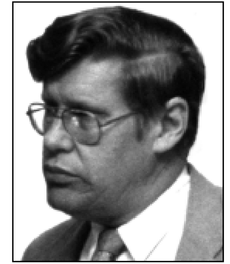
Modernization, emigration, and the family: the Finnish case[1]



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There is a basic tension in human society between change and tradition. Even in the most stable of traditional societies, people have continually dealt with the consequences of change. Even during periods of flux, like that marked by the modernization (and industrialization) of Western societies, social attitudes and customs have changed with glacial slowness. People are by nature conservative, finding comfort in the familiar, but also venturous, always seeking and welcoming improvement. Because of this, human reaction to forces for change, such as industrialization and modernization, has been extremely complex. As the basic social unit of Western culture, the family has contributed much to that complex reaction. It has been a powerful force for constancy, but at the same time it has been deeply involved in the changes that have transformed that culture.

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How has modernization of society affected the family group? This an question that students of the family have grappled with, especially in recent decades. An answer that has emerged from their investigations is – stated simply and thus somewhat simplistically – that, since the relatively small, nuclear family has usually been the norm throughout the history of Western society, modernization there has had less impact on the size and structure of the family than on its standing and functions within the broader society and on cultural images that defined the family and the roles of people within it.[2] European immigrants to America provide a special perspective for the study of this question. The image that these immigrants bring to mind is one of peasants living in an industrial society, of people who have moved directly from traditional, rural cultures to industrial, urban America. Of course, such a move put strain on immigrant families. However, the family as a preserver and transmitter of the Old-World culture was also a place to assuage the natural human fear of change. Therefore, the ways immigrants arranged their families in America reveal much about how they reacted to modernization. To the extent that they valued the traditional, they had to protect their families against the impact of modern American ways. If they desired successful adjustment to modern America, however, immigrants had to be ready to accept changes in the Old-World family.

Immigration would appear to have an especially jarring impact on those who moved from Finland. Tucked in a far Northern corner of Europe, well removed from communication routes that went anywhere, the country was slow to absorb outside influences, and lagged behind most of Europe in development. Huge swamps, granite-scarred fields, and a short growing season made Finland a land of limited agricultural potential. Here was little to excite the ambitions of the European powers -- chiefly Sweden and Russia -- that sought to control the area. Thus neither bothered to establish anything resembling a feudal system in Finland, which was through its history a country of small, landowning farmers. The move from this environment to a modernizing America required much adaptation of the Finns.

A comparison of their family lives in rural Finland with the families they later established in America shows that they used the heritage of the Old-World as a part of their strategy in dealing with New-World conditions. Beneath the global stability of their traditional society, a myriad of

local changes disrupted the lives of Finnish peasants. Bad harvests followed good ones, other natural disasters decimated already scarce resources, and, within the family, births, deaths and changing relationships threatened harmony on the farm. With typical human resiliency, Finnish peasants were willing, in order to weather such blows, to change their families in fundamental ways. This had occasionally included individuals breaking with their families to migrate to near-by villages and communes Just as they had allowed family size and structure to fluctuate in response to changing conditions in rural Finland, Finnish immigrants built families in American that adapted their existing notions of what a family should be to the restraints imposed by the new environment. They turned out to be much less flexible, however, in accepting changes to the social role that families played in Finnish country villages and expended great amounts of energy in America to recreate conditions that allowed the social interaction that they known in the Old World.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, when Finns began moving to America in large numbers, people of the Finnish countryside lived lives hardly distinguishable from those of their ancestors generations back. The peasant farmer, following his horse and crude plow along the furrows of his small field, and his wife, baking hard, flat loaves of sour-rye bread, would have felt quite at home in the society of their grandparents, or great-grandparents. The work was the same, playing was the same; the farm was little changed, as was the family that lived within it and the village community that surrounded it; and the parish church was there always. The peasant and his wife likely did notice some changes that were making life easier. By the mid-nineteenth century, commercially-made iron plows were replacing home-made wooden and iron-tipped ones, and the scythe had taken the place of the sickle as the main tool of harvest. And more and more people were growing and eating potatoes to supplement the turnips and cabbages of earlier ages.[3] But, such improvements did little to affect the rhythms of life that pulsed through society virtually unchanged from the distant past.

The essential stability of Finnish peasant life of the late 19th century indicates that this was still basically a traditional culture. However, it hides another important truth about that society: it was becoming modern. Although the term ”modernization” has aroused controversy in recent years -- to the extent even that some question the appropriateness of its use at all --, it is a useful term to signify the important transformation of a society as it gradually begins to address its problems through rational and, thus, through institutional means.[4] Such modernization first reached into the Finnish countryside in the form of a number of reform measures introduced by the central government in the late 1850s and the 1860s. The most important of these was the law of February 6, 1865, that granted each rural commune a political government separate from the parish. This law charged the new governments with responsibility for, among other things, maintenance of order, care of the sick and the poor, and education of the young.[5] The national government had earlier encouraged education in a law of 1858 that urged the establishment of public schools in the rural communes. However, modern education really got its start in the Finnish countryside with a law passed in 1866 that specifically granted the new communal governments the power to establish such schools and provided financial aid from the national government. Communes, however, were slow to respond to the encouragement of this law. By 1870, only 108 rural communes, almost all of these near urban areas in southern Finland, had established schools. By 1880, Finnish rural communes contained 457 public schools and by 1900, after the passage of a law in 1898 requiring each commune to establish a school, there were 1873.

In 1859, the national government opened the way for economic modernization of rural Finland by passing a law that ended prohibition of commercial activities outside towns and cities. By 1865, 612 stores dotted the Finnish countryside, and during the following decade the number rose to 1,432. These stores brought a new variety of goods, previously unknown to local inhabitants. And with trade came communication, which brought knowledge of new places, new things, and new ways of thinking. The national government also encouraged the systematic modernization, and less systematic mechanization, of Finnish agriculture that agricultural societies and larger farmers began promoting in the 1870s.[6]

These changes had profound effects on families within Finnish rural society. The development of communal governments meant that the care of the unfortunate of society -- the sick, the poor, the old -- , which had been managed primarily by families, slowly shifted to public institutions. So too, did the parents' responsibility for education of the young. The introduction of commercial activity into the countryside allowed peasants to buy goods that before they had made at home, thus reducing the importance of the family as a unit of production. Just when need for labor within the family was perhaps declining, the relaxation of restrictions on the Finnish economy provided new opportunities to make a living outside the family. The modernization of agriculture, by raising the value of land, led to a more frequent division of family farms among heirs, and thus to smaller farms to support rural families.

Life, of course, is full of change, and Finnish peasants in the late 19th century probably did not see in the changes around them any particular pattern or trend. However, the Finns in Pohjanmaa, the area in west-central Finland whence the bulk of immigrants to America came, indicated in several indirect ways that they were aware that something unusual and unsettling was afoot.[7] For one thing, crime among them increased significantly during the 1870s and 1880s.[8] The most spectacular outlaws involved in this crime wave were the Puukko-Junkkarit, or knife-junkers. These gangs of thugs roamed the countryside, striking terror in many hearts, but mostly fighting among themselves. In the process, they became Finnish folk heroes. Two of the most popular Finnish folk songs of that time and since celebrate the deeds of Antti Isotalo and Jussi Anssi, leaders of the Puukko-Junkkarit. These men were lauded not as Robin Hoods, who fought the rich and the other enemies of the common man (to see them as such would have required a very special blindness); they were heroes, rather, for their devil-may-care life style, for their daring to ignore social obligations, an indication perhaps that such obligations were becoming burdensome for a significant portion of the society.[9] Widespread discontent was also revealed by the strong religious revivals that swept Pohjanmaa beginning in the 1880s. Large numbers of people, seeking solutions to hazily-perceived problems, found comfort in an uncomplicated message that reduced everything to sin and simplicity.[10]

Many Finns in Pohjanmaa showed their concern with the direction in which their society seemed to be going with another action: they packed up and left for America. Migration has long been a response of Finnish peasants to change. But this had been small scale, and usually within the same commune or to a neighboring commune. However, in Finland as elsewhere in Western society, voluntary mass emigration appears to have been in part a response to modernization.[11]

Indeed, mass voluntary emigration presupposes a certain extent of modernization, because it is primarily a movement of individuals for individual motives. An important characteristic of people in modern society is that they see themselves as themselves rather than as members of a family and other groups. Modernization, by removing important social and economic functions from the family, lessened a person's dependence on it and allowed him to plan for the future as an individual. In fact, the new economic potential offered by modern society often presented one with the choice between individual advancement and sacrifice for family survival. This gradual shift toward more individualistic thinking influenced the pattern of Finnish immigration. In the early years before 1880, when the numbers moving to America were small, families moving together for family reasons comprised a small, but significant, part of Finnish immigration . Finns began to migrate to America in significant numbers in the 1890s only after the society they left had begun to tolerate "individualistic" motivation, and the overwhelming majority of the immigrants then were single individuals, while those travelling as families made up a trivial portion of total immigration.[12] Here, also, Finnish immigration followed the general European pattern where an early, small-scale emigration of families travelling together gave way to large-scale emigration predominately of individuals.[13]

The migration to America of "individuals" put stress on families, splitting the family group. This could be disturbing to family life, particularly if, as was often the case among the Finns, it was the husband who left. Between 1900 and 1914 over three-fourths of the married men emigrating

from Finland left wives behind.[14] A very common pattern for immigration of families to America was that the father migrated first, sometimes taking a son with him. Such separation of the husband and wife, however, was usually temporary. If a married man did not soon return to Finland, he likely sent for his wife and children to join him in America. Wives rarely emigrated to America before their husbands. Between 1900 and 1914, only 2.5% of married female immigrants left husbands behind in Finland. The rest either travelled with husbands or joined husbands already in America . Some married men for one reason or another permanently deserted their families after migrating to America. Thus the term ”American widow” occasionally sounded in gossip through Finnish country villages in the late 19th century. A more significant - and permanent - rupture of the family occurred when sons and daughters left parents for America. A great majority of Finns who emigrated as teenagers left both parents behind in Finland. This separation was usually more permanent than that between husband and wife. The parents of over 70% of 15 to 19-year old emigrants who left the four communes on which this study is based never moved to America.[15]

Such leave-takings were likely to disrupt the family seriously, because immigration to America ran in the family. Just as the ”America fever” spread systematically through some Finnish communes, while barely touching others, so within a single commune the temptation of America cut deeply into many families, but had no influence at all on others. Rarely did a family lose only one member to America; the great majority of Finnish immigrants were closely related to at least one other person who crossed the Atlantic. Thus, about one-fifth of single male immigrants and one-third of single female immigrants had fathers who also emigrated, while a somewhat smaller proportion of each had mothers who went to America. A little more that two-thirds of single men had siblings who also immigrated, while about three-fifths of single women did. About two fifths of the married men and two third of married women had children who went to America. One set of family relations that was badly broken by emigration was that between grandparents and grandchildren: only rarely did members of three generations of the same family to make the trip to America.[16]

The pool of immigrants from Finland to America thus contained the makings of complex family relationships; all depended on what the immigrants made on these once they settled in America. The families established by these immigrants, of course, grew out of the families they knew in Finland. A portrait of the Finnish countryside at any given time in the late 19th century – the view provided by the censuses used here – [17] reveals a land of small and simple households. The average family was a small, nuclear unit of husband, wife and children. Except for being slightly larger (an average size of 4.56 persons in 1880[18]), it differed little from families in modern Finland or America. But a static survey emphasizing averages presents a misleading impression of family life in rural Finland, because it misses the variety and dynamism that characterized those families. People in traditional country villages faced varied and changing economic conditions, over which they usually had little control. They were remarkably adept, however, in adjusting the size and structure of their households in response to these conditions.

For one thing, Finnish family size depended on the status of its head. Although an occasional tailor, cobbler, or such, might ply his trade in a Finnish country village, almost all of its inhabitants were directly connected to the soil as a member of one of three agricultural groups – land-owning farmers, tenants, and landless rural laborers. The typical farm household teemed with people, extended households were common, and servants and others outside the family usually shared in the activities of the household. In the four sample communes, the average size of a farmer household was 7.4 persons, and almost a third (31.2%) of the people in this group lived in households of eleven or more members. Many of these were servants (usually children of tenants or landless farmers) who made up almost a fourth (22.3%) of those living in farmer households. Generally, the more prosperous the farm, the larger and more complex the household living on it was. Such households seem to be the goal in the Finnish countryside, to be achieved to the extent that family economy allowed. This can be seen clearly through the households of tenant farmers, who varied widely in wealth. On average, tenant households were

smaller than those of land-owning farmers, but they varied greatly, ranging from households on the larger holdings that rivaled those of land-owning farmers in size and complexity to the generally very small households of crofters, who controlled little land. The more substantial tenants had the means to support servants in their households, and their children could stay at home longer, sometimes even after marriage, so that a small percentage of these household were extended. The small holding of the less prosperous tenants did not provide a living for servants or even for children once they reached an age where they could take care of themselves. Such households, therefore, were small, resembling those of the poorest class in rural Finland, the landless laborers.

Landless laborers lived in small households, averaging less than three persons. This figure, however, illustrates another reason that averages are misleading: they present a static picture of households that changed greatly through time. While the great majority of landless laborers – of tenants also, for that matter – did at some time live in small households, that was not their only experience with family. Most of them spent part of their lives within larger and more complex units. Almost all born into this class grew up in households of five or more persons, but such families simply did not have the resources to hold together very long. When want forced children of landless laborers, and to a lesser extent those of tenants, to leave home around age 15 it was usually to work as servants and hired hands on the larger farms. Most members of this class, therefore, participated during their early adulthood in the activity of a large household.

The average size of laborer households was so small partly because so many of them (19.4%) lived in households that the record keepers defined as single-person. Some of these lived lonely lives indeed in isolated huts, removed from the companionship of other humans, but such dwellings were rare in the Finnish countryside. And no one could survive a Finnish winter without substantial shelter. Thus, many of the people counted as living alone actually lived within a farm, in the sauna, in studier outbuildings or often in the farmhouse itself.[19] Here they joined - at least periodically - the bustle of the households around them.

Indeed, it was probably the farm, rather than the household, that was the primary social and economic unit in the Finnish countryside. Its cluster of buildings usually sheltered several households (often connected by kinship), plus maids, farm hands, and various others, who spent their days in close contact with one another. The architecture of the Finnish farmhouse contributed to this shared existence within the farm. The principle room in each farmhouse was the tupa, a large, sparsely-furnished space dominated by immense cooking ovens. It was here that most of the indoor activities of the farm occurred. It was a room for indoor chores, (including cooking), and for relaxation and celebration, a place where servants, farmhands, (and usually the male children of the farmer) slept in the winter, and where everyone on the farm ate his meals.[20] Thus, people on the Finnish farm mingled freely, blurring the boundaries between families and between individuals.

Finnish farm households gave the impression of being even larger and more complex than they actually were, because such households freely opened out onto the village community around them. Traditional relationships drew members of the farm group into the community, and the community into the farm. Thus, the community had an important place at family holidays -- births, deaths, marriages -- and celebrations of these were used to reaffirm traditional ties between family and community. Weddings, for example, served as a village initiation ceremony, during which the community welcomed the bride and groom as full-fledged members. The ceremony usually included elements of instruction in the new communal duties to be assumed by the new couple.[21] Family was, of course, important to the people of the Finnish countryside, but the boundaries between it and the farm, and even the village as a whole, were hazy and flexible.

Thus, as they began to establish families in the New World, Finns had a model, or ideal, to guide them. They had been nurtured in Finnish rural families, and memories of those families helped define their Finnish heritage. That heritage was perhaps the most important baggage Finns brought with them to America. But immigrants had to adjust to their new surroundings and that often meant that they had to accept great changes to the family. Both the act of immigration and the society that the immigrant found in America produced

changes in family structure. As a selection process, immigration limited the elements from which a family could form. And American society, since it differed from the Finnish countryside, set bounds on family activity that were different from what immigrants had been accustomed to in Finland.

Finnish-Americans, like rural Finns, seem to have set the large family as a goal, to be achieved as circumstances allowed. The basic reality of immigration, however, pulled the other way: toward small families.[22] Indeed, the most common living arrangement among Finnish immigrants was to be alone. In 1900, single-person households made up more than half (56.6%) of Finnish households in the four Finnish-American communities used as a sample here. They predominated among Finns in America because, as with most immigrant groups, single men migrated much more frequently than single women. Not enough single Finnish women came to America to provide wives for all the Finnish men, and since these men rarely married other than Finnish women, they remained single. In fact, Finnish women were more likely to marry outsiders (usually Scandinavians) than Finnish men were, further reducing the potential for marriage for the latter. In 1910, 1420 married couples in the four sample communities included at least one Finnish partner. Only 22 of these involved a Finnish husband married to a non-Finnish wife, while 50 Finnish women had married a non-Finn.

As in Finland, most of the Finnish Americans listed as living alone did not lead lonely lives. In America, most single Finnish men lived in boarding houses, where they shared meals and recreation spaces with dozens of others of their kind. This large number of single-person households did, however, bring the average size of Finnish-American households down clearly below the average in rural Finland, where in 1880, when Finns began emigrating in large numbers, it was 4.4 persons.[23] In the four sample Finnish-American communities, household size increased from 2.7 persons in 1900 to 3.1 persons in 1910. Once the immigrants got the opportunity to form families, however, they opted for the larger families of their homeland, so, if single-person households are removed from consideration, average household size in America was only slightly below that in rural Finland. With single-person households excluded, households in rural Finland contained an average of 5.1 persons,[24] compared to 4.8 persons in Finnish-American households in 1900 and 4.9 persons in 1910.[25]

Finnish-American families were clearly simpler than their counterparts in rural Finland. American Finns rarely lived in extended families, and in most cases where they did, the relative outside the nuclear family was a recent arrival in America. Apparently, the extended family among Finns in America served primarily as a temporary place of seasoning for newly-arrived relatives. Once that person got established in the new community he or she usually established a separate household. But, here also, the difference from the situation in Finland was smaller than it first appears. Although Finns in America seldom lived in the same household with relatives outside the nuclear family, they did often live in the same community with them. As with other immigrant groups, among Finnish-Americans kin played an important role in the process of immigration. Early immigrants attracted family members to specific American communities, often paying their way, and helped them settle in the new land.[26] Relatives living in different households in the same community helped each other find jobs and interacted in many intimate ways reminiscent of an extended family in rural Finland. The widely-spread custom of taking in boarders also added to the size and complexity of Finnish households in America. Over one third of these families opened their homes to boarders thereby importing some of the bustle of busy farm households.

In the face of extraordinary pressures to change in America, immigrants attached more importance than usual to maintenance of traditional family patterns. Though immigration by its nature involved great change, it also had a conservative impact. The impetus to change in America was so great and so obvious that immigrants consciously sought to resist it. Finnish immigrants to America therefore tended to be more ”Finnish” in their family arrangements than Finns who moved to Finland’s first industrial city, Tampere, which, largely because of migration from rural Finland grew from a town of 3207 in 1850 to a city of over 20,000 by 1890. This migration, like emigration to America, was a movement prima-

rily of young adults, but it probably included less married people and definitely included more women, who formed a majority of the migrants.[27] In this case, Finns moved from a rural, traditional environment to an urban, industrial one without leaving their native land. The move to Tampere affected the family more than the move to America did. As in America, families in Tampere were smaller and simpler than those in the Finnish countryside, but even more so. Here, the average household size was significantly smaller than both in rural Finland and America, single person household were more common, and extended families were almost nonexistent.[28] Clearly, the move to Tampere involved changes and challenges for the migrants, but, because they stayed within their own country, they escaped some of the trauma faced by immigrants to America. In somewhat familiar surroundings, they had less need to cling to the traditions of their country villages, including those that involved the family, than did the immigrants who faced the much more alien environment of America.

Finnish immigrants adapted Old-World habits to New-World conditions when it came to making a living for the family. Just as families in the Finnish countryside survived (or thrived) off the labor of as many members as possible, so American Finns combined the wages of several members into the family income. However, Finns in America settled primarily in localities – small towns whose economies were based largely on an extractive industry (usually mining, logging, or fishing) – which offered little employment opportunity for married women. Although single females among Finnish immigrants rather easily found work as maids, married Finnish-American women rarely worked for a wage outside the home, and thus the responsibility for supporting the family shifted dramatically to the husband. Some Finns, however, settled in areas where ”women's work” was available, such as the textile manufacturing town of Maynard, Massachusetts. Here married women contributed to family financed by working outside the home in textile mills. In 1900, one third of married Finnish women in Maynard appear in the census manuscripts as working outside the home, while well under a tenth of those in more typical Finnish-American communities did. By 1910, however, not even a fifth of Finnish wives in Maynard left home to work, an indication perhaps that these families were adopting the American custom of wives staying home. The wives' contribution to family income was greater than officially noted however. Some wives not credited by census takers with an occupation made money by doing work in the home, such as sewing and washing and, especially keeping boarders.

The custom of using the labor of children to aid the family economy was an Old-World tradition that Finnish immigrants transported to America. Just as was the case in Finland, children of less affluent families went to work outside the family at about age 15; it was extremely rare among Finnish-American working-class families for a child (boy or girl) of 16 years or older not to have a job. The main difference was that in Finland children usually left home when they began to work, while in America they tended to continue to live with their parents after getting a job. Another difference was where they worked. While the children of landless workers in Finland worked and lived at the farms of wealthy landowners, in America they worked primarily in businesses or industries owned by Americans. Thus, instead of mingling with people of different classes, they continued to live more separated among others from a similar (family) background.

In general, families of different economic circumstances had less daily contact with each other in America than in Finland. As soon as economic differences began to appear within Finnish communities, residential segregation emerged, as middle- and working-class districts developed in different areas of Finntowns. On the other hand, in America family size and structure differed less with class, and families of Finnish workers were likely to be as large and as complex as those of successful businessmen. In America, a different economic structure and different economic opportunity allowed more Finns of low social status to keep large families together than was possible in Finland.

In America as in Finland, Finns adjusted family size and structure as changing conditions dictated. They were less willing to change their notions of the role of the family in their lives and of its place within the larger community. They resisted especially the pressure from modern culture to transform their families into the

more private, more inverted entities that were becoming common in America. As Finnish-America communities developed, Finns founded a variety of voluntary associations that offered immigrants a touch of the familiar in an alien environment. These associations worked primarily by providing a social setting in which families could interact much as they had done in Finnish country villages. For example, the veljeysseurat -- the mutual-aid societies that Finns established wherever they settled -- took on the functions of broad family groupings in Finland. They spread the risks of life by establishing a system for providing aid in times of need. They offered places, where Finns could celebrate holidays, including family holidays, together. Within the confines of these and of other similar associations, Finns in America could mark the births, marriages and deaths of family members in the public style of the rural Finnish village. For example, the Apu Society of Calumet, Michigan, a benevolent society that offered sick and death benefits to its members (services provided by the community as a whole in rural Finland), required that all members attend the funeral of a departed member.[29] This approach to the family as an institution inextricably interwoven with the community was natural enough to Finnish immigrants in America to be more or less spontaneous. For example, in 1929 a Finnish coal miner from the Rocky Mountains, Ed Holma, moved to Reedley, California, to restore his health. When he died within a few days of black lung, a large group of local Finns attended the funeral of this stranger, sending him to his final rest as one of their own.[30] Regardless of the formal purpose of a Finnish-American association, be it religious, political, economic or social, its most important function was to provide its members as exact a copy of the society of the Finnish country village as possible in the alien environment of America.

Such community cohesiveness was not necessary in turn-of-the-century Tampere. It occurred only under the pressure of an alien environment. There had to be a ”them” to unite ”us” -- the Finns -- into a self-conscious group. Migrants to Tampere were able to enjoy membership in voluntary associations such as workers organizations, theater groups, and Sunday schools as soon as the town began to take on the aspect of an industrial city. But these were creations not of the migrants themselves, but of factory owners and other middle-class citizens who saw in such activities a means of providing social and moral restraints on the common folk who could no longer be controlled through traditional restraints in a world becoming modern. The working class of the city did soon take control of many of these organizations, but they did so in the name of political, economic, cultural, or educational ideals, not (as did Finns in America) to provide themselves with a familiar social setting. This they did not need, because, unlike the immigrants, they never really left home.

Immigration to America took European peasants from basically traditional societies to a nearly modern one. For Finnish immigrants, the important thing missing in this new society was the opportunity for families to interact in public on a large scale. With their voluntary associations, they created this opportunity for themselves by placing their families as much as possible in the traditional cultural settings of rural villages in Finland. They were much less successful in preventing significant structural changes in their families. Economic survival in the New World often demanded such changes. The economic need that pushed immigrants to America often kept them moving once they had arrived and thus spread families and kin over vast distances and made the formation of traditional, stable families very difficult. But changes in family size and structure, and even changes in the roles of family members, caused little regret among Finnish immigrants in America, for such changes had at times been forced upon them also within the traditional society of the rural village. Migration and the breaking of families were time-honered strategies for dealing with troubles that immigration to Ameican continued on a much larger scale. But Finnish-Americans showed their dedication to the customs of their Old-World society by trying to place their New-World families solidly within the framework of its traditions.

Notes

1 Research for this paper was funded by a grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

2 See, for example, Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1965), p. 21; J.E. Goldt-

horpe, Family life in Western societies: A historical sociology of family relationships in Britain and North America (New York, 1987), p. 5; Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York, 1975), pp. 5-6.

3 Veikko Anttila, "The modernisation of Finnish peasant farming in the later Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries," Scandinavian Economic History Review, 24 (1976): p. 37; Arvo M. Soininen, Vanha Maataloutemme: Maatalous ja maatalousväestö Suomessa perinnäisen maatalouden loppukaudella 1720-luvulta 1870 luvulle [Our Old Agriculture: Farming and Farmers in Finland during the last Period of Traditional Agriculture from the 1720s to the 1870s] (Helsinki, 1974), p. 176.

4 As Steven Shapin suggests in A Social History of Truth: civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England (Chicago, 1994) even our criteria for determining the truth were institutionalized as society modernized.

5 Hannu Soikkanen, Kunnallinen itsehallinto kansanvallan perusta: Maalaiskuntien itsehallinon historia [Local Independence on a Democratic Base: A History of Independent Government in Rural Communes] (Helsinki, 1966), pp. 111-112, 157-169, 325-336; Einar W. Juva & Mikko Juva, Suomen kansan historia, IV: Kansallinen herääminen [History of the Finnish People, IV: National Awakening] (Helsinki, 1966), pp. 321-323.

6 Juva & Juva, pp. 387-388; Pentti Virrankoski, Suomen taloushistoria kaskikaudesta atomiaikaan [Finnish Economic History from the Era of Field Burning to the Atomic Age] (Helsinki, 1975), pp. 107, 111. See also Anttila, pp. 33-44.

7 Undoubtedly the most disturbing element in the Finnish countryside at this time was an extremely rapid growth of its population, but this too was a consequence of modernization.

8 Lassi Huttunen, "Etelä-Pohjanmaan henkirikollisuudesta vv. 1749-1900 [Crimes against Persons in Etelä-Pohjanmaa, 1749-1900]," Historiallinen Arkisto, 56 (1958): 125, 131-133.

9 "Isotalon Antti ja Rannanjärvi" and "Ansin Jussi" were also extremely popular songs among Finnish-Americans; See, E.J. Hobsbawm, Bandits, 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), pp. 17-18, 22-26.

10 Juva & Juva, pp. 249-261.

11 Judith Smith, Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900-1940 (Albany, N.Y., 1985), pp. 32-34. See also Josef J. Barton, Peasants and Strangers (Cambridge, 1975), esp. pp. 64-69; William I. Thomas & Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, ed. & abrgd. by Eli Zaretsky, (Urbana, 1984), pp. 77-80; Odd S. Lovoll, The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People (Minneapolis, 1984), pp. 4-9. John Bodner, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America (Bloomington, Ind., 1985), makes much the same argument, but using "capitalism" rather than "modernization" as the mechanism spurring emigration, pp. 54-56.

12 Reino Kero found this trend in the three sample years he used in his study of Finnish immigration; Kero, Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War (Turku, 1974), pp. 123-130.

13 See Wyman, p. 79; Walter Nugent, Crossings: The Great TransAtlantic Migrations, 1870-1914 (Bloomington, Ind., 1992). pp. 60 & 71.

14 Unless otherwise noted, information on the structure of Finnish emigration is taken from Suomen viralliset tilastot [Official Statistics of Finland], Part XXVIII, Siirtolaisuustilasto [Statistics on Emigration], Vols 1-11 (1901-1915), various tables.

15 These communes are Kälviä, Pulkkila, Siikainen, and Petäjävesi.

16 Information in this paragraph comes from the "Rippikirjat," the Main Parish Registries, for four sample rural communes. The registries are located at the local parish archives.

17 Unless otherwise noted, information on the size and structure of Finnish families was taken from the "Henkikirjat," yearly tax lists, for the four sample communes. These lists are located at the Finnish National Archives, Helsinki.

18 Suomen viralliset tilastot [Official Statistics of Finland], Part VI, Vol. II, 1880, Table 9.

19 Pekka Haatanen, Suomen maalaisköyhälistö: Tutkimusten ja

kaunokirjallisuuden valossa [Finland's Rural Proletariat: In the Light of Scholarly Research and Literature] (Porvoo, 1968), p. 78.
20 Ilmar Talve, Suomen kansankultuuri [Finnish Folk Culture] (Helsinki, 1980), pp. 38-41.
21 Matti Sarmela, "Maaseudun tapakulttuurin perusta [The Basis of Rural Customs]," Kotiseutu, (1979): 181; Matti Sarmela, "Suomalaiset häät [Finnish weddings]" in Matti Sarmela. ed., Pohjolan häät [Baltic Weddings] (Helsinki, 1981), p. 15 ff.
22 Unless otherwise noted, information on the size and structure of Finnish-American families was taken from census manuscripts for four Finnish-American communities on which this study is based for 1880, 1900, 1910 and 1920.
23 SVT, VI, 1880, vol. 2, Table 9.
24 Ibid.
25 In part, the smaller households in America were a result of the urban nature of Finnish settlement there. In Alger County, Michigan, the sample community representing Finnish rural settlements in America, average household size in both 1900 and 1910 was 5.1 persons, essentially the same as in rural Finland in 1880.
26 Kero, pp. 182-185.
27 Väinö Voionmaa, Tampereen kaupungin historia, III. osa: Tampereen historia Itämäisestä sodasta suurlakon [History of the City of Tampere, Part III: History of Tampere from the Russo-Turkish War to the Time of the General Strike] (Tampere, 1932) p. 535; Viljo Rasila, "Kaupunki industrialismi ahjossa - modernin Tampereen synty [City the Forge of Industrialism - The Birth of Modern Tampere], Kaupunkihistoria Seminaari Tampereella, 21-22.1.1979, Acta Universitatis Tamperensis, B, 72 (Tampere, 1979): 138.
28 Information on the size and structure of families in Tampere is taken from the "henkikirja" for Tampere for 1870 and from a 5% random sample of the "henkikirja" for 1890. Finnish National Archives, Helsinki.
29 Calumetin Suomalaisen Apu-Yhtiön säänöt [Rules of the Finnish Apu Society of Calumet] (Calumet, Mich., 1879), p. 5.
30 Veljeysviesti [Message of the Brotherhood], September, 1929, p. 4.

~ Vierailu ~

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