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Acculturation of the Finns in Milltown Montana

Gladys Pierson

The University of Montana

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ACCULTURATION OF THE FINNS IN MILLTOWN, MONTANA.

by

Gladys Pearson

B. A., Montana State University, 1939.

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Montana State University

1941

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the acculturation, during the last fifty years, of an immigrant Finnish group in a sawmill town of Western Montana. Its purpose is to observe the applicability of generalizations from the results of other investigations, to the immigrant-American type of contact. Knowledge of the acculturative process is being recognized increasingly as of teleological value.

The study of acculturation has received impetus and guidance in the recent definitive and authoritative works of Melville J. Herskovits and Ralph Linton.

1. Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation. Ralph Linton, Acculturation In Seven American Indian Tribes.

Acculturation as an ethnological term was defined in 1936, in an Outline on Acculturation by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, published by the sub-committee of the Social Science Research Council, as follows:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." To this definition a note is appended, which must be regarded as an integral part of it:

"Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation." Herskovits, Op.cit., p. 10.
The most extensive research has dealt with change in primitive cultures, involving, most commonly, a static native community invaded by or subjected to a socially superior group. Very little study has been directed to the acculturative forces operative in contacts between literate groups, or specifically, to the change of immigrant cultures in America. The classic work of Thomas and Znaniecki, though of inestimable guiding value to studies such as this, is concerned mainly with the social, institutional aspects of the immigrant culture. And even in relation to immigrant social problems, the disorganizing forces inherent in the critical immigrant situation of general culture-loss and incoordination have not been fully considered, as causative factors.

The Finnish immigrant group of Milltown presents the more determinative features of peasant immigrant communities in America—the sharply necessitated, makeshift adaptations, and the characteristic attitudes conducive to, and retardative to, culture-change. However, the numerical smallness of this group, certainly below the optimum size for study, may limit conclusive acceptability of the data. Furthermore, interim occurrences which reduced the group numerically, so altered the contact-conditions that the course of acculturation and assimilation as they might have progressed under more nearly the original conditions, is not observable here.

Writings descriptive of Finnish farm-life during the period of interest to the study are not abundantly available in English, and the few portrayals of Finnish-American communities are even more inadequate for a comprehensive description of Finnish culture. Consequently, with written materials used chiefly for suggestive reference, the data were secured almost entirely by personal interview. The work was eased by the cordial painstaking cooperativeness of Finnish informants, by assistance from other local people, among them the Superintendent of the mill, Manager of the Company Grocery, the School Principal and the Norwegian Lutheran Minister, and by the student's brother, whose friendly acquaintance with leading Finnish families facilitated an immediately productive contact.

The descriptive material of the study is presented in a roughly chronological arrangement. Theoretical discussions are interspersed throughout, with the materials to which they pertain. Following an introductory sketch of the structural characteristics of Milltown and the Finnish nationality group, the culture of rural Finland during the period of interest will be described. With this as a controlling background for reference, the presentation in detail of the developing Finnish-American culture in Milltown will be undertaken. The division of this part into three chapters conforms to the division, largely by historical occurrences, of the continuing contact and the acculturative process into three successive phases — approximately from 1890 to 1900, from 1900 to 1920, and from 1920 to the present. An account of pertinent historical events and of the
changing conditions of the contact. generally precedes, in each
chapter, the main discussion, which is devoted to the phenom-
ena of culture-change.
The present population of Milltown approaches 1000 persons. Of the total, approximately 12% are of Finnish birth or extraction. About 15% are of French-Canadian stock, 20% of Swedish, 30% of Norwegian, and about 23% of native American and undetermined nationality stock.

While the polyglot nature of the settlement has prevailed since its beginning fifty years ago, the ascendancy of the Finnish population and Finnish customs for a period is attested by the name "Finntown", which it was dubbed in the past and retains even to the present. Changes in the size-relations of the foreign-born groups, except the Finnish, have been slow. The French-Canadians have decreased from a large representation in the early years of settlement, to change places with the Norwegians, whose proportion of the original population was negligible. All immigrant groups increased,—though the French-Canadian had been levelling off,—up to about 1915, and all except the Norwegians decreased thereafter.

Large numbers of Japanese, shifting with railroad employment, and of Irish and Italians who came and went with construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1885 and the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in 1908, affected the composition of the sawmill settlement only temporarily and casually.

3. These nationality proportions were estimated by Principal William F. Akin, of the Bonner School.
The sharp curve of the Finnish population change in Milltown is indicated by the following approximated figures. The Finnish group, including immigrants and second generation, and later, third generation, increased from 95 in 1900, to 410 in 1910, to 570 in 1915. It comprised at that time nearly two-thirds of the total Milltown population. It decreased after 1917 to 300 in 1920 and to 185 in 1930.

In November of 1940, the Finnish-American population totalled 130 persons, representing three generations. The first generation, comprising less than half of the present total, are for the most part elderly men and women who emigrated in their youth, and have resided in Milltown for twenty-five years or longer. More than half of them came to Milltown before 1910, and about ten of the old people were here among the first Finnish settlers in 1900 or before. These permanent families were the nucleus around which grew, for a time, a large Finnish community and intensive assertion of Finnish traits. And they remain largely the base of whatever coherence remains in the present small Finnish group.

4. Population figures appearing here and later are estimated, with the assistance of Mr. W. C. Lubrecht, Superintendent of the mill at Bonner, from United States Census and local school census records. The United States Census failed to include large numbers of seasonal and unsettled mill-workers of which Milltown and the Finnish population were composed.

5. "Second generation" refers to the children and "third generation" to the grandchildren, of immigrants. In all considerations except for population figures, those few individuals who immigrated in childhood and grew up in America are included with the second generation.
Milltown, and its extension, "Milltown Flat", houses the heterogeneous mass of Norwegians, Swedes, French-Canadians, Finns, and native Americans who do the bulk of the common and semi-skilled work at the Bonner Mill. Milltown is separated spatially by a half mile from the mill, and by wider social distance from the approximately five hundred residents of the town of Bonner, many of whom are higher paid administrative and skilled employees occupying the rows of substantial company houses facing the mill. Across the highway, opposite the wide lumber yard spreading from the mill, at the edge of Bonner and in the direction of Milltown, stand two freshly painted churches—Roman Catholic and Norwegian Lutheran—and a large frame school building, serving the whole area.

Milltown, stretching back from the Blackfoot River below the mill, is cut lengthwise by the State Highway and the Northern Pacific Railroad track. Its dirt streets diverge southward from the railroad crossing to the river, and across the highway northward toward the mill. Lining the streets, closely placed in small fenced lots, are family-owned homes, diverse in age and size—as motley in appearance as the resident population. Interspersed among the family houses and conspicuously larger, several aged boarding houses, now sheltering single families, attest a large early-day population of unattached men. Near and fronting the highway are a large grocery store and post office, a cafe, two saloons, two service stations, a barbering establishment, a meat market and the public library building. These business establishments, with order-and delivery-service from the Company store in Bonner, meet the ordinary
household needs. But for much of their shopping, professional service, and amusement, the Milltown people go six miles down the highway to Missoula, the large town of Western Montana.

About one-half of the Milltown community have their homes on "The Flat", an extension of Milltown proper lying a quarter-mile off the highway. A compact area of family dwellings as diverse in composition as Milltown, "the Flat" is newer, more beautified by lawns and trees, and undisturbed by business except for an occasional delivery truck and Swanson's Store, selling groceries and beer. On a far corner of its main street stands the long white "Finn Hall".
CHAPTER III

THE CULTURE OF RURAL FINLAND

A. DEFINITION OF THE CULTURE-AND TIME-AREAS STUDIED

The Finnish immigrants now in Milltown came from various parts of Finland. They represent about equally the provinces of Oulu in the Northwest, Wasa in the Southwest, and Kuopio in Central Finland. A few came from the province of Turkuu and the vicinity of Helsinki.

The Milltown Finns represent generally the rural population of Finland and its several classes of farm owners, farm tenants, farm servants and day laborers, with possibly the proportion of individuals from family-owned farms larger, and of landless laborers smaller, than those two classes comprised in rural Finland or have comprised among the Finnish immigrants to America.

At the time when the Milltown immigrants were yet in Finland, there were variations between the rural sections of the provinces mentioned above, in farm products and methods, in the relative importance of occupations supplementary to agriculture, and to some extent in customs and traditions,—differences proceeding largely from the nature of the land, or the degree of isolation from industrial and commercial centers developed especially along the west coast facing Sweden. Differences existed also between the agricultural classes, in customs and social attitudes, but they were deviations less of quality than of intensity in experience. However, with local variations considered
there was an underlying, unbroken fabric of culture extending through rural Finland during the period approximately from 1890 to 1910. In the following description, those cultural variances which are clear and pertinent will be noted. But differences between eastern and western Finland, observed in the spoken Finnish language, and claimed even yet to be observable in certain physical characteristics of the people, will be only superficially considered, or ignored here, --as outside the scope of this study and the competence of the student.

B. THE MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Organization and Methods of Farming. Finland is, on the whole, a poor farming country. The harsh climate and short summer season limit the success of grain crops. Much of the land is uncultivable, broken by rocky forested hills and a net work of lakes and streams. In 1901 only 8.6 per cent of the land was cultivated. There was evident at that time increasing diversion of land to pasturage for dairy cattle and a shift from rye, the farmer's main food crop, to oats and other fodder crops that could withstand early and late frosts.

6. This culture, which was a blend of Swedish with the original Finnish culture, will be described as it existed at the time of present interest, without attempting to examine its development by the acculturative process through the seven or eight centuries of contact, or attempting to assign provenience to traits described.

But notwithstanding the improved adaptation, small farms were but rarely prosperous, and most of them produced a living only by hard and continuous labor. Farm income was supplemented by fishing, sales of timber or seasonal employment at wood cutting, and incidental hunting and trapping.

Comparatively few small farmers owned their land. A larger number were tenants holding strips of land on life-time or fifty-to one hundred-year contracts from the more well-to-do farmers, or oftener, from the wealthy owners of extensive semi-feudal estates. Such tenants paid rent by farm work done for the landlord. A much larger class of agricultural laborers, comprising over 40 per cent of the agricultural population in 1901, held no land. As farm servants they were housed, and paid in money or produce by the owner— or tenant-farmer, who contracted for them generally by the year. As casual day laborers they were sheltered in temporary bunks on farms, and in the winter wood-cutting camps, or were tenanted with their families in one-room cottages, their earnings usually supplemented by a garden patch and a cow.

A good-sized farm covered about one-sixth of a montaali, or approximately one hundred and sixty acres, only a small part of which was cultivated. The relatively well-to-do farm kept several horses, a dozen or more sheep, sometimes a few pigs and chickens, and milked ten to fifteen cows from which cream and butter were the main products sold. Farm work, done generally with homemade, hand-operated implements, was extremely arduous. Land was cleared by cutting and burning,

8. Ibid., p. 100
an effort being made to extend the clearing each year. Usually the first planting was of turnips, which grew to remarkable size and juiciness in the ash land. Oats, rye, barley, hay, potatoes, turnips, were grown generally for farm consumption, and only the surplus grain was marketed. During the short growing season, long daylight hours,—in the south lasting through the night,—promoted fast luxurious growth, and the farmers worked in the fields constantly, in dogged efforts to conserve the maximum crop for harvest. Even the hay was cared for in wet weather, by long sticks placed at close intervals through the field, serving as racks upon which the hay was lifted off the ground. Crops were harvested with small homemade hand- scythes. After cutting, the grain stalks were tied in bundles and carried into the granary for rebi, the strenuous process of threshing. They were first hung from the rafters for three days of drying in the heat from several fireplaces. Then they were placed on the floor and the grain-heads beaten off with long jointed sticks. Finally the heads were put into the ruska, or thresher,—a simple farm-made machine which separated the grain from the chaff.

Most of the farms in the regions under consideration were clustered,—six or eight together,—in small neighborhoods or villages. Of the several such villages comprising a parish, one was designated the kirkon kyla or church-village, wherein local government and marketing centered, and the parish church stood. While the farm people were thus not separated from daily neighborhood converse, their experience in a wider community was generally limited within the parish or a few adjoining parishes.
Farm communities, especially in the central provinces, were isolated by long distances and long winters with impassable roads, as well as by restricted purchasing power, from a richer culture developing in the few large towns of Finland, where an increasing variety of goods was imported or produced by new industries. Infiltration of luxuries, new implements, and devices was slow and sporadic, and their use casual. New ideas, though limited in content, were possibly more accessible, through the mediums of the church and its emphasis on reading, occasional parish libraries, and the newspapers and periodicals in rural circulation.

In the farm village, along its central road, were grouped the farm houses, to the rear the barns and cultivated fields, and beyond them the pastures and timber land holdings, often separated into strips by hills and rivers or alternated individual holdings. In the farm neighborhoods of interior Finland, dotted along innumerable streams and on small islands of lakes, farm yards were connected by foot bridges and row boats. The dwelling houses, with their backs to the road, fronted the farm yards or courts, on which all farm buildings opened. The whole farm was kept clean, but a space around the house was usually fenced off from the barn yard, a portion of which might be roofed by timbers stretched between the stables and other buildings, for protection of farm animals. Several log out-buildings were designated as storage sheds for implements, grain, and clothing, as cow-house, smoke house and workshop, and, significantly apart, the bath house.

**Farm Dwellings.** Farm houses, built of logs with sometimes an exterior facing, were commonly rectangular-shaped and
consisted of several large rooms arranged according to a somewhat uniform plan. The entrance, near the center of the long side of the building, opened into a large hall which might extend through the width of the house, but which was used only as an entry-hall and for temporary storage of wood or vegetables, and not as a part of the living quarters. Off the hall was the large living room, extending twenty-five to thirty feet in both dimensions and lighted by rows of windows which were sealed in winter. In this room most of the household life went on. Meals were cooked in a large stone fireplace and served to family and farm workers at one long table. On winter evenings the room became the family workshop, and during busy seasons extra workers were lodged there. Many old living rooms, commonly in central Finland, lacked chimneys, and retained the old smoke hole before the fireplace. Often a better house would have a spacious kitchen for cooking and dining, and two large identical living rooms, the second reserved for tenants, guests, or hired workers' quarters. The smaller rooms, about twelve feet square, were used for sleeping or storage. Each was heated by a handmade, white washed, brick stove about eighteen inches square, built into a corner and extending, as a chimney, through the ceiling to connect with the main house-chimney.

House furnishings were simple and homemade but not necessarily rough, for the men were expert woodworkers. Rag rugs covered the floors in winter and mats of straw in summer. Houses in the larger villages of the west contained more factory-made articles such as carpets, lace curtains, sewing machines, and
oil lamps. In Kuopio the homes of well-to-do farmers were sometimes lighted by homemade candles or by the old pare, a stick of resinous wood projecting from the wall and burning at one end. Farm houses were kept immaculately clean by frequent scrubbing.

Supplemental Farm Occupations. While most household articles and farm implements were products of the farmer's spare time, some were constructed by travelling craftsmen,—makers of shoes, tools, harnesses,—who visited the neighborhood once or twice a year, using successively for a few days the farm or village workshop. But aside from such services and the purchase of a few construction materials and ungrowable foods, the farms were practically self-sufficient. Fish, an important food, was obtainable on most farms in abundance and variety. Relatively little time was spent in fishing, considering the large quantities obtained, and the sporting motive, if ever existent, was subordinated to that of food-getting. Fish were caught by hook and line, often baited and set out at night and left till morning. Large quantities were caught in traps and nets. On the lakes of Central Finland a common trap was the Merta, a cone-shaped hoop-net, so constructed of willow hoops and linen string netting that fish entering the wide open end were trapped in the inner net. Another common method was by a large net carried between two boats, the bottom of the net weighted by cloth bags of pebbles and the top floated by attached pieces of wood bark. In winter the ice was broken to secure fresh fish, augmenting the supply preserved in salt from the previous summer's catch.
Hunting and trapping in some regions added considerably to the farm income. In Central Finland especially, large wolves, bear, link,—all destructive to cattle,—were killed for government bounties, and the hides, and bear meat sold or used. Moose were hunted for food and hides, large squirrels for valuable skins and rabbits for food. Farmers used crude shot guns holding single homemade lead bullets, and a variety of ingenious traps. A common bear trap was a barrel into which a row of spikes was driven at the top rim. The bear, enticed by a lump of honey at the bottom, was caught with its head in the barrel. Wild chickens, turkeys, geese, and ducks, always plentiful, were shot on the wing, or waterfowl might be shot as they swam along the lake shores. Wild game on farms and State timber lands was accepted as a legitimate resource and was killed by any means available, with no legal restrictions on quantity or method.

Division of Labor. On the average farm, where dairying operations and the strenuous cultivation of crops were accompanied by extensive farm manufacturing and some hunting and fishing, life consisted, mainly, of hard work for everyone. Men, women, and children worked together in the fields, but labor of other occupations was divided. Generally the care of horses was left to the men, while women and girls tended and milked the cows and made butter and cheese. Care of the sheep, shearing, and wool carding were women's work, as well as spinning, weaving, and dying of wool, linen, and hemp. Hides were prepared for use or sale by the men. Fish nets were made from linen string
usually by men, occasionally by women, and fishing was men's responsibility, although sometimes women helped set out the nets. Men did the trapping and hunting, the farm slaughtering, and smoking or salting of meat and fish.

**Daily Routine.** The routine of a summer week day was generally as follows: At five or six o'clock everyone arose and received a cup of coffee prepared by the housewife. Hired girls and daughters of the farmer went to the barns to milk and the hired man and farmer's sons took care of the horses, after which all worked in the fields until breakfast at eight o'clock. After breakfast, on some farms everyone retired for a short rest before returning to the fields. The housewife usually remained indoors to work at household occupations, except during the busiest crop season. At ten o'clock the family had coffee which was carried to the fields. Dinner at one or two was followed by an hour's siesta. The work of the afternoon was interrupted at four o'clock, long enough for another serving of coffee in the field, and was then continued until eight o'clock and the evening meal. Afterward everyone partook of sauna, the sweat bath, for which the bath house was heated every day during the season of heavy work in the fields. The evening ended with sociable conversation, singing or swimming. The boys and girls of the farm and neighborhood visited late into the night in the outside summer bunk houses. During the week or more of threshing, in late August, the work day started as early as two or three o'clock in the morning, with the drying, beating
and threshing of grain. After five hours of this work, everyone, covered with dust from the granary, went to the sauna for cleansing and refreshment before starting the regular day's tasks in the dairy and fields.

In winter the routine shifted, for the men, to the occupation of cutting timber and repair of farm wagons, sleds, boats, tools, and household furniture. On winter evenings everyone worked in the living room, the men at one end with their manufactures, and the women at the other, spinning, weaving, and sewing. On most week days there was time allotted for family reading from the Bible, followed by prayers and discussion.

Food. Foods served in the farm home were mainly rye bread, dairy products, fish and meat, and a few vegetables. Three common everyday meals would be:

Breakfast—A bowl of barley or rye mush with butter and cream, salt beef; rye bread and rye kovaa leipaa (hard bread), and milk.

Dinner—Stew of meat or fish with potatoes, vegetables—turnips, onions, peas, beans—alone or in the stew, and puma (clabbered skim-milk beaten thick).

Evening Meal—Soup of meat and vegetables, or bread, butter, and milk.

Meat, occasionally eaten fresh, was more commonly salted and dried in the sun, or smoked. After the fall slaughter the meat was coated with salt and hung for several days in the smoke house before an open brick stove emitting smoke from the wood fire. Meat thus cured was hung in the food storage shed, ready for use in roasts and stews. Fish and game were preserved by the same processes.
Rye flour, ground in neighborhood-owned mills, was the main ingredient of various kinds of bread flavored differently and ranging in coarseness from the crude kovaa leipaa always on the table, to varr leipaa, a fine sweet bread. Shaped in round loaves most bread was laid to bake on the flat brick floor of the oven.

Wheat flour was an expensive luxury baked into fine cookies and nisua, sweetened coffee biscuits served on holidays and to guests. Cakes and cookies were sweetened sparingly with canned syrup, and never iced. Sugar was too expensive for use in cooking.

Of several clabbered milk and cheese dishes, a favorite was laipa juusto, a cheese made from the first milk of a newly fresh cow, clabbered and molded into a loaf, which was browned in the oven and served in slices.

Fruits were practically unknown, except for a few raisins and apples, purchased, and berries growing wild. Lingonberries were gathered in large quantities in the fall and kept frozen and unsweetened, in barrels. During the winter they were dug out and cooked into puddings. Huckleberries were preserved by drying between two screens or cloth sheets in the summer sun, and stewed for an occasional winter delicacy.

A common and favorite dish was rice, cooked in milk until of mushy consistency, and eaten as porridge, with cream, butter and sugar.

Food was prepared and cooked in large wooden bowls and iron or copper kettles, some or all of which were shaped and
retinned by the farmer or traveling blacksmith. Factory-made pottery dishes were in use on most farms near the larger towns of the west, and generally, during the later years of the period under study. But there were comparatively prosperous farms in the older, isolated regions of central Finland, where wooden dishes were in common use, each member of the household having a wooden bowl and wooden spoon, shaped with precision by the farmer woodworker. Knives and forks of steel or silver, with wooden handles, were extra utensils reserved for guests or special feasts. Meat and bread were sliced at the table by the farmer, using his all-purpose knife.

Coffee, the favorite and indispensable beverage, was used intensively, the only deterrent being its high price. Purchased in green bean form, it was roasted and ground in small quantities for immediate use. It was served only rarely with meals, but always in the morning upon rising, once during the forenoon and afternoon, as refreshment to guests and on all special occasions. When accompanied by food the coffee was drunk generally with cream and sugar. When taken without food it was left unsweetened and sipped through a hard lump of sugar held in the mouth. For this purpose sugar was procured in large coarse blocks and cut or broken into small cubes.

Alcoholic beverages were luxuries considered indispensable to proper celebration of weddings and holidays. Habitually excessive use of whiskey was checked in farm communities probably less by church and community disapproval than by its
expensiveness and difficulty of procurement except in large quantities which necessitated the combination of several farmers, or a neighborhood, in its purchase. Most of the old distilleries, operated formerly on the farms, had disappeared consequent to a law prohibiting home distilling. While some distilling continued illegally, most whiskey and wine used for certain festivities, was purchased. Beer was a more common drink, made on the farm. The grain, barley or wheat, was malted in the moist heat on a top shelf of the bath house, and pulverized by grinding or rubbing with a rock. It was soaked in barrels of gradually heated water, and the mixture was strained through a bunch of cedar boughs lying in a trough. With yeast and hops added the beer was let stand until ready, then sealed in air-tight barrels.

Tobacco was grown on the farm and used intensively for chewing and smoking. Clay pipes were commonly used. Better pipes had wooden bowls and long leather stems decorated elaborately in several colors.

Clothing. Clothing was made on the farm, from the growing of sheep, hemp and flax for cloth, to sewing of the finished garments. Women dyed the wool and linen various colors for their long full skirts and separate long sleeved, high necked blouses, and they made the men's work trousers and shirts. But traveling tailors stopping once or twice a year made most men's suits and coats for all the family.

Common shoes were often made of birch bark, chiefly for summer wear. Everyday soft-soled boots,—the men's knee-high, the women's lower and laced,—were made of soft hides prepared
on the farm. Well finished black leather was purchased for the better dress boots made by visiting craftsmen. All boots were shaped by the middle seam to turn upward to a point at the toe.

Women's head covering was the **huivi**, a kerchief about a yard square, folded diagonally and drawn down over the head with the long fold framing the face, the ends tied long under the chin or wrapped around the neck once before tying. In various colors and materials appropriate to the season, the **huivi** was worn whenever women and girls went out of the house, whether to do farm work or dance out doors on summer evenings, the avowed purpose of which was protection from cold wind and dust.

**The Pukko.** At all times the men wore a leather belt in which was carried the indispensable knife called the **pukko**. This combined tool and weapon, about eight inches in length, had a bone or wooden haft, sometimes ornamentaly carved, and a blade commonly about five inches long by one and a quarter inches wide, tapered to a sharp point, made of the finest steel available and kept extremely sharp. The **pukko** was used constantly, in such widely varied activities as timber clearing, carpentering, wood carving, hunting, farm work, at meals for carving meat and bread, sometimes for shaving in lieu of a razor, and in the art of personal defense and offense. In the last-named function it was grasped so close to the blade that the handle might extend under the sleeve, and the index finger straighten out along the dull edge of the blade. By a quick downward stroke, the keen blade would slash through clothing and slit the skin, drawing blood. The wound was inflicted generally on a fleshy part of the body, such as the thigh. This form of fighting was
easily provoked, and in most cases had no serious consequences. Not uncommonly on the dance floor, a young man excited from drinking and by some trivial grievance from an argument, or rivalry for the same partner, would reach out and gash his offender as he danced by. When used as a dagger for stabbing, the *pukko* functioned as a deadly weapon.

**The Sauna.** A vital element in the lives of all, regarded as basic to physical well being, if not spiritual also, was the Finnish bath, *sauna*. The bath house was a small log structure of usually one room, with one or two windows. In one corner was a fireplace of large stones, where a wood fire burned, the smoke leaving through one or more holes in the roof, unless a modern chimney had been recently installed. Water was thrown over the hot rocks, to produce steam. Lying or sitting on the broad shelf or tiers of shelves along the wall, the bathers enjoyed the vaporous heat, and the sweat and soothing effect induced. To stimulate circulation they beat themselves or were switched, by the woman attendant, with bunches of dried birch twigs. After thirty minutes or more, they ran, usually naked, to the house, in winter sometimes enjoying a roll in the snow.

The bath house was heated on Saturday nights throughout the year, and daily during the busy farm season, and was a part of most holiday observances. In some regions all family members went to the *sauna* together, in others the men bathed separately from women and young children. Usually a hired girl, clothed in ordinary work-dress, attended the bathers.
The preparation of the sauna for a mythical hero is described in the "Kalevala" in such detail as to suggest a ritual, and give credence to the possibility that the custom of the woman attendant and other features of the bath are vestiges of an ancient belief that the bath house was a sacred place and women were its priestesses. Certainly the Finns regarded the sauna as more significant than the best means of cleansing, though cleanliness was extremely important. The bath was considered necessary to health and even a remedy for some ills. For child-birth the mother was carried to the bath house, and extreme heat produced therein, to ease delivery. After the birth the family gathered in the bath house and knelt in prayer. The mother and infant were carried from the farm house to the sauna daily for the two weeks following birth. According to an old saying the bath house was "higher" than the church, because all were born in it. An attitude of respect was observed in the bath house and no one cursed there. When the building was aged and wearing out, the old logs were removed and left on the ground to rot, their destruction or further use avoided, and new logs were placed on the structure.

C. POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Historical Background. The political, social and religious organization of Finland in the period under study was essentially Swedish by origin and structure, although the country had been transferred from Sweden to the Russian Empire in the war settlement of 1809. During the six centuries preceding the transfer, the Finns received Western European culture, including Christianity, mainly through Sweden. and, as part of the Kingdom of Sweden, a constitutional, somewhat representative parliamentary government. But throughout the period of acculturation the Finns, comprising the bulk of the population, had remained largely subordinated, politically as well as economically and socially, to an upper-class minority of Swedish settlers. Urban financial and industrial enterprise was under Swedish domination, and a wealthy Swedish-speaking aristocracy held large estates of the best land,—many of them granted by the king to early colonists. Swedish was the language, exclusively until the middle of the nineteenth century, of government administration, of schools above the elementary, and of business.

Resistance of the Finnish speaking majority to subordination of their language and traditions was developing toward the end of the eighteenth century under the leadership of nationalistic intellectuals,—mostly of Swedish descent,—and gained momentum through increase of newspapers and books in Finnish, and the

10. Works consulted for the sketch of Finnish history are:
Reade, op. cit., pp. 12-64.
J. Hampden Jackson, Finland, pp.27-102
John Wargelin, The Americanization of the Finns, pp.29-41
publication, in 1835, of Lonroo's collection of old Finnish songs comprising the "Kalevala" ("The Dwelling of the Sons of Kalevala"), which stimulated loyalty to the ancient cultural heritage of the Finns. The struggle against subordination was embodied in the Nationalist movement to unify Finland culturally by reducing the economic and intellectual bases of social stratification, and raising the Finnish language to a status equal to, if not above, the Swedish. Following the war settlement of 1809, a period of peace and comparative autonomy, under a liberal Russian policy, promoted industrial development and the improvement of general welfare and stimulated further the national movement to a success culminating in the Imperial Russian declaration in 1866, of the equal status of the Finnish language with the Swedish. Consequently, during the particular time under observation, government transactions and documents used both languages, and public secondary and high schools giving instruction in Finnish were being slowly established. But toward the end of the century, the national progress was checked by a drastic shift of Russian policy from liberal non-interference to a program of intense Russianization of Finland and other Imperial possessions, aimed at their complete political and cultural incorporation into the Empire. Occupation by Russian troops of towns and larger rural communities, numerous discharges of local government officers and arrests of leading citizens,--many, of course, Swedish-speaking,--were followed, in 1899, by dissolution of the Finnish constitution and parliament and establishment of military law under General Bobrikoff. The national feeling of the Finns, formerly directed against the Swedish-speaking upper
class, was now provoked to resentment of this destruction of their ideals of government and personal liberty, and the threatened imposition of Russian forms on the Lutheran Church and Russian language in the schools. A surge of Finnish resistance penetrated to the isolated rural communities, but centered in active systematized opposition in the towns, allied to some extent with the class struggle being organized in Russia. In 1905 the General Strike broke out simultaneously with the Russian revolution. Restoration of the Finnish constitution and autonomy was won from the Emperor, but only until peace was restored and the movement disorganized, whereupon military law and an intensified program of Russianization were resumed.

State and Church Control. The small Finnish farmers and laborers did not participate actively in government, the extent of representation and suffrage having been limited until the brief restoration of the constitution in 1905. They held, of course, the Swedish concepts of democratic self-government and personal freedom, but their experience of government was generally restricted to transactions with civil officers and the enforcement of rules by priests of the Lutheran Church, which was vested with several government functions.

Each parish church maintained, for the government, a census of the population with records of births and deaths, and supervised the movements of individuals into and out of the parish. Every resident of the parish was registered there and permitted six months absence, after which he must return or declare his intention of moving. The prospective move was
announced in the church of original residence on three successive Sundays before his departure, and upon the transfer of church papers,—certificate of baptism, confirmation, marriage,—his arrival was announced on three Sundays in the church of new residence. Rules pertaining to other important individual affairs, including eligibility for marriage and for jury service, and the obtainance of passports by emigrants, were administered by the Church.

Enforcement of government and church laws supplemented control by social tradition, of the modes of property ownership and transfer, farm labor conditions, marriage and family relations, and individual conduct, the strength and consistency of such control decreasing within class lines from conservative well-to-do upper class farmers, downward to the propertyless day laborers, whose social arrangements were more simple and spontaneous.

Farm Property and Labor Conditions. Of all property, the farm itself,—land and buildings,—was of greatest economical social value, and was not to be sold or otherwise transferred or alienated from the family name. The farm passed to the oldest son, usually at the time of his marriage. The younger children shared equally in the movable property,—cattle and implements,—and farm income, a part of the value of which each received upon his or her marriage, and the remainder at the father's death. If the oldest son had left home or was considered possibly unqualified to maintain the farm, it passed to a younger son. If upon the father's death the oldest son was not twenty-one years of age, the farm was held
in custody for him, and passed down from him to the next
generation. Sale occurred only in the absence of heirs, or
by common agreement of the heirs when no one held the title,
or a drastic move on the part of an owner, such as emigration.
After sale, in some regions, the farm retained, traditionally,
the original owner's name, and the new owner adopted that name.

Farm tenants with fifty or one hundred year contracts
enjoyed considerable security in their holdings, the contract
usually being renewed, or occasionally replaced by liberal land-
lords with deed to the land through sale or gift. But the low
value of movable property owned, and the negligibly small income
from the strip of land held by the tenant family, precluded an
inheritance to the younger children sufficient for procurement
of land for themselves or the maintenance, by a suitable mar-
riage, of even the humble social status of their parents. A
similar situation existed, of course, in large families owning
small or poor farms.

Farm servants, generally the single and younger,
sons and daughters of day laborers, tenants, or small farmers,
were hired on yearly contracts, the terms of which formalized
traditional practices. During the year of service they lived
at the farm with their subsistence and a small wage relatively
secure. Upon marriage they were often given a strip of land
and a cow or pig by the employing farmer, but usually thereafter
they worked at least part of the year at day labor on farms
or in the timber.
Different standards of living and social distances, between hired help and the farm family, varied directly with the size of farm and wealth of the employer. In the average case studied the hired workers supplemented quantitatively the labor of the family, and worked along with the farmer's sons and daughters. Their sleeping quarters were in a separate part of the house or an outside farm building. During the summer the hired girls slept in quarters some distance from the farm house, and often the farmer's daughters roomed with them. Hired workers ate at the family table and were served coffee upon arising, but not always during the day. They attended church with the family if transportation facilities were adequate, and played and danced together with the young people of the farm neighborhood in the evenings. Contracts for the year of service were made on All Saints' Day, and during the preceding week or two at the end of October, known as Ruviiko (Free Week), all hired workers enjoyed a vacation, entertained, in most rural communities, with dancing parties and feasts prepared by the family employing them the previous year. In larger villages social distinctions were generally sharper, and relations between the two classes less personal. There the social life of hired workers centered in the "Socialist Workers' Hall", and of employers in another community hall, but participation in affairs at both halls was often mixed.

The position of the large class of propertyless day laborers and their families, subsisting by work in the timber and on farms during the busy season, was less stable than that
of contracted farm workers, and offered practically no prospect for betterment.

Marriage. The procedures of marriage outside of the general rules enforced by the Church, varied in complexity, with the wealth and social position of the contractant's families. Marriages were performed by priests officiating in a civil as well as religious capacity, following announcement on three successive Sundays in the Parish Church. In the requirement that all persons marrying must have been confirmed, the literacy of the married population was assured.

Marriage among the propertied classes was a concern of the family as well as the individual. Selection of the marriage partner by parents was a custom known as existent among the wealthy, and informally adhered to by some of the older generation of small farmers. But the young generation at the time under study, were increasingly rejecting this tradition for individualistic, romantic marriages. Refusal of the parents' selection of a bride with considerable property, and marriage to a hired or propertyless girl, sometimes resulted, especially in case of the oldest son, in exclusion from complete ownership and control of the farm, or even from any share in the inheritance. But generally it was understood by all concerned, that a son or daughter, after making a personal choice, was to consult the parents and receive their approval,—based largely on economic considerations,—before proceeding with the marriage.

Formal proposals and arrangements for marriage of persons above the hired workers' status were made, not by the persons
or families involved, but rather by a spokesman, or puhemies. After informal understanding had been reached by the couples, and the prospective groom had received his parents' approval, he selected an older married friend as spokesman to call on and propose the marriage to the parents of the prospective bride. Usually the spokesman and suitor made the call together, although sometimes the spokesman went alone, or preceded the suitor. A custom known, though not universally followed, was the presentation by the spokesman of gifts to the girl's parents, and their rejection if the proposal was not accepted. No financial negotiations, as such, took place, but the assets of each family could be estimated, and it was assumed that each would make the largest settlement possible, as one of the traditional means of maintaining social status.

The spokesman invited the guests and made formal arrangements for the wedding, which was held at the church of the bride's home. If the families involved were prosperous, they exchanged gifts. But in any case, the spokesman, an honored guest at the wedding, received presents from the bride's family, and an article made by the bride,—a pair of socks, or, customarily in some sections, a long white nightshirt ornamented with needlework. All guests brought gifts, presenting money on a plate in evidence for the purpose, and cows, pigs, or other cumbersome articles, by presentation notes also laid in the plate. After the marriage ceremony the bride's family served the guests with a dinner of numerous delicacies and wine, procured, if possible, from town. Then followed two or three days of feasting, drinking, and dancing.
As the wedding festivities ended, the bride and groom departed for their future home, customarily on his parents' farm, leading a train of the bride's property: horses, farm implements, pigs, cattle, herded along by her kinsmen or girl friends, and several wagons loaded with household goods, including quantities of rugs, bedding, and linen made and kept through the years for this occasion—a spectacular showing of which indicated, in the new neighborhood, the prestige of the bride's family.

A separate house on the farm was provided for a son and his bride, or separate quarters in the farm house, or they occupied the farm house itself and the parents moved to smaller quarters. Upon arrival the bride presented to each of the groom's family a pair of socks, or other garment which she had made. Upon completion of the formalities, the bride went to work at household and farm tasks, subordinated traditionally to the authority of the mother-in-law.

Marital and Family Relations. Although the bride was at the service of the parents-in-law, and subject to the controlling decisions of the husband, her important position in the farm economy gave her an almost equal voice with them in problems of farm and home management. Marriage as a freely cooperative arrangement was nevertheless so vital to the economic survival and social prestige of both large families involved, that it was expected to be permanent and not subject to abuse or dissolution upon the personal desires of either or both contractants. Divorce was practically unknown in farm communities and the rare cases of marital infidelity were controlled by pressure from disapproving
relatives, gossip, and ostracism.

Property laws were less favorable to the married woman than to widows and single women. The former's claim to property, --even that which she brought to the marriage, --although traditionally acknowledged and customarily allowed, was not legally enforceable unless specifically stated by deed. Generally a widow could expect to receive the value of property which she brought to the marriage plus one-third of the value of the husband's movable property, but no share in his land. The farm was reserved for the eldest son.

A large family of children was the primary responsibility assumed in marriage, their desirability as an indication of the well established family, and an economic asset on the farm, strengthening the universal acceptance of the church teachings against birth control. In the absence of extensive formal schooling children were educated to conformance with occupational and social standards by strict training under parents in the home, supervised by the Church and by community opinion. Children learned at home such unquestioning obedience that they usually retained into adulthood and even after their own marriage the attitude of submission to decisions of their parents. Relations within the large family group, though of course less defined and compelling than within the several marriage groups which composed the large family, were sufficiently coherent to control the conduct of the average individual and provide him with status and a means for response and some recognition. But the solidarity

of the large family appears not to have been so strong as to extend, in control of the individual or the marriage group, beyond indirect pressure to explicit interference, or in the responsibility of the individual, to complete subordination of his economic resources to the needs of the family group.

There was much visiting between relatives, even those separated by long distance, and holidays were always the occasions for family gatherings.

Courting. Practices related to courting were informal, and incidental to the social activities of the marriageable young people. During summer evenings the farmer's daughters and hired girls were visited by friends and lovers usually in the outside cottages or farm buildings furnished as their private summer quarters, or sometimes, according to the old custom, in a loft above the granary or storage shed entered by an outside stairway, where all the girls lodged together. Engaged girls were visited only by their betrothed, but choice of the unengaged was not restricted. Sexual freedom before marriage was proper for boys and girls. In the comparatively rare cases of offspring of unmarried persons, provision for care, usually by both parents, was prescribed in detail by law and strictly enforced.

Position of Women. Women, single and married, derived, from their role in the rugged farm economy and other occupations and from traditional attitudes, a status rather of cooperation

12. Neither family nor community solidarity appear to have been as binding as in the Polish peasant society described by Thomas and Znaniecki. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol.I.

13. Reade, op. cit., pp. 118-21
on the same level with men, than of subordination, economically and socially. Energetic and self-reliant, and accustomed to participate equally in education and free discussion with men, the Finnish women were given suffrage by the restored parliament of 1906, in acknowledgment directly of their contribution to the restoration movement and indirectly, of their traditionally high position.  

The Church. The State Lutheran Church was dominant in Finnish country life, not only because of its authority as an instrument of government control, but more, because, given power to enforce religious conformity, it had permeated even the isolated rural communities with the religious interest around which were organized most of the moral attitudes and values, as well as the social activities of the people.

The element of obligation in regular Sunday morning church attendance was obscured for many by religious fervor, and for all by the social intercourse enjoyed. Families, and sometimes neighborhoods together, drove or rowed to church in large boats. Young people often spent Saturday night at the church village inn, attending church on Sunday with their parents. Financial contributions were enforced on the basis of individual income, but services like ringing the bell and care of the building were volunteered as expressions of pride and responsibility in the church. The clean spaciousness of the church and its many colored lights, the priest's vestments, the choir, and the ritual itself, satisfied aesthetic as well as religious aspirations. The principal church holidays—Christmas, Easter,  

14. Ibid., pp.253-56
and St. John's Day, were occasions of intensive celebration, of which the church service was only a part.

The individual's identification with the church began with baptism of the infant, usually two or three days, or as soon as possible, after birth. The infant was carried to the priest, often a long distance through severe weather, by the kummit (witnesses), of whom there were customarily four, a married and an unmarried couple. The priest's administration of this rite was urgently sought, regardless of the fact that baptism by parents was authorized, in the imminence of a child's death.

Burial was administered by the church for baptized individuals. The unbaptized were given a "quiet" funeral, without the service and in a separate burial plot. In the cemetery, which occupied the church yard or an extension of it, stood the Ruumis-huone or corpse-house, where the priest officiated at services preceding burial. The dead were seldom, if ever, taken into the church. Funerals took place on Sunday mornings, except when the wealthy honored their aged dead by suspending work for a week-day burial.

Immediately after death the body was washed and dressed in a long white shirt, by the specialist in that service, usually a man and a woman in each village. The corpse, covered with a sheet, was placed on a wooden slab, pending construction of the casket, and stored in a cold farm building, or cellar, to await funeral preparations, for several weeks in winter and a shorter time in summer. Sometimes the corpse was taken directly
to the corpse-house, where the temperature was kept constantly low, by special methods of construction.

On Saturday afternoon the casket, containing the body, was brought into the farm house, the furniture of which was often covered with white sheets, as guests arrived for the all-night wake. Each spent some time in the room with the dead, then retired to rest, or kept watch with the company.

After breakfast Sunday morning the friends and neighbors sang hymns and read appropriate Bible verses and eulogies of the dead. Then all accompanied the casket to the cemetery, the procession joined by the priest, and singing hymns as they approached the corpse-house. A service was conducted at the entrance to the building—outside preferably, but in severe weather, inside. Then the procession continued to the grave side where the priest completed the burial service. In winter, after the burial service, the dead were often stored in a room of the corpse-house, until a day following the spring thaw, when they were removed and simply buried by the men relatives.

Following the funeral everyone attended the Sunday morning church service, after which the relatives and invited friends and neighbors accompanied the bereaved family home. The guests, usually a large number, were served dinner, or at the least, refreshments of coffee and cake. The family, although theoretically the hosts on this occasion, and often hiring special workers to prepare the dinner, took no part in the work themselves, and could with propriety remain in a room
apart from the dining guests. Friends assisted in serving the dinner and the guests brought with them many choice foods. The company sang hymns and heard poetry and appropriate speeches, and individuals went in to sit with and comfort the grievers. An announcement made by a family friend, of the hour when coffee or the next meal would be served was understood by guests as an invitation to remain, and their stay continued indefinitely,—sometimes for two or three days. Bereaved families whose farms were far distant from the church village, engaged the use of a house near the church, where guests were served refreshments after the funeral. This custom was an adaptation to conditions in rural areas where relatives and friends were separated by distance, and slow travel. It functioned as a traditional means of maintaining family and community solidarity, honoring the deceased, and sustaining family prestige.

The church provided religious and moral education systematically and effectively in rural communities. Sunday schools for children convened on Sunday afternoon in every small farm neighborhood, taught by a local man or woman under supervision of the parish church. Instruction in moral rules and in the Lutheran catechism preparatory to confirmation, were supplemented by drill in reading, writing, spelling. Sunday School work was inspected periodically by a minister from the parish church, visiting at the teacher's home. Such visits were, at least once a year, the occasion for the procedure known as Kinker.

The village people brought their best foods, and special gifts of farm produce and handwork to the priest, at the farm where
he visited. After a religious service, a dinner, and conversation were enjoyed, the priest conducted the reading test. As he called the roll, each person, old or young, answered to his name by reading from the Bible or other religious writing. If an adult read poorly, the minister embarrassed him before the company. Children reading well received awards.

Education. In elementary education, during the time under study, the church was the most important agency outside the home. With its requirements of literacy for confirmation, and of confirmation for marriage and such other citizenship privileges as the obtainance of passports, the church enforced its standard of literacy. Consequently reading was an experience more general and intense among rural Finns than among many European peasants. Furthermore, by the translation into Finnish of the New Testament as early as 1548, and the Old Testament in 1650, and by its educational system, the church had sustained a written language, which, though inadequate for modern or literary purposes, did approximate the vernacular. Thus while the Finnish language had been excluded from official use and higher education, and generally subordinated to Swedish, the language of the dominant nationality, there prevailed, nevertheless, among the Finns, an almost universal literacy in the mother-tongue. At the time under consideration, the Finnish press was active as part of the Nationalist movement, and practically every rural family subscribed for one or more newspapers. Individually owned books, of history or travel, were passed around the neighborhood, and in the larger villages, books of religious and moral value were loaned by the church.
Public elementary education administered by the state was limited to the "ambulatory schools", which provided four weeks of schooling each year to the farm neighborhood. The teacher took lodgings and improvised a school room at a centrally located farm, moving on at the close of the four weeks to the next community.

Public schools in the Finnish language, with extensive curricula including manual training, set up toward the end of the nineteenth century in a few large villages, were inaccessible, locationally and economically, to most of the rural working population. Likewise, higher education, though obtainable, consequent to the Nationalist movement, in Finnish at the University of Helsinki, was rarely sought by individuals of the peasant class. In the average large village there were usually only two or three persons --often the shop keepers --who were skillful enough in arithmetic to solve complex problems, and these did the figuring for the entire community. But through reading, most of the farm people acquired knowledge of new ideas and of a much wider culture than their situation permitted them to experience at first-hand.

Recreation. Informal recreational activities of farm communities were chiefly swimming, skiing, dancing, singing, and visiting. During the light summer evenings --regularly on Sunday evenings,-- the young people danced and played games outdoors, and sang verses composed about each other during the week. Occasionally in winter, the large living room was cleared for dancing. The favorite refreshment was cookies or nisua, coffee, and store-bottled pop. Polka, schottisch, and the
Finnish version of the waltz were popular dances, accompanied mainly by accordions. Although church disapproval of dancing was concurred in by some of the older generation, it did not deter almost universal participation in the amusement. The prohibition of card playing was more effective. Cards were associated with gambling and forbidden in most homes.

Older people enjoyed conversation together, and did a great amount of visiting. Married couples complied more or less strictly with the old rule of propriety, restraining individuals from dancing after marriage. They danced at weddings and other important celebrations. But when the young people danced in the living room on winter evenings or during "Free Week", the parents retired to another room.

Singing together was a pleasure for everyone, on Sundays, evenings, and at work during the day. The workers sang in the field, and pausing, they could hear others in neighboring fields. The common repertoire included many old folk songs, on a variety of themes, from melancholy to humorous. Accompanying instruments were accordion, "mouth-harp", violin, and the old Finnish-type zither, all of which were played "by ear".

Recitation of Finnish poems published in periodicals and religious books was a popular means of entertainment. Promoted by the Nationalist movement, the "Kalevala" was read in most homes early in this period. It was recited for the pleasure of its rhythm and beautiful imagery, and was valued with intense pride as a national epic idealistically preserving Finnish traditions. Its Karelian, or East Finnish, forms were similar enough to the commonly written Finnish, and to the various spoken dialects, to be read easily by all Finns. The poem is
composed of a series of old folk-songs, collected by Lonroot among the peasants of eastern Finland, and relates the supernatural adventures of Finnish heroes in ancient Kalevala, the "Land of Heroes". Its characteristic meter is trochaic, as in the following lines, which describe the preparation of the sauna by Wainamoinen, the great minstrel-hero:

"...warmed the sauna
And the stones prepared to heat it,
And the finest wood provided,
Water brought in covered vessels,
Bath whisks also, well-protected--
Warmed the bath whisks to perfection,
And the hundred twigs he softened.
Then he raised a warmth like honey,
Raised a heat as sweet as honey,
From the heated stones he raised it,
And he spoke the words which follow:
'Now the bath approach, O Jumala,
To the warmth, O heavenly father,
Healthfulness again to grant us,
And our peace again secure us.'"15

Holidays. Social activities were intense, and traditionally formalized on holidays.— principally Christmas, St. John's Day, May Day and New Year's Day.

Christmas was the most elaborately prepared celebration. The house was cleaned, and special foods cooked. On the afternoon of Christmas eve the bath house was heated, and a fir tree was brought into the living room and decorated with homemade candles, festoons of colored paper, apples, and store candles. After the sauna, the candles were lighted and everyone sat down to a feast of Christmas delicacies, including rice, porridge and lutfisk, sweet Christmas breads, and beer or whiskey. The family exchanged presents and were visited by the neighborhood joula-pukki, or "Yule Goat", traditionally a

15. Quoted from: Toivo Rosvall, Finland: Land of Heroes, p. 245.
trickster dressed in bear skins, in imitation of Laplanders' garb. He distributed gifts between neighbors, and was served coffee or whiskey at each call. In absence of the "yule-goat", neighbors exchanged gifts anonymously, throwing them through the opened door and letting the recipient guess the giver.

After the family breakfasted, at five o'clock Christmas morning, they hitched the best horses, with bells, to the sleighs, and drove to six o'clock church through darkness,—lighted past the farms by candles burning in all the windows. Following the candle-lighted church service, they drove home to feast on more lutfisk and smoked meats, mashed potatoes baked with beaten eggs, a pudding of barley flour with lingonberry or huckleberry sauce, cakes, and beer. At ten or eleven in the morning of the day following Christmas, everyone again attended church service. Except for feasting and drinking at home, the celebration was quiet until the afternoon of the second day. Then everyone went sleigh riding and visiting, and in the evening danced and drank hilariously. Observance continued with visiting and the cessation of all work except care of animals, during the two weeks after Christmas.

New Year's Day feasting and church service followed a New Years Eve of revelry and fortune-telling. A skilled prophesier foretold the coming year of each person from the shape taken by a dipperful of melted lead poured into cold water. An individual could himself receive an eerie view of his future by entering, alone, a darkened room in which were arranged two mirrors on opposite walls, and two
candles burning before one of them. Emerging, he told of the strange things seen, for the amusement of the company.

Celebration of Juhannus, (St. John's Day), began on the eve of June twenty-fourth. Houses were decorated with small trees and branches, carried in to line the walls. The young, and some older, people went riding in hay wagons or row boats, through the whole light summer night. Stopping on an island or by a stream, they would build a fire, sing, and dance. It was thought that during this night, young men and women who looked into a spring, could see, in the water, the face of their future spouse. In the early morning old and young enjoyed a lunch of cakes, meats, cheese, coffee, and pop. This was always served outdoors on tables set up in the lehti-maja ("leaf-house"), a roofless enclosure built for the occasion, of small birch trees stuck into the ground and lined inside with branches and flowers. After the morning church service everyone returned to the "leaf-house", for more feasting, and a dance at night.

The Easter celebration began in many rural districts on Saturday evening when the farm household would gather in the field, around a large fire of burning straw. This custom was old and apparently waning at the time, for Finnish informants who practiced it in their youth never knew its meaning. Easter Sunday was marked by church services, and the following Monday by merrymaking as on St. John's Day.

May Day was observed only in the evening in the farm villages, with a dance, out of doors if the weather was mild.

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16. In some communities a similar fire was lighted in the field on St. John's Eve. Here also the meaning was lost, although informants think the practice had some relation to good crops.
and refreshments of cakes and pop.

For holidays and formal celebrations, all young, and some older women, wore the Finnish peasant costume of long full colorfully striped skirt, white full-sleeved blouse under a sleeveless red bodice laced through eyelets down the front.

Informal Observances. Individual Name Days were celebrated informally by the neighborhood. Friends gathered at the celebrant's home, or an extra fine dish was cooked for the family dinner. Individuals who had been given the name corresponding to their birth date, observed Name Day and Birthday together. Otherwise the latter went unnoticed except by a group of young friends who might serenade outside the window at night.

A new birth was observed by the family inviting in women friends on an evening or two after the birth, and serving them nisua and coffee. Immediately, or within a few days afterward, the friends returned, bringing cooked foods and gifts of clothing for the child and mother. Sometimes they were accompanied by men friends, who presented money supposed "to make the child's teeth grow".

Forms of Social Conduct. Hospitality in the farm home was warm and spontaneous, and the coffee pot and beer jug were always ready to welcome friends. Visitors to the farm house entered the vestibule without knocking or other signal, closed the door and stood there, or sat in a chair at the door, until the host or hostess came to greet them. Women callers curtseyed to the hostess, and men removed their hats and bowed. It was proper for men to wear hats during a call, and usually whenever indoors, except at the church. Men did not remove their hats in greeting
to women, but lifted them in respect to priests, teachers, or high government officials. Women and children curtseyed to such dignitaries. At all indoor social gatherings, women and girls were grouped at one end of the room, and men at the other.

Folk Beliefs. Many old folk beliefs were known along the country-side, and there was a general receptivity to signs of unknown beings in the woods and springs. Most people expressed unbelief in the old tales, and laughed at any acquaintance who claimed to have seen spirits following or advancing to meet him along the road. But strange sights and experiences were a favorite subject of conversation whenever neighbors visited together, and new wonders occasionally appeared, unchecked by claims of skepticism.

The most talked of spirits were "Kirkon Ihmisia" or "Church-People". These were diminutive human beings,—about a foot high,—who might appear walking in the woods or fields, or sitting on a house-roof. Often they were seen when driving along the road, or believed to be there, when the horses, apparently seeing them, would shy away or stop still. Appearance of the "Church-People" usually signified a death. Ability to see them was confined, according to belief in some communities, to individuals who were exceptionally pure and good, and in other sections, to persons who had unfortunately disregarded some propriety in the care of or contact with the dead before burial. Individuals who saw such spirits often possessed the ability to foretell the future, and even to cast evil spells. The "Church-People" were frequently in attendance at the funerals of excessive sinners. They would crowd into the hearse until the horses pulling
it would sweat and lather, and finally stop, under the great load. The procession could go on only after someone volunteered to step up behind the horses' yokes, and repeat words which would disperse the "Church-People".

Many folk beliefs and rites were related to success in farming, and were focused on Christian holidays. On the Thursday night preceding Good Friday, the stables were locked and guarded against "Rullia", which referred to "evil spirits", but were actually persons who stole into the stable and brought bad luck by cutting narrow strips of hide—sometimes cross-shaped—from the cows' legs, carried them home, and pasted them under their own churns, to assure themselves good luck in dairying. Frequently they cut a piece of wool from the sheep, also to secure good luck. For several weeks before Easter, some farmers guarded their cattle and horses against stealing or mutilation by "evil spirits". 17 On St. John's Eve a successful farmer guarded his rich growing crops against a jealous individual who might steal into the field, gather the heavy dew into a cloth sheet, and return home to lay the dew and the good luck on his own crops.

Characteristic Attitudes. Finnish peasant life, long before the period under consideration, had been stabilized around the social values, and within the framework, of a rigid

17. An informant states that evil spirits were rife in the old times before the events related in the "Kalevala". After that, "all these bad things went down".
class economy, and of social and religious institutions which were dominantly Swedish,—qualified, of course, by adaptation to Finnish temperament, and by meanings and amalgamated elements from the original Finnish culture. But although cultural fusion had advanced so far that the Finns had long held political and social ideals of Swedish origin as their own, and although there had been naturally some social fusion from intermarriage and fortunately-placed Finns entering the educated and wealthy Swedish-speaking classes, nevertheless there remained between the Finnish-speaking majority and Swedish-speaking minority a definite class line based on economic distance and racial feeling. Antagonisms implicit in the subordination and resultant presumption of racial inferiority of the Finns, were sharpened by the ethnical consciousness and aspirations aroused by those phases of the national movement which reached the farm communities. The Finns remembered how often Swedes had taken their good cultivated land and driven them farther into the timber. And they resented the town merchants' demands that they designate their purchases in the Swedish language. Children learned to fear the Swedish aristocracy, and though later the early dislike might disappear in closer association, perhaps as hired workers on Swedish farms, there remained at least a feeling of racial separation accentuated always by Swedish aloofness.

18. Tears filled the eyes of one informant as she related such an experience in her girlhood and her angry reply to the merchant that "this is a Finnish country".
Attitudes of antagonism to Russians appear, among Finnish peasants, to have been less pervasive, intense, and personal than toward the Swedes, the difference attributable possibly to the limited extent of first-hand contact with Russians and the absence of a class basis for antagonism. Reaction to the Russianization program took an impersonal form of hostility to the Russian government and dread of the troops quartered in towns and shifted about often enough to prevent their development of friendly intercourse with local communities. Personal attitudes toward individual Russians were confined to distrust, and to repugnance at their "dirtiness". But hatred of the Russian State grew, in fear and silence. Children learned to avoid strangers and refuse to answer questions of "dirty Russian peddlers" traveling through, in fear that they were spies.

As Russianization progressed, the Finns became acutely conscious of their non-participation in, and separateness from, the government which oppressed them from without, and the higher classes which subordinated them from within, their own country. At the same time, the general unrest accompanying industrialization and growth of wage-earning class in the cities, spread to the country, with possibilities of new material luxuries not obtainable on the farm, and, for the first time, an occupational alternative to the traditionally-accepted prospect of farming. Although during the early part of the period and among the people studied, migration to the cities was not intensive, and farm communities were apparently
not unsettled to the stage of marked social disorganization, or excessive individual disorganization, there was, even then, among the younger people, increasing impatience with traditional rules of behavior, customs of property inheritance, and restraints and dogma of the Church. The result was a division of opinion symptomatic of incipient community disorganization.

The theories of Socialism, which had been rapidly adopted by city industrial workers, did not spread to the peasant communities until late in this period. The rarely circulated pieces of socialist literature were read surreptitiously and with only passive interest. But there certainly was in the material situation and current attitudes a basis for receptivity to socialist or reform doctrines; the old problems of unsatisfied desire for land and poor living conditions were accentuated by political and social unrest, and class feeling had been developed by identification with racial feeling to a degree of consciousness probably not otherwise attainable without first the intellectual acceptance of a class ideology.

19. "Social disorganization" refers to the process defined by Thomas as ".....the decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group". Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 2. Social disorganization did not approach the critical condition observed by Thomas and Znaniecki in Polish peasant communities. Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 45-86.

20. Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 80-81.
Possessed of great physical endurance and a heavy tenaciousness, men and women took life as a routine of constant hard work under harsh conditions to produce a subsistence and keep a place in their immediate social world. Ambition did not transcend class lines, and was confined to the ownership of a piece of land and improvement of economic and social status in the local community. In the conditions under which security had to be sought, deliberateness and caution were adaptive traits which, combined with a characteristic honesty and the direct techniques of peasant economy, must account for the Finnish repugnance to use of credit and haste to pay off any debt contracted.

Proceeding from cautiousness and their subordinate position in society, the peasants' personal conduct was respectful to the point of subservience to individuals of higher social standing, and determinedly cold and suspicious with strangers. In the trusted company of friends, personal response, though never effusive, was direct and expressive of the peculiarly deep Finnish emotionalism. Not apt with quick or light answers, the Finnish thought process required time for contemplation of new problems. But once the decision was reached it amounted to a conviction doggedly pursued.

D. EMIGRATION

Poor economic conditions and prospects in rural Finland, political oppression, and social unrest, combined with current attitudes and a desire for new experience already whetted by changing life in the cities, to prepare the people of rural communities for entertainment of the news about opportunities in America. Some individuals had
relatives and friends in America urging them to come and ready to receive them. Young farm workers decided to emigrate in the hope of earning and saving enough in a few years, to return and buy a farm. Younger sons of farmers left in resentment of the traditional inheritance by the oldest son, of the entire farm, instead of its division among several heirs. Pressed to decision by the Russian law effective in 1902, requiring five years of military service in Russia, large numbers of young men emigrated. Young women with scant hopes for property inheritance or favorable marriage, were attracted by the prospect of higher pay, easier work, better clothes and amusements in America. Sometimes they left from well-to-do homes, in disagreement with their parents' choice of a suitable husband, or simply dominated by desire for new experience. Decision to emigrate was generally influenced by the report that "everything was freer" in America, interpreted in the individual case as freedom from the rigidity of traditional or church rules, class lines, or recently imposed government repression. Although the

21. Finnish women in emigration exemplified the tendency noted by Thomas and Znaniecki: "Girls afford the most numerous exceptions to the rule that every emigrant when starting intends to return". Ibid., Vol. V p. 15.
predominant and finally-deciding motives for emigration were desire primarily for economic improvement, and secondarily for release from political oppression, neither motive could be assumed as exclusively causal. It was the entire social situation acting upon existing attitudes that created in the individual a predisposition to take the step which would change his life so radically. Presumably there was a strong desire for new experience and readiness to accept change, and a relaxation, already, of the hold of tradition in the individuals who chose emigration. They were, on the whole, the less settled categories of the population,--presumably more susceptible to the effects of social disorganization, more adaptive to reorganization, and more apt to experiment with, and adopt, new accessible elements of culture, and discard the old. Thus it may be assumed that the selectivity of emigration would be a factor in accelerating the acculturative process, by excluding,

22. In discussion of the whole psycho-sociological situation causal to emigration, Thomas and Znaniecki point out the inadequacy of the economic motive alone, unless, indeed, the alternative to emigration were absolute starvation. Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 17-20.

23. Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 6-12

24. In this group there could be assumed a high proportion of individuals designated by Linton as "innovators": those to whom the existent culture was not completely satisfactory, and who would be the first to accept new elements originating either within, or from without, the group. Linton, op. cit., pp. 466-71
generally, the conservative categories in each class of the home population, which might change most slowly, and limiting the immigrant group in the contact situation to those categories which were on the whole more receptive to change. Of course there would be, in the immigrant group, varying degrees of receptivity,—in the general tendencies of individuals and with regard to specific culture elements, and the motives impelling the acceptance of each. But the range of variability would be narrower on the side of conservatism than if the whole unselected original population were to be involved in the contact. Another immigrant characteristic favorable to acculturation was the voluntary approach to the contact, and the hope of economic, social betterment, and freer enjoyment of life to result therefrom. All emigrants,—even those intending to return or having the narrowest economic motives and merely incidental interest in American ways of living,—were willing on arrival in America, to face and adapt themselves to new conditions, including possible hardships, to achieve their purpose,—not to mention willingness to accept desirable elements available.

It was in the years from 1899 to 1913, inclusive, that Finns emigrated to America in the largest numbers. The two decades from 1890 to 1910 embrace roughly the great wave of Finnish emigration to the United States, as indicated by the following estimated figures:

25. The figures here are estimated from figures appearing in the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1920 and 1939, and in Americanization of the Finns, by John Wargelin. Absence in the abstract of separate reports for Finland from 1899 to 1917, and in Wargelin's compilations for the years following 1918, necessitated combination of the two sources. The considerable divergence between them limits the value of these estimates to presentation, only, of the general trend of Finnish emigration.
Finns entering United States

Before 1890 approximately 21,000
From 1890 to 1910, approximately 173,000
From 1911 to 1920 " 51,500
From 1921 to 1938 " 18,500

The decrease after 1910 was sharp, except for the year 1913 which brought approximately 16,000 immigrants,—the largest number for any one year.
CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY PERIOD OF CONTACT AND CULTURE-CHANGE

FROM 1890 TO 1900

A - THE EARLY MILL-SETTLEMENT AND ITS CULTURE

The Hammond-Bonner sawmill was built in the year 1886 on the bank of the Blackfoot River, near the track of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which came through the year before. Situated so as to receive directly the saw logs floated down the Blackfoot from logging camps in the richly timbered hills to the east, to process and to load the lumber conveniently for rail transportation direct to the Butte mines and mid-west markets, this mill started with the best natural advantages for growth, and was destined to become the largest sawmill in Montana. 26

By the year 1890, the Bonner settlement was spreading back from the mill, where the Blackfoot River emerges from the canyon into the wide Missoula valley. Permanent skilled and supervisory employees were established with their families in the new frame houses built by the company, in rows facing the mill. The company store, well stocked with groceries, clothing, and household articles, the Bonner post office, and two saloons, served the ordinary needs of residents. The new Margaret Hotel, a stylishly ornate structure, offered first-class lodgings to

26. The mill was purchased from E. Hammond and E.L. Bonner in 1898, by Anaconda Copper Mining Company interests, and operated as the Big Blackfoot Milling Company, and later as the Big Blackfoot Lumber Company. In 1910 it was disincorporated and the operation was consolidated under the mining company.
business visitors and to forty or fifty single men millworkers, as well as a luxurious setting for occasional social gatherings. Among the Bonner residents were several German and French-Canadian families, and a few Swedes. But native Americans and Canadians of English and Scotch descent were in the majority, and held the positions of dominance in the mill, and in the roughly stratified community.

Two or three Finnish families had been living in cabins on the river bank above Bonner, but, driven out by floods, they had moved, in 1891, a half mile down the river below the mill, and established themselves, alongside several French-Canadians and Germans, on the site which was to be Milltown. A few feet from the main wagon-road,—now the State Highway,—which paralleled the railroad tracks, the new families were building shacks on narrow lots rented from the pioneer owner of the site. At the end of the year 1892, there were eight or nine such dwellings along the north side of the road, housing five or six Finnish, and two French-Canadian, families. South of the track a French-Canadian family kept a livery stable and a saloon, with boarding-rooming accommodations for migrant workers, and westward were two saloons operated by Germans. Farther west down the track, in the log cabin "section-house" were lodged twenty or more Japanese railroad workers.

This heterogeneous settlement was an overflow from Bonner of the newer immigrant class of laborers who had to provide living quarters for themselves near the mill. Facing in close proximity, the same material conditions of living, these new comers were separated, nevertheless, into four distinct groups speaking four different languages, each turned inward to itself and isolated
Most of the immigrants of each group had been in the United States for from one to five years before coming here, but like most immigrants their experience in this country had been not directly with Americans in a purely American community, but in an immigrant community among relatives or acquaintances who received them upon arrival from the old country. The community to which the immigrant first came was thus not American, nor could it be a complete reproduction of the old country: it was a mixture of elements taken from both cultures and modified by loose integration into makeshift patterns serving immediate needs. There the customs and reconstructed institutions of the home land, even though changed and incomplete, served to insulate the new immigrant against the shock of the totally strange American milieu, and neighborly relations with fellow countrymen gave him some feeling of security. There he learned the ways to secure work and make purchases,—the simple techniques of living in America. He discarded quickly certain manners and articles of dress,—the superficial, most conspicuous indications, to the large American community, of his foreignness. He learned enough of the English language for use in ordinary transactions. But he spoke it yet merely as a device, connected with some specific new technique or arrangement, and not as a part of, or consciously associated with, any of his past life-experience. On the whole, the immigrant, after several years in the average immigrant community, remained yet a stranger to American life, and departing, he naturally sought work in another locality where some of his countrymen had already come together. This was the acculturative
situation from which most of the early immigrant settlers of Milltown had come in 1892, and were to come for the next eight or ten years. So the nationality groups here were largely strangers, each viewing the others as merely part of the new strange "American" milieu, and receiving interpretively this new milieu against an apperceptive background of experiences and meanings accumulated from a past life foreign to the others.'

The American culture which was available to any one immigrant group in this contact situation was less purely American than if the group had been in contact with a community of all native Americans. Here certain American culture patterns were observable in various forms, as continuously modified in adaptation to diverse pre-existing foreign contexts. However, the avidity with which the American externals were acquired by all groups, assured an outward appearance of the American norms. The culture of western Montana was lacking in many of the complexes of American culture developed in cities and in agricultural communities of the East, and even farther west, with which the older immigrant settlements were in contact. And some of the complexes which this frontier-like culture lacked were those most resembling the European, and most compatible with the immigrant peasants' customs and systems of value. On the other hand, to immigrants who had worked in the timber at home, the familiar and easily learned occupational complexes around which daily routines centered, compensated somewhat for the gauntness of the new life here. And to Finnish settlers, the mountain creeks and coniferous forests recalled the
The coming of the railroad had brought to the Blackfoot, Missoula, and Bitterroot valleys of western Montana the new industries of the lumber camp and sawmill, to supplement the pioneer cattle ranches. People moved in, to work and settle the new towns along the railroad.

But the growth of industry and population left still undisturbed vast areas of mountain country and deep forest. Elk, deer, grouse, ducks, and fish were abundant in the woods and streams. The few resident Americans interested in hunting could enjoy the sport and have all the game they cared to shoot, under game laws that were generous, and not seriously enforced. Fishermen in Bonner could walk up the Blackfoot and in a few hours of casting with rod and fly, catch a dinner of trout for themselves and friends. Out of the woods also came cheap fuel and building logs.

In Bonner the people occupying the company houses enjoyed as many comforts as were practicable under the conditions of new settlement and high-cost transportation. But the later arrivals, who sought common work at the mill, and for whom no living quarters were available, had to procure lumber and put up, as quickly as possible, their own crude dwellings. "Store furniture" was a rare luxury in these new houses, and the floors and board walls were bare.

The mountain soil was too dry here, and rain too infrequent, for gardens to grow without watering. No gardens, lawns or flowers were cultivated, for water had to be carried
from wells. Ranchers peddled vegetables and fruits through the settlement. Families kept their own cow or purchased milk from neighbors. Fresh meat from ranches up the Blackfoot was plentiful and cheap, and the Company store carried all everyday necessities of groceries and clothing.

For household and luxury goods, a day's shopping trip could be made by horse and wagon, or by stage, to Missoula, the growing commercial center of western Montana. Here doctors and lawyers could be consulted, and young Americans entered upon higher education at the new State University. Wealthy pioneer families of Missoula were cultivating shrubs and flowers around their eastern style houses, newly built along the muddy streets. The owners and officials of the prosperous Bonner mill participated in the more luxurious and refined living of Missoula, and occasionally lighted up the Margaret Hotel for entertainment in Bonner. But to the ordinary millworkers very few of Missoula's luxuries were available, and these only on occasions months apart.

Following the eleven-hour work-day, the millworkers gathered in the five saloons, diverse in quality and patronage: the Margaret Hotel bar, where good liquor and good order were kept for discriminating customers; the Coombs Saloon at the south edge of Bonner, patronized by Bonner men and French-Canadians; the three saloons south of the track in the new immigrant settlement, where men of all nationalities jostled each other, argued and drank. On Saturday nights these saloons were crowded with millworkers, migrant laborers, and, occasionally, lumber workers in from the camps. Through the all-night
drinking the crowd cheered, or joined in fist fights, and emptied their pockets in poker games. There were no local law officers to settle fights, and the continuous poker playing was interrupted only rarely by a visit of the Missoula sheriff.

As the new immigrant settlement below the mill grew, two new saloons and Hart's Grocery opened up along the original saloon-row south of the track.

Immigrants of all nationalities were urging their fellow-countrymen to come and get on at the mill. They boarded the single newcomers, and helped new families put up their houses. Finns increased so rapidly that outsiders began to call the settlement "Finntown".

The Bonner school board recorded, in the 1893 school census of the Bonner area, about fifty-five resident families with children aged one to twenty-one years, and ten or twelve single men under twenty-one. That the census was incomplete is indicated by the absence of any Finnish families in the record. Based on the census, the Bonner school provided grammar grade instruction for several months of the year, in a frame building up the road between the immigrant settlement and Bonner, employing one or two woman teachers and a "professor".

Although lacking the organization, the mellowed institutions, and the common memories of old towns, Bonner was developing into a semblance of a community. The people established

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27. The 1894 School Census lists one Finnish family. In 1896 several Finnish families resident in the area from 1892 on, were recorded. The population listed in these census reports showed predominance of the American, English, Scotch, residents of Bonner, and increases of French-Canadians and Swedes.
there were even similar enough in external ways of living, in attitudes and standards, to draw together around immediate interests. According to the gradation of responsibilities set in the hierarchy of skill- and income-classes at the mill, the social leadership and the status of individuals and families in this community were fixed, and within the confines of the integration thus established, social control was inherent. Law officers from the outside were unnecessary to the maintenance of order in this artificially-formed community, wherein a minimum of self-imposed conformity to current norms was the condition of the individual's continued employment, and the basis of social coherence. So for the people well established in Bonner, life could be stabilized and enjoyed within common daily interests and vicarious participation in the outside world through reading and occasional trips, even though there was absent here the richness of old community enterprises and traditions, and the fullness of culture to satisfy cultivated tastes. In small circles they enjoyed informal social activities of whist games and dancing. As a unit they followed the social leaders, in organization of the Bonner school and such formal activities as were acknowledged to be occasional community obligations. They were not concerned with the many single migrant millworkers moving in and out, and only casually interested, at first, in the immigrant families beginning to settle below the mill. Aside from the essentiality of this anonymous mass of lower-graded labor to operation of the mill, it was not involved with the life of the Bonner community. But as the settlement continued,
in the next few years, to spread, and new immigrants arrived to swell the foreign groups already defined and assertive there, and particularly as the ascendency of the most noticeably foreign of the foreign groups became generally explicit in the denotation "Finatown", and the settlement became known as strange and tough, the passive indifference of the established Bonner people gave way to reactions of class-and "race"-prejudice, to alarmed distrust of the adequacy of the existing locational and social barriers, and to determined movements of still further withdrawal from the new population.

The central integrating forces implicit in the makeup of Bonner, functioning there satisfactorily alone without many of the usual mechanisms of community control, were naturally less effective, and in some phases, even non-existent, in the new foreign settlement. Its shifting heterogeneous population was not only lacking in all common grounds for social cohesion: even further, the several disparate groups, as they grew, were inclined centrifugally, by mutual antagonisms preclusive to community integration. They were workers generally in the unskilled or lower skilled-labor classes, standardized, replaceable, and impermanent, and conferring no status,—no implication of the individual's "belonging" or responsibility, which might carry over into social cohesion.

Such a loose aggregation of unrooted and unrelated elements called for imposition of central control mechanisms, and agencies for incorporation and direction,—the construction, first, of external structures around which social ties might
develop. However, the new settlement lacked all but the most
general institutional controls. There were no resident law
officers, and for emergencies the County sheriff was six miles,
or an hour's drive away. The Bonner school confined its service
to instruction of young pupils, and formed no base for integra-
tion. No other organizations existed to arouse and incorporate
common interests. So in no sociological sense could this early
mill village be termed a community. There was little or no
external provision for organization of the individual's life. Prob-
ably the most stabilizing factor was the daily routine of work
at the mill, and such economic purposes as necessity or ambi-
tion might press upon the individual. In this situation the
small nationality group would naturally become for the indivi-
dual, the prime socializing influence, and its inner relations
the indispensable basis for personal stabilization.

B- THE FINNS AC THEY ENTERED THE CONTACT, AND PREVIOUS
CULTURE-CHANGES

The Finns came to the Bonner mill in the first
few years from other Finnish settlements in Montana or farther
east. They had passed through the first year or two of intro-
duction to America in Finnish-American communities where many of
the customs were familiarly Finnish, and the minimum adaptations
to the American milieu had been made,—mainly in the learning of
the techniques, including the language, of working and traveling
about, in the trying and approval of new foods and articles
of household convenience, and in the consciousness of and partial
discard of conspicuously non-American articles of dress. So,
as they arrived they already had the techniques of obtaining work
at the mill, procuring a house or the lumber to build one, and furnishing it with the efficient cook stove, oil lamps and other efficient articles brought from their last American home or purchased here at the Company store or in Missoula. They relished and bought generously fresh fruits and new vegetables peddled by ranchers. They were aware of slight differences in texture and cut of their Finnish clothing from the American-made, but the styles were similar enough to permit of wearing out the old wardrobes. Shoes, with their up-pointed toes, and men's high boots, were more conspicuously Finnish, but here also thrift won the argument for use while they lasted --- especially of the boots, which were adapted here to the deep winter snows.

One change of appearance which had taken place generally and almost immediately was in the head dress of women. Many young women had already removed and packed away their huivya before the ship docked, and immediately in New York bought American hats. Some who had sailed via London had even contrived to procure hats there. So no woman got off the train here, or went out among strangers wearing a huivi.

Of course the housewife's indoor duties with young children and the settling of a new home, and the rareness of occasions for going out in public, reduced the necessity, and delayed the habit, of wearing or even regularly owning a hat. Purchases from the Company store were ordered and delivered at the door, and by the time women had become accustomed to visiting the local grocery store they went bare headed. But the huivi had not been entirely discarded: it was too useful in cold, windy, wet weather, to tie over the head for tasks in
the yard; and even in good weather it was customary to wear it when going for a call on Finnish neighbors.

Another conspicuous article which, almost as soon as the huivi, had embarrassed the wearer, was the man's pukko, the carefully sharpened knife always carried in the belt. The men who came here in the early years had already given up wearing it in the belt, and used it only for work around their homes or in the woods. For other uses they procured pocket knives, which were carried then customarily by American men.

C-ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESSES, MOTIVES, AND EFFECTS OF CULTURE-CHANGES PREVIOUS TO THE BONNER CONTACT.

The voluntary changes made thus far had been chiefly in the acquisition of articles and techniques. New articles such as foods and household appliances, the desirability of which was easily observable, could be acquired without direct contact with Americans. New culture patterns were learned, as the necessary minimum means of adaptation to the American environment.

Many articles and some techniques acquired were simply new additions not seriously disturbing to pre-existing complexes, and not displacing or duplicating old elements. Of such nature also, was the acquisition of fragments of the English language. With the new articles, their English names were incorporated, and phrases were learned as parts of the new techniques. Also, English names for old elements had to be learned, for

transactions with Americans involving those elements. But the function of the new English word was limited to its part in the technique of the transaction, and it did not displace or even duplicate the Finnish word in the latter's pre-existing functions. The English word "potatoes" was learned as part of the newly acquired technique of buying potatoes, but "potatoes" could not function in substitution for or duplication of the Finnish word "pottuya" in recalling any of the old contexts of planting, digging, storing pottuya, or yet in the continued experiences of peeling, cooking, eating them. Likewise the meaning of the English word for an article that was customarily purchased in Finland, was limited also, at first, to its function as part of the present American transaction, because this transaction was, in many of its phases, a new technique which had to be acquired. The name for potatoes, which were not customarily purchased in Finland, is a more striking example simply because of the differentiated functions of the word "pottuya".

In the adoption of certain new articles and techniques, the old remained also, undiscarded, and there resulted a duplication of function. New household utensils and articles of clothing procured in America were put to the same uses as articles brought along from Finland, and their differences in form entailed differing and duplicatory techniques of use.

More extensive, however, than duplication, in the adoption of the new elements and devices, was their substitution for


30. Linton observed that duplication of function is a common phenomenon of culture-transfer, and one of which cultures are very tolerant. Linton, op. cit., p. 481.
old ones,—an adaptive mechanism inescapable in the situation
of the immigrants, who had left behind most of the former
external life and come almost empty-handed into a different
environment containing many new elements, and lacking entirely
the old, or presenting them in new forms. A large amount of
substitution, then, was forced simply by the mechanical situa-
tion, without the necessity for direct contact between groups,
and aside from the rarer, deliberately selected substitutions
whose motivation proceeded from face to face contact.

Underlying the first acquisitions from American culture
were several factors. First, a mass of new elements and modes
had to be taken in order to get along, with no deliberate select-
on aside from the exigencies of the environmental situation
mentioned above, wherein the old forms were unusable, or absent
and not practicably reproduceable. In this situation the dis-
comfiting and demoralizing effects of the necessary breaking
with old habits, and learning of new ones, was ameliorated by
the optimistic receptivity of the immigrants: they had approached
the situation freely, and even though already disillusioned on
some points, they expected, on the whole, a better life to
come. So they were quick to go beyond mere necessity, to ex-
periment with, and adopt, entirely new articles which were ob-
viously desirable, for efficiency or pleasure. About the only
restraints on new acquisitions were incompatibility with active
culture patterns, and the limits of financial means and personal
tastes. The two factors of necessity and selection overlapped,
of course, in many cases of substitution: the American cook stove
displaced the old Finnish fireplace and oven, not only because
the latter would have been difficult or impossible to reproduce here, but also because the cook stove was obviously more efficient. In such substitutions there was undoubtedly operative also another motive: the desire for conformity with the modes of the dominant culture in the outwardly visible aspects of living. This motive, proceeding initially from fear of ridicule, in the contact-relation with a group acknowledged on both sides to be socially, thus culturally superior, was the controlling factor in many of the first selected substitutions.

The rapid change in women's head dress was clearly motivated by desire for conformity. The American hat was taken not because of its intrinsic superiority, or the unavailability of the huivi, but rather, to avoid the dreaded conspicuousness of the foreign head gear which, as informants say, "would be laughed at" by the Americans, by outside immigrant groups, and even by individuals within their own group who were making advanced efforts toward identification with American modes.

In the displacement of the huivi by the hat for formal, and by bare-headedness for informal, public appearances, the propriety-meanings attached to wearing of the huivi in public had to give place to the local American modes of propriety. But in the semi-privacy of their own yards, where there was little danger of ridicule, the hat was no substitute, and the huivi could be retained in its function of protection. Likewise, in the inconspicuousness of visits back and forth among Finnish neighbors, there was no reason for adopting the hat, and the huivi continued in its old function, comfortably sanctioned by the old sense of appropriateness.
Variations were observable in the speed and extensiveness of the displacement of the huivi, due largely to differences among women, in attitude toward the contact, and in social situations in America. It was the young, single women immigrating alone, unfortified by the company of Finnish husbands, more interested in making a favorable appearance, eager to adopt everything American in the expectation of remaining here, who were first to buy hats. And, working among Americans, they discarded the comfortable huivi, and went bareheaded even for tasks out doors. Their more frequent appearances in public occasioned more habitual use of the hat. Most advanced, of course, was this tendency relative to the huivi and other external patterns, among those young single women whose work had kept them daily among Americans and permitted only occasional association within a Finnish group.

The inhibition of several prominent functions of the pukko was activated to some extent also by desire for conformity, but more immediately and compellingly by the pressure of American disapproval, which went beyond informal means. Employers and law officers sought the complete suppression of knife-fighting and knife-carrying. Undoubtedly some feeling of discomfort and loss was involved in the debasement and repression of the pukko, which had functioned honorably in many old complexes and was needed here in uses for which no substitute appeared immediately adaptable. The American pocketknife, though handy in casual uses, was a poor substitute as a fighting weapon. But the pocket-knife was soon adopted as better than nothing, for self-defense. This reservation relative
to emergency-protection was about all that remained of the knife-fighting complex, among the sober and more settled men. But the unsettled, drinking Finns, when excited by whiskey and provoked into a saloon fight, frequently brought out a pocket-knife and used it in Finnish style on strangers and country-men alike. The American modes of fighting with fists and saloon furniture were adopted, in a short time, as duplicatory techniques, but they did not displace use of the knife.

In those uses of the pukko conforming to American practice as in hunting, its retention was not significant, for it could be, and often was, duplicated and replaced by similar American-made implements. The pukko was doomed to reduced cultural importance in America by its loss of functions, largely through the change of occupational complexes. The process of discard in this case differed from that of other disused elements only in the discomfort caused by the conflict of standards and the forced inhibition of certain yet vital functions, before satisfactory substitutes had been found.

The first consciously selected inhibitions of such culture patterns as uses of the knife, discussed above, which were carried along to America or immediately reproduceable here, were quantitatively insignificant compared to the mass of cultural losses concurrent with the immigrants' radical change of environment. Necessarily, mechanically inhibited, were the learned patterns constituting the large part of past life-experience. In the passive discard of the unused occupational and social techniques, and everyday routines formed around them, there was more lost than the total of subtracted traits. As the whole
of a culture is more than a collection of parts, the loss of any pattern must disturb the functioning of the whole, and necessitate a loss or readjustment of meanings in all that remains. The culture has suffered loss and disruption making it less than satisfying. The individual immigrant suffers in the sudden failure to function of that learned in the past, at least the mild consequence of a feeling of incoordination and confusion. 31 The inhibition of techniques amounts to a fundamental loss, regardless of their hedonistic value, that is, regardless of whether or not they had been consciously pleasant or their loss regretted. A farmer may have been glad to escape the toil and poverty of the Finnish farm, and to replace them with a preferable situation here, but none the less, he lost, in the change, much of what he had learned in life, and this loss was not mitigated in the beginning by the fact that most of the past techniques were unusable here. There were new techniques here for the meeting of old familiar needs, but they had to be learned and associated with what was left of old functions. There were new techniques also for newly defined needs, but even the new needs had to be incorporated by the process of learning and adjustment, except possibly for the direct appeal of such items as new foods. The individual, especially the hopeful immigrant, would naturally reach out for

31. In the "passive demoralization" of peasant immigrants described by Thomas and Znaniecki as resulting from loss of the old primary-group life, the loss of function throughout the whole culture must surely have been a basic cause from which causal social relations, however pervasive, could not be isolated. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 168.
new experience. But for the great amount of necessary re-learning and new learning, and for the accumulation of a fullness of association around the new, a period of transition during which life would be uncoordinated and even disordered, was inescapable.

The immigrants' environmental change, then, independently of reactions to face to face contact with Americans, produced at first a critical situation forcing the mechanical relinquishment of a large part of the old, and acquisition of much of the new culture. Compared to the magnitude of these necessary changes, the first deliberately selected changes arising in direct contact were small.

In the first phase of adaptation, the normal tendency was to reproduce as much of the old culture as had not been selectively inhibited, was practically relateable by any ties to the new environment, and was consistent with the outside requirements of conformity with American standards. Exact reproduction was impossible, for pre-existing patterns had to be modified to function in new contexts and with American materials, but the content of past learning was naturally fundamental and pervasive in the first makeshift culture. After this first stage was passed, the process of immigrant-acculturation would consist largely of the progressive change or discard of reproduced elements, and their duplication or displacement by American elements, including, of course, the associated re-definitions and re-valuations.
During the eight to ten years after 1892 the Finns, as well as other nationality groups in the new settlement, increased continuously. The newcomers, generally from other Finnish-American communities, were of two broad categories: families who moved into rented houses, then built their own, settled down in the hope of permanent mill work and became a part of the increasingly cohesive Finnish group; single men moving with the mass of unsettled industrial laborers around the country, staying on at the mill during good years, then leaving, or, frequently, alternating a season's employment in the Butte mines or nearby sawmills up the Bitterroot valley, with a few months at the Bonner mill. The single men, who during the months of full-time operation of the mill were always in the majority over the settled Finns, were first given board and bed in the small crowded family homes, and later in several larger boarding-rooming houses accommodating thirty to fifty men, set up by families who succeeded in operating on a larger scale through savings from the men's mill wages and the women's few home-boarders. The larger boarding operations opened work opportunities to young Finnish women relatives and friends of the settled families, who came from other Finnish-American settlements, or frequently direct from Finland. Occasionally crowding into the boarding houses and swelling the
impermanent Finnish group, were young lumber workers employed in the camps to the north. 32

The Finns at the mill were generally taken on and kept in wage-classes somewhat higher than unskilled labor. They were in demand in the lumber yard for types of work requiring great physical strength and willingness to stay at the heaviest labor. A considerable proportion of them were qualified by experience at their secondary occupation in Finland, for the skilled work of lumber grading. They were rated consistently good workmen from the beginning.

The conditions of material living in family homes and boarding houses were, for the early Finns, generally no more and no less bare or crude than for the other new settlers. Living quarters were small and crowded, with bare floors and makeshift furniture often adapted from packing-boxes. As in other homes, the Finnish women worked hard, tending children, sewing, washing, cooking, and baking for boarders, but the Finnish women were soon marked, notwithstanding the isolation of their homes from outsiders, as relentlessly clean housekeepers.

The first provision for normal Finnish living after employment and living quarters was the sauna. In 1893 a family bath house was built, reproducing the old farm-style of central Finland, including the smoke hole. 33

32. The number of Finns working in the lumber camps was comparatively small. Swedes and Norwegians comprised the largest nationality groups among the timber workers.

33. This was the bath house of Heikki Koski, whose descendants,—daughter, Mrs. Albert Karkanen, and grandchildren and great grandchildren,—have resided here continuously to the present.
It was used by all the Finnish people until, two or three years later, two other families acquired bath houses, in which chimneys displaced the smoke hole. Heated by the housewives on Saturday and sometimes a mid-week afternoon, the bath houses were crowded all evening with alternating sociable groups of men and women. No Finn voluntarily missed the sauna. It was believed indispensable to continued good health, and individuals who were so unfortunate as to be deprived of it for several weeks began to fall ill. It was regarded also as the only effective means of cleansing; the American method of washing with a basin of water produced no feeling of cleanliness. Furthermore, the sauna was a pleasant experience, soothing and rejuvenating. So in the persistence of this trait, there were consciously valid motives to reinforce the ever-compelling tendency to reproduce the old life, especially those strong elements rooted, as the sauna, in sentiment and tradition.

The Finns, described consistently by local grocers as "good feeders", incorporated fresh fruits and vegetables, and some sweets into their substantial Finnish diet of meat, fish, rice, and cheese dishes. The favorite fine breads and nisua, to which the plentiful American wheat flour could be adapted, were enjoyed oftener than in Finland. Rye "hard bread", the old cheap standby for every meal in Finland, having lost here its sole advantage of cheapness, was entirely displaced by other Finnish rye breads. Cheese dishes were necessarily less plentiful than on the Finnish farm, but clabbered milk was nevertheless a common dish, and by arrangement for buying the
milk of newly-fresh cows, a feast of laipaa juusto could be enjoyed. Coffee, though noticeably less fragrant, ground here long before using, was enjoyed with less stint, due to lower price, than in Finland. It was used here with meals, as well as upon rising and between meals, and always in the Finnish manner.

After meals women at home retained the old habit of a siesta, most consistently after dinner at noon. And some of the men who took noon lunches to the mill, could not resist finding a secluded place to lie down and nap a few minutes after eating. On Sunday afternoons the siesta was a family practice.

In their leisure time the Finns did more hunting than Americans or other nationalities, and with their new American guns they were known as superior hunters. They went not for sport, but for the grim purpose of getting meat, and they stayed out until they got it. The few liberal State game laws were generally disregarded by Americans, and the Finns never let them interfere with taking the meat they needed. Skins were saved and processed, as in Finland, for winter robes. In summer they fished, also for food, in the Blackfoot River, and were able with pole and baited line to catch large quantities of mountain trout, whitefish, and Dolly Varden which were taken home and salted for winter use. A few experiments on the river with the merta and other net-traps were unsuccessful, and all former methods except the pole and line were abandoned.

The old habit of daily reading was even more enjoyable here
among strangers than in Finland. Generally a family first re-subscribed for a newspaper published in Finland which they had received there, and later added Finnish-American newspapers or Church or Temperance Society organs. Joint subscriptions and exchange of different periodicals between families supplied each with a large quantity of reading which, however duplicatory in content, was thoroughly perused. The papers from Finland, presenting news of the world and everyday events in the old community, preserved sentimental ties, imparted a feeling of security in the nationality-status, and brought back the satisfactions of past life. The Finnish-American papers carried world news, public events in the United States, and all kinds of happenings in the wide community of Finnish-American settlements in this country — marriages, deaths, social events, organizational reports, letters, commercial and personal advertisements. It was through these papers almost exclusively that the immigrants were informed of nationally important events and issues in the United States, and received their first views of the inner life of America. And they served to compensate for the group isolation and low position in the local milieu by keeping alive a sense of belonging in the wide Finnish-American community.

From the first years here, the old patterns of such important events as marriage, burial, baptism, confirmation, were not reproducible to satisfactory completeness. Separated from the old country church and farm community, the traditional forms were difficult or impossible to reconstruct, and some of their meanings — that is, some of their functions — were lost.
Young immigrants married on the basis of personal romantic choice, and without the formalities of arrangement by spokesman, publication of banns, or church officiation. The couple drove to Missoula where the license was obtained and marriage performed by a Justice-of-the-Peace, and then usually returned home for a big dinner and dance, arranged by friends of the bride, in absence of relatives, and attended by all Finns. The celebration continued only through the evening of the marriage day. This bareness of the marriage arrangements constituted no deep loss to a large proportion of young Finns, who came from the hired workers class in Finland, among whom the economic motive, property settlements, and function of the spokesman and generally the ceremonialism of marriage had been forms known but never within the prospect of direct experience. These early brides were content to collect a few pieces of household linen before marriage, and no one here lost status by the lack of more. However, some young mothers, clinging to old prestige-associations, hoped by accumulation through the years to give their daughters a more proper send-off.

Marriage was considered permanent, and the traditional rules of fidelity were generally observed. Some of the young married immigrants, hearing of divorce for the first time in America, declared it "a very bad thing".

The loss of such courtship practices as related to sexual freedom of the unmarried was consequent upon lack of
sufficient privacy in the lodging arrangements of the girls, and in crowded boarding houses or small American homes. Privacy was especially needed here to avoid appearance of non-conformity with American standards. The partial inhibition of these customs was activated, as with the pukko, by sharp realization of the conflict of standards and external pressure for conformity. One informant said, "A girl might spend the last night in old country with a boy. But if she spend the first night in this country with a boy, that girl ain't worth nothing any more. She step over the American rules and nobody will let her in the house to work."

Finns and other Bonner people were buried from undertaking establishments in Missoula by Missoula ministers, the Finns usually engaging a Norwegian Lutheran minister. Very few deaths occurred among the Finns during the early years, and of these almost all were cases of single migratory workers killed in accidents. Beyond a large attendance at the funeral in Missoula, there was but little social observance of these occasions. In only two or three instances of death among settled families were coffee and nisua served to relatives and close friends after the burial.

The church rule requiring baptism a few days after birth had to be ignored here in the absence of a resident Lutheran minister. Parents' anxiety was relieved by the church tenet that anyone might baptize in the imminence of death and save the child's soul. By the time Finnish ministers started coming with some regularity, the first discomfort of delaying
baptism had disappeared, and some parents were lax enough to postpone the rite several years. Most children were baptized eventually, though, and by a visiting Finnish Lutheran minister. The old custom of having two pairs of kummit, or even three or four, was followed. In a few cases of children baptized by non-Lutheran ministers in Missoula, the temporary certificate was later replaced by one issued by a Finnish Lutheran officiate. For such baptisms the kummit were limited to one couple, if the non-Lutheran minister so requested.

The absence here, of the Finnish Church was one of the deepest losses felt by the early families. Their hopes for establishment of a church met some fulfillment in 1894, when ministers from the Finnish Church in Butte started occasional visits. Within the next year or two the informal congregation grew to twenty-five or thirty,—large enough to justify the Butte minister's coming to conduct services once a month. For this purpose the log-cabin "hall" of the newly organized Temperance Society was used. So, during the remainder of this early period, there was some provision for baptisms, church marriages, and confirmation, for which the Finnish language— and catechism—requirements continued. But these services, however meaningful to the devout, lacked the appealing externals of worship, and failed to take the place of the lost Finnish Church. Individuals who had missed the church more than any other part of the old life were initially so disappointed by the crude setting of missionary church services in this, and other Finnish settlements, that they never attended again. Many men, and some women, became indifferent
after a time, concluding that the church's only hold on them had been that of compulsion and habit, and they were "fed up" by too much church-attendance in Finland. They became lax in attendance and support of the monthly services. For these reasons the congregation did not grow. Possibly, if the supply of Finnish Lutheran pastors had permitted the establishment of a resident pastorate during the early years, if a church could have been built, and a program of subsidiary activities promoted, the religious and social needs of the Finns could have been met then and for the future, and their history might have taken a different course. While some of the functions of the State Church of Finland, notably those of direct social control, were not reproduceable here, there were new, immigrant needs which the church might have adapted its organization to meet. The growing settlement was ready for integrated social activity. And the Finns, with unsatisfied religious aspirations and a perhaps unusual capacity for attention to ideas and zeal for reformistic objectives developed by past experience, were emotionally ready for mobilization in behalf of some cause.

These needs were met, to a limited extent and for a limited time, by the Temperance Society. As in other Finnish-American settlements having a preponderant number of unsettled men, the minority of more stable, temperate, or abstinent Finns were disturbed to find many of their countrymen becoming drunkards, spending their earnings on whiskey, and precipitating drunken saloon fights. In reaction to this situation, which meant discredit to the whole mass of Finnish-Americans as well as the demoralization of the drinking Finns, educated and religious
leaders, supported often by hard drinkers as well as by the temperate, had initiated the Finnish-American Temperance movement in large eastern communities. The movement, nationally centralized as the Finnish National Brothers' Temperance Association, spread rapidly, and had been known to some of the local Finns before coming here. A group of families, led by several religious, idealistic youths, and assisted by national representatives, organized in 1895, the local society, with fifteen men and women members, and named it "Wirran-Lapsi", referring to a rivulet in Finland. The aim of the organization—to wipe out drinking among Finns—was to be pursued by the members maintaining complete abstinence and inducing as many as possible of the drinking Finns to sign the abstinence pledge and become members. Toward this end there were to be programs and parties which would draw young Finns away from the six saloons then operating just across the track, and give them entertainment without liquor.

The society purchased, for a hall, a log-cabin standing along the row of dwellings north of the road. A central partition was torn out to make a single room of 16 feet by 24 feet. Furnished with chairs, a table and book-cupboard, this hall was the center for meetings, church services, and social affairs for the next few years.

34. One of these was Rev. Alfred Haapanen, now president of the Suomi Synod, who worked at the mill in summer vacations during his attendance at the Finnish Theological Seminary at Hancock, Michigan.

35. The building was on the site of the present home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Karkanen.
Temperance meetings held regularly on Sunday afternoons were punctiliously attended. Following transaction of business there was a solemn session of checking up on the abstinence of members. Those who had been seen or reliably reported drinking or offering alcoholic beverages to others were named openly, and called upon to re-sign the pledge. Often a guilty member stood up, announced his own deflection, and renewed the pledge. Some merely temperate members, who joined for social purposes, had to be re-signing periodically.

The social activities of the Temperance Society included at least one party every two weeks, on Saturday night. A play or a program of speeches, poems, and songs, was followed by a dance, to accordion, and sometimes violin, music. Box-lunches were auctioned off in old-country style, or refreshments of nisua, coffee, pop, lemonade, American cake and ice cream were served. The local Finns were joined, on Saturday nights, by girls working in Missoula and men from lumber camps and the mills up the Bitterroot.

For holiday celebrations all Finns gathered at the hall. On Christmas Eve the large Christmas tree was banked with presents to be distributed following a program by the children. Candy and fruit were given out, and coffee served. Joulu pukki, the Finnish Christmas visitor in Laplander's costume, and the custom of anonymous gift presentation, were never reproduced here. The family celebration consisted of feasting on rice and other appropriate dishes Christmas Eve, and roast of pork or beef for the holiday dinner. In the later years of this period the mill-company initiated the practice of
giving turkeys on Christmas and Thanksgiving Day, to all employees. Thus the Finns incorporated the characteristic American dish into their holiday menus, long before their own means would have permitted.

On New Year's Eve, the Christmas tree remained standing in the hall for a party, at which all exchanged greeting-cards, played games, danced, feasted, and prophesied their fortunes by favorite old-country devices.

Celebrations of St. John's Day and May Day were often shifted to the nearest Sunday, for an afternoon program of games and picnic lunch, an evening dance, and, if possible on St. John's Day, a morning church service conducted by a visiting minister. When not shifted to Sundays, observance of these holidays was confined to a dance in the evening.

The Fourth of July was observed in the local manner, by a trip to Missoula for parades and races, and a picnic or dance in the evening. The suspension of mill operations on Labor Day was also an occasion for informal picnics and dancing.

The Temperance Society was the base of all social activity in the growing Finnish settlement. In it there was formalized the natural cohesiveness of the group, isolated as it was, within a strange milieu. The organizational activities reproduced old customs, and, to some degree, the social unity of the Finnish farm neighborhood. The individual regained a sense of security through his place in the organization, and emotional gratification in the pleasures of the old life. The Society fulfilled secondary functions of the old church, in its children's programs, observance of church holidays, and efforts for
moral welfare. Toward achieving its primary purpose, however, the organization was only mildly successful. At its peak, during the few years after 1900, the membership totalled thirty-five, which hardly ever amounted to 20% of the adult Finnish population. Finns continued crowding into the saloons. And while the social affairs at the Temperance Hall were enjoyed by all, the Society's membership pledge excluded the large majority from complete participation, and thus narrowed the base upon which a comprehensive community life could mature. So its effectiveness as a medium of social control, and of support in the individual's reorganization of life, was for the majority of Finns, limited. The dissolution of the organization was involved with developments of the following period, to be considered later.

Within the organized social life inclusive of all Finns there were several intimate groups, differentiated usually on the basis of the Finnish province or community from which they had come, and the identity of their customs, memories, and speech-dialect. These circles of friends enjoyed much informal visiting, and celebrated births and Name Days together in old-country style. Birthdays, especially those of school children, soon gained importance here, as mothers heard "how the other ladies were doing" for their children, "others" referring to the Americans. Rules of etiquette were almost entirely Finnish, notably those relating to men's hats. Conformity with American standards was not necessary, as only Finns visited with Finns. But the American form of knocking at the door when calling was rapidly substituted for the Finnish mode of entering which had
no practical value here, and would have been awkward in the small American houses lacking entrance halls.

The attitudes of the Finns during these early years were in flux,—proceeding largely from first immigrant reactions,—but they were quite uniform, and, of course, determinative in future reactions.

Practically all Finns, by the time they arrived here, or shortly thereafter, had decided to remain in America. Those who had started saving money to return and buy a farm in Finland, found it not so quickly accomplished, and as time went on the old dreams lost attractiveness. There were advantages here in good schooling for the children. "Everything was freer", and in spite of disillusionment and a feeling of emptiness and longing for cherished phases of the old life, there was, on the whole, a better chance of improving material conditions here. One might eventually save enough to buy an American farm. Another persuasive point, as explained by a Finnish woman, was the attitude of the home community: the emigrant, leaving, was not expected back, and if he returned, except for a visit, the welcome would be tinctured with implications that he could not have succeeded, and with direct queries as to "what happened". Such a welcome would be a deterrent to return unless one could show exceptional economic improvement, and live on a higher level. Another consideration suggested by this thoughtful informant was that if, after learning "American food and dress" the immigrant returned home, he "would have to take a long step backways and started all over again".
Indicative of the intention to remain in America, was
the early naturalization of practically all the Finns settling
at the Bonner mill. Many were citizens before arrival here,
and others became so within a year or two afterward, the pro-
cedure at that time being simple, with no statutory time re-
quirement after declaration of intention, and no formal examina-
tions. That these Finns were naturalized very soon after immi-
gration, is apparent not merely from dates, but also from their
names, which were entered on the naturalization records in
their full Finnish form, unaltered. Among the shifting section
of Finnish population, naturalization was less consistent, but
many of these men also became citizens early,—thanks largely
to the politicians, who customarily escorted loads of immigrants
to Missoula and expedited their naturalization preceding elec-
tions. The Finns took citizenship seriously and rarely failed
to vote. On national political questions their opinions were
formed largely by reading the Finnish-American periodicals.

Above the mass of culture lost mechanically in immigra-
tion, the psychological implications of which have been dis-
cussed, there projected consciously longed-for patterns of the
old life not satisfactorily reproduced here. Of these, the
church activities and the sociability of the young people
working together in the fields, singing and dancing at night,
in short, the satisfying social relations of the old country, were
missed the most.

Of all the new American life, the prospect of better
material conditions, and the "freedom" here, were advantages
most valued. They appreciated the freedom from rigid class
lines, evidenced by immigrants from well-to-do families in Finland working together with day laborers' sons at the mill.

On the other hand, they were conscious of the existence of other class-levels here, and of their own subordinate position. They knew of protests by the Bonner women against sending their children to school with "foreigners". The Finns had always regarded the Bonner community as a world far removed from their own. Finnish women were never seen in Bonner in the early years, and the men, only for business at the post office and store.

There was but little reasonable basis for subordination of the Finnish below the other local nationality groups, though the tendency in that direction was observable toward the end of this early period. The Finns had, already, a reputation superior to other immigrants for good workmanship, cleanliness, and for minding their own business. They were known as scrupulously honest with money, abhorring long-term or large-scale credit, and paying their rare small debts and current grocery bills with unfailing promptness. The children, though entering school unable to speak English, learned rapidly, and soon were ranking at the top in numbers disproportionate to their total representation. Of course there was the excessive drinking to contribute to low repute, and the American impression, spreading to other nationalities, that "the Finlanders always pull knives, and gang up, and won't fight alone like white men". Furthermore, this reference to racial difference was more than casual: as the Finnish population grew,
a belief was spreading among Americans and others, that in spite of their white complexions, the Finns were "Mongolians, like the Japs and Chinks." This race-feeling strengthened the superiority attitudes of Americans and others.

As for the Finns, they had read enough of the theories of their racial origin to resent the positiveness of the local opinion. But, naturally absorbing some of this attitude of the dominant population, their own uncomfortable sense of inferiority was deepened. Although they were not in close contact with Americans -- nationality groups kept separate at the mill, if possible, and Finnish women went only among Finns -- they were depressed by the attitude of Bonner social leaders, and they resented the name "Finntown" and the derogatory implications it seemed to carry. They were accustomed, from the past, to a subordinate class-status with implications of racial inferiority, and possibly for this reason their present experience, though disillusioning, did not have a positively demoralizing effect. The result was, on the whole, similar to adaptations made in Finland: tacit acceptance of low status, and more intense group-introversion, which was interpreted on the outside as clannishness. There was also a reaction of intensified loyalty to certain Finnish traditions and language -- a transplanted, revived nationalism, which, though a purely emotional expression not inhibitory to continued adoption of desired American materials, was interpreted on the outside as inimical to Americanization, and undoubtedly contributed to increased social distance.
From other local immigrant groups the Finns were isolated by common consent: the French-Canadians were strange in personal habits, temperament, and religion; toward the Swedes the old antipathy was recalled and the Finns "felt very cold" as they express it; the Norwegians, though probably more acceptable than the others to the Finns, were too independent and eager for local prestige, to approach the Finns across the difficult natural barriers of speech and tradition.

The Finns, experiencing in this early transitional stage the inevitable culture-loss which amounted to a crisis for the individual, and further depressed by their growing consciousness of local prejudices, were in a situation conducive to active demoralization. Yet there were in these early years practically no cases of personal disorganization beyond excessive drinking and fighting, and some gambling. Although these excesses constituted a form of disorganization, they did not spread to other phases of the personality.36 Many Finns on Saturday night drank up a week's earnings, and a few lost them in poker or blackjack games, but always on Monday morning they returned to work at the mill. Probably the dominance of old work habits combined with yet active economic motives to protect the large proportion of Finns from general demoralization. The reform program of the Temperance Society undoubtedly had a stabilizing influence, and even more effective was its social function, providing for all, including the drinking Finns, sociability and recognition within a coherent group. Possibly also, the deliberately constructive efforts necessary

36. Thomas found the tendency for disorganization in one phase of the personality to spread to all phases, among disorganized. Polish peasant immigrants in an urban American environment. Ibid., Vol.V, pp 169-70
to getting settled here in the early years, were emotionally absorbing and exhilarating enough to counteract, for a time, the disorganizing elements in the situation.
CHAPTER V.
FINNISH-AMERICAN CULTURE-DEVELOPMENT FROM 1900 TO 1920
A-HISTORICAL SKETCH

In the year 1899, the number of emigrants from Finland to America increased almost fourfold over the preceding year, and continued on that level until 1902, when it rose sharply again to nearly twice the 1901 total. Political oppression was a factor in both increases, but particularly, the Russian law effective in 1902, requiring five years of military service in Russia, influenced many more young Finns to emigrate at that time. In considerable numbers such immigrants came straight from Finland to Bonner, assured by relatives and friends here that they could get work at the mill. So during the following years the nature of the accretion to the local Finnish population changed from predominantly migration from other Finnish-American settlements, to immigration directly from Finland. This was true of the new families settling here, and also of the shifting unattached men, although among the latter there continued to be migrant workers from other western mills and mines, among whom the turnover was of course more rapid than among the new immigrants, whose tendency was to stay here during the first few years of adjustment.

Among the newcomers of the years following 1900, there appeared a number of Socialists who, as urban or agricultural laborers, had adhered to the Social Democratic party which was rapidly sweeping through Finland, and had adopted the Social Democratic interpretation of Marxism. At the same
time, a wave of radicalism in the United States was converting large numbers of Finns already here, to a Socialism similar to the Social Democratic version. The rapid growth of this movement is attested by the establishment, in the years 1903, 1905, 1907 respectively, of three daily Socialist Finnish newspapers with national circulation.  

The Finnish-American socialists were represented also in the Bonner mill settlement——mainly, at first, as they came and went among the shifting section of the Finnish population. But their strength increased rapidly, with many additional newcomers, and with adherents gained also among the older settlers. The influx of socialists and their activities was to be determinative in the history of the local Finnish people for almost twenty years to come. It was not only through a majority in numbers, that socialist leadership became irresistible here: equally important factors were the comprehensiveness of the program of social activities, and the personal appeal of the leaders,——lively, sportily dressed, somewhat cosmopolitanized young Finns, with zest for enjoying life and making the most of freedom in America, and with unchecked optimism, supported by the current successes of the Social Democrats in Finland.

37. The Finnish radical press continued to flourish until 1922, when Park reported that the nine radical Finnish papers had 47% of the entire circulation of the Finnish-American press, a proportion exceeded only by the two Armenian radical papers. Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, pp. 306-7.
and the growing movement in the United States.

Several of the socialists first arriving and settling here, joined and took leadership in the Temperance Society. Their aggressiveness spurred the organization to intenser activity, through which it reached and held for a time its peak of membership and prestige. At the same time, they were circulating pamphlets and papers, and spreading the doctrines of Socialism among the Finns, old and young, men and women. One of the tenets of this form of Social Democracy was an uncompromising contempt for the church. And the local socialists missed no opportunity to ridicule any show of Christianity among the Finns. They provoked violent arguments among the men in the boarding houses, and wherever they met believers. They walked into the monthly church services singing socialist songs and jesting hilariously at the solemn and weakening congregation. The abuse became so rough that religious people dreaded to make any show of their faith.

By the year 1905 there was only a handful of churchgoers left. About that time the monthly visits by Butte ministers were discontinued, and church services were held thereafter only at intervale of three or more months, by Home Mission pastors of the Suomi Synod, or other Finnish Lutheran Church bodies.

38. There are three Finnish Lutheran Church organizations in the United States: Suomi Synod, the largest; the National Lutheran Church; the Apostolic Lutheran Church. The first two differ mainly in ecclesiastical government, but the third differs considerably from them also in doctrine. Wargelin, op. cit., pp. 129-41.
So the church, which had never functioned fully even when it held the field, now receded to a position of weak and remote influence. Some of the women continued, as the years passed, to long for the lost church—women who, while accepting a socialistic philosophy remained at heart religious. A few saw to it that their children passed the catechism tests in the Finnish language, for confirmation by a Finnish missionary. But outside of these homes, the young second generation received little or no religious education for ten or more years. Regular Lutheran services in Missoula had been instituted by the Germans in 1897, by the Swedes in 1905, and Norwegians in 1906. In Bonner there had been services by itinerant Norwegian pastors since 1904. But attendance at any of these churches would not have been considered by the Finns: the meaning of church in a strange language would have been lost, and the exclusiveness of the congregations was preclusive to social participation. On the whole, from this time on, the Finns gave little more thought to the Church than to engage a Lutheran minister of Missoula—usually Norwegian—or a visiting Finnish missionary, to baptize their children often after long delay, read their burial services, and, rarely, perform marriage ceremonies. Of course the extremely non-religious denied themselves even these formalities.

While religious sentiment was being displaced here by indifference or antagonism to the church, a diminution in the vitality of old Finnish folk beliefs also took place, and for largely similar reasons. Most of the old practices, removed from their Finnish contexts of farming and Church-holiday celebrations, lost their function—or meaning. The immigrants, who had been skeptical of the old tales even in their Finnish setting, lost interest and ceased talking of them here. Only exceptional persons, who had themselves seen wonders along the farm roads of Finland, kept their old beliefs and thought of spirits in Bonner.

By the year 1904 the socialists held the offices and majority control in the Temperance Society. For several years the relations of the local society with the national officials had not been harmonious. The latter, adhering to strict rules of the Lutheran Church, disapproved of the continuous dancing, socialistic inclinations, and general liberalism of the Finns here. Now the socialists, in control, went further; they decided that by separating from the national organization, they could keep the local treasury receipts, and make better use of them here, and could turn the program from its religious orientation, toward ends which they considered more worthwhile. The separation was formally accomplished, and for a year the independent society, under socialist leadership, continued more active and prosperous than ever before. Then a representative arrived from the national headquarters, to assist several former members who were opposed to Socialism and loyal to the national organization, in instituting a law
suit to take possession of the local treasury and building. The court decision deprived the independent local of all claim to funds and property. The hall was sold for use as a dwelling house. Soon thereafter the Temperance Society was dissolved, and its social functions and reformistic purpose were absorbed into the Socialist program.

Socialism had by the year 1906, permeated the Finnish community. A large number of men and women had joined the Socialist Federation, and a larger number, remaining non-members, had accepted the Socialist philosophy at least partially, and were willing to follow its leadership.

The question of the cause of the rapid, large-scale conversion to Socialism, of Finns here and in other American communities, cannot be disposed of simply. Among several factors, possibly the most significant is the acute class-"race" consciousness developed by traditions and by experience in Finland, which prepared the laborers and poor tenants there, and the farmers who were to become industrial workers here, to grasp a worker's philosophy. These Finns had known government not as of their own making, but as a hostile force, superimposed. And the freedom which they came to America to secure meant release from oppression, in which the government, the higher classes, and Church authority were all associated. Here their enjoyment of freedom in some phases flowed over its current definitions, into abandon. Also to be recalled, is the peculiar Finnish capacity for interest in abstract discussion, evidenced by their reading preferences, and for devotion to idealistic
objectives. The Temperance Society gave partial satisfaction, but its base was narrow. Socialism opened a wider horizon of ideals. Another Finnish characteristic worth considering is the capacity for acting together rather than each for himself. So, when group leaders adopted Socialism, most of the group naturally followed—the more naturally at this time when the same philosophy, which itself emphasized group-action, was sweeping through Finland and America. Moreover, the fact that the Social Democratic movement in Finland had, by 1905, practically taken over what remained of the National movement, held emotional significance for the older Finns in both countries. Some Finnish-Americans have explained, simply, that when they came here and saw conditions of workers in the mines, mills, and factories so poor, and heard the first speeches of socialist leaders, they believed, although they had not known of Socialism before, that it was "the only thing for working people".

The ideology of Socialism satisfied an emotional need, substituting to some degree even for religious aspiration, and it provided a strong and broad enough basis for an organization which could hold the community together. But the great value of the local Socialist movement to the Finns, and the principal cause of its success, lay in its abundant fulfillment of its social function: by an extensive program, it met the need for group association, through which individuals could gain status and response, and use their leisure time and unspent energy in varied recreative activities. In short, the ideological motive furnished the basis for an organization which could
hold together, integrate, the needed association with its social hedonistic motives.

The lively young socialists organized a variety of activities, on a larger scale than those of the Temperance Society, and life was gayer than it had ever been for the local Finns. There were weekly dances in a hall over one of the saloons, picnics and athletic contests in summer, and plays and programs in the winter. Practically everyone participated in some of these affairs—-even the independent few who persistently remained opposed to Socialism.

In 1907 the socialists were ready to undertake the building of a hall. Significantly, a capable woman leader who spoke good English,—as a result of some American schooling, was designated to arrange for purchase of lumber at the mill. Funds were raised by a constant round of dances and entertainments. The construction, including painting and interior finishing, was completed in a short time by a large number donating their superior workmanship. It was erected on the edge of the woods across the river, and a quarter mile west of Riverside-proper. It was forty-two feet long, thirty feet wide, with front and rear entrances. Inside, the hall was provided with a stage

40. Thomas concluded that among the American Poles, only the religious or economic motive would have been sufficiently strong to hold together their local or superterritorial association. That an organizational motive and base was needed for satisfactory association in this small, spatially compact Finnish community, appears as true as observed for wider communities. Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 106.
and elaborate properties and scenery sets, and a lunch
room, completely equipped. There were benches to seat about
one hundred and fifty persons, and standing room for fifty
more. The building was formally opened on Labor Day, 1907,
with an all-day program of contests, feasting, Finnish songs
and speeches. And from then on, the white "Finn Hall" was
to be the center of the Finnish community life.

In the year 1908 the social diversions of the Finns were
interrupted by occurrences which stirred the whole Bonner mill
settlement, but affected the Finnish group most radically.

A wave of lumber workers' strikes had spread to the
lumber camps east of Bonner, and had raised, here and in
other mills, the issues of low wages and poor conditions.
At the same time, the Butte mines were struck, and a delega-
tion of miners, all experienced labor leaders and all Finns,
came to Bonner to request assistance in form of a strike at
the mill, which supplied timber for the mines. They ap-
peared at a meeting of the A. F. of L. union at the mill, an
organization which the company had required all employees
to join. The union split violently over the question of
striking. In the face of opposition by the officers and their
small following, the strike was organized, under the direct-
ton of the experienced Butte Finns and local leaders, in-
cluding several Finns, Americans, and a French-Canadian.
All nationalities were represented in the walk-out, but
Finns were prominent in the leadership, and comprised nearly
two-thirds of the strikers. Not more than eight or ten
Finns failed to strike -- incidentally with such results that,
according to informants,"it took many years for those wounds
to heal". The mill continued operating with non-strikers and imported workers, who were escorted to and from the mill by deputized company representatives and strangers designated by the strikers as "Pinkerton men"). Women -- practically all of them Finnish -- lined up along the road and mill-entrance, and ridiculed the non-strikers as they passed by.

The strike was unsuccessful, and the net result was that most of the strikers found themselves out of work. The Finns, particularly, were marked as "trouble makers", and forced by unemployment to move away or to subsist, if they remained, by cutting cord-wood, hiring out on farms, or keeping boarders. Several leading Finnish families hung on stubbornly through four or five years of poverty, until the men were hired back at the mill.

Nevertheless, the Finnish population had grown steadily, with new immigrants, mostly single, young, socialistic, who came after the strike and were hired because they were good workmen and were needed for heavy work, which, according to informants, "only the Finns and Irish will do". Although other original nationality segments remained large, and a mass of Italians, Hungarian, and Irish industrial workers had moved in and out with construction of the Milwaukee railroad in 1908, the Finns had become the largest nationality group. The name "Finntown" was now fairly well substantiated. The settlement had also been called "Riverside", since 1903, when the new Hart store was tactfully named "Riverside
Grocery". But although "Riverside" was considered official, it did not displace the original "Finntown".

The numerical preponderance of the Finns, their prominence in the strike, their "clannishness" and intense socialist-led activities, combined to 'crystallize the low social position into which the dominating attitudes of the high-prestige class in Bonner had been forcing them. It was said that the Finns were "a tough lot of knife-slingers" and would never make good citizens. School teachers were advised to "make the young Finns respect the flag if they had to ram it down their throats". Although as individuals the Finns accepted their subordination and retreated from outside contacts in extreme sensitiveness of their broken English and possibly strange manners, their reactions as a group were not so meek.

Some of the more active leaders believed that there should be a Finn on the local school board, to insure fair treatment of Finnish children. Their determined efforts, for several years, to secure such representation were unsuccessful. When the present principal came to the school in 1912, he undertook to win the confidence of the Finnish and other subordinated nationality groups. He organized an elaborate entertainment in which every school child took part, and staged it the first two nights in the "Finn Hall" instead of a Bonner hall where school affairs had always been held. This demonstration convinced the Finns that their children would enjoy democracy in the school, and trusting the principal, they dropped the efforts for a representative on the board.
The Finnish Hall, from its opening on for twelve or fifteen years, was occupied five or six nights of the week with dances, athletic drills, rehearsals of plays, dance orchestras, singing groups—all subsidiary socialist activities. Every Wednesday night there was an "old country" dance, featuring the schottisch and polka, and on Saturday nights a program of Finnish and American dances—new steps which, when picked up by some one, were quickly passed on to all the dance-loving Finns, old and young.

A men's Athletic Club, organized with about thirty members, from 1910 to 1918, drilled at the hall once or twice a week, using complete modern gymnasium apparatus. This was modelled after athletic clubs in Finland, in which several of the leaders had been recently active. The club promoted athletic contests and exhibitions, and for holiday celebrations organized the all-day sports program, picnic, and evening dance, which the whole Finnish community attended. Christmas and New Year's Eve parties in the hall were similar to the Temperance Society celebrations.

A Dramatic Club was organized several years before the Athletic Club, and continued until about 1920, with thirty or forty members. They presented weekly entertainments—Finnish plays often featuring the national costume, or a program of recitations, solo and ensemble singing, playing of accordions, violins and the old Finnish-style zither. The admission charges to these affairs helped build up a substantial treasury.
Young people of the second generation who could read and write Finnish became members of the Dramatic Club, and generally the second generation participated in athletic and social programs. Their contact with outsiders at school had not led to associations strong enough to separate them from the Finnish community.

In 1912, W. A. Clark's Western Lumber Company had opened a mill employing one hundred and eighty men, across the river from the settlement. In 1914, Clark, planning to extend the lumber yard up to the site occupied by the Finnish hall, offered to move the hall to a lot which he would purchase for it, across the highway in the area now called variously, "The Flat", "Riverside Flat", "West Riverside", or "Miltown Flat". This was already being settled by a mixed population like that of Riverside. From the time the "Finn Hall" was set down there, this off-shoot from the older "Finntown" was also dubbed "Finntown", and the hall was spoken of as "Finntown Hall". Alterations were made, extending the stage and the length of the building by eighteen feet, and adding a check-room and a partially enclosed balcony for the kitchen and lunch counter.

For the purpose of avoiding legal difficulties in which ownership of the hall might involve the Finnish socialists, the Finnish Workers Club of Bonner was organized, and incorporated in 1914, with title to the hall. Provision was made for transfer of the ownership, in event of dissolution of the club, to the Finnish Work People's College near Duluth, Minnesota. Essentially the new club was the same socialist
body that had built and managed the hall. Its leaders, the same enthusiastic young Finns who promoted all activities, saw to it that most of the receipts from dues and entertainments, amounting to hundreds of dollars yearly, were sent away to help the Work People's College or new workers' publications, or assist in financing strikes, wherever they occurred.

With the establishment of a local post office in 1913, the settlement's name, duplicated by a post office already named "Riverside" in an adjacent county, was changed to "Milltown". The post office, installed in Hemgren's store, added another town-like feature to the business area consisting of two grocery stores, bake shop, meat market, restaurant, and six saloons. A resident deputy sheriff had been paid from county funds since 1910. Street cars ran between Bonner, Milltown, and Missoula. In 1915, a branch of the Missoula County library was set up in a room above a local restaurant, with older school children serving as volunteer librarians. By this time also the Roman Catholic and Norwegian Churches had been erected on their permanent sites, and a Swedish Lutheran Church building—later to be torn down—stood north of the highway west of Milltown.

In the year 1917, labor unrest in western lumber camps and mines had broken out in numerous strikes and demonstrations, stimulated by the intense organizing activities of the Industrial Workers of the World and their efforts for better wages and working conditions and the eight-hour day. The movement spread to Milltown with the arrival, in May, 1917, of several
native American I.W.W. organizers, who pitched their tents on the edge of town.

The revolutionary industrial unionism of the I.W.W. was apparently not incompatible with the Social Democratic doctrines of the local Finns at that time, and the I.W.W. organizers soon mobilized a majority of the Finnish workers for strike action against the A.C.M. mill.

The strike was unsuccessful in shutting down the mill, for only about 30% of the employees actually participated. Among these the Finnish workers were prominent, in numbers and leadership. Finnish women picketed the entrance gates to the mill, distributing I.W.W. pamphlets and jeering at the scabs.

41. In 1913 the Finnish-American Socialist Federation had split on questions of Marxist theory and practice. The Milltown Finns followed, generally the majority section, which, while remaining sympathetic to the Social Democratic party in Finland, adopted I.W.W. unionism. A smaller faction inclined toward the Marxism of the Bolsheviki.

From the year 1913 the Work People's College was financed and directed by I.W.W. members and sympathizers. Personal correspondence, letter from H. Vitikainen, Editor of Workers Socialist Publishing Company, December 4, 1941.

Of Finnish participation, generally, in the American Labor Movement, Carl Keller, Editor-Manager of The Industrial Worker, I.W.W. organ, has written: "These people are universally known as good union men". And"........have contributed greatly to the labor movement of this country". Personal correspondence, letter from Carl Keller, October 16, 1941.

42. The Western Lumber Company mill, considered by the workers to have maintained more liberal labor policies than the A.C.M., was not struck.
After two months of such activity, the strike was acknowledged lost, and Finnish workers found themselves, as in 1908, out of employment.

Inconsequential as this demonstration appeared, it was actually a precipitant cause, aggravating, and aggravated by, other critical circumstances, of the historical denouement of the Finnish community here. In the face of the current national anti-strike war sentiment the local Finns, whose socialist activities had already lowered their status, now appeared in the eyes of mill officials, as well as of the public, to be aligned with the I.W.W., then the most "unamerican" of the American labor movement. Furthermore, the leaning of Finnish sympathies toward Germany in hope of Finland's independence, at that stage of the war, was a common explanation for the sudden departure from Milltown of many young Finns who would have been subject to the American military draft.

The situation had developed to a crisis in the position of the Finns in Milltown. The dominant upper class opinion that the Finns were "not wanted" was accepted without dissent, and the prevailing attitudes sanctioned a systematic "weeding out" at the mill, of considerable numbers of Finns who were I.W.W. members or sympathizers. At the same time many Finnish workers and families were leaving voluntarily, attracted by the lumbering and ship-building booms on the west coast. So in the few years following 1918, there was an exodus of Finns from Milltown that exceeded greatly the small number of newcomers, the influx having been curtailed by reduced immigration and poor prospects of employment here.
Only a small devitalized part of the Finnish community was left. With the departure of most of the members and leaders, the Athletic Club died in 1918. The Drama Club disbanded in 1920. During the period which was ushered in by these changes in the community, Finnish-American contact-relations would be drastically altered, and the acculturation process affected.

B- CULTURE-CHANGE DURING THE PERIOD 1900 TO 1920

The period from 1900 to 1920 was historically eventful for the Finnish settlement. The community reached its peak in size and vitality, and its relative position in the contact situation was defined. The initial, revolutionary stage of culture-loss and reconstruction had passed, and a first level of adjustment had been reached. This was, then, a transitional period of less drastic external changes. The culture patterns learned in the first few years were being incorporated—were acquiring associations relating them functionally to the whole developing Finnish-American culture. The first demands for outward conformity had been met, the first eagerness to acquire new articles and modes had subsided, and the original optimism was tempered in spots by disillusionment. So although selective changes continued, they were not so extensive or so radical as those stimulated by the initial impact.

It might be expected that the mobility of much of the population, and especially the inflow of new immigrants facing the first critical adjustments, would alter the psychological and objective aspects of this second, transitional phase, as
well as obscure a distinction between the first, and a following phase. But the new immigrants, arriving individually into the community maturing around the nucleus of original settlers, made the first adaptive changes quickly. And on the whole their influence on the group appears to have been characteristically such as to accentuate some of the phenomena expectable and observable in this period. The increased size of the Finnish community and of the recently immigrated section, together with its peculiar social, philosophic orientation, appear to have strengthened, during the period, the tendency to react to the contact-relations and to the sweeping changes just undergone, by reconstructing and intensifying certain popular group-expressions of Finnish national life. This form of ethnical identification with the mother country in group activities was a means of salvaging emotionally the group status, and thereby protecting the individual's status, as well as a means of filling emotionally the interval between the receding body of old culture lost and the new yet being incorporated.

The relatively large size, compactness, and intense integrated activities of the Finnish community during this period, provided satisfying social relations, which served to stabilize the individual at this time when the first constructive stimulus of getting settled had subsided and, in the absence

43. Linton mentions nationalistic expressions as phenomena of culture change, which, in the acculturative situation involving inferior-superior relations, appear as "a convenient compensatory mechanism". Linton, op. cit., p. 517
of specific positive aims, a state of positivity might have followed and led further to active demoralization. Indeed, there was more evidence of personal disorganization during these years than in those preceding, but in most cases, the individuals involved participated but casually or not at all, in organized group activities.

The strong, isolated community life had the effect of retarding culture-change at those points where Finnish traits were played up by the group. But these were almost exclusively socially-practiced traits—customs of the group assembled and acting together. So Finnish holidays were elaborately celebrated, with as many Finnish details as were reproduceable. Athletic demonstrations, dramatic and music performances repeated the all-Finnish theme. Large-scale hospitality following funerals was extended often to the whole Finnish community. Relatives or friends prepared the lunch, and went from house to house, inviting all Finnish people to keep company with the mourning family at their home, on return from the burial services in Missoula. Weddings were celebrated by an all-Finnish dance at the hall, each guest bringing a wedding present or contributing to a large community presentation. Though individually initiated, the wedding and funeral observances during these years were essentially group-affairs expressive of Finnish solidarity. And in them, as in all formal gatherings, certain Finnish styles persisted, as for example, the separation of men at one side of the room and women at the other.

The emphasis on the ethnical identity of the group, together with the comprehensive social opportunities within
it, kept the maturing second generation from seeking extensive personal relations with outsiders. So the Finnish language, spoken exclusively in all social gatherings, was entrenched with the adult second generation, and the speaking of English by the first generation was rarely extended beyond the necessary business contact with outsiders. Consequently, "in-group" marriages of the second, and of course of the first generation were the rule. Contractants favored, as in the preceding period, marriage within their own generation, but inter-generation marriages were not uncommon as time went on. Up to the year 1920 there had occurred so few "out-marriages"—all, of course, of the second generation—that they could be considered only as exceptions.

Isolated group life gave protection also to the retention of certain more individualized practices which had been partially inhibited under pressure of American disapproval. The crowded dances in the Finnish hall were less discouraging than a purely American setting would have been, to quickness with the pocket-knife. Courtship practices and associated attitudes could likewise be retained with more ease by the young immigrants.

For the most part, individual attitudes on social questions had been shaped by group attitudes, and all were divergent from old attitudes of Finland on only those points espoused by Finnish-American Social Democrats and the radical Finnish-American newspapers, which were read regularly throughout the community.

44. The community was too small during all except perhaps the period now under study, to make thorough comparisons with the findings of Kolehmainen. John I. Kolehmainen, "Study of Marriage in a Finnish Community", American Journal of Sociology, 42: 371-82, November, 1936.
With regard to traits discussed above, the nature of the community life was evidently a factor increasing the resistance to culture-change during these years. It should be clearly observed, however, that the social display of Finnish cultural features was circumscribed, in regard to the areas to be highlighted and also to the extent of identification sought with the purely Finnish. That group-feeling was on the whole more Finnish-American than Finnish, and not entirely indifferent to the conformity-motive, is shown, for one instance, in the general reaction to the name "Finntown Hall". All Finnish people were proud of owning the hall, but as a Finnish-American, rather than as a foreign, group. They were, as one informant expressed it, "awful mad about that name 'Finntown Hall' because it sounded as if this hall was different from other halls".

While the traits mentioned above were perpetuated as a result of group-activity, there were other culture elements being retained without perceptible change, which, it may be assumed, would have persisted by their own strength in the habits of individuals, independently of group-action. These were Finnish patterns having moral, hedonistic, or sentimental value to the individual, and included the Finnish bath, cleanliness of housekeeping and personal habits, abundant use of coffee in the Finnish style, a siesta following the noon meal, daily reading of several Finnish newspapers, the designation of several pairs of sponsors at baptism, scrupulous honesty with money, and distaste for debt.
Apart from the perpetuated Finnish traits, cultural changes were progressing, generally along the lines initiated in the beginning stage of the contact, and independently of group-activities. Like the latter class of retentions mentioned above, these changes were largely of concern to the individual, and could be made individually without concerted group-action, though collectively the results showed a generally uniform direction. Utility and conformity continued to be the primary motivations. From its narrow beginnings, the desire for conformity grew to embrace a desire for identification with American life in all its aspects.

Among such individually actuated changes may be noted the continued acquisition of new articles of household convenience. The constant thrift of most families, and the extreme desire of both men and women to own and beautify their homes, appear to have kept them abreast, or even ahead of other nationality groups, including similarly-placed Americans, in the procurement of modern household appliances. The Finnish homes of 1920 used prized articles brought from Finland, such as copper kettles and coffee services and home-woven blankets. But otherwise they were up-to-date, according to local American standards for that economic class.

The single men generally spent their earnings in the liberal manner of young Americans. The young Finns who dominated the community social life dressed in the latest styles. As soon as their savings permitted, they acquired fine gold watches from the traveling salesmen who enjoyed a lively business in Milltown once or twice a year.
In home-cooking and meal-planning, American foods, conveniently available, were taking a larger place. The result was a richer, more extensive diet. In the boarding houses, particularly, American meat dishes and pastries were provided to meet the tastes of the traveled young Finns and a few boarders of other nationalities. But the methods of cooking were predominantly Finnish, and certain Finnish dishes persisted as indispensable parts of the menu: clabbered milk, Finnish cheese, fish stew, rice "soup" cooked in milk, and various fine breads.

During these years, American card games became a favorite pastime with Finnish men and women, old and young. Among the women there were Hilo Whist games every afternoon, and some inveterate players were criticized for neglecting their housework. Besides its intrinsic pleasure, card playing was an expression of "freedom" in America, and a renunciation of former religious prohibitions.

American dance steps, picked up and spread through the whole community, were favored by the second generation. But the Finnish dances were not displaced, for they held the preference of the dominant first generation. The intense social life increased the opportunities for dancing, in both American and Finnish styles. But probably the acquisition of the former and retention of the latter would have gone on regardless of the strength or extensiveness of community activities.

It was during the later years of this period that American newspapers began to appear regularly in Finnish homes. Generally as second generation children attending school after about the year 1912 learned to read well enough, the parents
subscribed for a Missoula paper. The purpose was to provide the children with reading matter, but even more, to learn to read English themselves, with the children's help. The women as a rule spent more time and effort on the newspapers, and surpassed the men in English reading. The American newspaper did not displace the continuous reading of several Finnish periodicals received through subscription, and several others by exchange with friends. But from this time on, opinions might be shaped in part through a directly American medium, and conversance with affairs of common local interest progress, possibly, in the direction of participation.

Another change proceeding at this time from the continued contact, was adoption of modifications in Finnish surnames and given names, by individuals of both first and second generations. This process and its motivation will be analyzed in a later section.

At those points where individuals or families were exposed, as such, to the estimate of non-Finns, the early changes motivated by desire for conformity continued—especially in the informal social customs and proprieties. The growing second generation, if not innovators, were at least indirectly causal in such changes. The younger men removed their hats indoors and when greeting women. Birthdays were observed and Name Days more often ignored. Births were not formally celebrated, except by those few women who yet took satisfaction in the traditional proprieties of well-placed people in Finland, and brought to the new child and mother, presents of food, linens, and dress goods. It was among such women also, that the prestige-bearing custom of
accumulating large stocks of house furnishings, blankets, and linens for their children's marriages, persisted. But except for these few who felt that emigration had lowered their social position, and regretted that Finnish class distinctions did not hold over into the Finnish-American community, the local Finns were losing the meanings, and therewith the forms, of traditional practices which had supported the social system of the old country.

That they were advancing with the times also, is evidenced by changed standards relative to children's labor. In the early years, large and growing families, heavy expenses, and small income, had strengthened the old country patterns of early work and but little schooling for children, with the result that Finnish boys, as well as those of other nationalities, had left school at the age of eleven or twelve to work in the mill. But as time went on and local American standards changed, the Finns became exemplary, of the local nationalities, in permitting no circumstance to keep their children out of school.

That Finnish parents placed high value on schooling, was indicated by the children's punctuality, good behavior, and superior scholarship. But notwithstanding this proven cooperation, it was noted that individual Finnish parents never went near the school house or communicated in any way with school authorities about their children. Undoubtedly it was the Finnish diffidence, intensified here by extreme sensitivity about speaking English, that combined with the old-country concept of State-Church authority in administering education, to bar them from learning yet the American parents' approach to the school. Incidentally observable here is the difference
between the characteristic individual attitude of subordina-
tion and retreat, and the group assertiveness under strong
leadership, as typified by the school board incident.

Significant results of the Finnish children's longer
schooling, were appearing. The early second generation had
learned but little of American traditions in school and they
were closer to the first generation in attitudes and habits.
The later children, though yet in many cases entering school
unable to speak English, were molded there to American stereo-
types, and as the local school Principal 45 has stated "the
school Americanized the home through the child".

So American ways of doing and thinking were impinging
on the Finnish more directly in the homes. And in the rela-
tions of children and parents mild forms of the conflict inher-
ent in this situation appeared. At the children's efforts to
follow school teachers' advice to sleep with open windows,
parents were shocked, and refused to "heat the outdoors". 46

Children preferred to speak English, at least by the
time they had reached the fifth or sixth grade, and some were
inclined to answer their parents in English. Although gen-
erally desirous of improving their own English and using this
opportunity to some extent, the immigrant parents clung to
Finnish as the natural language of the home. For them English
lacked meaning, spontaneity, and directness. And it was emo-
tionally important that their children speak the mother tongue.

45. Mr. William F. Akin has been Principal of the Bonner
School since 1912, except for an absence of two years.

46. This attitude, while strong among the Finns, was of
course not confined to them.
In the majority of homes during this period, the Finnish prevailed, strengthened by the isolation and ethnical assertiveness of the Finnish community, as well as by the dominance of parents, especially the mother, and close affectional bonds within the family. But a growing form of compromise was the children's use of English in conversation with each other, and Finnish with their parents.

In the later years there appeared, also, among some of the second generation, the inclination to regard everything Finnish with distaste, and to deny identification with it. In such individuals the consciousness of cultural cleavages was acute, and the conformity motive more urgent. The second generation were not prepared apperceptively to take emotional satisfaction in the assertion of Finnish traits, by which the first generation were recapturing old values and compensating for group-subordination.

Many of the younger second generation left Milltown with the general exodus around 1920, and released from identification with the old nationality group, were absorbed as native Americans. Most of those remaining in Milltown passed out of the stage of depreciating Finnish culture to an attitude of indulgence, and even appreciation, toward the customs of the older people. These deflective attitudes in the second generation did not go so far as to disrupt the ordinarily close family solidarity, or lead generally to active personal disorganization. In the relatively few cases of disorganization of second generation individuals, the parents themselves showed the same tendency, were among the marginal participants in organized community life, and had even, in outstanding instances, an old country background of disorganizing experience.
The characteristic forms of disorganization will be discussed later.

Of the attitudes of primarily individual concern, those showing, next to the religious, the most change, were in the economic sphere. The desire to own a farm in Finland or next best, in America, was displaced by the hope of getting higher wages, owning a home with good modern furniture, and a bank account. But the American use of long-term, large-scale credit was too incompatible with the old economic techniques to be incorporated. The desire to earn and accumulate money took hold strongly, but seldom extended to an aim to rise socially or occupationally. The change of economic standards was hastened, undoubtedly, by the maturing second generation, and by the advent of an increasing population of immigrants representing the new proletariat of Finland.

Summary of Culture Change from 1900 to 1920. The development of the local Finnish American culture in the years from 1900 to 1920 took generally the same directions and was impelled by the same motives as the selective changes initiated during the earlier period. The complexes of dress, manners, house-furnishings, and, to lesser degree, food, were approaching conformity to American modes, with favorite Finnish items retained therein duplicating American acquisitions. Further, in the process of adaptation, compatible American attitudes concerning the individual's life-organization, especially in the economic sphere, were gradually replacing Finnish attitudes. Of the mass of Finnish culture reconstructed as faithfully as possible during the earlier years, several traits were already
disappearing, usually for lack of meaning here,—notably informal social practices such as recognition of births. But certain reproduced traits, of hedonistic or continued sentimental value to the individual, such as the sauna, persisted strongly. These cultural acquisitions, modifications, inhibitions, and retentions, were activated by primarily individual motives, independent of the character of formal group activities.

At the same time a contrary motion strengthening selected Finnish social practices, was activated by group reaction to the situation of culture loss and social, cultural subordination. In the group aggressiveness, highlighting such Finnish traits as sports, drama, and social solidarity, the individual was protected and emotionally gratified. But alone, the individual was on the defensive, pressed by the demands of conformity, as well as by practical motives.

C. INDIVIDUAL DISORGANIZATION DURING THE PERIOD 1900 to 1920

The active organizational life of the Finnish community during the twenty years after 1900, and its value in stabilizing the participating individual, have been considered. There should be some study now, of the points at which the existing social mechanisms and reconstructed cultural values failed to withstand the stress upon the individual in the critical situation of general culture break-up and the lack of suitable techniques.

Personal disorganization never extended to a large proportion of the community, nor did its effect upon one or two phases of the individual's life usually spread to the whole personality. The only symptom of instability which
might be noted as at all extensive was an unpredictable, and in some cases irresponsible, reaction to American liberty, which meant to the immigrant at this time, chiefly the release from organizational controls of the old country, and was not yet defined according to American standards. But this lack of suitable interpretations did not usually reveal itself beyond negative attitudes, and but rarely took an overt form.

The comparative mildness and slight extent of personal disorganization here is attributable to several factors besides the central external factor of a comprehensively satisfying and controlling group organization. First, in this small, compact group, the strong "racial" solidarity feeling of the Finns, independently of formal activities, drew the individual out of his aloneness into some consciousness of protection and responsibility. Any conspicuous infraction of law or morals,

47. Thomas observes that in the lack of solidarity the immigrant "feels himself here in a human wilderness". Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 292. This appears to have been an important one of the factors arising from the size and nature of the Milltown settlement, --socially rural rather than urban,--which were effective in counteracting and checking the development of potentially disorganizing elements which were existent here in the immigrant situation as in that of the Polish Peasants. Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 290-93.

Kutak in his study of a Bohemian-American village, accounts for the absence of demoralization there on the general basis of a rural environment. That there was less evidence of personal disorganization in the Bohemian community than among the Finns in Milltown, may be explained partially by the absence of economic and social group-subordination in the former, occupied almost entirely by Czechoslovakians, and freedom from the resultant superiority attitudes. Robert I. Kutak, The Story of a Bohemian-American Village, Chap. XIII.
even by migrant Finns or those few families who remained outside the Socialist-dominated activities, was generally felt to be detrimental to the whole Finnish nationality, and rarely did the individual lose entirely, or escape having pressed upon him, this consciousness. But solidarity held strong also in protection of the guilty individual: no Finn would identify his countryman as the offender in a saloon fight investigated by law officers, and in the few cases where Finns were suspected or found guilty of more serious crimes, no evidence was forthcoming from Finnish sources. Solidarity in the home also, as observed above, stabilized the second generation against demoralization. Another possible factor checking disorganization was the habits of hard work and thrift, together with the desire to earn money, which persisted in spite of the break-up of the old occupational patterns and in the face of intermittent unemployment during slack seasons at the mill, when a living had to be sought from casual labor. Further, while the organized activities of the socialists produced order and integration in group-life, the individual's acceptance of the socialist ideology was undoubtedly effective in controlling disorderly tendencies, and in composing the personal life around central idealistic aims.

Drunkenness was the most common excess, especially among the migrant single men. And the drunken Finn was easily provoked to fight. Individual fights with fists and saloon furniture and the continued appearance of knives were nightly incidents, and even more common were the "gang
fights", of several Finns against several outsiders,—
frequently Irish. The Finns' use of liquor, and their drunk-
en fighting were not newly acquired in America. But old
tendencies were undoubtedly strengthened by the consciousness
of "freedom" here, the procurability of liquor in convivial
surroundings, and the hope of temporary recapture of the emo-
tional fullness and spontaneity lost from the immigrant's life.

A considerable number of young Finns learned to gamble
in poker and blackjack games operated by the saloons, and
frequently lost their week's earnings. But adoption of the
habit did not lead to general economic demoralization or
break-down of work attitudes. Only in rare instances was
gambling accompanied by extreme poverty or by un-Finnish
looseness in contracting debts.

The relatively few crimes of violence, including the
several shootings in which Finns were implicated, were caused
directly by drunkenness or gambling, and on the impulse of
anger, without strong motives. And nearly all were committed
in association with, and against non-Finnss,—an indication of
the absence of deep-seated conflict. 43

43. Thomas observed among Polish peasant immigrants, the
socio-psychological distinction between crimes, within the
group and those committed by the individual outside the
group. He observed, further, in the typical peasant
attitude of mistrust of strangers, aggravated to "implicit
hostility" by the immigrant's situation here, the back-
ground of crimes of violence provoked by trivial wrongs
271-93. The Finnish attitude of mistrust of strangers
appears to have been even more extremely developed, both
in Finland and America.
The excessive card playing by many Finnish housewives in the years after about 1910, should be noted as a possible consequence of the loss of old habits of constant work and economic responsibility on the Finnish farm. Here, even with children and a few boarders, the housewife's work took much less time, and was of less creative interest and direct economic importance. The loss of function was filled in with whist playing, which, as mentioned above, was also a pleasant experience of "freedom". But though often delaying their tasks for a card game, the Finnish housekeepers did not lose what remained of the function, and appear to have kept their homes up to the high Finnish standard of orderliness.

There were a few married women, also, who showed a tendency to step over the strict Finnish restraints of marital fidelity, and became questionably familiar with single or married men, to the shock and disapproval of the community. But even in such instances the break-down of a determinative attitude did not spread to further instability, for these women continued to care well for their homes and children.

More open and extreme were the several cases of sexual immorality among single girls of the second generation. It should be noted that the two or three girls whose looseness extended to frank promiscuity abhorred by community opinion, were

49. Thomas's detailed analysis of this situation explains, partially, the extensive disorganization among Polish peasant women in the American city. Here again, the same elements of disorder were inherent in the Finnish immigrant situation, but demoralization did not develop. Ibid., Vol. V, pp.211-13.
from families which had remained outside, or at least on the margin, of participation in organizational affairs, had sunk to a low social level in the Finnish community, and were suffering most the effects of disorganization which extended in some form to every one of the family including the parents.

That sexual excesses among the unmarried second generation were not extensive is remarkable, considering that adoption by the immigrants of American patterns, necessitated discard of the Finnish at divergent points, and that the process had not gone so far as to provide first generation parents, with fully established sets of American attitudes to pass on to their children. So many homes were hardly ready to impress on children the American standards learned in school and in other contacts, and furthermore, they left untaught the old restraints attached to the Finnish patterns. Consequently, the second generation maturing at that time were subject less to a loss of suitable attitudes than to a lack of them from the beginning. The disadvantage was aggravated, of course, in homes having only one parent, or some other abnormal condition, not to mention those affected by personal disorganization in various forms.

Sexual excesses of Finnish men were apparently no more extensive than those of women. Men are not included in the consideration of sexual disorganization for the reason that

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50. This exemplifies, in mild form and in one phase, the general background of second generation delinquency, described by Thomas as "a-moral" - Vol. V, pp.294-96.
the "double" interpretation of American sex standards, and, to a lesser degree, of Finnish standards, eliminated the necessity for drastic changes from Finnish to American rules in the practice of single men, and reduced the Finnish-American social disapproval, and thus the main disorganizing effect, of the relaxation of the Finnish standards by married men. As for the single immigrant women, some individual retention of Finnish practices in Finnish moderation was not demoralizing, providing that the individual was able to adjust to circumstances requiring secrecy or inhibition, and maintain the appearance of conformity to American rules. However, in most cases the living arrangements were such as to necessitate the discard of Finnish forms.
CHAPTER VI.

FINNISH-AMERICAN CULTURE-DEVELOPMENT FROM 1920 TO THE PRESENT

A-HISTORICAL SKETCH

In the years immediately preceding and following 1920, the departure of a large number of Finns from Milltown ⁵¹ left the hitherto integrated Finnish community shattered and form­less. The people remaining were generally long-settled first generation families, whose middle-age and conservative, or at least cautious, inclinations were preclusive of their taking leadership in any revival of the socialist-inspired activities which had apparently been contributive to the catastrophic "weeding out" and dispersion of the community.

The Athletic and Dramatic Clubs were gone, and with them much of the gaiety and glorification of Finnish national life. Entertainments diminished for lack of energetic promotion. Frequent dances and occasional card parties survived as the main social affairs enlivening the "Finn Hall", and through them and parties given by individuals in private homes, the minimum satisfactions of association and solidarity were re­tained. But the coherent group aggressiveness was lost, and the group spirit enervated. In the absence of leaders, the exhilaration of Socialism and the zeal for immediate local reform in behalf of the workers, subsided into a patient phil­osophy for which reading the "Industrialisti" ⁵² and discussion with like minded friends sufficed.

⁵¹. Cf. ante, pp. 110-11

⁵². "Industrialisti", a weekly I.W.W. newspaper founded in 1917 and published in Duluth, Minnesota, was the most widely circulated radical Finnish-American paper in Milltown.
The Finnish Workers' Club remained, with about half its former membership, and its program contracted to mainly the sponsorship of an all-Finnish party once or twice a year, and the business of giving dances and card parties. With the generous returns from these affairs, plus membership dues, the organization at first continued its policy of donating liberally to strikes, workers' publications, and Finnish Socialist projects scattered throughout the country. But before many years passed, an opposition opinion grew among leading members, favoring a limitation on funds sent away, and the retention of enough to finance local emergencies and better upkeep of the hall. Aside from what might be said for the wisdom of the newly developing view, it indicated here, a further subsidence of socialist ardor and the settling of interests into local, personal affairs. And the club, though yet tied organizationally to the Work People's College and its aims, became more and more a local social club, meeting perfunctorily, and holding together not so much even for its recreational function as for its trust of the Finnish hall, the visible and emotional center of what remained of local Finnish community-solidarity.

Disintegration of community life was further evidenced by the disappearance of formal large-scale all-community celebrations of Finnish holidays. Such observances of May Day and St. John's Day had been discontinued by the year 1920. These holidays were marked thereafter, but only with small picnics of informal groups of friends. Within a few years after 1920 the all-Finnish Christmas Eve and New Years Eve celebrations at the hall were abandoned in favor of parties at private homes.
The social observance of funerals in the Finnish manner also lost its community character after 1920. No longer were all Finnish residents of Milltown invited to the mourning family's home for refreshments following the funeral, but rather, only a circle of relatives, pallbearers, and intimate friends. Only the general attendance at the funeral services in Missoula remained to express nationality solidarity on such occasions. The wedding dances continued, however, and to these all Finnish people were invited. Such affairs were not incompatible with American custom, and partially for that reason they were entrenched as a Finnish-American social form. Following the same pattern, wedding anniversary parties given by friends in honor of the older couples and attended by all the first and part of the second generation came into vogue.

A Finnish feature noted in the preceding years, namely the separation of men from women at public gatherings, began to disappear after 1920. First generation men and their wives came and sat together at meetings, and mingled at dances. This rapid change in style is indicative of the effect of the break-up of group-insulation at this time, and the resultant increase in the assembled group, of the desire for conformity and identification with American modes.

Except for the occasional wedding and anniversary celebrations, formalization in social activities diminished. Association, aside from informal dancing, was confined within small circles differentiated on the basis of congeniality, kinship, or surviving ties in a common native Finnish province, or, to increasing extent, according to the levels of economic and personal substantiality attained in Milltown. However,
the underlying feeling of nationality solidarity expressed in occasional social affairs, was manifested also in emergency assistance given to individuals in trouble, and in a general disapproval of any misdeed casting reflection on the Finnish nationality.

Emotional deprivations were undoubtedly suffered by individuals, from the decline of the organized community, but not to the extent of increased personal disorganization. In fact, the few cases of violent crimes implicating Finns, and of sexual immorality during these years, were only continuances of conditions involving the same few persons who had shown long-standing demoralization along the same lines, and whose participation in formal activities had never been more than marginal. Drunkenness and gambling decreased with the exodus of young single Finns, and the closing of saloons in Milltown. But the prohibition restrictions brought other, more highly esteemed Finnish family men into conflict with the law. Several of them made a financial success of the secondary occupation of bootlegging, and a larger number brewed beer and kept enough hard liquor for themselves and friends. The fact that several leading Finns were arrested for such offenses is indicative of disorganization hardly more of their attitudes, than of the prevailing American attitude with which they conformed. The Finns also ignored rather generally, the fishing-and game-law restrictions. But their evasions never extended to waste of game for the sake of shooting, nor exceeded the general local disregard of such laws.
As the Finnish group was reduced in size, cohesion, and assertiveness, as labor and socialist agitation died down -- further silenced by the Company practice of separating and scattering the Finnish workers among other nationalities at the mill -- and as the same families stayed on with no influx of new "wild" Finns, there was developing a new accommodation-level, in which the volume of protest against the Finns by Bonner people, and the Milltown prejudices derived therefrom, diminished. Old antagonisms were weakening, despite such temporary set-backs as the stir caused by a school teacher's informing the geography class that the Finns were part of the "Mongolian race", whereupon a Finnish delegation called on the school board in such indignation that the teacher was admonished to teach geography with more tact. Indicative of changing relations at this time was the representation of two leading Finnish families among the few public officers of Milltown: an immigrant served on the school board, and a superior man of the older second generation was appointed substitute sheriff's deputy.

Although lines of social cleavage remained to confine the highly placed people in each nationality group, they were lines now that could be crossed over, informally, and at some points. Increasingly contributive to the lessening of group-isolation, were the effects, gradually appearing, of the lengthening and spatially proximate contact. For twenty or thirty years past the oldest families of various nationalities had lived here side by side and were advancing into casual back-fence acquaintance over the barriers of group prejudice and faltering speech. It should be noted though, that this progress was
hardly considerable for social results until after the appearance of the more decisive, external, factors considered above, and that the social influence of familiarity between individual immigrants was accelerated by, rather than causal to, the latter factors.

As though in response to the weakening of group-lines, and in anticipation of further progress, the County-Branch Librarian in Missoula proposed the construction, in 1920, of a library building in Milltown, to serve also as a community house. Officials of the Anaconda and the Clark mill offered to give the lumber. At a mass meeting of Milltown residents, committees for fund-raising and for construction were elected, representative of all nationalities. Entertainments, sales, raffles, were promoted for the financing of construction, and all the labor was donated. In this first community enterprise Finnish people participated as generously as any group, especially in the work of construction, where their skill was valuable. The main library room was designed to accommodate a large party, and the adjoining kitchen equipped for serving lunches. During the period immediately following its completion, the building was valuable chiefly as enhancing the library service, and as used occasionally by separate groups for their social gatherings. Its possibilities as a community center were not yet to be realized.

In the years following 1920 the tendency toward group mingling was carried much farther by the second generation, of course, than by their elders. Remaining longer in school, and in later years attending the Missoula High School together, they developed closer and more effective personal contacts.
As young people left Milltown from all nationality groups,—though none so extensively as the Finnish,—some of those remaining sought out companions of their own age, regardless of nationality. This movement among the Finnish second generation was stimulated by loss of a majority of their number, by decline of the formalized group-life, and, in some cases, by the aspirations of individuals who had excelled in school and hoped on the basis of further achievement to advance socially, unhindered by foreign associations. At this time, generally, the inclination grew among the second generation to deny and avoid everything Finnish, notwithstanding the fact that the nationality was rising in local esteem. Some of the girls, obtaining employment at housework in Missoula, associated with non-Finnish young people there. And for all young men and girls working in Bonner, use of the automobile, and street car service to Missoula, extended the opportunities for recreation and for mingling with non-Finns,—especially at the public dance halls.

An important result of all these conditions, and directly of the mingling of second generation individuals with outsiders, was evident soon after the year 1920, in the increase of mixed marriages. Until 1920 second generation marriages with non-Finns had been rare. In the first five years following 1920 the proportion of "out-group" to "in-group" marriages were about equal, but within the next five years,—by 1930,—the former greatly exceeded the latter, and thereafter all-Finnish alliances were exceptional. 53 It should be observed that such development

53. Missoula County Clerk's records are partial authority for these conclusions, supplemented by facts supplied by Finnish informants, relative to marriages not recorded in Missoula.
would probably have proceeded much more slowly, had not external mechanisms intruded, to change within a few years the size and nature of the Finnish group and its outside relations. The first out-marriages favored Americans of various mixed nationality origins. They were generally not residents of Milltown, and had met the Finnish contractants in Missoula or some other nearby town. As time passed, mixed marriages with local non-Finnish young people took place more often, the result of long association here.

With but few exceptions, first generation parents preferred always that their children marry within their own nationality. But unprepared as they were for the sudden increase of mixed marriages, they received the new "in-laws" generously, over the impediments of their self-conscious, broken English in which, of course, spontaneity was sacrificed. These marriages did not alienate the second generation from their Finnish parents: rather, close family relations


55. "First generation" refers here as elsewhere, to persons who immigrated as adults, and not to the few who came as young children and grew up here.
were enlivened by frequent visiting and the interest in new grandchildren.

Nevertheless, the presence of English-speaking "in-laws" necessitated adjustments in the informal associations of the older people. New Years Eve, for instance, could not well be observed with family and friends together, for the first generation friends did not much enjoy English-speaking parties. So Finnish gatherings, if successful, were promoted by those who had no non-Finnish relatives to invite.

As mixed marriages of Finnish with local non-Finnish young people took place, they forced some change of formal social practice in the Finnish and other nationality groups: the old all-Finnish wedding dance became a mixed affair, for the social circles of both contractants. One of the first such occasions, reminiscent of the lavish style of Finland, was the double wedding in 1927 of two sons of a leading Finnish family, one of them to a local non-Finnish school teacher. The Finnish parents entertained sixty guests at a wedding dinner, and in the evening gave a dance in a large rented dance hall for four hundred guests, who represented all groups of Milltown. Every person of Finnish nationality was invited.

This spectacular affair, privately given, set a standard too high for many families. So for most mixed wedding dances, the plan followed by previous all-Finnish parties was adopted. Relatives or friends, usually on the Finnish side of the marriage, circulated among the acquaintances of the couple an invitation to attend and contribute toward presentation of a gift or purse. In some cases part of the expense of refreshments also came out of the fund collected. The Finnish hall, and
usually accordion music were available without charge. During the few years after 1920, and largely as a result of mixed marriages, Finnish women adopted the style current among other local groups, of giving engagement showers to prospective brides, and "baby showers" to prospective mothers—usually limited to the first child. These were informal parties given in private homes by relatives, and attended by close friends of the honored guest.

Beyond the wedding formalities, and the reciprocal acceptance of the two contractants of a mixed marriage into the family circle of each, there was little or no social mingling of the first generation Finnish and non-Finnish families involved. Furthermore, the Finnish contractants, while preserving their own family ties, withdrew generally from association with all other Pians, and established social identification with the native-American or other nationality group.

B—CULTURE—CHANGE FROM 1920 TO THE PRESENT

Change in Formal Social Practices. The effect of accelerated social changes on local customs was at some points almost immediate. The fervid group assertions of national pride in Finnish drama, speeches, songs, sports, gymnastics, went now unexpressed, and were to live only in the sentiments of the individual. So also the Finnish holidays lost their national color and emotional value. When observed only in the form of small picnics, and before ten years passed,—by 1930,—the picnics also had disappeared, to leave nothing
but memories of St. John's Day and May Day. Informal New Years Eve parties, with melted lead and other fortune-telling devices, and Finnish-American food and drink, survived chiefly for the reason that the holiday was also American. This celebration never carried as much Finnish nationalistic significance as the others, and the parties enjoyed to the present day by twenty or more first-generation friends, differ from all-American New Years Eve only in the language and a few Finnish "extras". The Christmas Eve celebration became a family, and in most cases, an English-speaking affair. Before many years passed, the older people who entertained many grandchildren, added an American Santa Claus costume to their Christmas equipment.

Likewise, the Finnish funeral proprieties, having lost their community character, retained insufficient meaning for consistent survival in the form of cakes and coffee served to intimate friends. Also, as they became individual affairs, unprotected by group assertiveness, the characteristic individual consciousness of non-conformity with American modes arose to discourage retention. For the families having non-Finnish "in-laws", the practice was out of the question. But it did not disappear completely. Every few years, and even to an instance in the present year of 1941, some first-generation family has revived the custom in its simplified form within a small intimate circle of friends. A few of the first generation are still reluctant to discard the practice, for they appreciate its value yet in comforting the mourning family and honoring the departed, and they consider it proper at least to serve "a treat" to the pallbearers. Even they observe, however,
that nowadays automobiles have so shortened distances for out-of-town funeral guests, that their entertainment is not necessary. The practical basis, and the main social importance of the custom have thus been lost. The persistence of several of its minor functions, unreplaced by American forms, accounts for its continued recurrence in scattered instances.

The above-discussed traits were generally discarded soon after the year 1920 because they were social functions, meaningful only in concerted group action. As they had thrived in community strength, they died out now with its dispersion. Certainly they would have been subject to change or eventual discard as continued group practices. whenever they failed, or were no longer needed, to serve the emotional ends for which they had been reproduced. But the development here was induced by external events, and was, to all appearances, premature.

Changes in Individual Practices. The degree of intensity of centralized group activity was not observed in this or the preceding period, to have affected directly those culture patterns which were initially of individual concern. But to some extent the numerical reduction of the group, and to much larger extent, its age- and generation-- composition as modified in the later years, did plainly bear upon the change of individual practices, both in direction and tempo. As a large number of the first generation moved away and new immigrants ceased coming in, and as those remaining of the second generation matured, the Finnish population, heretofore
composed predominantly of first generation adults, now became a more equal balance of second, with first generation adults. Further qualitative change resulted from the abrupt increase of mixed marriages.

As an aid to evaluating these factors in recent cultural developments, the present-day composition of the Finnish population should be considered now in detail. From the total of 300 in 1920 the exodus of Finns continued until there remained in 1940, only about 130 persons. These represent three generations as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First generation</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second generation</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Generation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of all-Finnish parentage</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of mixed Finnish and other parentage</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first generation is composed of twenty-six men and twenty-one women, all past middle-age, thirty of the forty-seven being over sixty years old and only seven being under fifty years. They represent thirty-two separate households. Forty-four are now or were married to first generation Finns. There have been five remarriages among them, and two divorces, and all contractants were Finnish. Three of the younger first generation are married to second generation Finns.

The second generation, about equally men and women, include twenty-three single persons distributed regularly between the ages of twenty and thirty-five years, with only three under fifteen years. The thirty-three married persons, only slightly older, range from twenty-five to forty years.
Analysis indicates the predominance of mixed marriages in the second generation:

- Second generation individuals married to non-Finns: 22
- Second generation individuals widowed, or divorced from non-Finns: 2
- Second generation individuals married to first generation Finns: 3
- Second generation individuals married to second generation Finns (3 marriages): 6

The third generation, children of Finnish and mixed marriages, are all under 15 years of age.

While the aging first generation have remained apart and settled into habits which will not greatly change in the future, the second generation, mingling with and marrying outsiders, have succeeded in becoming almost indistinguishably modern Americans. The Finnish language and most of the yet-surviving Finnish customs have been weakened by disuse in a rapidly increasing section of the second generation. However, a few traits persist, generally, to be practiced by these, and more intensely by a considerable number of second generation individuals who remain single in their parents' homes, as well as by those few who made Finnish marriages. These most persistent traits will be observed in the course of the following review of recent culture changes and their incidence upon the divergent categories of Finnish-Americans.

In recent years and into the present, the American materials acquired in the earlier years were being incorporated --gathering associations which correlated them into a whole way of living. As the acculturative process matured, it bore increasingly upon the remaining structures of Finnish traits that had been reproduced extensively here in the early years, and it pressed further into discard those Finnish
elements and techniques marked off as incompatible or unneeded.

But the question of their incompatibility should be considered not in relation to purely American culture, but rather, to the ever-changing body of Finnish-American culture, composed predominantly of American materials, but functioning in association with an apperceptive background of Finnish experience. The whole of Finnish culture may be said to have survived in the interpretation and functioning of the new, for no part of the old could be expected to disappear from memory within the life of a generation. So probably no Finnish trait has yet been completely discarded: not only does it function with all the old in the meanings and modes of all the new, but furthermore, it may be specifically retained in some phase of practice, or even crop out here and there in the old form. This may be observed in the present-day life outlined below. Also to be seen, though less plain, are Finnish modes in the functioning of acquired American articles.

In external appearance, it was noted that the Finnish immigrants long ago conformed to American standards. Nowadays, as middle-aged and elderly people, they keep up with the styles in dress, as well as any in Milltown. Perhaps the women display less jewelry than certain other immigrants. They go

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55. Thomas and Znaniecki observed the uniqueness of Polish-American culture: Although "composed of elements of purely Polish and purely American origin," it "does not leave these elements to subsist in their purity and isolation but melts them into a new and unique combination to which it gives its own stamp". Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vcl. viii, pp.
bareheaded now in good weather, for informal visits in the neighborhood, or even between Milltown and "the Flat. But in winter, some women yet wear the *huivi* to carry water and do other outdoor work, and sometimes in stormy weather, to visit close Finnish neighbors.

Although automobiles are now owned by many first-generation families, the luxury did not catch on as extensively or as soon among the immigrant Finns as among Americans or some other nationalities of similar economic status.

It is into house-owning and -furnishing, rather than clothing or automobiles, that Finnish expenditures above subsistence appear to have gone,—a tendency observed from the earliest acquisition of American articles. Finnish homes of the first, as well as the second generation are furnished with conscious pride, and there are but few that do not display, besides new refrigerators, radios, and other electrical appliances, a recently acquired piece or set of late-style furniture. Improvement of the home has become a primary source of hedonistic, and of prestige satisfaction. Finnish immigrant women clean their modern houses as relentlessly as they scrubbed the Finnish farm house. The second generation housekeepers, though holding to their mothers' cleanliness, have no such grim energy.

There is little or no gardening or beautification of Finnish yards or of any other yards or streets in Milltown-proper, for the water supply is carried from neighborhood wells, houseowners renting their lots, as when they first
settled here, from the company. The Flat, where residents own their land, presents a different appearance. Many homeowners have installed electric pumping systems from which water is piped directly to their homes, and to those of others, who may use the system cooperatively. The apparent results are more indoor plumbing, gardening, lawns, and trees.

In food and cooking the persistence of Finnish elements and the divergence of the generations is considerable. The menu in first generation homes may be described as Finnish-American: it is mainly American in content, prepared by modernized Finnish techniques, and varied often with certain favorite Finnish dishes. The women make all their excellent breads, of rye mixed with other dark flours, baked in round loaves laid flat on the bottom oven-plate as in Finland, or of white flour sweetened and shortened, to make the various fine biscuits classed as nisua, which when served to guests with coffee yet carry undoubted prestige above the more elaborate American cakes. Clabbered milk remains an almost every day dish, made from dairy milk delivered in bottles. And the first milk of every newly fresh cow goes to the early bidder for the luxury cheese laipa juusto. Rice is eaten more than by average Americans, usually as a soupy porridge cooked in milk. The Finnish combination of fish, potatoes, and onions creamed in milk and butter is baked often in the modern casserole. Fish are salted for winter use whenever the supply on hand exceeds immediate needs.

Of the second generation housewives, a few bake their bread, and in Finnish style, but probably more do not. Those having Finnish husbands serve the above-mentioned dishes
occasionally, but rather as extras than essentials. Those married to non-Finns omit all Finnish dishes, except where the tastes of Swedish husbands coincide with the Finnish. Non-Finnish wives have learned a few techniques preferred by their husbands—notably the Finnish method of cooking rice—but their menus are all-American. Weekly, the older Finnish women can be seen taking loaves of freshly baked bread to married sons and daughters. And the latter, stopping in at the parents' home, help themselves from the bowl of clabbered milk in the refrigerator. Though childhood tastes remain, the rather passive retention by the second generation indicates probably a further recession of Finnish food characteristics in succeeding generations.

The coffee-drinking custom persists in much the same form as in Finland, and perhaps more intensely, due to its availability here. It is drunk upon arising, in mid-morning and afternoon, sometimes in the evening, and is served to callers at all times. Besides, it is used with breakfast, and often other meals. When taken alone it is accompanied by a cube of sugar held on the tongue, but with food, the sugar is stirred in. The second generation are holding to their coffee habits and have in many cases increased its use, before breakfast and between meals, by non-Finnish husbands and wives, and even relatives-in-law. The latter do not adopt the cube sugar feature. Third-generation children are generally not learning liberal use of coffee as early as their parents did, and it seems improbable that the Finnish custom will be so extensively retained among them. But for the present, it functions strongly within the group, in the contexts of both food and hospitality.
and has spread in at least the former function to outsiders.

The pleasant habit of taking a siesta after meals, especially at noon, survives partially in the first generation, though its primary value — to break the long farm work day — is lost. The older people retire after Sunday dinner for an hour's nap, and the men, even when they carry lunch to the mill, lie down there when possible for a few moments of sleep. This custom does not appear to any extent in the second and third generations.

The first generation have settled into the everyday occupational patterns of Milltown. The men are confirmed mill and lumber-yard workers. Their old secondary skills with knife and ax are unused, except for occasional handy work at home.

The elderly men seldom now go hunting or fishing. Though known always as experts, they absorbed but little of the sportsman's zeal, and as they grow older, prefer to get their meat and fish by less strenuous means. The second generation are good hunters, carrying on every season with the same persisted intent as their fathers, and with like success. In summer they fish at least as much as average Americans, but bring in, of course, no such great catches as the older men salted down in the early days. The young men, after considerable association with American-stock sportsmen, may show conformity to the latters' approach to the trout stream, but on the whole, their concepts of fishing, and perhaps even more of hunting, resemble naturally their fathers'. The dissimilarity of the surviving traces of economic motive from the recreational is evident at these points: the Finnish fisherman chooses the good days when the trout are striking well, and generally leaves
the fishing on poor days to those who go for sport; he works to catch the lawful limit of fish to take home for a good dinner, with but faint appreciation of the sportsman who tries for the limit, then gives the fish away. As for fishing methods, the Finn frankly, and perhaps more readily, substitutes bait for flies whenever necessary for a good catch, but local American-stock sportsmen do likewise, to such an extent that any distinction between them on that point lies rather in theory than in practice.

The women, who worked hard in Finland and through most of their lives in America, take their present leisure as American housewives with conscious enjoyment. They crochet, read, and do much visiting back and forth. But the daily card games symptomatic of an earlier reaction, have practically disappeared. They retain the old attitudes of independence and equal responsibility with men which attached to the Finnish housewife's economic functions, and in most first generation households the wife cashes the pay check, takes charge of expenditures, orders the wood, and pays the taxes. Women informants explain simply that men are reluctant to transact business because their English is less facile than women's. True as this may be, it is not the whole explanation. The older Finnish women have a noticeable stamina and zest for living, which often surpasses that of their husbands and children. As modern women, they are extraordinarily reposeful and free of tension.

Both men and women live up to the Finnish reputation for honesty, watchfulness in spending money, and abhorrence
of debt. They taught their children "never to sell their name between pay days", and the few of the second generation who married Finns follow this advice. Others have been influenced by the non-Finnish spouse's attitudes, whether for or against use of long-term credit.

The Finnish bath, esteemed only below food and shelter as a physical necessity, stands before all traits in its resistance to change and disuse. Among the first generation the number of bath houses has increased in recent years, the style being for each household to have its own private sauna if possible. They are reproductions in function of the bath house in Finland, with acquired advantages of chimneys in place of smoke holes, electric lights, water piping, modernized stoves, and sometimes a connected shower-bath. They vary from square-shaped to rectangular, and from the newer size permitting only two bathers to stretch out on the shelves, to the large old rooms accommodating four or five, which formerly served the whole community. The small family bath houses are heated quickly, and as often as desired. But in others, the fire is built regularly only on Friday afternoons. Relatives and friends who have no bath house of their own, and outsiders paying a small charge, start coming about four o'clock in the afternoon, and from then until nine or later, the sauna is occupied with alternating groups of men and women. They joke and laugh and switch themselves with bunches of birch twigs. Afterward, the family and friends gather sociably in the kitchen for coffee and cake. Then the following morning the housewife goes to the bath house and scours it fiercely with the scrub.
Brush. Bathtubs have never been common in Milltown, and perhaps partially for this reason the Finnish immigrants are not interested in them. In recent years a few more bathrooms have appeared, in spite of the difficulty and expense of installation, and Finnish families are acquiring them too. But in no first generation home does the "bathroom" contain a bathtub. They explain that a bathtub would never be used, since they have the sauna, which is indispensable to health and to a real feeling of cleanliness. They may use the sponge bath for refreshment, but contempt for it is expressed in the remark that "Finns think they fool themselves with a sponge bath". The second generation learned to like the sauna in childhood and most of them take it regularly. Non-Finnish wives and husbands have been introduced to it, and some have acquired the habit. However, second generation families use their parents' bath houses, and with but few exceptions they state that even if these were not available they would never acquire their own, for to them the sauna is hardly worth the expense of construction and the extra work of caring for it, and generally they prefer to acquire fully equipped bathrooms. It is evident that although the sauna is valued by the second generation as pleasant, cleansing, and healthful, its whole function, with the deep-rooted significance that it holds for their parents, was not transmitted to them. So also among those of the third generation who are learning the habit,—mainly children of all-Finnish parentage,—its persistence will depend
largely on convenience. In the future some of the old bath houses may pass into possession of younger families, and, more probably, there may be an extension of the present beginnings of commercialization. The practice appears firmly enough established to survive in this form through the second and even the third generations.

The sauna is not only the most tenacious of specific Finnish traits, but also it is practically the only one that has been taken to any extent by non-Finns. The motivation on both sides is practically the same: Americans and others, trying it first out of curiosity, continue it more or less regularly as a pleasant, health-promoting habit.

So in at least its commercialized form, the sauna remains and spreads because its utility has not been lost in reproduction here, it is not impractical or incompatible, and its function is not satisfactorily duplicated by anything American. Undoubtedly social distance and prestige considerations have limited its spread locally, especially as it has been confined in form to an intimate family practice rather than an impersonal or commercialized one.

Acceptance by outsiders has been initiated largely through close personal contacts,—a few with the first, but far more with the second generation,—and began noticeably within the last twenty years. It has not proceeded to very extensive adoption, though at present the three or four larger bath houses serve, altogether, about twenty regular non-Finnish guests or patrons. They are predominantly local men millworkers. Higher economic levels of Milltown and Bonner are not represented, but
several professional men and County officials of Missoula have become steady adherents. One enthusiast has built into his Missoula home a model of the Milltown bath house where he was formerly a guest. However, most non-Finns will go no further than use the ready-made baths, as long as they last. Non-Finnish borrowers have been mostly men, their work contacts with Finns extending to a familiar enough basis for adoption of the habit independently of their families, and unaffected by the modesty which would deter many American women.

In contrast to the strongly persistent sauna, and in reference to the assumption that no trait is completely lost within one or possibly two generations, mention should be made of dwindling practices which have been watched from the beginning of the contact, showed early weakness, and yet survive, in greatly modified form or in scattered instances. Older Finnish men continue to carry pocket knives, despite general American discard of the practice. These men are exemplary citizens, and they have not recently, if ever, faced direct need for defensive weapons. Their retention of the pocket-knife appears activated not by deliberate or specific purpose, but rather by persistence of the half-conscious old meanings of the knife for casual use, as well as for self-protection. Knife-fighting crops out, but rarely and sporadically, in the hands of the two or three remaining "knife-men,"—individuals who occupy the social margin, and are callous to local censure. At the other extreme, and equally rare, is the

56. Cf. ante, p. 143.
spectacular family wedding or anniversary celebration, and a proud accumulation of great stocks of household goods, fordistantly prospective marriages of second generation children. More general is the tenacity of certain proprieties: many older men still wear their hats indoors, and remove them only when non-Finnish callers arrive. Name Days are regularly celebrated in several homes. A few children of all-Finnish second-generation parents received four sponsors when baptized quite recently by a visiting Finnish minister. This practice has receded partially through discouragement by the local Norwegian Lutheran pastor, who baptizes most Finnish children. These are, of course, not nearly all of the patterns observed as lingering late in the process of discard. Some others, like the huivi and the funeral "treat", have already been considered. But mention of these here is enough to indicate the range of such elements -- throughout the whole culture -- and the range of this uncomformant conservatism -- through all categories of the group, even to the second generation. These retentions may be attributed to one or more of the usual motivating factors: old habits are not entirely forgotten; some practices are pleasant or recall pleasantness of the past; no adequate substitute has been found. These lapses in the prevailing desire to conform do not, however, clash with the basic prestige-motivation, for some of the practices were foci of prestige in Finnish life, and all except one noted are at least not incompatible or uncompromisable with local prestige. Knife-fighting has been limited, for years, to the few personally demoralized, socially isolated cases where normal prestige considerations are not active.
The acquisition of local American newspapers and learning to read English, begun in an earlier period, increased up to a levelling-off at the present time. Most first generation women, and less easily and extensively the men, read through daily the local American paper for which nearly all subscribe. Only a few of the more elderly and isolated immigrants have failed to master, for practical purposes, the reading of English. Reading has not often extended beyond newspapers, to American magazines, and in only one or two cases do the first generation read any considerable number of English books. A variety of daily, weekly, and monthly Finnish and Finnish-American publications are subscribed for, exchanged, and read as diligently as ever. Very few Finnish books appear, for the old Socialist library in the hall was read through long ago, and no new books are purchased. Most of the second generation learned to read, and some of them to write, Finnish. Now occasionally picking up their parents' Finnish papers, they read with more or less ease. But except for a few, to whom it is as natural as English, the customary reading of Finnish will disappear with the first generation. None of the third generation has learned it.

The spoken Finnish will remain longer. Third generation children in all-Finnish homes can understand Finnish readily and speak it fairly well, although generally they dislike it, refuse to answer their parents in Finnish, and, as they get older, sometimes pretend not to understand. In such homes the parents themselves converse usually in English, even though they
have tried seriously to teach their children Finnish. The second-generation use of Finnish, while less frequent than formerly, and generally limited to conversation with the first generation, is sufficient to remain fluent. The tendency to avoid Finnish except in their own parents' homes is observable among some of the younger second generation, who, following an out-group marriage, have become socially established with non-Finns.

The first generation speak English only when necessary, that is, with non-Finns. With strangers they are extremely sensitive of their broken pronunciation, and afraid of making mistakes. Furthermore they cannot be spontaneous, or as they say, "cannot speak from the heart or feel close" to conversants in English. This self-consciousness and difficulty in learning English, is at the root of much of the clannishness of which they are accused. Yet generally they have been, and still are, very eager to improve their English. When afternoon English classes were offered free to the public in Milltown during several recent years, practically the only attendants were Finnish women. They take pride in such efforts, and feel superior to local illiterates of other nationalities. In general, the Finnish women speak plainer English than the men. And the women who "worked out" in American homes, or elsewhere with non-Finns, speak more easily than those who married early and stayed at home.

The difficulties of learning English, for Finns, proceed apparently from its striking dissimilarities to Finnish. The latter being strictly phonetic, the Finn is lost in the
inconsistencies between English spelling and pronunciation. Several letters and sounds, including b, d, wh, th, sh, ch, are lacking or rarely used in Finnish, and personal pronouns have only one gender. These difficulties arise chiefly in pronunciation. A practically adequate vocabulary has been acquired generally, to the point where American words are inadvertently scattered through conversation in Finnish. American words and idioms, as they were repeated in the recurrent experiences with which they were associated, have been incorporated as parts of those experiences. And in the process of incorporation, going on through thirty or forty years, the experiences and their words have gathered associations and with extended their meanings, or functions. So in their new contexts the American words came to duplicate Finnish words, which had functioned alone before. To continue earlier observations of the word "potato": it appears probable that the transaction of buying potatoes, after many repetitions, became associated with other experiences of potatoes, and the American word entered these contexts; also, the word "potato", used in these contexts by school children, with non-Finnish relatives, and others, became strengthened, or incorporated, with its extended meanings. It may never function as automatically in all contexts as "pottuya", it may be always a second thought, but nevertheless it has become a duplicate in function to the


58. Cf. ante, p. 69.
Finnish word, to an extent depending on the individual's circumstances.

The acculturative process levels off here, with word-duplication yielding the maximum satisfaction. 59 The Finnish language, and the awkwardness of their English, will remain as the principal, if not the only external feature marking off the first generation from native Americans. They cling to Finnish as the means, in the widest sense, of "talking from the heart". The immigrant's language is precious beyond its normal uses, for it invokes satisfyingly the old wholeness of life, and is a bearer of continuity between past and present experience. Further, the Finns, with intensification of the loyalty learned in their Finnish childhood, cherish the mother tongue as an embodiment of their ethnic heritage.

The phenomena of name alterations, arising in the contact of languages, should now be examined. The alteration of personal Finnish names, which became perceptible as a process thirty or more years ago, has developed to the extent that the majority of full names encountered now have undergone some change. It has been an informal, gradual process, rarely legalized, and not necessarily connected with any decisive formality such as naturalization. 60 Surnames have been altered less frequently than given names. Examination of records of the past, and of thirty-two current family names, 61 indicate that generally about 40 per cent of the surnames have been changed and 60 per cent remain unchanged.

59. Cf. ante, p. 69.
60. Cf. ante, p. 90.
61. Bonner School Censuses and School teacher's Class Books, for years 1890-1930, and personal records. Repetition of several names in related and unrelated Milltown families, reduced the present list for study.
The alterations were made by the first generation almost exclusively, the second generation keeping the surname, as modified or left intact by the parents. While the desire for conformance may have encouraged discard of Finnish for American forms, the bulk of the changes represent adaptations to mispronunciation and misspelling of the difficult Finnish names by Americans in all sorts of business and social dealings. The school class books, until recent years, showed Americanization by the teachers, of such names as "Koski", to "Koskey". Incidentally, in the case of this example and others like it, the second generation rejected the teachers' version and kept the Finnish when it had been retained by their parents. With given names, to be considered later, the results were different. The local school censuses show only a rough approximation to Finnish surnames. And even early County records reveal inconsistent spelling. After several years of such garbling in speech and writing, the name had lost some of its integrity to the owner, and become rather an ill-functioning accessory. So then, psychologically prepared, a change would be decided upon, and followed from then on. The most common surname change has been the omission of several syllables, usually at the end, to shorten the name, and yet leave intact its identifying syllables -- in some cases its root. Thus "Kolpponen" became "Kolppa"; "Niemienen", "Niemi"; "Lehtilla", "Lehti"; "Ylikarkjula", "Kari". Such forms, though recognized in America as definitely Finnish, would not appear in Finland as proper names. They are really Finnish-American names. Almost as commonly, the surname has been simplified, to approximate the American mispronunciation and misspelling of it. For
example, "Karkkainen", pronounced with four syllables, was
slurred over by Americans, and then spelled as they pronounced
it, "karkanen". One family adopted this Finnish-American form,
while another, unrelated family, kept the Finnish. Modifications,
by these means of shortening and simplifying, have thus not
taken away all Finnish identity, and they account for most of
the current Finnish-American names. In a few cases, American
names have displaced the Finnish, by translation, for example
of "Maki" to "Hill", or by complete substitution, as from
"Hannila" to "Johnson".

Examination of the 60 per cent of Finnish surnames
kept unchanged, reveals no common motive for retention, or no
certain category to which this phase of conservatism could be
assigned. Some unchanged names, as "Elo", and "Hakola", were
simple enough to escape misuse by Americans, but others must
have caused inconvenience. A number of Finnish names have
been preserved by widows of many years, as well as by a few
families, who have kept to themselves and learned very little
English. But here again, outstanding inconsistencies prevent
generalization.

Given names generally have been americanized in pro-
nunciation and spelling when possible, but in no case studied
has an entirely new name been taken. These names should be
examined by generations comparatively, for although the pro-
cess and nature of alterations have been similar, the names
given children by each generation show the effects of con-
tact. In the table on page 162 the first division, "Finnish
names changeable to American equivalents", includes a large
number of names like "Elma" changeable to "Alma", "Heikki" changeable to "Henry", and others which differ only in pronunciation. It is in this class that practically all changes have occurred, and every name of this kind, appearing in both first and second generation, has been Americanized. The total alterations by the first generation exceed those of the second, because the former had more of these alterable names. The motivation here was the same as for surname changes, but it was strengthened for more rapid accomplishment in the second generation, by closer contacts at school, with constant use of the American form of such names by other children and teachers. In many cases the first-grade teacher had to write in her class-book the spelling of the new pupil's name as it sounded to her, or assume the American form indicated, for Finnish children went up to the school unaccompanied by parents, and many entrants could not speak English. So the teacher would write "Martta" as "Martha", and "Nulo" as "Neil", and thereafter the American form held, except in the child's own home or in the company of the first generation. But Americanized surnames appearing in teachers' class-books were never adopted by pupils whose parents kept the name unchanged, the apparent reasons being the infrequent use of the child's surname, the authority of the family name, and the fact that while the first generation themselves changed every given name possible, they preserved six out of every ten surnames.

In the second class, the typical Finnish names with no American equivalent, such as "Toivo", and "Eno", were all retained. The spelling of a few such names was modified by simplifying "Aarne" to "Arne" and "Jalmari" to "Jalmer", 
but such changes left the name yet more Finnish than commonly American. The third division includes, besides American names foreign to Finland, several names which have Finnish equivalents, as "Charles" (Finnish, "Kolle"), but having been given to children in the American form, they are classified here as American names.

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<th>Distribution of Finnish and American Given Names by Generations.</th>
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<td><strong>Finnish names changeable to American equivalents</strong></td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td><strong>Common Finnish names with no American equivalents</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Common American names</strong></td>
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The Finnish names for which there are American equivalents comprise, as in other languages, a large part of the common stock of names, and they were selected for the majority of the generation born in Finland. But such general names lost popularity when the second generation were named in America, and preference for the small list of typical Finnish names increased greatly. Immigrant parents, in naming their children, expressed their sentimental regard for the home country, vivified by emigration and by the strongly nationalistic group life during the period preceding 1920, when most of the second generation were born. At the same time American names appeared, not surprisingly, along with other American acquisitions in the interests of conformity and new tastes. The third generation, most of whom are children of mixed marriages, have received American names.
While the practice of name-changing has been so widespread as to have affected most full names in all generations, it is important to observe, among the first generation, a distinct limit on the depth of experience into which the American name has been incorporated. All first generation individuals, when speaking to and of each other or the second generation, or some of the third generation, retain the Finnish form of surnames and given names— even their own. The American form has not been adopted into the contexts of Finnish language and all-Finnish associations. In other words, American names have not been substituted for the Finnish in all their functions. This limitation is almost imperceptible in the second generation and will disappear in the future.

In brief summary of the results, the name-changing process has left unaffected more than half of the Finnish surnames. But where incident, it has produced a new form: the Finnish-American surname, adapted to function in America, but yet identifiably of Finnish origin. And this form may in the future displace, by the same means of shortening and simplifying, the more complex of the Finnish surnames yet retained through the second generation. Finnish given names have been Americanized whenever possible, and except for a sentimental reversion to typically Finnish names for the second generation, their direction has been away from Finnish forms, until now there is seen in the third generation no trace, and probably for the future, but little if any trace, of Finnish provenience.
As projected at the beginning of this section, the development to the present time of local Finnish-American customs has been sketched, with consideration especially for the acculturative effects of changes in the age- and generation-proportions in the group, and the increased mingling and marriage with non-Finns. Jutting above the increasingly American materials of the culture, are selectively retained Finnish traits noted now in varying stages of discard, especially in reference to divergent generations. In summary, these may now be classified roughly according to their present status in the process of discard versus retention, as follows: most extensive traits, practiced by the first generation strongly, by the second with qualifications, and by the third casually, if at all, such as the sauna, extra use of coffee, the Finnish language, cooking, and attitudes toward debt; traits retained by the first generation only, as Finnish newspaper reading and the afternoon siesta; traits now practically discarded, but cropping out in spots, as Name Day observances, the etiquette of men's hats, and designation of more than one pair of witnesses for baptism. The sauna and, to less extent, Finnish coffee-use are the only traits taken by Americans.

In the foregoing discussion certain phases of present life, and the development of related social attitudes, were omitted, to be presented below within the context of present day social life in Milltown, where their significance may be better observed as determinative for the future, as regards

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62. Cf. ante, pp. 140-142
the nature of the contact, the acculturative process, and the progress of social fusion.

C-THE PRESENT-DAY CONTACT-SITUATION AS CHARACTERIZED BY SOCIAL LIFE IN MILLTOWN.

In the everyday social life of the Finnish people, the old unity has given place, largely, to small intimate circles based on kinship and personal friendship. A persistent solidarity-feeling, plainly evident yet in common individual attitudes, receives only rare formal expression on such occasions as funeral services, infrequent wedding or anniversary celebrations, or the recent campaign for aid to Finland. The second generation have separated, generally, from the first, in their social identification with non-Finnish circles, marked especially in cases of intermarriage.

First generation friends and neighbors enjoy yet much coffee drinking and visiting together. One circle of elderly couples around whom social activities have always centered, continue now to indulge their love of dancing on every Saturday night when some non-Finnish organization or orchestra gives a dance at the Finnish hall. At such affairs, which are usually impersonal, with only a scattered Milltown attendance, the Finnish people, all experts with American steps as well as the currently popular schottische and polka, dance mostly together, with a seriously intent pleasure which is never seen to break through their characteristic restraint of manner when in strange company.

The Finnish Workers' Club, known unofficially as "Suomi Club" since 1934, exists structurally as incorporated,
but of all its original functions, only that of owning and operating the Finnish hall remains. Social activities under its auspices have dwindled until in the last two or three years, not even the annual party for all Finns has been undertaken. The duties of most of the elected officers are formalized and inconsequential. Incidentally, women are often, as from the beginning, elected to leading offices. Meetings are irregular, often two months apart, and poorly attended. A caretaker and his wife elected from the membership have charge of the hall, rent it, and serve lunch at the dances for which the hall is engaged. Formerly the club treasury financed the refreshments and took the proceeds. But in 1934 this project with its profit, or loss, was given entirely to the caretaker. Under this arrangement the social aspect of the club's one remaining function is reduced also to a minimum.

Considering the lack of zest for the meetings and work of the club, and the drop in Finnish population, the membership continues remarkably high. It totals now, thirty-seven persons — twenty men and seventeen women. Twenty-six are of the first generation, and eleven of the second. Six of the second generation are married to Finns, and two are single, living at parents' homes. While the presence of some of these may be attributed to sentimental interest in the club itself, the membership generally of the second generation, and even partially of the older people, can hardly be explained on that basis. Membership requires, of course, only ability to speak

63. The Secretary is a capable immigrant woman whose mother in Finland, besides being a farm housewife, kept a store in the church village, did the "figuring" for the community, and set up a cooperative village-library in her home.
Finnish, and costs nothing, for dues were suspended some years ago. And members have the privilege of using the hall rent-free for private parties. But the basic purpose of membership appears to be interest in the local control of the hall, and the perpetuation of the club as the agent of ownership. Older members have urged the young people to join for this reason. Until recent years an important factor in the enlistment of members was the lively dispute over disposal of treasury moneys. Among the leading people a line was drawn between those few who favored continuing the socialist-inspired contributions from the treasury to outside causes, and those who wanted all funds kept here, as security in emergencies involving the hall. Second generation membership was influenced by kinship or friendship with older leaders of one side or the other. The local-benefit policy has prevailed in recent years, and its proponents point with pride to the well kept hall free from debt, and to a comfortable treasury.

Although yet formally connected with the Duluth Work People's College, to which ownership of the hall will pass upon its dissolution, the club has shed its original Socialist aims, and thereby cleared away the old disrepute of the hall as a center of radicalism. The building, remodelled last year, by replacement of the large stage by a small orchestra stage to increase the dancing space, functions increasingly now as the respectable Milltown dance-center where organizations of Norwegians, Swedes, and others give their dances, and only a small proportion of the attendants are Finnish. Yet to the Finns, especially the first generation,
the hall has great sentimental and prestige value. They are proud of being the only nationality owning such property, and the older people hope, anxiously, that the younger generation will be interested enough to perpetuate it.

On a small scale the first generation keep alive the sociable Finnish-speaking gatherings. A round of surprise birthday parties started, in 1930, among the women, and grew, during the next five years, to burdensome proportions before they died out. A recently organized Sewing Club, of twelve members, and open to all Finnish women, met every week last winter. However, the tireless initiative of several leading older women has been directed, of late, away from Finnish-speaking parties, which they enjoy by far the most, toward keeping up their end of the recently increasing mixed-nationality affairs of Milltown, to be observed presently, with the development of Milltown community life.

The same women, whose religious sentiments lived through the wave of socialism and revived somewhat on its decline, take pleasure in the Finnish Lutheran services held every few months by traveling Finnish missionaries. The local Norwegian minister's offer of use of his church for services goes unaccepted, for the attendance is so small that a private home is preferred. The first generation men stay away, in persistent contempt of the Church. Whether religious or not, the philosophic turn of Finnish mind is illustrated in the casual greeting of a religiously inclined woman as she passed by the yard of a non-religious

64. Most welcomed is the Rev. Albert Haapanen, President of the Finnish Lutheran Synod, who visits the old friends with whom he boarded in the early days.
country woman, "I see your trees grow fine even if you don't believe in God".

Finnish attendance at the local Norwegian Lutheran Church has increased perceptibly since the coming of the present Missoula-Bonner pastor, who is popular with the Finns, and the use, for the last six years, of English for all services. Most third generation children are baptized, attend Sunday School, and study for confirmation there. Exceptions are children of mixed marriages, who often go to the non-Finnish parent's church in Missoula. The children's participation in the Norwegian Sunday School draws parents and some grandparents to the church. The younger second generation show more of the American attitude of indifference to religion than of the positive Finnish-American antagonism. For this reason, and also because they are not deterred by embarrassment in the company of non-Finns or by difficulties with the English service, the second generation men and women, attend the church more than the older people. However, they are all a long way from thorough-going participation, even if regularly attendant. They have not, except in two or three cases, joined the church, the Ladies' Aid, or the Men's Brotherhood, although visiting Finnish missionaries have advised such identification. A first generation woman explained that, besides the meaning of the English service being lost, the women do not join the Ladies' Aid because "Anyway, that is not a Finn Church". This clannishness of the older Finns, even when religiously inclined, has been sufficient to keep them at a distance. In the case of the second Finnish generation, the cause appears to lie primarily in the clannishness of the elderly Norwegian congregation. These people, who in the early days of their own
isolation, built up the church as a focus of their religious and social life, of their nationality traditions and solidarity and their local status, cannot relinquish all these meanings now. to greet outsiders warmly. So their cool reception of visitors at the church service is enough to discourage the hypersensitive Finns from seeking further participation. Although former group lines are apparently crossed over in a recently increasing cohesion of local Protestants, as separate from Roman Catholics, there will probably not be in the near future, or while the first generation is dominant, any considerable welding together here of the large numbers of Lutherans--Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, into one congregation.65

Before proceeding with discussion of the social participation of the Finnish people in Milltown, the community itself should be further considered, especially the present-day mechanisms and attitudes related to assimilation.

Bonner continues held aloof by some of its society leaders, despite the lessened homogeneity in occupational and economic status of its residents. The Finns still think of Bonner and Milltown as "two separate places". The children have attended the Bonner School together now for a half century, but it is only in the recent years of the third generation that Bonner mothers have ceased to complain about their daughters going to school with "those foreign girls".

Whatever influence the school exerts as a centralizing agency, it is mainly through personal adherence to the Principal, who holds the confidence of all groups. The school lacks several of the modern adjuncts which might extend its social functions. The building has no gymnasium or auditorium which

65. Swedish residents of Milltown join the Swedish Lutheran Church in Missoula.
might draw people recreatively together. Upon completion of the eighth grade, children's activities are transferred to Missoula, where, except for the daily bus ride together, they are dispersed in the impersonally large mass of County High School students, and the adherence of Milltown parents has no community basis. The Bonner school has no Parent-Teacher Association. The popular explanation is that such an organization would have here quite the opposite of a democratizing influence, for some of the women of the "aristocratic" section of Bonner would dominate it, or might even create, by their exclusiveness, the necessity for two separate units. Further, the usual fund-raising and sponsorship activities of such organizations would not be needed here, as the paternalistic generosity of the company functions adequately for incidental school needs.

The absence of girls' organizations, such as Girl Reserves, is explained also on the basis of social distances. However, the Boy Scouts have a troop, which does not exclude Milltown boys, though but few of them join. The organizations of the Norwegian Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches have obviously limited influence on social unification.

Nevertheless, the people of Bonner and Milltown do occasionally act together, with temporary, somewhat artificial unity, in contributing to drives for approved causes like the Missoula Community Chest and the present British Relief work. Under leadership of women in the high circles of Bonner, certain residents of Milltown and the Flat are designated to
lead the campaign within their own nationality group. The
general success of these projects is due both to their authorita-
tive leadership and to the prestige-value which accrues to a
group making extraordinary efforts.

Milltown, handicapped by a heterogeneous population
that has prevented social compactness, is lacking also in other
essentials to strong community development. Tributary to
Missoula, having but few commercial establishments of its own,
and no community responsibilities which ownership of the land
would entail, it lacks the egotism of the forward-looking
town. Nor has it the charm of a neighborly village. Children
and millworkers hurry directly to their homes, and no one lingers
along the dusty, uninviting streets. At night and into the
morning hours, two saloons cater to a handful of Milltown men
and a larger patronage that drifts up the highway from Missoula.
The Riverside Bar has become notorious as a tough-spot receiving
much of the riff-raff driven out of Missoula for entertainment.
Residents are disturbed by the all-night rowdyism, and by cars
driven through fences into their yards. Yet the general dis-
approval of this establishment is not expressed above a whisper,
and no organization or individual steps out with the initiative
to enter a public complaint. Such passivity is characteristic
of the almost complete lack in Milltown, of community vitality.

66. Although residents of the Flat improve their own property,
their community-attitudes are conformant to those of
Milltown-proper.

67. The inability to follow up social opinion with common
action was observed by Thomas as symptomatic of community
disorganization. This weakness in Milltown indicates,
rather, that the community has never been organized.
Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp.45-46.
Among the inhabitants of Milltown and the Flat, there is very little disorder, for the millworkers are now generally in settled families, in contrast to the large boarding-house population of twenty-five years ago. The one representative of organized control is the second-generation Finnish deputy sheriff. This popular young man administers the law with a personal touch, escorting the resident inebriates home at night, and guards the community so well that he is unofficially called "the Mayor of Milltown."

Devoid of community feeling as Milltown appears yet to be, there are signs, in recent years, of incipient movements toward social cohesion, centered increasingly around the Library building, the old community resource which has never been fully utilized. The Bonner-inspired drives for general causes develop common action and stimulate group-initiation of such affairs as the dance sponsored recently by the Suomi Club for the benefit of the County drive for the Crippled Children's Benefit fund, and the small card party of first generation Finnish women for the British Relief fund. Another form is the increased reciprocal cooperation in various projects of benefit to one group, such as the recent Aid to Finland, and to Norway, drives. Leading individuals contribute to such causes in a spirit of give-and-take: "If we help them, they will help us". This polite level of reciprocal patronage, while based on group self-consciousness, moves nevertheless away from group isolation.

The centralization tendency takes a more advanced form in the frequent mixed-nationality social affairs
celebrating weddings, engagements, and prospective births. This custom, which has gained intensity in the last few years, is a natural result of the weakening of all nationality lines by extensive intermarriage. The community wedding dance has grown out of the old all-Finnish celebration which became, with mixed marriages, a mixed affair, promoted by relatives or friends of the couple. Nowadays everyone in Killtown may be solicited for a contribution toward the purse-presentation and other expenses. Anyone who is overlooked may come to the dance, usually in the Finnish hall, and bring his contribution. The mothers of the couple cooperate in providing the sandwiches or some part of the entertainment. Although the Finnish people follow this custom of the wedding dance more consistently than other nationalities, and the Finnish side of mixed marriages usually takes the initiative—partially because the Finnish hall is available rent-free to Suomi Club members—other nationalities have, in the last several years, adopted the pattern for their in-group and out-group marriages.

The women's engagement and baby showers are accepted generally as forms of community social life. These parties are given in the Library, which is rent-free and accommodates a larger company than the private home. The hostesses, who are usually relatives of the honored guest, issue invitations from a list which the latter has prepared. As she is almost always now American-born, the guests are mostly the second generation of the various nationalities or native-stock Americans. Only a selected few are first generation women. Often a first generation hostess is unacquainted until this occasion, with some of the guests.
Occasional large-scale affairs of a semi-private nature show further the extent of social fusion. One such party celebrated, in July 1940, the fiftieth wedding anniversary of a prominent Finnish couple who have been in Milltown since 1892. The invited guests, numbering one hundred and seventy, included, besides all the first generation and many younger Finnish residents, a considerable representation of French-Canadians, Swedes, Norwegians, mostly of the first generation, and of many years acquaintance. This celebration was organized similarly to the mixed wedding dances, with guests cooperating in the entertainment and presentation of a purse. However, to this affair the guests were invited, by two first generation Finnish women hostesses, and the inclusion of first generation representatives of other nationalities in the company reveals the progress of social fusion in the formal affair. Decorations with small trees and pine boughs brought in to line the walls of the Finnish hall in remembrance of the style of Finland at this mixed affair, indicates also the assurance of status as Finnish-Americans to which the older immigrants have advanced, and the consequent relaxation of the conformity-motive, which ruled so strictly in the past.

Politely reciprocatory social activity is the form presently taken by the accommodation of the local immigrant groups whose isolation was broken abruptly during the recent period of extensive second generation intermarriage. Though centripetally inclined, this adjustment can hardly be expected to proceed, in the near future, to real integration of community life, for, as noted above, the structural basis here is inadequate for such development. Furthermore, the present accommodation-level stops, for the first generation, at formalized social activity and shows
but little tendency toward closer informal relations between individuals. As long as the immigrants are socially active, and regardless of the rate of assimilation among the younger generations, there will be distinct nationality groups in Milltown.

The mixed-nationality social activities are important for their prestige-value to the first generation Finns, as they are to other groups, and Finnish women are at least as enterprising as others in their promotion. But they are never wholeheartedly enjoyed, for in the embarrassment of trying to speak English and "act like the others" spontaneity is lost, and they "never feel acquainted". This extreme diffidence has kept them from membership in American organizations. The few, --more women than men --who have joined the Home Demonstration Club or a Missoula lodge such as the Eagles, have generally become discouraged and non-participant. There is no substitute in the first generation, for the all-Finnish social affair.

Most of the second generation, though separated in their recreative social life, are not differentiated from their parents in economic status, or in ambition for higher education or occupational change. Nevertheless, among the few functions besides mill-work in this unorganized community, the prominence of Finnish individuals. --mostly of the second generation. --is disproportionate to the population, and significant of a generally advanced nationality-status. Such individuals include: the County Sheriff's deputy, a school-board member, the eighth-grade school teacher, a university art-student whose work has won some distinction, several advanced technical and office employees at the mill, two service station operators. Similarly
indicative is the position of a second generation man's non-Finnish wife as the local librarian and former school teacher.

The Finnish interest in public affairs continues, particularly noticeable among the older women, and almost everyone votes regularly. Their support has gone to the Democratic party during the last eight or nine years, but prior to the New Deal administration the tendency to follow local Republican leadership was observable. Socialism is quiescent except in first-generation conversation, and in the faithful reading of the "Industrialisti". The second generation are not generally interested in Socialist philosophy, and appear anxious to forget the prominence of the Finns in union activities of the past. Attempts from outside to organize the mill in recent years have received no encouragement from Finnish workers, for, the older men explain, "we learned our lesson. A fellow that has a home and family, and only one mill here, has to be careful". They declare that they would back any labor cause that might gain general local support, but they decline to take the lead. Another factor obviously contributive to the peaceful attitude of Finnish, as well as the other workers at the mill, is the personal popularity of the present Superintendent, in whose fairness and concern for their personal welfare all have learned to trust.

68. The mill established by W. A. Clark in 1912 was purchased by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in 1928. It was shut down in 1932, and operations were confined thereafter to the Bonner plant.

69. Mr. William C. Lubrecht has been Superintendent of the mill since 1925.
Following just below the most praised Finnish traits of honesty and cleanliness which the local Finnish-Americans take as a matter of course, the reputation of their children for superior intelligence is often mentioned in Milltown, and has become a point of open pride to all Finnish people—even to those exceptions who have conspicuously detracted from the record. Finnish superiority in school was noticeable from the beginning, and is substantiated for the last twenty-five or more years by the estimates of the local Principal, that usually two of the five highest-ranking students in classes have been Finnish, while the proportion of Finnish to total school attendance has been one to five or less. 70

Finnish national sentiments were gratified by Finland's independence and democratic progress following the war of 1918. But nationality-pride received an unprecedented boost in the winter of 1939-40 through the Russian-Finnish war, which raised the local prestige of the Finns to heights unattained by many years' display of honesty, cleanliness, and good scholarship. The general praise of Finland brought out open declarations of their nationality from some younger individuals who had given up identification with the local Finns. At the same time, the American patriotism of the first generation was intensified by the popular and official attitudes of this country.

70. A study by Kirkpatrick, in 1923, of the school records of children in Massachusetts communities of Finns, French-Canadians, Italians and native Americans, revealed that Finnish children's scholarship was equal to the native-stock Americans' and superior to that of the other foreign nationalities. Clifford Kirkpatrick, Intelligence and Immigration.
Sentimental regard for Finland has noticeably outlasted the old Finnish standards which the immigrants brought here. Having adopted modern American standards of material comfort, schooling, and recreation, they carefully assure the inquirer that "all these things have changed in Finland too". Nationality feeling is plainly influenced by the Finnish-American press, which, thoughtful informants observe, is attempting now, in the winter of 1941, more than formerly, to mobilize Finnish-Americans in nationality-solidarity and aid to Finland.

The second generation were taught their parents’ pride in the Finnish epic, "Kalevala", and even those who know nothing more of that work, are aware of the fact that Longfellow borrowed its meter for "Hiawatha". Some of the older people tune in for radio performances, announced by Finnish newspapers, of the compositions of Sibelius, and are deeply touched by this music which they think re-creates the beauty of Finland.

The above-mentioned nationality-associations which bear sentimental and prestige-value are highlights that will be preserved into the future. At the same time, certain attributes discreditory to Finnish status have been fading out of local opinion, within the dissolving process of social fusion. Accusations of "unamericanism" and radicalism are no longer heard. The Mongolian race-association has been dropped, except by those few of other nationalities who retain the old superiority-attitudes. Older Finnish people know the latest theories of their origin, and offer the inquirer numerous references for
enlightenment on the subject. As for the old local derogation, they no longer feel that their relation to the Chinese and Japanese, if established, would be deprecatory. The second generation, though well informed, lack, in their purer Americanism, the comfortably broadened outlook of their parents. Not much of this discomfiting question will remain to annoy the third generation. Only the slightly "Finnish look" of these children's eyes and cheekbones remains a subject of local comment. The name "Finntown", which the Finns considered so deprecatory, is falling into disuse. "Finntown Hall" is now replaced by "Finn Hall" or "Suomi Club Hall", which sound increasingly a note of respectability and pride.

In summary of the present contact-situation with regard to the future, it appears probable that while the Finnish first generation, having reached a satisfactory accommodation-level, will not progress much further in social participation and cultural adaptation, the sharply divergent younger generations are already advanced, and will continue, in the process of social fusion and cultural identification with native-stock Americans.
In the acculturative situation involving the peasant immigrant in America, the culture-receiving group is, through the selectivity of emigration, perponderantly desirous of change and approaches the contact voluntarily, in the hope of betterment. Receptivity to new appealing elements of the material culture and urgent desire to conform outwardly to the socially, culturally, dominant group, characterize this approach.

The immigrant situation is initially a crisis, in which, automatically, old materials are lost, techniques fail to function, and the whole configuration of living is disrupted. If an immigrant culture can be considered existent at this point, then its functioning must be paradoxically uncoordinated and fluid.

The necessities of adaptation, more or less independently of face to face contact and of reflective choice, induce immediate acquisition of a mass of American materials and techniques in substitution for old patterns inadaptable or irreproducible here.

Concurrently with adaptations exigent in the loss of the old and impact of the new, there is less extensively operative, a deliberate selectivity, in the cultural acquisitions and inhibitions which are motivated largely by contact relations. Underlying these mechanical and reflective changes, conditioning them and conditioned by them, is the persistent reproduction of as much of the foreign culture as is practicable
and not selectively inhibited --reproduction comprehending active techniques, attitudes, meanings, as well as reconstructed material elements. Old modes are engrafted within new contexts in the first makeshift adjustment.

In the situation studied, the developing cultural synthesis became increasingly American in provenience, and the acculturative process turned upon the discard of reproduced foreign traits whose incompatibility or loss of function precluded their incorporation. The process of discard is seen to level off with the retention of a few irreplaceable traits by the first generation. Discard is accelerated in the second, and continues toward possible completion in the third generation.

Selective changes are actuated by the motives familiar in acculturative contacts, intensified by the characteristic immigrant approach. Utility --efficiency or hedonistic appeal -- prompts the early adoption of numerous material items, subject to availability and compatibility with active complexes. As the learning process inherent to adaptation embraces new and modified complexes, utility values are extended, and the acquisition of articles and techniques progresses. Likewise, the discard or retention of the old, reproduced, traits is influenced by their utility in the developing culture. But this consideration is subject to the more compelling motive of conformity. Desire to conform appears at first as a defensive reaction to the conspicuousness of inferior social position, and deepens into the desire for prestige and identification with the enveloping society. This motive is seen, in the present study, to be controlling in direct relation to the individual's exposure outside the group. Its determinativeness in any situation would depend on the circumstances of the contact.
The change of attitudes and beliefs in the first generation is not urgently motivated, and appears as a slow process of learning or re-interpretation, accompanying the functional integration of the material culture. The process is subject, however, to direction by the foreign and American press, and local institutions. In the conflicts of second generation education the prestige-factor has decisive weight.

Spatial compactness and the polyglot nature of the population do not appear, in the contact observed, to have been, per se, accelerative to acculturation or preventive to group-introversion. These factors became contributive to the breakdown of isolation only after drastic changes in other conditions of the contact had occurred.

The strength of institutional mechanisms, and the age, generation, composition and size of the group in relation to the contacting population, are determinant factors in social fusion, as the Milltown situation shows. An abrupt population efflux intruded to shift the relations of forces in the contact, and introduce, in the second generation, an advanced stage of fusion and a consequently widened cultural divergence from the isolated first generation. Another factor concurrently contributive to accelerated fusion was the change of attitudes following subsidence of open conflict between the acculturated group and the controlling class of the larger community.

The assimilative process is quickened by extensive out-group marriage through which individuals leave the group for social identification with the outer society. But it stops short of eradicating nationality lines as long as the resistent first generation remains considerable, in numbers and in the
strength of intergenerational family ties.

Conspicuous perpetuation of distinctively national social practices by the self-conscious immigrant group, in contradiction of the motive to individual conformity, may be recognized as a transitional acculturative phenomenon, whatever the orientation of its organizational base. Its retardative effect, in retention of selected forms of concerted group-activity, does not appear extended to the numerous cultural changes proceeding from individual motives. Originating as a group-defensive mechanism, the social re-creation of former values serves to meet urgent social needs and to recall for the individual the past fullness of life.

The recognized decisiveness of comprehensively organized group life as a factor in the prevention of immigrant disorganization is sustained in the present study. Another condition possibly contributive to personal stability is the simplicity of semi-rural life, in contrast to urban complexity. However, the validity of this consideration awaits establishment by more extended comparative studies. Determinative also, in avoidance of disorganization, may be cultural and temperamental features such as were noted among the Finns: dominance of economic or ideological aims, tenacity of work habits, and the strength of parental influence in home-life.

The process of acculturation rising in the immigrant-American contact is characterized by almost complete one-sided borrowing, and moves toward the dissolution of foreign features within a homogeneous American culture. But, through limitations on the learning process, the developing culture of the immigrant group continues distinguishable from the purely American in the
first generation, to lesser extent in the second, and possibly into younger generations—depending on conditions of the contact. The transitional immigrant-American culture composes itself largely of American materials, functioning, by apperceptive interpretation, in quasi-foreign modes, and interspersed with a few foreign traits surviving and in recession. Every element of this culture is virtually immigrant-American, for, though provenience may be assigned, the process of coordination of functions modifies, from the first adoption onward continuously, the single element, and the whole culture.

The observations of the present study may be limited in conclusional value by the present smallness of the immigrant group, and by the effect which intrusion of extraneous circumstances had upon the contact situation and the acculturative forces operative therein. Undoubtedly the contribution of any such study to the knowledge of acculturation would be increased by supplementary observation of the same immigrant culture in contact with the American in other occupational and social milieux.
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