bulge formed by the ages 20-35 reflects the higher birth rate which prevailed when the immigrants were young and were just beginning to establish their homes in America.

It is interesting to note that the male selectivity of immigration from Finland was so great that in 1940 the males still continued to outnumber the females, even in the age categories above 60 years.

E. The Balance Between the Sexes

The sex ratios by residence and nativity for the foreign Finnish stock in 1940, the year for which the data are complete, are reproduced in Table XXVI. The main trends indicated by these data are the following: (1) For the total foreign Finnish stock the sex ratio declined between 1930 and 1940. This undoubtedly reflects the effects of the virtual cessation of immigration and the higher rate of mortality among the males. (2) There was a slight gain in the sex ratio in the rural areas for the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, probably as a result of the sex selectivity of rural-urban migration which tends to take away more females than males. (3) This same selectivity, plus the higher mortality among men, accounts for the decrease in the sex ratio in the urban areas in each of the nativity categories. (4) In the case of the foreign-born, the sex ratio in both 1930 and 1940 was higher in
Figure 7. Age-Sex Pyramid of the Foreign Finnish Stock in the United States, 1940.
the rural-nonfarm areas than it was on the farms. This was probably due to the large numbers of Finnish males living in mining and lumbering towns who were returned in the 1940 and 1930 censuses as rural-nonfarm dwellers.

These data support the findings of demographers that there tends to be a concentration of females in urban areas and males in rural areas regardless of nativity.^

This chapter concludes the investigation of certain fundamental demographic characteristics of the Finnish population in the United States. Obviously, much remains to be done in this field. Here only those aspects were singled out which, it was felt, would help to make the picture of the Finns to be presented in the chapters to follow more understandable. The lack of data also restricted the choice of characteristics the writer chose to study. However, enough data have been collated and presented to indicate the main demographic characteristics of the population with which this study is concerned.

^T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, p. 130.
CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES

A. Introduction

In the remaining chapters the social life of the Finnish people in the United States is described and analyzed. The unit of study is the "social institution," a sociological abstraction used to designate any set of patterned human relationships revolving around a basic social need or purpose. The principal institutions are those which regulate the domestic, religious, economic, political, and educational aspects of social life. These institutions are—more or less—integrated, since the beliefs, customs, and rules which comprise them are interlaced. For that reason, an attempt is made in the discussion which follows to present a comprehensive rather than a segmentalized picture of Finnish life in America, although for the sake of analysis each major institutional complex is treated as a separate topic.

In each case the heritage from Finland is traced because "the facility of adaptation to American life can only be understood when we

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know the social equipment the immigrant brings with him and see how this equipment conditions his life organization in the new country.\textsuperscript{2}

As was indicated in the conclusion to Chapter III, the immigrant Finns visioned America to be a land of great freedom in which untold wealth would be theirs with little effort. This vision was dispelled, however, as a result of the immigrants' first contacts with the land of their dreams. The future held, not wealth and status, but hard toil and a subordinate position in the scheme of things.

Putting this another way, the immigrants were faced with a situation that needed redefining. But guides or frames of reference were lacking. The standards of behavior which prevailed in the "old country" were not only inadequate but the social controls which enforced them had been loosened. At the same time, the new environment appeared incomprehensible. The result was a period of disorganization or resocialization during which the immigrants were constantly defining and redefining the situation in which they found themselves.

This period was marked among the Finns by heavy drinking, fighting, and gambling. There were Finnish saloons (kapakkas) in all of the large cities and in the mining and lumbering towns.\textsuperscript{3} Finns gained notoriety for their enormous thirst. The rate of commitments on account of alcohol was high.\textsuperscript{4} Sociologist Edward A. Ross, who otherwise looked upon the Finns as "stolid, good, and fairly intelligent," was moved to write, "Like the drunken Magyar or Lithuanian, the 'loaded' Finn is a terrible


\textsuperscript{3}Sulkkanen, op. cit., p. 47.

fellow. Liquor seems to let loose in him felt and destructive impulses which had been held in leash by moral ideas."

Contrary to some explanations, drunkenness among the Finns was not a transplanted old-world habit. In the rural areas of Finland from which the majority of the Finns came, drinking was not common. However, it is interesting to note that at the same time as drinking was becoming a problem among the Finns in America, there was an increase in the consumption of alcohol in the urban centers of Finland into which landless rural people were migrating. This would seem to indicate that drinking was a product of social disorganization among transplanted Finns whether in the urban environment of the old country or the new. There is nothing to indicate that there was a unique biological craving among the Finns for alcohol.

In this connection another factor bears mentioning. As was shown in a previous chapter, most of the early arrivals among the Finns were young, unmarried males. Seeking employment, they migrated into the mining towns and lumber centers in which drinking among the workers, regardless of nationality, was not only an accepted pattern of behavior but a status-producing one as well. It was the man who could out-work his fellow workers on the job, out-drink them in the saloon, and out-fight them in a brawl who had the highest status in the group. It appears

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6 Cf. Sutherland, loc. cit.


8 The story of the temperance movement in Finland is told in John H. Wuorinen, The Prohibition Experiment in Finland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).
that many Finns did their level best to measure up to these standards. 9

Undoubtedly, "the universality and degree of drunkenness has been grossly exaggerated." 10 This is borne out by the strong support that the Finns gave to the temperance movement which developed around the turn of the century. 11 Moreover, to this day Finnish organizations, whether religious or atheistic, conservative or radical, look upon drunkenness as a sign of moral degeneracy. At Finnish festivals and picnics, coffee and buttermilk, not whiskey and beer, are served to promote conviviality.

In addition to the role played by the temperance societies, the resocialization process among the immigrant Finns was carried on through the family, the church, and various economic, political, and educational associations.

9 Of course the individual's status in the group was generally different from his status in the community. Finnish pioneers Mr. and Mrs. F. Mattson recall that the more settled elements abhorred this rowdiness against which they were often forced to defend themselves. "On payday night the neighbors would arm themselves and go into town together to pay their bills and make their purchases." Paivalehti (Duluth, Minnesota), February 24, 1948, p. 21.

10 Kolehmainen, The Finns in the Western Reserve, p. 119.

11 These temperance societies were more than organizations dedicated to the promotion of total abstinence. They performed a number of functions which helped the immigrant to avoid the pitfalls of disorganization. Bearing such colorful and appropriate names as Vesi (Water), Ely, Minnesota; Toivon Tahti (Star of Hope), Duluth, Minnesota; Uljas Koitto (Valiant Effort), Quincy, Massachusetts; Aamunokoitto (The Dawn), Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Tyven Satama (Calm Harbor), Hoquiam, Washington; and Tatuuden Et Sija (Seeker of Truth), Hibbing, Minnesota; these societies established educational classes, libraries, bands, choral groups, dramatic clubs, and athletic teams. In 1914 there were four national temperance organizations. The most complete treatment of the early temperance societies is to be found in S. Ilmonen, "Amerikan Suomalaisen Raittiusliikkeen Historia," Juhlajulkaisu Suomalaisen Kansallis Raittius Veljyssen 25 Vuotisen Toiminnan Nuistoksi (Hancock, Michigan: Lutheran Book Concern, 1912), pp. 1-317. All of the general histories about the immigrant Finns, such as Engelberg, op. cit., and Sulkanen, op. cit., contain many pages on temperance activities. Kolehmainen's Haven in the Woods, pp. 113-18, tells of the temperance movement in Wisconsin.
In speaking of the institutionalized domestic life of the Finnish people in the United States, it is necessary—again for the sake of analysis—to distinguish between the immigrant family and that of the second and subsequent generations. Or, in other words, attention must be focused upon the American-born Finn's family of orientation and his family of procreation.12

Consideration is given first to the immigrant family. What it is today is the product of its old country heritage, the social experiences of the Finns in the United States, and the demographic changes that have occurred as a result of the almost complete cessation of immigration.

The roots of the Finnish family go back to the period before the Swedish conquest of Finland in the twelfth century. A description of the domestic life that prevailed may be gained from the Finnish national epic, The Kalevala.13 The family formed the basic economic and social unit. It was patriarchal and patrilocal. Several generations lived

12 The term "family of orientation" refers to the family into which an individual is born, the term "family of procreation" to the family he forms himself when he marries. See W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944).

13 The Kalevala was published in 1835. It is a collection of songs and poems gathered by the wandering minstrel and educator Elias Lonnrot. It begins with the story of how Ilmatar, the Virgin of the Air, created the earth and brought forth Vainamoinen, the aged culture-hero, who transforms Finland from a wasteland into a fruitful country, and ends with the coming of Christianity to Finland when the virgin Marjatta swallows a cranberry and brings forth a son, who is proclaimed King of Carelia. The Kalevala has been translated into at least twenty languages. The best English translation is W. F. Kirby, Kalevala, The Land of the Heroes (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1907). Finns like to point out that Henry W. Longfellow borrowed the meter and parts of the theme for his Hiawatha, published in 1855.
together. Although the male head made all of the important decisions, mothers were venerated and the children were expected to be obedient to their elders.

Various familial roles are illustrated in the passages in which Ilmarinen and his bride are instructed on how they should behave. The husband is told that he must be patient with his bride, but no doubt is left about who is to rule the family. During the first year the husband is to advise his bride "by word of mouth;" during the second, "with his eyes;" and during the third "by stamping." If she pays no attention, the husband is then to "choose a reed... (and)... some horse-tail, and with these correct the damsel." But he is to do it gently and with tenderness. If this proves ineffective, he is told to:

Bring a switch from out the thicket,  
In the dell select a birch-rod,  
Underneath thy fur cloak hide it,  
That the neighbours may not know it,  
Let the damsel only see it;  
Threaten her, but do not touch her.

If these threats prove to be of no avail:

With the switch correct the damsel,  
With the birch-rod do thou teach her,  
But within the room four-cornered,  
Or within the hut moss-covered.  
Do not beat her in the meadow,  
Do not whip her in the cornfield,  
Lest the noise should reach the village.

What was it that the bride was supposed to learn? She was expected to keep the house "a fitting place to live in... to help in threshing... in the hayfield" and, most of all, to be obedient and subservient to her husband, his parents, and his brothers. She is told:
Comes the brother from his ploughing,
Or the father from the storehouse,
Or thy husband from his labour,
He, thy fair one, from the clearing,
Haste to fetch the water-basin,
Hasten thou to bring a towel,
Bowing with respect before them,
Speaking words of fond affection.14

If the wife learned her role well she, in turn, was to be treated
with kindness and respect. The children were to revere her.

This patriarchal heritage was not modified greatly by the Swedish
conquest. The owner of the large feudal-like holdings was looked upon
as the "Isanta" or master of all those who worked for him as well as his
own family. In the share renter's cabin, within the confines of his own
family, the husband was also the dominant one. On small family-size farms
the mother, wife, and their children made up a unit of production managed
by the father.

Intertwined in this dominant patriarchal theme, as has been noted,
was the feeling of respect and reverence for the mother. This tradition
has been reflected in the improvements that have been made in the woman's
status in Finland during the twentieth century. Finland today takes pride
in the fact that she was the first European country to grant suffrage to
women. This occurred in 1907, thirteen years before the United States
passed a similar law. During more recent years, as a result of industriali-
zation and the wars with Russia, which took large numbers of Finnish women
out of the traditional homemaker's role, the woman's status has continued
to improve. Equality has not been achieved, however. In the industries,
for example, two scales of pay are still maintained for the same kind of

14The quotations are from Kirby, op. cit., Runos XXIII and XXIV,
pp. 264-299.
work - one scale for the males and another, a lower one, for the females. This indicates that greater value continues to be placed upon the male's contribution to society.\textsuperscript{15}

This is the background against which the immigrant Finnish family must be viewed. It should be remembered that the migration from Finland was not a movement of families. Most of the marriages, therefore, were contracted in the United States. This meant that the contracting parties were freed from the traditional expectations of a patriarchal society. For one thing, they did not have to seek permission from their elders when they decided to marry.

Another factor which helped to break down the patriarchal pattern was the change in the role of the male in the urban areas. He was no longer the head of a unit of production but worked away from the home to gain a livelihood for his family. In the rural areas, where the family continued to be a unit of production, the male's role was a more important one.

To what extent have the Finnish immigrants married outside of their own ethnic group? Kolehmainen in a study of 350 marriages of first and second generation Finns in Conneaut, Ohio, in 1936, discovered that the marriages could be divided into three periods: 1895-1915, the so-called normal period, which was characterized by the marriage of foreign-born to foreign-born; 1916-1925, the "modified period," during which there was an increasing number of marriages of foreign-born to native-born; and 1926-1935, the "mixed-marriage" period, which was marked by the appearance of marriages of Finns with non-Finns. Throughout all of these

\textsuperscript{15}See Hinshaw, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 113-15.
periods, however, the marriage of immigrant to immigrant prevailed.\(^{16}\)

During the first of these periods the "culture area was well-defined, isolated and strong" making the marriage of the foreign-born Finn to another foreign-born Finn a "normal" event. Moreover, the language-barrier prevented the Finns from associating with members of other groups.

After the closing off of immigration as a result of World War I and the restrictive immigration acts passed by the United States, Finns found it necessary to marry outside of the foreign-born group. Their first choice fell upon the native-born Finns.

Later these native-born Finns, as a result of the acculturation process, began to be accepted by non-Finns as marriage partners. As Kolehmainen indicates, this troubled the foreign-born parents of these children who wanted their children to marry within their own nationality. The immigrants tried to make their institutions more appealing to the young, but their attempts to incorporate the American-born into the foreign-born Finnish culture failed.

When the American-born Finn marries out of his own ethnic group, the choice he makes depends to a large extent upon the residential propinquity of other nationality groups. Illustrative of this is the alliance in the author's hometown between American-born Finns and American-born Italians who make up a significant portion of the population of the community.\(^{17}\)

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\(^{17}\) The marriages are "mixed" not only ethnically but religiously as well. The Italians, almost without exception, come from Catholic homes; the Finns from a Lutheran background. Various compromises are worked out, but most of the time it appears that the Catholic faith is adopted by the Finn.
Most of the conflicts in the immigrant Finnish home have revolved around parent-child relationships. "The immigrant home," writes William C. Smith, "offers an excellent laboratory of study of the culture conflict between two generations. Within the confines of the family circle are concentrated all the contradictions, incompatibilities, and dissonances that can be found to exist between any two cultural groups, no matter how unlike they may be."\(^{18}\)

Until the age of five the child of the immigrant is absorbed in the Finnish culture. When he enters school he enters an environment in which anything "foreign" is often looked upon as something inferior. He finds himself torn between the expectations of the new groups to which he is being exposed and his family. Waltu E. Kirri, insightful novelist of Finnish life in America, tells about a fourteen-year old American-born daughter of a Finnish family who tells her mother as they prepare to go to town:

"Remember, mother, do not speak Finnish to me on the street."

"Why not?" asked the mother in surprise.

"Because I don't want anyone to think that I am an immigrant, let alone a Finlander."

"But my good girl!" exclaimed the mother, "Is there anything wrong in that?"

"There is. All those who have come from Europe are so uncivilized and stupid. They even got their first decent meal in this country. And our school books say that the Finns are Mongolians. I don't want to be a slant-eyed Mongolian. Everyone in school began to laugh and looked at me when we read that...so don't speak to me in Finnish in town. Everyone will see that we are foreigners and not civilized."\(^{19}\)


\(^{19}\)American Vieras (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Smia, 1945), pp. 241-42.
The above is illustrative of the reaction of the "marginal" individual who turns his back on the culture of his parents and attempts to identify himself as completely as possible with his definition of the "American" way of life.

As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, not all of the American-born children of immigrants react in this way. Some tend to renounce the "American" standards and withdraw deeper into the culture of their parents. An illustration of this is the following statement by a woman who felt keenly the taunts that were made by her schoolmates:

When I grew older I didn't even try to get into the English-language groups...In our home we spoke often about Finland...I learned the names of towns in Finland...I learned to honor the long suffering Finnish nation...I have never been ashamed that I am Finnish, and I have taught the same to my child. My daughter even said to me once, "Mother, one would think that you have been in this country only five years and the remainder of your life in Finland."

In many cases the culture conflict is resolved as a result of the changes that are made in the home as the child bears the culture of the "outside" world to his parents. A blending of cultures occurs which seems to satisfy both the old and the young.

The immigrant Finn's contact with the English language has given rise to a pidgeon English often termed "Finglish." Examples of such "Finnicization" are reproduced in Figure 8.

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20"Eraan Vanhan Taimarin Muistoja," Paivalehti (Duluth, Minnesota), February 24, 1948, p. 39.

### EXAMPLES OF "FINNICIZED" ENGLISH WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>&quot;Finglish&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autovaja</td>
<td>Garage</td>
<td>Kraatsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaivostyolainen</td>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>Mainari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katu</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Striitti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keittio</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Kitsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirjoituskone</td>
<td>Typewriter</td>
<td>Taipraiteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kone</td>
<td>Machine</td>
<td>Masiina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuorma-auto</td>
<td>Truck</td>
<td>Troki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutsut</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Paarti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokonrikkuri</td>
<td>&quot;Scab&quot;</td>
<td>Skaappi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansikka</td>
<td>Strawberry</td>
<td>Straaperi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omana</td>
<td>Apple</td>
<td>Apyli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palkata</td>
<td>Hire</td>
<td>Hairata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parranajokoje</td>
<td>Electric Razor</td>
<td>Lektrik Reiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pihamaa</td>
<td>Yard</td>
<td>Jaardi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porauskone</td>
<td>Drill</td>
<td>Trilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravintola</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>Restarantti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukkatavaraakauppa</td>
<td>Grocery store</td>
<td>Krosseristoori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valipala</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>Lunssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vauva</td>
<td>Baby</td>
<td>Peipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ylakerta</td>
<td>Upstairs</td>
<td>Upste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8. Random examples of "Finnicized" English words.
This discussion of the immigrant Finnish family may be concluded with a brief review in terms of the functions traditionally attributed to the family:

1. Reproduction or replacement of members into society. This function has been completed as far as the immigrant Finnish family is concerned. Most of the mothers are beyond the child-bearing ages.

2. Care and maintenance of the young. This is another function which the immigrant family is no longer called upon to perform. The children have for the most part reached adulthood and have formed families of their own.

3. Education and training of the young. For the same reasons as those enumerated above, this function has been completed. From the very beginning the immigrant Finnish family was in competition with the educational system of America. It appears that the latter won out. While a considerable number of second-generation Finns know how to speak Finnish when they were children, many have lost that facility. Since the second-generation Finns find it much easier to speak English in their homes, the Finnish-language is dying out among the third and subsequent generations.

4. Establishment of status. While it is true that the immigrant family ascribed the child's original status, many changes have occurred. In the words of Oscar Tokoi, Finnish immigrant and newspaper man:

   This rising younger generation's position in American society is altogether different from the one we occupied. In addition to the fact that they are by birth citizens of America, their knowledge, skills, and abilities, which we have helped them acquire, gives them an opportunity to climb upward in all areas of social life, even to the uppermost rungs...That feeling of inferiority which troubled us oldsters much too long and which also affected our children has completely disappeared.22

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22nAmerikansuomalainen Kulttuurityo ja Sen Siirtaminen Jalkipohjavele," Suomen Silta, No. 3 (July-August-September 1952), p. 60.
Little remains to be said about the family life of the American-born Finns that has not been implied in the statements above regarding the immigrant family. One does not need to live long among the Finns to notice that the American-born establish their own homes at marriage, and that the Finnish-language is seldom heard in such homes.

The extent to which the American-born children, after leaving home, assist and protect their aging parents has never been studied. Most families of the American-born Finns appear to remain in close touch with their parental homes, although there are cases of children who have "disowned" their parents.

There are several reasons why one seldom sees immigrant parents living out their lives in the home of one of their offspring: (1) Old-age benefits and pensions help to provide for the oldsters, who in many cases, as noted earlier, are migrating to warmer areas of the country. (2) Some of the children still feel that it would be embarrassing to have someone living with them who speaks a foreign tongue. (3) Among the parents are some who don't want to live with their children because they, the parents, still feel strange and unwanted in an English-language environment.

C. Religion

Before their conversion to Christianity in the twelfth century the Finns were worshipers of nature. Their Gods included "Ukko," the God of Thunder; "Ahti," the God of Water; "Tuoni," the God of the Nether Worlds. To these Spirit-Gods the pagan Finns made offerings at such natural
shrines as rivers and streams.\textsuperscript{23} Ancestor worship and shamanism were essential aspects of religious life. The Finns believed that there were persons who had knowledge of "words of origin" and could produce miracles. In The Kalevala the heroes are all skilled in sorcery and magic. They conjure up whirlwinds and tempests to carry people off to distant places; and they conquer their adversaries, not with the sword, but with magical incantations.

Christianity made its appearance in Finland in the form of Catholicism. It was brought in by Eric IX, King of Sweden, and his armed forces. The pagans offered stubborn resistance. This is indicated by the lamentations of Pope Alexander III in 1172 that the Finns were forgetting their promises to be good. In a bull to the Archbishop of Upsala, Sweden, he demanded that measures be taken to correct this un-Christian state of affairs.\textsuperscript{24} It took the Roman Church more than a century, however, to establish itself.

The conversion of the Finns to Lutheranism occurred during the Protestant Reformation. The leading figures in the movement were Swedish and Finnish scholars who had become disciples of Martin Luther during their travels in Germany early in the sixteenth century. Most famous was Mikael Agricola, who translated the New Testament into Finnish.

\textsuperscript{23} The many Finnish family names based on topographic features are an indication of this heritage. Joki, for example, means a river; Maki, a hill; Jarvi, a lake; Koivu, a birch; Saari, an island; and Lahti, a bay.

Lutheranism became the official state religion and occupied that status until 1923 when freedom of worship was proclaimed. The Lutheran Church is still state supported.25

This is the religious heritage the immigrants brought with them to the United States. It is not surprising, then, that it is Lutheranism which still dominates the religious aspects of their lives. In the United States, however, Lutheranism has divided itself into three camps, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, or Suomi Synod; the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America, or the National Synod; and the Apostolic Lutheran Church.

This division resulted from sectarian differences plus the freedom the immigrants had in America to establish new denominations.26

The most unified and perhaps the most influential of the Finnish Lutheran Churches is the Suomi Synod.27 Founded in March, 1890, at Calumet, Michigan, it emerged out of the church movement begun in Hancock and

25 The extent of Lutheranism is shown by the data for 1950. More than 95 per cent of the people were registered as members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Slightly less than two per cent belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. Those who professed none of the existing religions and were listed in the "Civil Register" made up 2.5 per cent of the population. See Jaakko Kihlberg, op. cit., p. 4; and Jukka Miesmaa, op. cit., p. 24.

26 Many chose to "free" themselves completely from organized religion. Perhaps more than fifty per cent of the immigrant Finns are not regular church members. In 1918 Eugene Van Cleef estimated that twenty-five per cent of the Finns were Socialists and, almost without exception, these Socialists were atheists. The Finn in America (Duluth, Minnesota: Finnish Daily Publishing Company, 1918), p. 28.

27 The formation and early development of the Suomi Synod is told in V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko (Hancock, Michigan: Suomalais-Luterilainen Kustannusliike, 1911). This work is now being revised. Engelberg describes the activities of the Suomi Synod and the other Finnish Churches in op. cit., pp. 179-248.
Calumet in 1867 by a group of Finnish fishermen from northern Norway. The Suomi Synod looks upon itself as the true representative of the Lutheran Church of Finland and employs the same ritual. Placing great stress on religious education, it maintains a theological seminary at Hancock, Michigan.

According to Rev. John Wargelin, "the Suomi Synod has grown from the nine congregations represented at its first meeting to 180, with about 30,000 members."

The Census of Religious Bodies in 1936 placed the Suomi Synod's membership at 21,466. Ten years earlier, in 1926, the reported membership was 32,071. In 1906 it was 12,907. Rural areas have always accounted for more than half of the membership.

The Apostolic Lutheran Church was organized in 1879, also at Calumet, Michigan, by the followers of Laestadius, who "preached repentance and remission of Sins" in Sweden and Finland in the nineteenth century revival movement which bears his name. This Church dislikes the ritual which characterizes the Suomi Synod. Its members believe that religion is something which one "feels," and no amount of ritual or formal education will compensate for it. Consequently, the preachers are lay members who have answered the "call." In earlier years the services were characterized by emotionalism which some members claim is missing today.


30 First called the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Congregation, the present name was adopted in 1929.
In 1950 Wargelin estimated the membership of the Laestadian group "at about the same number...as the Suomi Synod," (30,000).\textsuperscript{31} The Census of Religious Bodies reported the membership at 16,293 in 1936; 24,016 in 1926; and 8,170 in 1906.\textsuperscript{32} More than 80 per cent of the reported 1936 membership resided in rural areas.

The third Lutheran group, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America, was established in 1898 at Rock Springs, Wyoming, by those who opposed the ecclesiastical system of the Church of Finland and the Suomi Synod. Like the Apostolic group, the National Synod is relatively free of ritualism. It believes in the strict interpretation of the Bible. Local autonomy prevails to a large degree.

Wargelin placed the National Synod's membership in 1950 at 10,000.\textsuperscript{33} The Census of Religious Bodies reported the membership at 6,157 in 1936; 7,788 in 1926; and 10,111 in 1906.\textsuperscript{34} Slightly more than 50 per cent of the members reported in 1936 were in rural areas.

The foregoing figures appear to indicate that the membership of each of these Lutheran bodies has increased since 1936. However, the "increase" may be only a reflection of differences in methods of data collection. The data published in the Census of Religious Bodies are not considered to be too reliable.\textsuperscript{35} Their greatest weakness is that they are derived from answers to questions directed to the church organizations,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31}Loc. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{32}Op. cit., Tables 1, 2, and 3, pp. 969-70.
\item \textsuperscript{33}Loc. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{34}Op. cit., Tables 1, 2, and 3, pp. 979-81.
\item \textsuperscript{35}Smith and Hitt, op. cit., pp. 128-30.
\end{itemize}
Figure 9. The Finnish Lutheran Church, Calumet, Michigan, in Which the Finnish Lutheran Synod was Formed on March 25, 1890.
not by an enumeration of the population. As a result, some denominations may be over-represented (particularly if the denomination is eager to make a "good showing"); others may be under-represented. The data quoted from Wargelin came from reports issued by the church organizations for general circulation. These reports include as members all baptized persons, men, women, and children.

It seems highly unlikely that the memberships have increased. The immigrant population declined by more than eighteen per cent during the decade 1940 to 1950, and this writer's observations among the Finns suggest that the American-born are not following in the religious footsteps of their parents. The American-born Finns are not anti-religious, but they are not evincing great interest in their parents' religious proclivities.

All three of the church organizations described above preach the doctrine that man is born in sin. The sermon of the Finnish minister often contains the admonition of the Apostle John: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." The Finnish preacher, therefore, exhorts his followers to become aware of their sins:

He cannot and will not receive us if we come trusting in our own strength and are satisfied with our present virtues and goodness...When we come to Him, penitently confessing our sins, our shortcomings, our errors of heart and mind, He will receive us. It is to the penitent sinner that Jesus wants to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.36

In the early days such recreational activities as card-playing and dancing were generally condemned among the religious Finns as snares set by the devil to lure people away from righteous living. Convincing

proof of this was that the "Godless" Socialists liked to dance.

The conflict between the non-church Finns and the churchgoers kept the Finns in most communities divided. The situation Brunner discovered to exist in a Finnish community he studied appears typical:

The Finns were divided into two distinct factions. The church Finns were very loyal to their religious organizations. The non-church Finns were socialistic in their thinking; were stronger than the church group, with which they had almost nothing in common; and centered their activities in a country social hall.37

The conflict still exists in that neither group wants to have anything to do with the other.38 Gone, however, are the days when the radicals "bored from within" and took over churches and schools of the religionists for their own purposes. Gone too—or at least dormant—is the "Holy War" of the religionists against the Socialists and other radicals, a "war" which included the furnishing of names of radicals and "agitators" for the blacklists maintained by anti-labor employers.39

In appearance the church structures are similar. Most of them are small and unpretentious.40

Many of the churches, notably those belonging to the Suomi Synod, have made conscious efforts to attract the American-born Finns, but with

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38 The only time when there was some semblance of cooperation was during the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-1940 when almost all of the Finnish-language organizations, with the exception of those controlled by devout Communist sympathizers, rushed to send aid to Finland.

39 For a description of the "boring from within" tactics of the Socialists and the "Holy War" of the religionists, see Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 89-92.

40 In 1936 the average value of the Suomi Synod churches was $7,729, those of the National Synod $3,004, and those of the Apostolic Church $3,052. For each of these groups the figures come from the sources listed in footnotes 29, 32, and 34.
little success. In addition to a relaxation of some of the puritanical teachings of former years, English has been introduced into a number of churches. This has not proved too effective. Many of the American-born still complain that the services are too "old-fashioned." Many immigrant Finns oppose any change which would force a retreat in the use of Finnish language. These persons express the feeling that the English-language somehow "defiles" the services. "If the American-born want to worship with us, why don't they learn their mother tongue!" is the attitude expressed by some.

The American-born Finn, especially the minister who has an excellent facility in Finnish, is a great favorite among the immigrant churchgoers. Judging from letters written to Finnish newspapers, nothing pleases the immigrant more than to hear an American-born active member of the church express himself in Finnish. But individuals with this ability are becoming rare. The late Rev. Edward Isaacs, president of Suomi College, lamented the fact that so few of the American-born theological students and ministers were equipped to service congregations in the Finnish language, even though Finnish is a required subject on the curriculum at the Suomi Theological Seminary. 41

Briefly, the foregoing review of the religious life of the Finns in the United States reveals the following:

1. Lutheranism, as expressed through three different church organizations, continues to dominate. The percentage of Finnish Lutherans in the United States, however, is considerably smaller than it is in Finland.

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2. The churches, strongest in the homogeneous Finnish rural settlements, have failed to attract the American-born who have found the "pull" of American culture too strong.

3. Finnish communities continue to be divided into churchgoers and non-believers, but overt conflict between the two groups has diminished.

4. In political affairs the Finnish religious organizations have been staunch defenders of the status quo.

5. Although many church leaders champion the introduction of the English language into the Finnish churches, there is some opposition to it among the immigrant Finns.

6. Difficulties have been encountered in the training of a sufficient number of American-born, Finnish-speaking ministers. This is a further indication of the weakening of the immigrant influence in Finnish communities.
In viewing the development of the institutionalized activities of the Finns in the political and economic arenas, one is impressed by the tremendous amount of time and energy that has gone into the promotion of socialistic and other radical causes. In the space of a few decades after the turn of the century this small immigrant group established hundreds of clubs and associations whose avowed purpose was to usher in "a new and better social system."^1

The genesis of this radical social philosophy dates back to the emergence of the nationalist movement in Finland in the nineteenth century. In the 1850's and 1860's reading clubs and discussion groups were formed by middle-class leaders "for the purpose of enabling the laboring man to become familiar with the trends of the time in general and the Finnish (nationalist) movement in particular."^2

In the 1880's the middle-class elements, motivated by humanitarian considerations to "prevent the appearance of the worst evils which usually attend upon the growth of an industrial, propertyless working class,"

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^1 In 1912 the Finnish Socialist Federation had 248 locals and more than 11,500 paid-up members in 29 states. Sulkonen, op. cit., p. 187.

^2 Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland, p. 170.
transformed the reading clubs into Workers' Associations.\(^3\)

The union movement got its start in Finland when the Workers' Associations began to organize workers into "respectable" trade unions. But as they grew, the unions began to free themselves from middle-class control and ultimately adopted a more radical view of their function in society.

The Labor Party of Finland was formed in 1899 by the radicalized trade unions. Four years later the party, imbued with Marxism, changed its name to the Social-Democratic Party.\(^4\)

The nation-wide strike of 1905, which forced the Russian authorities to cease their program of Russification in Finland, was led by the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions.\(^5\) Those same organizations led the industrial workers and the farm laborers in the Civil War of 1918.\(^6\)

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 172. According to Y. K. Laine, liberal middle-class nationalists assumed the leadership in the movement to aid the workers because the workers themselves were kept in a powerless position by their extremely low level of living and the restrictive legislation directed against them. See op. cit., p. 18.

\(^4\)Ever since its inception the Social-Democratic Party has been a potent factor in the political life of Finland. In 1906 it became the largest party in the Diet. In 1916 it won 103 seats out of 200. See Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland, p. 213. In 1954 the Social-Democrats won 54 seats, one more than second ranked Agrarians. World Almanac 1955 (New York: World Telegram and the Sun, 1955), p. 95.

\(^5\)The success of the strike gave momentum to the trade union movement. By 1907 the membership had reached 18,000. After Finland gained her independence in 1918, the Communists gained control, with the result that in 1929 the Social-Democratic members withdrew. In 1930 the Finnish government suppressed the organization and a new one, independent of all political parties, was established. This new organization, Suomen Ammattiyhistysten Keskusliitto, has been strongly supported by the Social-Democrats.

\(^6\)Halonen, Suomen Luokkasota, pp. 23 ff. For a general treatment of the events leading to the Civil War see Leo Harmaja, Effects of the War on Economics and Social Life in Finland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933).
The foregoing review of the main political and trade union developments in Finland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helps to explain the nature of the political and economic activities of the Finns in the United States. While most of the immigrants from Finland came from rural areas, the urban proportion in the stream of migration increased steadily after 1900. This meant that increasing numbers of immigrants were coming from industrial areas in which the trade union and Social-Democratic movements had gained prominence. To America these immigrants brought a social and economic philosophy which was to manifest itself in numerous undertakings.

A. Political Activities

Most of the Finnish immigrants upon becoming citizens of the United States probably cast their votes for the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties. But very few Finnish organizations have ever been established to support or promote the programs of these two political groups. It is the socialistic and communistic causes that have received the organized support of the Finns.

The first workers' clubs and associations formed by the Finns in the United States were not Marxian, however. They were, rather, in the tradition of the nineteenth century middle-class sponsored Workingmen's Associations of Finland. The first was the famed Imatra society, launched in Brooklyn, New York, in 1890. In 1903, a national Imatra League was formed. The member societies were in reality fraternal organizations. They aided those in need and, in general, attempted to improve the educational and cultural level of the immigrants.7

7Sulkanev, op. cit., pp. 56-61; Syrjala, op. cit., p. 33 ff; and Kolehmainen, Sow the Golden Seed, pp. 16-18.
Socialism made its appearance among the Finnish immigrants at about the same as it did in Finland. Antero Ferdinand Tanner, self-appointed "Apostle of Socialism," organized the Myrsky (Storm) society of Rockport, Massachusetts in 1899. The new doctrine spread rapidly. Many of the Imatra societies were converted, and new associations were formed. Speakers and organizers, most of whom had learned about socialism in Finland, were sent from coast to coast. Newspapers were established and statewide socialist federations were organized.

Hundreds of halls or meeting places were built. These halls, as will be shown in more detail in the chapter to follow, developed into social centers for the immigrant Finns. This is an important fact to keep in mind since it helps to explain the cohesiveness of the Finnish socialist movement. The hall provided the immigrant with a variety of activities which helped to assuage the thirst for the social satisfactions of companionship and recognition.

In August, 1906, the Finnish Socialist Federation, the first and largest language division of the American Socialist Party, was formed in

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8Sulkanen, Ibid., p. 62.

9Utopian socialism also proved attractive to some of the Finnish immigrants. In December, 1901, a utopian community named Scintula (Harmony) was established on Malcolm's Island (Malkoseari to the Finns) in British Columbia. Insufficient capital, internal dissension, and the "free love" theories of the leader, Matti Kurikka, led to its disintegration and demise by 1904. See Ibid., pp. 68-72.

10A study of the biographical sketches of 101 Finnish Socialists, Communists, and I.W.W. leaders shows that—almost without exception—they had taken part in trade union and socialistic activities in Finland. They were young (the average age at the time of their arrival to the United States was 20.2 years) and they believed fervently in the righteousness of their cause. See Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 97-100.
Hibbing, Minnesota, amid ringing denunciations of the capitalistic system.\(^\text{11}\)

In 1914 a breach occurred. The supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World, largely in the midwestern states, withdrew and began an active campaign for the promotion of revolutionary industrial unionism among the Finns.\(^\text{12}\)

In 1920 the Finnish Socialist Federation split again. This time it was the enthusiastic supporters of Russian Communism who left to form their own organization.\(^\text{13}\)

One of the interesting aspects of the Finnish immigrants' promotion of radical philosophies—and sociologically a significant one—is that the various Finnish labor organizations tended to function in isolation from the rest of the labor movement. The Finns seemed to be content to build halls, to debate amongst themselves, and to organize such auxiliary bodies as dramatic clubs and athletic associations to which many of the

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\(^{11}\)Sulkanen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 91 ff. In 1909, out of the 58,000 members in the American Socialist Party, 7,000 were Finns. In 1919, after a sharp decline in the fortunes of the Socialist Party, 10,000 out of the total membership of 25,000 belonged to Finnish language locals. See Halonen, \textit{The Role of the Finns in the Labor Movement}, p. 74; and Syrjala, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 90.

\(^{12}\)When the Schism ran its course, the radicals had been successful in taking some thirty-eight locals (with a combined membership of nearly 3,500) out of the Finnish Socialist Federation, leaving the latter with 8,859 members early in 1915." Kolehmainen, \textit{Sow the Golden Seed}, p. 51.

\(^{13}\)For a detailed English language account of the stormy career of the Finnish political labor movement, the many splits and their ramifications, see Halonen, \textit{op. cit.} In 1936, troubled by what it believed to be a "Communization" process going on within the American Socialist Party, the Finnish Federation terminated its thirty-year affiliation. Four years later the Federation was dissolved and a new organization, the Finnish-American League for Democracy, was established to "carry on recreational, cultural, educational and artistic activities to satisfy the natural desires of immigrant elements for their traditional social life and functions." See \textit{Ibid.}, p. 79.
Figure 10. The Finnish Workers' Hall, Hibbing, Minnesota. Built in 1909, this building was sold thirty years later to an iron mining company that had located iron ore under the section of the city in which the hall was located. After years of litigation between two rival factions, the money derived from the sale, $50,000, was deposited in a trust fund to aid needy high school students of Finnish extraction.
members devoted more attention than they did to the spreading of socialism.

There were two reasons for this pattern, one of which has been mentioned: that is, these auxiliary activities helped to provide the personal satisfactions that the language barrier alone prevented the immigrant from gaining through his association with native groups. The other reason is related to the Finnish concept of socialism. It was looked upon as a way of life. "Bourgeoisie" culture was viewed as something not only corrupt but intended to keep the worker in a subjugated position. Therefore, it was not sufficient merely to organize politically or industrially to end this state of affairs, but it was necessary to cultivate the "whole" person, to have a healthy socialist mind in a healthy socialist body, to replace the decadent capitalistic arts with wholesome socialistic interpretations. As an illustration of the significance of this attitude, consider the following words of Kusti Siirtolainen, an immigrant:

In the cooperatively organized boardinghouses liquor was forbidden. Coffee was considered harmful. In its stead many drank milk or hot water with cream and sugar. Very few used tobacco. In addition to gymnastics, wrestling, and other forms of athletics, we took care of our health by taking hot and cold baths, by dieting, and by denying ourselves various foods. For several years I didn't eat meat or white bread; I didn't drink coffee, nor liquor; I didn't smoke. The results of this religious-like common group life were so good

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14 For example, liquor and its related social institutions were looked upon by many radicals as devices that were being used to perpetuate capitalism by keeping the workers disorganized. This helps to explain why many atheists were just as puritanical as their Apostolic Lutheran brothers. Of course there were many "backsliders" among the atheists, just as there were among the churchgoers.

15 This concept of socialism goes back to Finland. Early in their development the Finnish workingclass organizations there began to promote and maintain their own social and cultural organizations. Today these associations have national recognition and are considered to be a vital part of the nation's social life.
that very few, even today, understand its great sociological significance. From the saloons we turned to reading rooms in which we read all kinds of literature but especially sociological and economic explanations of life.16

Before considering the effects of these political strivings upon the relationships between the foreign-born Finns and their offspring, attention is directed to the economic aspects of Finnish life in the United States. The reason for this order of presentation is that the economic and political patterns of behavior are so intertwined that a more meaningful interpretation of their effects can be made after both have been treated.

B. Economic Activities

It was shown in an earlier chapter that most of the Finnish immigrants arrived to 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.

By and large, the farms were family-sized units. At first products were produced almost exclusively for home consumption. As production

16 Unpublished life history.
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.

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. The I.W.W. advocated the organizing of all the "wage workers" into industrial unions. Those 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." Said the I.W.W.: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

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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. Most of the Finnish immigrants were aliens and ineligible to vote. Many of them, consequently, felt that "political" action was "futile."

As described earlier, most of the Finns who went along with the I.W.W. idea were those who split away from the Finnish Socialist Federation in 1917.

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.

20"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.

21"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."
As a result of their labor activities, the immigrant Finns in many areas were "blacklisted." 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 described in connection with the socialist groups, 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 "workingclass emancipation." Others adopt a philosophical attitude: "We did our best. Perhaps we were ahead of our time and the

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22 The most prominent Finnish I.W.W.'s were not spared in the anti-I.W.W. campaign 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 Gamb, op. cit., p. 30
American-born will yet someday see the value of our efforts and turn toward promoting them.\textsuperscript{23}

One economic pattern of activity initiated by the Finnish immigrants in America remains to be treated. That is the cooperative movement. It has been placed last in this discussion because 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 successfully 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 1844, twenty-eight factory workers pooled their resources, a total of $140, and established their own grocery store.\textsuperscript{24} From this inauspicious beginning, the consumers' cooperative movement has grown to significant proportions in many lands. It is especially strong

\textsuperscript{23}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.

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!"

\textsuperscript{24}H. Haines Turner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12.
in Switzerland, the British Isles, and in the Scandinavian countries.25

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 1939.26 By 1947, according to official Finnish figures, the proportion had reached 40 per cent.27

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.28 The Grange sponsored a number of farmers' cooperatives in the 1870's.29

Few of these earliest cooperatives were based on Rochdale principles,30

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27 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. Kihlberg, op. cit., p. 19.


30 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 Kerchor, et al., op. cit., pp. 5-6.
Stronger and better organized cooperatives were launched in the early years of the twentieth century by groups of immigrants from many parts of Europe.31

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 1900,32 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.33

In the Great Lakes area the Finns have developed the "strongest and most unified distinctly Rochdale consumers' cooperative movement in the United States today."34 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 $25,000.35 In 1955 the sales were $12,208,000, the largest in the organization's history.36

The cooperative as an institution is considered to have two functions: 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."38

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.39

Since 1929 the Central Cooperative Wholesale has been free of political domination. As indicated earlier, it has grown tremendously


39 For the story of this attempt see George Halonen, Taisteluosustointi tominalla (Superior, Wisconsin: The Active Press, 1932).
Figure 11. A Typical Rural Finnish Cooperative Store.
and is now bursting the bonds of Finnish domination.\textsuperscript{40}

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

In Table XXVI 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

\textsuperscript{40}For years the cooperative stores belonging to the Central Cooperative Wholesale were referred to by native Americans as "Finn stores."
TABLE XXVI

NATIVITY OF THE DIRECTORS OF FINNISH-INITIATED COOPERATIVES
AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Cooperatives Reporting</th>
<th>Original Directors</th>
<th>Directors Dec. 1953</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FBF</td>
<td>ABF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 XXVI 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 XXVII 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
TABLE XXVII

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Cooperatives Reporting</th>
<th>Original Managers</th>
<th>Managers Dec. 1953</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FBF</td>
<td>ABF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

Managers who returned the questionnaire were foreign-born; all nine were native-born of Finnish descent. The number of foreign-born managers in Minnesota 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

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41 For additional data from this survey as it pertains to Minnesota see Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 121-26.
non-Finns. None of the division heads were born in Finland. All three were American-born of Finnish parentage.\footnote{Letter to the writer from Mr. Edwin Whitney, Head of the Area Services Department, CCW, December 18, 1952.}

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.\footnote{"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." \textit{Ibid.}}

English is replacing Finnish as the "official" language in the meetings of the membership as well as the boards of directors (see Table XXVIII). 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.\footnote{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. Kolohmainen, \textit{Haven in the Woods}, p. 149.}

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

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Cooperatives Reporting</th>
<th>Directors' Meetings</th>
<th>Membership Meetings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Language control the cooperatives will cease to provide them with social satisfactions and will become "just another business organization." 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 cooperative movement as the immigrant Finns possessed. They made such statements as the following:

45One "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."
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 the 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 them, 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 cooperative 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.46

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."\(^47\)

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

\(^47\)Ibid., p. 4.
centers of organized social activities. This difference in value orientations has been the basis of many misunderstandings.
CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE FINNS IN THE UNITED STATES (Cont'd)

A. Education

In its broadest sense, "education" is synonymous with "socialization." It is the totality of human teaching and learning, "the process by which an individual becomes a member of a given social group,"\(^1\) or, more specifically, "the process by which the child acquires a cultural content, along with selfhood and personality."\(^2\) In its narrower sense, "education" refers to the institutionalized patterns which have evolved to regulate direct and intended instruction.\(^3\)

The present analysis is largely restricted to the latter—the institutionalized educational activities among the Finnish people. However, the role of informal education cannot be neglected; much of the most enduring learning occurs outside of the formal patterns of indoctrination and instructions.\(^4\) Moreover, regulated indoctrination often comes into conflict with informal teaching.


\(^{2}\) Green, op. cit., p. 115.

\(^{3}\) Williams, op. cit., p. 265.

\(^{4}\) "Everywhere, the child absorbs an enormous and complex range of cultural materials as a more or less unplanned, informal by-product of growing up in a family and community." Ibid., p. 266.
The educational background of the Finnish immigrants at the time of their arrival to the United States deserves consideration. Data compiled for the years 1899-1910, the period of heaviest immigration, indicate that the illiteracy rate among the Finnish arrivals was relatively low. Only 1,745 Finns, or 1.3 per cent of the total number 14 years of age or over, could neither read nor write. Only the English (1.0 per cent), the Scotch (0.7 per cent), and the Scandinavians (0.5 per cent), had lower rates than the incoming Finns.5

The low rate of illiteracy among the immigrant Finns may be attributed to the historic influence of the Lutheran Church of Finland. It was Mikael Agricola, the Lutheran reformer, who prepared the first alphabet book so that the people might learn to read. The Swedish-Finnish Church Law of 1686 prescribed that every Finn should be able to read the catechism and the Bible. The churches conducted the schools. There was no compulsory school attendance law but the confirmation school came to be used as a method of coercion. The person who failed to learn how to read or write was denied his certificate of adulthood.7 This meant that

5During this period the proportion of all the immigrants 14 years of age or over who could neither read nor write was more than 25 per cent. See Statistical Review of Immigration, 1820-1910, Table XV, p. 84.

6The low proportion of those who could neither read nor write does not indicate, of course, that the Finns were a "well educated" group. Most of them had had very little formal schooling. The point being made here is that almost all of the adults were able to read their own language, difficult though it might have been for some of them.

he could not marry, nor enjoy civil rights.  

During the second half of the nineteenth century the public school system was started in Finland, largely through the efforts of Uno Cygnaeus, a Lutheran pastor. The emphasis continued to be on religious training.

In addition to the public school system, Finland developed so-called People's Colleges and Workmen's Institutes to provide adults with an opportunity to continue their studies. The first of these colleges was established in 1889. Today there are two People's Colleges, one favored by the Social Democrats, the other by the Communists.

The immigrant Finns in the United States had many educational needs. There was a strange language and new ways of behavior to learn. Since the language barrier alone prevented immediate absorption into the receiving society, there was the need to develop their own institutions; and finally, as family life began to develop, there was the matter of educating the children.

To meet their own educational needs the immigrant Finns enrolled in night schools. No official data are available on how many Finns

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8 An oft-quoted passage from Aleksis Kivi's immortal Seitsemän veljestä (Seven Brothers) tells of the difficulties Juhani, the eldest brother, encounters, at the age of 34, when he feels compelled to learn the ABC's: "Juhani sat in the cabin, stripped to his shirt and oozing sweat at the table's end, ABC book in hand. Greatly enraged and tearing his hair, he fingered his stout-leaved book. It often happened that, grinding his teeth with rage and almost shedding tears, he would bound up from his stool, snatch the chopping block from its corner, lift it on high, and dash it fiercely to the ground; and at such moments the cabin shook and the man's skimpy shirt fluttered. Thus he would pounce at intervals on the chopping block; for only with much toil did the alphabet take root in the man's head. But he would always sit down again at the table corner and go through a stiff paragraph anew. And at last, as spring came round, he too knew his book from cover to cover; and, with pride in his glance, could close it." As translated in Strode, op. cit., p. 239.

attended but from what the writer has been able to gather from his discus-
sions with educators and the immigrants themselves, it was no small
number.\textsuperscript{10}

After learning some English, quite a few enrolled in American
schools. The most popular was Valparaiso University in Indiana, where
many immigrants who were to make themselves known in political, legal,
and business circles received their early training.

To what extent have the immigrant Finns learned English?\textsuperscript{11} In 1930
the United States Census sought the answer to this question for the vari-
ous immigrant populations in the country.\textsuperscript{12} The survey showed that 10.8
per cent of the foreign-born Finns who were 10 years of age or older
could not speak English. This proportion was considerably more than the
proportions for the Swedes (1.5 per cent), Danes (0.9 per cent), and the
Norwegians (2.3 per cent). But it compared favorably with the percentages
among those peoples who arrived to the United States during the same
period as the Finns. For example, among the Poles the proportion was
12.5 per cent, among the Italians, 15.7 per cent, and among the Czecho-
slovakians, 10.7 per cent. For the entire foreign-born white population
10 years of age and over, the proportion unable to speak English was 6.6
per cent.

\textsuperscript{10}A Superintendent of Schools in a little mining town in Minnesota
reported in 1910 that out of a total attendance of nine hundred in the
local night school, over five hundred were Finns. See Van Cleef, \textit{op. cit.}
p. 23.

\textsuperscript{11}It should be noted that the Finns faced enormous difficulties
in learning the English language. Finnish bears no resemblance to English.
For example, there are very few prepositions in the Finnish language, the
pronouns have no gender, and there are 15 cases.

II, General Report, Statistics by Subjects, Inability to Speak English}
(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), Tables 1 through 19,
pp. 1347-1387.
As was the case with all of the other nationalities, the proportion of the Finns unable to speak English was highest among the females, 16.7 per cent, as compared with 5.9 per cent among the males. The reason for this is that the occupations of the males brought them sooner and more thoroughly into contact with English speaking groups.

With regard to age, the greatest proportion of those who could not speak Finnish was found to be among the aged. Among those 65 years of age and over, 27.2 per cent were unable to speak English. The proportion among the men in this age category was 12.8 per cent; among the women it was 45.1 per cent. In the 45 to 64 year age classification, 6.7 per cent of the males and 22.0 per cent of the females did not know how to speak English. Among those 25 to 44, the respective proportions were 4.4 per cent and 9.9 per cent.

These figures indicate that the younger persons are learning English more rapidly than those who have been here the longest. This is accounted for by the fact that most of those in the advanced age categories arrived when immigration was very rapid and Finnish language communities were being formed in which the use of English was not imperative.

In the two states in which more than three out of 10 of the foreign-born Finns reside, namely, Michigan and Minnesota, the situation in 1930 was as follows: In Michigan, 8.7 per cent of the males and 31.5 per cent of the females could not speak English; in Minnesota, the respective proportions were 8.4 per cent and 25.0 per cent.

In the preceding two chapters it was shown that the foreign-born Finns do not constitute a homogeneous group pursuing a common objective. Their religious, political, and economic life has been characterized by
a diversity of interests. In view of this fact, it is not surprising to learn that the various groups established their own schools to propagate their beliefs.

1. Schools

Among the religious groupings a great deal of the instructing was done through the church. However, specialized educational agencies were also formed. The largest and most famous of these is the Suomi College and Theological Seminary, founded in 1896 at Hancock, Michigan, by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod) to train ministers for the Lutheran ministry. It included, in addition to the Theological Seminary, a Preparatory Department and an Academy (comparable to a four year high school). The Preparatory Department was discontinued in 1923, the Academy in 1932. At present Suomi College is comprised of a Junior College, established in 1923, and the Seminary.

Up to 1952, a total of 5,662 persons had studied at Suomi. Of these, a total of 1,851 had graduated, 962 from the high school, 791 from the Junior College, and 94 from the Theological Seminary.

13 In this respect the Finns resemble other ethnic groups in the United States. As Louis Wirth has concluded, "No ethnic group is ever unanimous in all of its attitudes and actions...They, too, have their internal differentiations, their factions and ideological currents and movements." See "Problem of Minority Groups," Ralph Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 361.

14 Suomi College and Theological Seminary General Catalog (Hancock, Michigan, 1954).

15 Uskonpuhdistuksen Muisto, XIV, No. 3 (September, 1951), pp. 15-16.
Most of the students at Suomi come from Michigan. In 1952 a total of 99 students were enrolled in the Junior College; of these, 91 were from Michigan. There were 20 students in the Theological Seminary, 12 of them from Michigan. Other states represented in the student body were Ohio, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, Virginia, and Maine. One of the Junior College students was from Finland.

The socialists also established a college of their own, Work People's College, in 1907, at Duluth, Minnesota.16 In 1914 the school was taken over by the pro-I.W.W. Finns. The last classes were held in 1939. In 1953 the structure was sold and is now an apartment building.

The objective of the school was explained in a circular as follows:

"Work People's College is more than an ordinary workers' school which clothes itself in an assumption of neutrality in 'controversial' questions and carefully refrains from forging ahead of current theory in union methods and objectives. Its purpose is not merely to help students understand the labor movement, it is rather to equip them so that they can participate in it more effectively."17

The curriculum, after it became a pro-I.W.W. school, included Industrial Unionism, Marxian Economics, History of the Labor Movement, Organization Methods, and Social History. The last named course covered: (a) A survey of primitive and ancient social institutions. (b) The bourgeois revolutions, the modern state, nationalism. The rise of the proletariat. (c) The decline of democracy; the class struggle today. (d) Social theories."18

16Sulkanen, op. cit., p. 136.
17Work People's College, A Residential School for Rebellious Workers, a circular (Duluth, Minnesota, n.d.).
18Ibid.
In addition to these subjects and such practical ones as typewriting and bookkeeping, the College emphasized the teaching of the Finnish language. In this respect it played a role similar to that of Suomi College, which has also strived to perpetuate various aspects of Finnish culture.

Work People's College drew the bulk of its students from the midwestern states. While its enrollment never reached the 1,200 figure attributed to it by E. A. Ross,\(^\text{19}\) enrollments of more than 100 were not uncommon in the early years.\(^\text{20}\)

Immigrants speak fondly of this labor school, recalling somewhat like typical American college graduates, the "good old times" they had in school. School spirit appears to have been very high, resulting, no doubt, from the common value system adhered to by the students.

Although Marxian in ideology, this school never was in danger of falling into the hands of the Finnish element that supported Bolshevism. Indeed, its financial support came from the non-Communist or anti-Communist left-wing elements.

After the split which drove the Communists out of the Central Cooperative Wholesale in 1930, many persons who were to become prominent in cooperative affairs studied at Work People's College.

Both of the schools described above, Suomi College and Work People's College, helped to reinforce particular values among the Finns. This reinforcing was also done through other agencies and in connection with not purely educational affairs. The funeral for example, served this

\(^{19}\text{Op. cit., p. 171}\)

\(^{20}\text{Sulkkanen, op. cit., p. 196.}\)
Figure 12. Work Peoples' College, Duluth, Minnesota.

Figure 13. A Graduation Procession at the Suomi College and Theological Seminary, Hancock, Michigan.
purpose among the non-churchgoers as well as the religious Finns. An illustration of this is the following description by Walto Kirri, of the funeral of a miner in Butte, Montana, around 1917:

The hall was packed with people. Red flags decorated the walls. When the "International" had been sung, a young man stepped near the casket. He described the various phases of Antti Ahola's life, his birth, his youth, his arrival to America, and then (his voice rising to a passionate crescendo, he cried):

"So, fellow workers, here lies another victim of the capitalistic system...To earn his daily bread he was forced, like hundreds of thousands of men in this country, to sink down into the dark bowels of the earth where death lurks at every step...

"Fellow workers! We are gathered...to lay to rest a man, a wage slave. And unless a better place is given to us in this world, many more lives will end in an early grave. That is the workers' fate. That is our sacrifice on the altar of capitalism...But let every event of this kind lead us to a better understanding of the wrongs of the capitalistic system and let us resolve to join in the struggle to eliminate it from the face of the earth."21

In addition to their own educational needs, the immigrant Finns were concerned with the education of their children. Although the American school system tended to widen the breach between the parents, the immigrants sacrificed much in order to educate their offspring. They felt proud whenever an American-born Finn distinguished himself in academic life.

However, many of the parents felt that the American school was inadequate, largely because it didn't promote the particular social or religious views they upheld. Therefore, the parents arranged special educational courses for their children and tried to get them interested in Suomi College and Work People's College. The latter, for example, sponsored special summer school sessions for the American-born youth.

21Kirri, op. cit., p. 297-98.
from 1929 to 1939. Although large numbers attended, very few adopted the beliefs of their parents.

In general, it may be said that the American-born Finns failed to respond to their parents' attempts to "educate" them. The pressure to conform to dominant behavior patterns was too great to be counteracted by the parents.

2. The Press

"Mother tongue," wrote Robert E. Park in 1922, "is the natural basis of human association and organization." This statement provides the fundamental reason for the development of a foreign-language press in the United States. Unable to communicate in English, the Finns, like other immigrants, found it necessary to withdraw into their own groupings. The reason why one newspaper did not suffice for the Finns is obvious: There were too many different religious and social viewpoints to articulate. Consequently, during the course of about six decades, the Finnish immigrants established more than 350 different newspapers. Most of them had a brief existence.

The first Finnish language newspaper in the United States was the four-page, four-column weekly, Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti (American Finnish Paper), established at Hancock, Michigan, April 14, 1876, by Antti Juho Muikku, a Finnish scholar. Only thirteen issues were published, Muikku, although an ordained minister himself, encountering great opposition

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from the Laestadians, who labeled the paper "atheistic."24

"Swen Dufva" was the name of the second Finnish newspaper. It made its appearance in Houghton, Michigan, in 1878 and lasted for fifteen months. The publisher and editor was Matti Fred, a house painter. He, too, ran into opposition from the Laestadians.25

The third Finnish newspaper took the name of Muikku's ill-fated venture, Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti. Its initial issue appeared on July 4, 1879. Publication lasted for approximately fifteen years. Its supporters helped to establish the Siirtolainen (The Immigrant), in 1893, which was published until 1937.26

The first Finnish language religious publication was the Walvoja (The Guardian), which appeared as an eight-page monthly in 1884 and lasted until 1888. The major religious newspapers being published today made their appearance as follows: The Amerikan Suometar (American Finn), a tri-weekly, published by the Suomi Synod, in 1899, at Hancock, Michigan; the Opas (The Guide), a semi-weekly, published by one faction of Laestadians, in 1931, at Calumet, Michigan; and the Auttaja (The Helper), a weekly, the official organ of the Finnish National Synod, in 1906, at Ironwood, Michigan.


25Ibid.

26Some of the other newspapers founded by the Finns before the turn of the century, bore such names as: Vusi Kotimaa (The New Homeland), 1881-1931; Yhdysvaltain Sanomat (United States' News), 1885-1893; Lannetar (The Westerner), 1891-1893; and Amerikan Uutiset (American News), 1894- (not known).
The Finnish labor press, which was to split into three factions, made its appearance on July 20, 1903 with the publication of the Amerikan Suomalainen Tyomies (The Finnish-American Working Man) at Worcester, Massachusetts, by the Finnish socialists. Another socialistic newspaper, the Raivaaja (The Pioneer) began publication on January 31, 1905. A third socialistic newspaper, Socialisti (The Socialist) made its debut in 1914, at Duluth, Minnesota. Two years later it became the Teollisuus-tyolainen (The Industrial Worker), when its control was taken over by the pro-I.W.W. group. In 1917 the name was changed to the Industrialisti (The Industrialist). The Tyomies, founded in Worcester, Massachusetts, was taken over by the pro-Communists in the 1920’s. It is now published in Superior, Wisconsin.

In 1921, at the time when the foreign-born Finnish population in the United States was at its numerical peak, at least 22 different Finnish language newspapers were being published. Today the number of "major" Finnish language newspapers is down to twelve. There are the same number of weeklies, semi-weeklies, tri-weeklies, and dailies, three of each. The dailies are the labor originated Raivaaja, Industrialisti, and Tyomies.

In addition to the "major" papers, there are three religious monthlies, Paimen Sanomia (The Shepherd’s Tidings), the Kristillinen Kuukausilehti (The Christian Monthly), and Rauhan Tervehdys (The Greeting of

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27The Raivaaja is the newspaper whose history is told in Kolehmainen’s Sow the Golden Seed. It is the only book-length history of a Finnish language newspaper.

28The best treatments of the Finnish labor press are to be found in Sulk an en, op. cit. and Syrjala, op. cit. There is no study in Finnish devoted exclusively to the Finnish press.

29Park, op. cit., p. 313. According to Park, the Finns had proportionately more radical newspapers than any other ethnic group, with the exception of the Jews. He listed eleven papers as socialist or radical. Ibid., p. 436.

30By "major" here is meant those papers which devote a section to news and are published at least once a week.
Peace). Each of these has a circulation of less than 1,000.

According to the data presented in Table XXIX, the Finnish newspaper with the largest circulation is the Tyovaen Osuustoimintalehti (The Working People's Cooperative Newspaper), a weekly published by the Central Cooperative Wholesale, Superior, Wisconsin. Its circulation was reported at 7,520.\(^1\) Ranking second is the independent tri-weekly, Minnesotan Uutiset (Minnesota News), published in New York Mills, Minnesota. It had 7,270 subscribers in 1954. Third in the circulation ranking is the Raivaaja (The Pioneer), a daily, formerly the spokesman for the Finnish Socialist Federation, now the organ of the Finnish American League for Democracy. Published in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, it had a circulation of 5,212 in 1954. Ranking fourth in circulation is the Industrialisti (The Industrialist), a daily, published in Duluth, Minnesota. Following the Industrialisti, is the Tyomies (The Workingman), a Superior, Wisconsin daily, which hews close to the Communist Party "line." It had 4,053 subscribers in 1954.

With the exception of the Raivaaja, New Yorkin Uutiset, and the Columbia Press, the Finnish language newspapers appearing once a week or more are published in the three states of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

In its general make-up, the Finnish daily is similar to papers of other ethnic groups.\(^2\) Page one of the typical four-page paper is devoted

\(^1\)One of the reasons why the Tyovaen Osuustoimintalehti ranks highest in circulation is that many of the cooperative societies subscribe for it for their patrons. The Central Cooperative Wholesale also publishes a lively English language weekly, The Cooperative Builder.

### TABLE XXIX
CIRCULATION OF FINNISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS, 1954*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>1954 Circulation</th>
<th>Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyovaen Osuustoimintahti</td>
<td>Superior, Wis.</td>
<td>1-week</td>
<td>7,520</td>
<td>Cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesotan Uutiset</td>
<td>New York Mills, Minn.</td>
<td>3-week</td>
<td>7,270</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raivaaja</td>
<td>Fitchburg, Mass.</td>
<td>5-week</td>
<td>5,212</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialisti</td>
<td>Duluth, Minn.</td>
<td>5-week</td>
<td>4,550</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyomies-Eteenpain</td>
<td>Superior, Wis.</td>
<td>5-week</td>
<td>4,053</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Yorkin Uutiset</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N. Y.</td>
<td>2-week</td>
<td>3,765</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerikan Suometar</td>
<td>Hancock, Mich.</td>
<td>3-week</td>
<td>3,244</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keskilannen Sanomat</td>
<td>Duluth, Minn.</td>
<td>2-week</td>
<td>3,200</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walvoja</td>
<td>Calumet, Mich.</td>
<td>3-week</td>
<td>2,437</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auttaja</td>
<td>Ironwood, Mich.</td>
<td>1-week</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opas</td>
<td>Calumet, Mich.</td>
<td>2-week</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia Press</td>
<td>Astoria, Ore.</td>
<td>1-week</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to general news, national and international; page two to editorials and feature articles; page three to special sections, such as sports, literature, farming, etc., and page four to contributions from the readers and for "paikkakuntakirjeet" (letters from local correspondents). The advertisements are usually placed on the last page.

Most of the news is "scissored" and translated from English language newspapers. Exceptions to this are the reports of the newspaper's yearly convention, other special meetings, and the larger summer festivals. Since World War II all of the papers have used news dispatches of the Suomi-Seura, which air mails items directly from Finland.

None of the Finnish newspapers have paid correspondents, except that occasionally gift packages are sent to persons who send articles, stories, and news items from Finland.

The editor's duties are not confined to the newspaper. He is expected to be in the midst of all of the activities sponsored by the supporters of the paper. He is called upon to speak, to participate in plays, and, in the case of the labor papers, to deliver funeral orations.

Most of the Finnish newspapers publish special holiday issues in which column after column is filled with the names and addresses of the people who pay for this space to greet their friends and to demonstrate their support of the newspaper. The special issues are also heavy with advertising. They are, in the words of the manager of a Finnish paper, "our money-making issues." These special issues also serve the

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33 Of course, what is considered "newsworthy" depends upon the point of view of the newspaper.

34 Only the Raivasja utilizes a wire service, the United Press. Most of the labor papers have subscribed from time to time to the picture and news service of the Federated Press.
sociological purpose of reinforcing the solidarity of the "in-group."

Although all of the larger Finnish newspapers accept advertising, they must rely upon other revenue to keep going. One of the biggest sources of income are the outright donations and gifts that are made by the subscribers. This, if anything, is an indication of the great need that the immigrants still feel for their own language paper.

The Finnish language newspapers are becoming victims of the same inevitable demographic trend that is reducing immigrant Finnish activities everywhere. Death is snipping the subscription lists almost daily. Table XXX shows the trend since 1930 among the three dailies. Raivaaja's circulation declined from 8,326 in 1930 to 5,212 in 1954; the Industrialist's dropped from 9,000 to 4,553, and the Tyomies-Eteenpain's from 13,639 to 4,053.

The remaining subscribers to the Finnish newspapers are now in their advanced years. The average is probably more than 60. A large percentage are no longer employed but get along on pensions or savings.

This demographic change in the composition of the reading population is reflected in the contents of the newspapers. A content analysis would probably show a tremendous increase in the amount of space devoted to news about the federal Social Security system, industrial pension plans, etc.

35 The Industrialist, for example, received $15,557 during the 1954 fiscal year as donations from its subscribers. Some of this money was raised at "coffee socials," picnics, entertainments, etc. See "Liikkeenhoitajan Raportti Workers Pub. Co:n Toiminnasta Tilivuodelta 5-1-54—4-30-55," Industrialist (May 20, 1955).

36 This is one of the reasons why the Finnish papers try to keep their subscription rates as low as possible.
## TABLE XXX

CIRCULATION TREND AMONG THE THREE FINNISH DAILIES, 1930-1954*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Raivaaja</th>
<th>Industrialisti</th>
<th>Tyomies-Eteenpain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>8,326</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>13,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>6,745</td>
<td>8,250</td>
<td>11,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>11,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>8,250</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>(Not reported)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5,922</td>
<td>5,032</td>
<td>7,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>5,212</td>
<td>4,550</td>
<td>4,053</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The American-born Finns have displayed little interest in the immigrant press. Very few of them are able to read Finnish and they exhibit little desire to learn.

The Finnish press tried to attract the American-born with special English language sections. The purpose was twofold: to get the American-born interested in Finnish culture in general and to inculcate the particular point of view represented by the newspaper. These efforts failed. How the English language section was conceived, how it developed and passed out of existence is illustrated by the changes in the titles used by the Industrialisti for the sections that it published. First there was the “Lasten Osasto” (Children’s Section). The children of the immigrants were then of grade school age. As they grew older, the name of the section was changed to “Nuorten Osasto” (The Youth Section). Then
Figure 14. The Six Leading Finnish Newspapers Published in the United States.
it was decided to drop the Finnish name entirely and call it "Young People's Section." As the second generation Finns began to reach adulthood, to marry and have children of their own, it was felt that this name was no longer adequate. It became simply "The English Section." Finally, soon after World War II, due to the lack of interest, it disappeared completely.

The high mortality among the aging subscribers and the lack of interest in Finnish activities on the part of the American-born leads to the inevitable conclusion that the days of the Finnish language newspapers are numbered.37 In the words of Oscar Tokoi, for years editor of the Raivaaja, "The face of the American Finnish press is tied up inseparably with the fate of the American Finnish immigrants."38 As the immigrant population dies off, so will their newspapers vanish.

The possibilities of a merger among the Finnish language newspapers appears remote. The old causes are still held dear. During the past year some overtures were made by the pro-Communist elements, but the response was negative. The other Finnish newspapers reminded the pro-Communists of their attempts to control the cooperative movement for their own purposes and of their efforts to "liquidate" other newspapers. To these charges, the answer was, "Let's let bygones be bygones."39 It appears,

37In addition to the woes occasioned by the loss of subscribers, Finnish newspapers face problems resulting from increased production costs and difficulties in getting Finnish editors and linotype operators. Moreover, advertisers are not unaware of the decline in the foreign-born Finnish population. Consequently, many of them simply do not consider it profitable to advertise in Finnish publications.


however, that this is exactly what the other newspapers do not intend to do.

An evaluation of the Finnish language press made a few years ago appears to hold:

Although the various group interests are not pursued as actively as in the past, the ideological lines remain well-defined, and the papers often devote many columns to polemical discussions against views expressed by other newspapers. The pro-Communist papers are more isolated than the rest, and any merger would exclude them. 40

B. Recreational Activities

The recreational activities of the immigrant Finns have been tied up closely with their organizational endeavors. The churches expected their followers to gain their social satisfactions from the activities sponsored or permitted by the church. The temperance societies, the socialist associations, and the early cooperative clubs placed great significance on the development of a cultural life in tune with their respective objectives. As has been indicated in other contexts, dramatic societies, athletic associations, choral groups, bands, and orchestras were formed. 41 In many cases these auxiliary activities received more support than did the parent organizations to which they belonged.

In the summer, the various groups arranged huge summer festivals at which the auxiliary organizations performed. These festivals served the purpose of further reinforcing the values and norms of the group.

40 Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

41 For example, the Finnish Socialist Federation reported in 1912 that it had 107 dramatic clubs, 23 choruses, 23 bands, 91 sewing clubs, 53 athletic clubs, 33 reading rooms, and 80 libraries with 10,121 volumes. See Sulkkanen, op. cit., p. 153. F. J. Syrjala has estimated that during the height of Finnish activities in the United States almost 3,000 plays were produced yearly. See op. cit., p. 110.
Summer festivals continue to play an important part in the social life of the Finnish immigrants. But as a result of the aging of the participants many of the activities have changed in character. The strenuous running, jumping, and throwing events have been eliminated. Bands and orchestras have vanished. The choral groups are smaller. Plays continue to be produced but they are not as lavish as they were in the "old days." Usually the festivities (with the exception of those arranged by the more puritanical religious groups) begin with a concert and a general dance on the eve of the outdoor picnic. But now the dances break up earlier than they did before. "Have to get a good night's rest before the picnic tomorrow," is a frequently heard comment. At the picnic the "old timers" spend most of their time congregating into little clusters and talking nostalgically about "the good old days."

Needless to say, in light of the previous descriptions of various aspects of Finnish life, the American-born Finns have not supported the recreational programs of the foreign-born. For a time, second generation Finns did play a not too insignificant role in the athletic programs in some communities. But as the grade and high schools which the young attended improved and expanded their athletic facilities, the American-born Finns lost interest in the immigrant sponsored athletic groups.

Very little of the immigrant culture appears to have been passed on to the American-born. Among the second generation there are still

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42 Many of the festivals are now advertised by the Finns themselves as "old timers'" picnics.

43 For example, in Duluth, Minnesota, the Finnish-American Athletic Club had a large number of American-born in the 1930's.

44 The only major culture trait which has found its way into the lives of the American-born Finns is the traditional Finnish bath house, or sauna. For a description of the sauna and its history see Jokinen, op. cit., pp. 142-46. See also H. J. Viherjuuri, Sauna, The Finnish Bath (Helsinki, Finland: Kustannusosakeyhtio Otava, 1952).
Figure 15. A Group of Finnish Athletes, Stevenson, Minnesota, Around 1905. (Photo through the courtesy of Mr. C. Tolvanen).
persons who are able to speak Finnish with great fluency, who know much about their parents' way of life, and are able to move with facility from the English-speaking to the Finnish-speaking groups. But among the third generation such individuals are extremely rare.

The present situation indicates that the end is near for the immigrant initiated institutions. In a few decades the Finnish language may have largely disappeared from the American scene.

C. Institutionalized Interrelations

The institutionalized patterns of behavior among the Finns have been discussed under separate headings. Such an approach, let it be stressed again, runs the risk of underemphasizing the interrelatedness of institutions. "Institutions," as Robin Williams states, "are not completely separate or autonomous systems but show multiple interconnections and mutual dependencies."45 In the case of the immigrants, it is further necessary to keep in mind that their institutionalized systems are interrelated with those of the dominant society.

Of course, institutions themselves do not interact. The interrelationships are relations between individuals, as individuals, or as members and representatives of groups and organizations. The concrete behavior of individuals, therefore, should provide illustrations of how institutions are linked. Three examples are presented here:

1. The immigrant Finn comes into contact with various economic, political, and religious groupings. His total behavior requires the resolution of the various conflicting norms of these groupings. Here, then, is one level on which institutionalized patterns are interrelated—the level of personality adjustment.

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Figure 16. A Finnish Summer Festival, Duluth, Minnesota.

Figure 17. The famed "Hirsihaali" (Log Hall) at Brimson, Minnesota. This building was the social center for the Finnish pioneers in the area. It is now owned by the township.
2. The child of immigrant parents interacts with her grade school teacher, whose duties call for the inculcation of norms and values which are different from those acquired by the child at home. This interrelatedness of educational and familial institutions is further emphasized when the child carries the newly acquired norms and values back to her parental home.

3. The minister of the Finnish Lutheran Church interacts with the mayor in order to bring about certain improvements in the church life of the people in the community. Here religious and political institutions become intertwined.

Many other illustrations could be given. But these should suffice to show that in the consideration of the totality of group behavior the interrelatedness of the institutionalized patterns should be recognized.

In the following passage Thomas and Znaniecki indicate this clearly, and at the same time they emphasize another important point, namely, that institutions have latent as well as manifest functions:

Although all the new institutions are thus formed with the definite purpose of satisfying certain specific needs, their social function is by no means limited to their explicit and conscious purpose...every one of these institutions is not merely a mechanism for the management of certain values but also an association of people, each member of which is supposed to participate in the common activities as a living, concrete individual. Whatever is the predominant, official common interest upon which the institution is founded, the association as a concrete group of human personalities unofficially involves many other interests; the social contacts between its members are not limited to their common pursuit.46

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapters the social life of the Finnish people in the United States has been described and analyzed. Since the emphasis has been on institutionalized behavior, many other aspects have remained untouched or have received scant attention. It is felt, however, that enough material has been presented and studied to warrant certain conclusions. These conclusions may be summarized under three major headings: (a) The causes and magnitude of the immigration from Finland to the United States. (b) The demographic characteristics of the Finnish population. (c) The social life of the Finns in the United States.

A. The Causes and Magnitude of the Immigration From Finland to the United States

To begin with, immigration has been viewed in this study as a social process which involves motivations for migration, the actual transplantation of individuals, and the institutionalization of behavior in the new environment.

The factors that impelled people to leave Finland were mainly economic and political. The economic reasons included recurrent famines,

\(^1\) All behavior cannot be explained by considering only that which is institutional, but institutional behavior, based on social needs, does form the core of culture and is a "necessary first approximation." See Williams, op. cit., p. 30.
crop failures, the concentration of the ownership of land into the hands of a few, and a system of primogeniture which forced the younger sons into the ranks of the landless workers. The political factors included Russia's attempts to foist her language and institutions on the Finns, the introduction of compulsory conscription, and the events which culminated in the Finnish Civil War in 1918.

The factors that channelled the discontent and frustrations of the Finns into migration mainly to the United States existed on this side of the Atlantic. They were also economic and political, and included the following: America's rapid industrial growth following the Civil War, which created a seemingly insatiable demand for unskilled labor; the availability of cheap, homestead land for the property-hungry peasants; and the freedom that existed for the immigrants to form their own political and religious organizations.

The great bulk of the Finnish immigrants came to the United States after 1900, although there were some who came earlier, including settlers who participated in the founding of the New Delaware Colony in 1638. Finns also aided the Russians in the settlement of Alaska during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The first two decades of the twentieth century marked the period of the greatest influx of Finns into the United States. More than 90 percent of those who arrived between 1890 and 1950 came during those years. As a result of the improvements in living conditions in Finland and the erection of immigration barriers by the United States in the 1920's, relatively few additional Finns have found their way to America. In fact, Finland has failed to meet her annual quota of approximately 600 persons during any of the past twenty-three years.
An analysis of the reports issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States discloses that for the most part the immigrants from Finland were unmarried males in the productive age category (15-44). The majority of the immigrants were from the rural areas, although the relative proportion of urban dwellers increased steadily. Occupationally most of the Finnish arrivals were farm workers and unskilled laborers. Their economic possessions were limited; the average amount of cash brought into the country by each person was about twenty dollars.

B. Demographic Characteristics of the Finnish Population

The Census Bureau of the United States counted the foreign-born Finns separately from the Russians for the first time in 1900. A total of 62,641 persons gave Finland as the land of their birth. During the following decade the number more than doubled, climbing to 142,478. The historical peak of 149,824 was reached in 1920. Since that time there has been an accelerating decline, due principally to the immigration restrictions imposed by the United States. By 1950 the total number of foreign-born Finns in the United States had sunk to 95,506. The rate of decline between 1940 and 1950 was 18.5 per cent. At this rate, the number of foreign-born Finns will total less than 64,000 in 1970.

The heaviest concentration of immigrant Finns has always been in the Great Lakes Region, especially in the northern parts of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin. These three states accounted for more than 30 per cent of the foreign-born Finns enumerated in 1950. Other states with relatively large contingents were New York, Massachusetts, California, and Washington.
Although the majority are located in urban areas, the immigrant Finns tended to settle in rural areas to a greater extent than did the foreign population in general. During the past several decades there has been a trend toward increasing urbanization.

New York City, Duluth, Minnesota, and Detroit, Michigan, in that order, reported the largest numbers of immigrant Finns in 1950. However, when the ratio of the immigrant Finns to the total foreign-born population of each city was considered, Duluth was in a class by itself. Its 2,117 foreign-born Finns accounted for 14.5 per cent of the city's foreign-born population. In Detroit the proportion was 0.7 per cent, and in New York, 0.5 per cent.

The pattern of distribution indicates that the Finns tended to settle in the areas in which the demand for unskilled labor was the greatest.

Ever since the American government practically closed the door to immigration from Finland, the foreign-born Finnish population has been aging very rapidly. Since very few replacements are arriving from Finland, there are proportionately fewer people in the younger age categories and an increasing proportion above 60 years of age. The median age in 1940 was 53.2 years. Most of the Finnish immigrants have now lived in the United States longer than in the land of their birth.

The great preponderance of males in the stream of migration was still reflected in the sex ratio of the foreign-born Finnish population in 1940. The ratio was 107.7 males to 100 females. However, as a result of the almost complete cessation of immigration and the lower rate of mortality among the females, a balance is being reached. By 1960 the immigrant Finnish females may outnumber the males. In fact, in the urban areas such was the case already in 1940.
During the intercensal period 1940-1950, the aging immigrant Finns began moving in ever-increasing numbers from their traditional areas of settlement to warmer climates, especially to Florida. In 1940 there were only about 450 foreign-born Finns in that state; in 1950 the number enumerated was more than 1,000. Since the children of the immigrants are not classified in the same population category as their parents, and since immigration is almost at a standstill, such a gain can be accounted for only by internal migration. Most of those who migrate are retired business men and farmers or former workers who are receiving old-age pensions. Since these migrants are no longer seeking gainful employment, the occupational reasons which first prompted them to settle in the northern states are no longer operative.

As a result of the accelerating decline in the foreign-born Finnish population, the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage now form the major portion of the Finnish population in the United States. Data for 1950 show that there were more than 172,000 in the former category while the latter showed only 95,506. The difference would have been even greater if the third and subsequent generations had been added to the second generation total. Unfortunately, however, the United States Bureau of the Census does not enumerate separately beyond the second generation.

The Finns, of course, are not the only ethnic group in which the American-born have gained numerical ascendancy. This is true of the foreign white stock in the United States in general. This change is also reflected in the numerical relationship between the foreign-born and the total population of the United States. The foreign-born are decreasing both relatively and absolutely. This means that as far as nativity is concerned, the population of the United States is becoming more homogeneous.
This increasing homogeneity has not eliminated the problems arising from
the historical cultural heterogeneity of the population. It has, however,
modified the character of these problems. Whereas the students of immi-
gration a few decades ago were concerned primarily with the assimilation
and acculturation of immigrant groups, today the emphasis is being di-
rected toward the study of the adjustments made by the American-born
descendants of the immigrants.2

This dissertation has indicated that certainly among the Finns the
American-born have chosen to become "American." However, it should not
be assumed that they have been completely assimilated. The "marginal"
position into which the second generation Finns were cast during their
formative years affected many of them to the extent that they still feel
"different" from the "Americans." The third generation child brought up
in a home in which the parents still feel this "difference," is also
affected, although in language, dress, gestures, etc., he may not be
distinguishable from other persons in his peer group. Znaniecki expresses
this clearly:

Do not let the Americans illusion themselves that be-
cause the second or third generation...immigrants talk
American slang and know how to vote they are assimilated
psychologically and have acquired the American ways of
feeling and thinking. More is needed to attain such a re-
sult than most people are inclined to imagine.3

2The writer does not intend to imply that the earlier problems
have been solved by an assimilation of the foreign-born. He is merely
pointing up a statistical fact: The foreign-born are diminishing in
numbers and, consequently, are not considered to be a major "problem"
any longer.

3Immigrants in America Review, II (July, 1916), p. 32. Quoted in
The American-born Finns appear to have settled in the largest numbers in the same areas and states in which their foreign-born ancestors are to be found. Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Massachusetts, California, and Washington, in that order, contain the largest numbers of both foreign-born and second generation Finns. The smallest numbers are located in the Southern states.

As far as the age-structures of the foreign-born and native-born Finnish populations are concerned, the data show that in 1940 more than seven out of ten of the native-born of foreign or mixed parentage were under 35 years of age, whereas the same proportion of foreign-born were 45 years of age and over. More than 40 per cent of the foreign-born, but only 1.5 per cent of the second generation were over 55.

C. The Social Life of the Finns in the United States

The immigrants' first impressions of the United States were disillusioning. Instead of finding a country in which they would become rich with little effort, they encountered a situation in which hard work and a low social and economic status was their lot. Not understanding the ways of the New World and finding the patterns of behavior of the Old Country inadequate, the Finns, like other immigrants, passed through a period of social disorganization.

The language barrier and the low status they occupied in the eyes of the dominant groups forced the Finns to seek the social satisfactions of companionship and recognition from their own social groupings. However, the Finns did not form a homogeneous population with common objectives. The religious, political, economic, and educational institutions that developed represented a variety of interests. The reasons for this multiplicity of interests are to be found in the conditioning that the immigrants
had received in their homeland plus the opportunities that existed in the United States to form special associations to promote various causes.

Although the institutionalized activities of the immigrant Finns were often contradictory as far as their overt goals were concerned, they all served the purpose of providing the immigrant with an environment from which he could gain that feeling of belongingness which the dominant society denied him. In other words, although vastly divergent in manifest functions, the latent functions of the various associations formed by the Finns were similar.

The institutions developed by the foreign-born Finns are in a rapid state of disintegration. The American-born generations of Finns have given little support to the socio-cultural aspirations of their parents. The pressures to conform to the dominant patterns of behavior have been too strong to be counteracted by the immigrants' deliberate attempts to draw the American-born into their fold.

The only institution originated by the Finns that has been successful in attracting the American-born has been the consumers' cooperative. But in the process, the cooperative itself has changed. Whereas the immigrants emphasized the social benefits to be gained from cooperative endeavors, the American-born appear to be motivated mainly by the possible economic gains. This difference in value orientations has led to many misunderstandings between the "old timers" and the "newcomers," who are forging into the decision-making positions.

The nature of the social activities pursued by the immigrants has been affected by the "aging process" described earlier. For example, when the immigrants were still young, athletics played an important part in their organized recreational life. Most of the athletic associations formed during those years no longer exist.
In conclusion, a few words are in order regarding the present social status of the Finns in the United States. Ethnic groups receive differential treatment by the dominant groups. Some—although still labeled "foreign"—are favored over others. There are indications that the Finns during the past several decades have moved into such a favored position. There are several reasons for this. First, the actions of the government of Finland in paying its World War I financial obligations to the United States helped to make Finland known as "the country that always pays its debts." This recognition was reflected, of course, in a more tolerant attitude toward the Finns in the United States. Second, the first Finno-Russian War, 1939-1940, found the sympathies of the entire Western World on the side of Finland. The very titles of articles appearing in the popular periodicals during this period bear testimony to the esteem in which Finland was held. Some of these titles were: "Finland Carries on,"4 "Fiery Finns, Hard to Rule, Quick to Fight and Intensely Proud of State,"5 "Sturdy Finland: Poise is its Motto in a Fever-Ridden World,"6 and "There's Always Finland."7 Even when "the somersaults of international trends placed Finns on the wrong side of America's interests"8 in the second Finno-Russian war, 1941-1944, and Finns found themselves locked in combat with an ally of the United States, the favorable impression of Finland remained, for the most part, unshaken.

5*Newsweek*, XIV (December 11, 1939), p. 28.
Again the titles of articles in current periodicals tell the story: 
"Fettered Finns,"9 "Finland: Unwilling Axis Partner,"10 "We Still Like Finland,"11 and "It's Hard to Work up Hate Against Finland."12

The positions of prominence achieved by some of the immigrants and their offspring in the fields of education, manufacturing, and politics have also helped to elevate the status of the Finns.13

In a way—and for a time—the buffeting Finland received in the international maelstrom brought the American-born and the foreign-born Finns in the United States closer together. Both groups participated jointly in sending aid to Finland during the first Finno-Russian war.14 It is important to note, however, that this was an activity that was generally approved and considered laudatory by American society. The American-born Finn discovered that a Finnish background was no longer a social stigma; in fact, quite the opposite, it became in some circles a badge of distinction. Many of the American-born Finns who had anglicized their names to disguise their Finnish parentage, now began once again to use, and to be proud of their original names.

By and large, however, even though the international situation did tend to raise the status of the Finns, the American-born remained outside of the purely Finnish activities. The cooperation during the

9Newsweek, XX (December 14, 1942), p. 74.
10Scholastic, XLII (February 8, 1943), pp. 6-8.
11Colliers, CVIII (August 2, 1941), p. 54.
12Saturday Evening Post, CCXVI (March 18, 1944), p. 112.
14For an excellent account of the public reaction in the United States during the first Finno-Russian war see Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, War Propaganda and the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 320 ff.
war was mostly on the level of giving assistance to Finland. It did not involve the assimilation of the individuals of either group.

As far as the aging immigrant Finns themselves are concerned, they appear to be perfectly content to live out their lives within the institutionalized framework they have erected. The mortar that binds the structure together is a mixture of the memories and dreams of the past. This attitude of the immigrants as well as their present relationship with their American-born descendants is well expressed in the following words of Oscar Tokoi, the Finnish editor who himself came to the United States more than fifty years ago:

That's what we old timers are like. We are sentimentalists and often withdrawn. We long mostly for one another's company, for the younger generations no longer understand us. Even though life has given us little, we enjoy most of all recalling our past troubles, tribulations, and struggles, content in the knowledge that we are still able to leave to our children and their descendants a greater heritage than we ourselves received. We do not expect to be thanked or honored. We only hope that the coming generations will recognize this. Then they will also understand us.15

It is in this spirit of seeking a further understanding of social life that this dissertation has been prepared. The main theme emerging from this study is that the immigrant Finns developed certain patterns of life to meet their social needs in a new and strange environment. These patterns continue to provide social satisfactions and, consequently, the immigrants appear to be content to remain within their own social groupings. The American-born Finns, however, have gravitated toward the more "American" designs for living.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnare is to determine to what extent second generation Finnish-Americans and non-Finns have been active in local Cooperative societies.

The statistics will be used in a study of the Finnish population being prepared by W. J. Jokinen at the Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

Your cooperation is respectfully requested. Please complete the following questionnaire and return it to the Area Services Dept., CCW, Superior, Wis., not later than December 31, 1952.

1) Name of your society _____________________________________

2) Location ________________________________________________ (town) ______________________________ (state)

3) When was your society founded? (indicate year) ____________

4) Indicate what percentage of the founders were Finnish: ______

5) Indicate make-up of the first Board of Directors:
   No. of foreign-born Finns ______
   No. of American-born Finns ______
   No. of non-Finns ______

6) Indicate make-up of the present Board of Directors:
   No. of foreign-born Finns ______
   No. of American-born Finns ______
   No. of non-Finns ______

7) Was the first manager a foreign-born Finn? ______; American-born Finn ______; other nationality ______.

8) Is the present manager a foreign-born Finn? ______; American-born Finn ______; other nationality ______.

9) Did the parents of the present manager participate in Co-op activities? ______

10) Breakdown of present membership: No. of foreign-born Finns ______
    No. of American-born Finns ______
    No. of non-Finns ______
11) In what language do you conduct your Board meetings? __________; membership meetings? __________.

Social Activities:

12) To what community-wide organizations (such as the Chamber of Commerce) does your co-op belong? List the organizations:

13) Are the employees of your store organized in a labor union? _____

14) How many social activities (such as programs, dances, etc.) does your co-op sponsor annually? ______

15) Do these affairs (referred to in question 14) receive much, some _____, little support _____ from the community? (check)

16) Are your programs conducted in Finnish? __________, English? __________, both languages? __________. If both, what is the percentage-ratio of Finnish to English programs? __________.

17) Do you believe that the American-born active Co-op members are as well versed in Cooperative fundamentals as the foreign-born Finnish elements? ______. Explain briefly:
VITA

The writer was born in Hibbing, Minnesota, on July 22, 1915. He received his elementary and high school education in Keewatin, Minnesota. After graduation from high school, he was employed as a clerk for an iron mining company and worked for several years as a newspaper reporter. In September, 1939, he accepted a position as translator and news editor on the *Industrialisti*, Finnish daily, published in Duluth, Minnesota.

In July, 1941, he married the former Elsie Ekholm of Cloquet, Minnesota. They now have one child, Alan John.

In September, 1942, the writer was inducted into the Armed Forces of the United States. He was associated with Public Relations and Special Services activities, and served with the Twentieth Air Force in the Pacific Theatre of Operations. He was honorably discharged in February, 1946.

In June, 1948, he matriculated at the University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch, and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in June, 1951.

In September, 1951, he accepted an appointment as graduate assistant in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. In June, 1953, he received the degree of Master of Arts.

During the academic year 1953-1954, he served as a research assistant, and in 1954-1955 as an instructor on the faculty of the Department of Sociology, Louisiana State University. In September, 1954, he was appointed to the Advisory Editorial Board of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society. He is now a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in sociology.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Walfrid J. Jokinen

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: "The Finns in the United States: A Sociological Interpretation"

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

July 26, 1955