

STUDIA HISTORICA 10

Published by the Finnish Historical Society

SETTLEMENT OR RETURN

Finnish Emigrants (1860—1930) in the International
Overseas Return Migration Movement

by

Keijo Virtanen

HELSINKI 1979



SETTLEMENT OR RETURN

SETTLEMENT OR RETURN

Finnish Emigrants (1860—1930) in the International
Overseas Return Migration Movement

KEIJO VIRTANEN

*To be presented, with the permission of the Faculty of
Humanities of the University of Turku, for public
criticism in Auditorium I, at 12 noon on December
15, 1979*

HELSINKI 1979

SETTLEMENT OR RETURN

Finnish Emigrants (1860—1930) in the International
Overseas Return Migration Movement

by

Keijo Virtanen

HELSINKI 1979

STUDIA HISTORICA

Published by
The Finnish Historical Society
Suomen Historiallinen Seura — Finska Historiska Samfundet
Vol. 10

KEIJO VIRTANEN

Settlement or Return: Finnish Emigrants
(1860—1930) in the International Overseas
Return Migration Movement

ISSN 0081-6493
ISBN 951-9254-25-0

Forssan Kirjapaino Oy, Forssa 1979

To the Memory of My Mother

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As the ten years of research which have gone into my investigation of the return migration come to their conclusion, it is a pleasure to recall the various people and organizations with whom I have worked.

First and foremost, I would like to mention Vilho NIITEMAA, Professor Emeritus of General History at the University of Turku, who originally guided me to a topic of research which has since then dominated my activities in many ways. In conjunction with Professor Niitemaa's Migration History Project, I have had a number of opportunities to carry out research in the United States and Canada. These visits have also given me the personal occasion to interiorize those factors making to diminish or increase the probability of return, towards which each and every migrant was forced to clarify his stance, and which form the central theme in my dissertation. The supervision Professor Niitemaa has given has been characterized by the expertise made possible by the width and variety of his familiarity with many fields of international history. Without his constant interest, criticism, and encouragement, my research would have faced many additional difficulties.

Two other members of the University of Turku, Professor Matti LAUERMA and Dr. Reino KERO, Docent, have also followed the progress of my research from its infancy, and have supplied valuable advice. Professor Lauerma also acted as one of the Faculty of Humanities' two official readers of my dissertation, while Dr. Kero has been able to give me many useful hints, especially relating to source materials. The Faculty's other official dissertation reader, Professor Viljo RASILA (University of Tampere), offered criticisms in the final stages which helped to focus attention on certain methodological questions, and contributed to the final overall appearance of the dissertation. A former Chairman of the Suomi Society, Jussi LINNAMO, Chief Director of the Finnish Bank Inspectorate, drew my attention to a number of economic aspects relating to the return migration phenomenon. During the preparation of this research I have been a member of the General History Licentiate Seminar at the University of Turku.

Among other colleagues, I would first like to mention Dr. Holger WESTER, Docent at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, whose expertise on the problems in the migration movement contributed to establishing the frame of reference for the present investigation. Professor Robert M. WARNER and Dr. Francis X.

BLOUIN (University of Michigan) provided good research conditions for me during the phase of my research carried out at Ann Arbor in 1974—1975. Dr. Michael G. KARNI (University of Minnesota) has been particularly helpful in relation to the stylistic shaping of my work, and I have also had several fruitful discussions with Professor Emeritus John I. KOLEHMAINEN (Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio) on factors affecting the migrants' process of adaptation and their decision to return or to remain.

Professor Pentti VIRRANKOSKI, Director of the Department of History at the University of Turku, has provided me with good research facilities, and contributed to obtaining the publication of my dissertation in a highly respected series. The dissertation has been skilfully translated into English by Sirkka and Keith BATTARBEE, and the maps and figures have been prepared by Mrs. Taru SUNDSTÉN, M.A.

Over the period 1973—1978, I have received financial assistance from the following organizations for research and for the collection of material in Finland, the United States, and Canada: the Aaltonen Foundation; the Wainstein Foundation; the Kordelin Foundation; the Helander Foundation; the University of Turku; the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and the Suomi Society. The considerable costs involved in the translation and publication of the dissertation have been partly met by the University of Turku Foundation; the Öflund Foundation; the Sariola Foundation, the Finnish Cultural Fund, and the Finnish Historical Society, in whose series of monographs this is being published. For sixteen months I also held a Research Assistantship from the Academy of Finland, which was of especial assistance in the final stages of preparation of the dissertation.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my wife Orvokki, who has unstintingly helped me in the laborious collection of material both in Finland and in North America, and has in particular cared for our children Seppo and Marjaana when my research has prevented me from having enough time for them. Their joint contribution, in counterbalancing the research work involved in the writing of this dissertation, has been invaluable.

Lieto, October 1979

KEIJO VIRTANEN

CONTENTS

	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	7
I	DEFINING THE PROBLEM	11
	1. The State of Research, the Key Concepts, and the Central Questions	11
	2. The Emigration and the Selection of the Sample Areas	22
	3. The Use of the Official Migration Statistics	41
	4. The Use of Original Material, and the Methodological Questions in the Investigation	45
II	THE OVERALL SCALE OF THE RETURN MIGRATION	61
	1. Permanent Return	61
	2. Temporary Return	70
	3. Return to Areas Other than the Place of Origin	75
	4. The Duration of the Emigration of Permanent Return Migrants	79
III	CYCLICAL FLUCTUATIONS IN THE RETURN	84
	1. Long-Term Cycles	84
	2. Annual Fluctuations	89
	3. Seasonal Variation	95
IV	THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF THE RETURN MIGRATION	99
V	DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE RETURN MIGRATION	114
	1. Age	114
	2. Sex	124
	3. Marital Status and Family Emigration	134
VI	THE SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE RETURN MIGRATION OF THE HOST AREA	145
	1. The Regions of North America	145
	2. Other Continents (Australia, South America, and Africa)	164
VII	THE INDIVIDUAL'S RETURN DECISION	170
	1. Adaptation to the Host Country	170
	2. The Migrants' Own Interpretation of the Reasons for Return ...	175
VIII	READJUSTMENT AFTER THE RETURN	186
	1. Attitudes to the Migration	186
	2. Individual Factors Facilitating or Hindering Readjustment	192

IX	THE IMPACT OF THE RETURNING MIGRANTS	203
X	FINAL SURVEY: SETTLEMENT OR RETURN IN RELATION TO THE "OLD" AND "NEW" MIGRATIONS	219
	APPENDICES	228
	LIST OF TABLES	264
	LIST OF MAPS	265
	LIST OF FIGURES	265
	LIST OF APPENDICES	265
	LIST OF SOURCES	266

I Defining the Problem

1 THE STATE OF RESEARCH, THE KEY CONCEPTS, AND THE CENTRAL QUESTIONS

The point of departure for the present investigation may be taken as the statement by the British statistician E. G. RAVENSTEIN in 1885 to the effect that every current of migration movement occasions a compensatory counter-current.¹ Despite this observation, European research into overseas migration has paid very little attention to the counter-current, i.e. return migration. As the historical perspective has lengthened, on the other hand, the study of the original emigration movement has increasingly aroused interest in a number of countries, especially over the past two decades.²

Why has the return migration remained an almost entirely uncharted field? The reason is not failure to recognize the relevance of its investigation, so much as the absence of correspondingly comprehensive statistics to those available for emigration. The large-scale statistical study of migration published by the United States National Bureau of Economic Research in 1929 did pay a certain amount of attention to return migration, but was restricted precisely by the fact that statistics for returning emigrants were only available from five European countries (Spain, Britain, Italy, Sweden and Finland).³ Many investigators have indicated interest in the subject, but have also recognized the obstacles to research caused by the sources.⁴ The difficulties in the sources are still evident in studies of recent return migration: in his study of immigration in Canada after the Second World War, Anthony H. RICHMOND is forced by the lack of reliable data to offer no more than estimates of the strength of the return migration.⁵ The same also applies to intra-European migration: Dušiga SEFERAGIĆ complains of the poor sources available in the

¹ RAVENSTEIN 1885, 199.

² ÅKERMAN 1975, *passim*.

³ *International Migrations I* 1929, 204—205.

⁴ See for example HVIDT 1971, 325; HELL 1976, 55. On the international state of sources, see also TEDEBRAND 1976, 203—204. On the sources of Finnish migration, see VIRTANEN 1979, 191—194.

⁵ RICHMOND 1967, 229.

investigation of Yugoslavian migrant workers returning from various European countries in the 1960s and 1970s.⁶

In general, the most thorough research to date on the overseas return migration has been carried out on Swedish and Italian material, but comparable material is also to some extent available from other countries. Two of the investigations of the Swedish return migration deserve special mention, those by Lars-Göran TEDEBRAND⁷ and John S. LINDBERG,⁸ although in both cases they comprise only one chapter in a larger work on Swedish emigration in general. They do however attempt to establish a quantitative and structural picture of the Swedish return migration. For the other Nordic countries, the return migration to Denmark⁹ and Norway¹⁰ has been investigated considerably less than is the case for Sweden.

Betty Boyd CAROL's work, *Italian Repatriation from the United States, 1900–1914*,¹¹ concentrates on establishing quantitative data for the Italian return migration, on the attitude of the Italian Government towards the returning emigrants, and on the emigrants' impressions of the United States. The restricted sources, however, limit the utility of this study. An article by Francesco CERASE¹² puts forward an interesting sociological theory of the phases in the immigrants' adjustment to their host country. Another significant approach to the Italian return migration is to be found in Robert FOERSTER's *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*.¹³

Two other important studies are those by Theodore SALOUTOS on the Greek¹⁴ and Arnold SCHRIER on the Irish¹⁵ return migration. The basic weakness of both works is that they are almost entirely based on interviews, and thus do not in practice contain any conclusions of wider application. This applies even more to studies of certain other ethnic groups, such as Ukrainians¹⁶ and Jews.¹⁷

Little research has thus so far been carried out into the return migration, and even the studies mentioned above are for the most part very limited, superficial, and in many cases quite old. A number of studies have appeared more recently in which the

⁶ SEFERAGIĆ 1977, 363–364.

⁷ TEDEBRAND: *Västernorrland och Nordamerika 1873–1913*. Uppsala 1972; TEDEBRAND: *De som vände hem. Återinvandringen från Nordamerika till Sverige före första världskriget*. Malmö 1973; TEDEBRAND: *Remigration from America to Sweden*. Uppsala 1976. The content of these works is approximately the same, but published in different contexts.

⁸ LINDBERG: *The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States*. Minneapolis, Minn. 1930.

⁹ HVIDT: *Flugten til Amerika*. Odense 1971.

¹⁰ SEMMINGSEN: *Veien mot vest*. Oslo 1950.

¹¹ New York, N.Y. 1973.

¹² CERASE: *The Return to Italy*. Staten Island, N.Y. 1970.

¹³ Cambridge, Mass. 1924.

¹⁴ SALOUTOS: *They Remember America: The Story of the Repatriated Greek-Americans*. Berkeley, Cal. 1956.

¹⁵ SCHRIER: *Ireland and the American Emigration 1850–1900*. Minneapolis, Minn. 1958.

¹⁶ HALICH: *Ukrainians in the United States*. Chicago, Ill. 1937.

¹⁷ JOSEPH: *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*. New York, N.Y. 1914.

return migration is accorded a more prominent place; but either geographical or chronological reasons made it impossible to integrate these directly into the present study, since they are concerned either with internal migration within Europe or one European country,¹⁸ or with people originally emigrating after the Second World War.¹⁹ They do however indicate an interest in exploring the phenomenon of return migration, and some of them are of help methodologically or theoretically.

In defining the task and central questions of the present investigation, the international state of research must be borne in mind, since it imposes certain methodological conditions. In order to be able to carry out an analysis in depth, an investigation needs to concentrate on an ethnic group for whom adequate and relevant research material may be expected to be available. Finnish migrants form one of the rare nationalities into whom thorough research is possible even though — as has been stated — the return of migrants is not as easily handled statistically as emigration.²⁰ Earlier international research naturally also offers comparative material, and the Finnish migrants must be seen as just one part of an international phenomenon of return migration; in a sense, therefore, Finland comprises a sample of the movement of overseas return migration to Europe.

Extensive research has not previously been carried out on the return migration to Finland, either, although it has been dealt with in works investigating the overall long-distance migration for some smaller areas in Finland. LINDBERG, the Swedish researcher, commented even in 1930 that any research into the extent and nature of migration which fails to take the return migration into account "is incomplete."²¹ Research into the history of Finnish migration has so far mainly concentrated on the emigration and the causes for it, and on describing the conditions and activities of immigrants in their host countries, with the Finnish research mainly concentrating on the former and the Finnish-American research on the latter.

The earliest Finnish publication dealing with the return migration on a statistical basis is Edvard GYLLING's article from 1910²² on the reliability of statistical data. Ten years later, the official Migration Committee circulated the councils of 163 rural municipalities with a questionnaire,²³ the results of which were reported by

¹⁸ E.g. KRONBORG and NILSSON: *Stadsflyttare*. Motala 1975; SEFERAGIĆ: *Scientific Work in Yugoslavia on Migrant Returnees and Their Impact on the Mother Country*. Staten Island, N.Y. 1977; SAMSON: *Population Mobility in the Netherlands 1880—1910*. Stockholm 1977. Among investigations of movement from Sweden to Finland, and of internal mobility in Finland, see for example WESTER: *Innovationer i befolkningsrörligheten*. Stockholm 1977; DE GEER: *Migration och influensfält*. Stockholm 1977; HERBERTS: *Borta bra men hemma bäst?* Åbo 1977; KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO: *Toholammin väestön muuttoliikkeet Amerikan siirtolaisuuden alkuvaiheissa (1870—1889)*. Vammala 1978.

¹⁹ E.g. RICHMOND: *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*. Toronto 1967; TOREN: *Return Migration to Israel*. Staten Island, N.Y. 1978.

²⁰ LINNAMO 1976, 326.

²¹ LINDBERG 1930, 242.

²² GYLLING: *Eräitä uusia tilastotietoja Suomen siirtolaisuudesta*. Helsinki 1910.

²³ *Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö (Migration Committee Report) 1924, 1.*

Ilmari TEIJULA in 1921 in the *Sosialinen Aikakauskirja* (Social Periodical)²⁴ and in an Appendix to the Committee's Report.²⁵ The main material which he includes relating to the return migration concerns the factors affecting the readjustment of returned emigrants, and their impact in their place of origin.

In his 1935 doctoral dissertation, Helmer SMEDS²⁶ considers (though very briefly) the influence of the return migration on the demographic development in the municipality of Malax. A more valuable contribution to the research is to be found in W. BACKMAN's investigation (1945)²⁷ into migration in Munsala municipality, based on interviews which the author then analyzes from a number of different aspects. Both of these investigations are one-sided in that they are based on a single category of source material: the former on population registers, and the latter on interviews. By contrast, Anna-Leena TOIVONEN's doctoral dissertation on the overseas emigration in southern Ostrobothnia²⁸ makes use of widely varying sources in investigating the return migration, e.g. interviews, newspapers, official statistics, and population registers. Especially with regard to quantitative factors in the return migration, however, her work offers only brief and broad statements. The basic focus of her research is on the exploration of the reasons for the original emigration, particularly in economic terms, and the data on the return migration are therefore peripheral. In the investigation by Frank BLOMFELT on migration from the Åland Islands,²⁹ a whole chapter (though a brief one) is devoted to the returning migrants; the perspective is however limited to the simple analysis of variations in return by men and women in different years, and in the length of time spent abroad as an emigrant. His only primary source is population registers.

The most comprehensive studies to date of the Finnish return migration are, apart from BACKMAN's study, an article by Reino KERO on Parkano and Karvia municipalities in northern Satakunta,³⁰ and Jorma PÄTYNEN's unpublished thesis on migration in Kuusamo,³¹ in which one chapter is devoted to the return migration. Both authors have attempted to achieve the greatest possible reliability in quantitative data by using a wide range of sources. Their perspective remains restricted, however, for in each case they are dealing with a small geographical area, but also because each investigation is merely one part of the author's wider research; their study of the return migration thus remains relatively superficial, although touching on some of the research problems involved. Another study worth mentioning is

²⁴ TEIJULA: Suomen siirtolaisuusolot. Helsinki 1921.

²⁵ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot (Migration Conditions in Finland). n.p., n.d.

²⁶ SMEDS: Malaxbygden. Helsingfors 1935.

²⁷ BACKMAN: Emigrationen från Munsala socken. Helsingfors 1945.

²⁸ TOIVONEN: Etelä-Pohjanmaan valtamerentakainen siirtolaisuus. Seinäjoki 1963.

²⁹ BLOMFELT: Emigrationen från ett skärgårdslandskap. Uppsala 1968.

³⁰ KERO: The Return of Emigrants from America to Finland. Turku 1972.

³¹ PÄTYNEN: Kuusamolainen Amerikansiirtolaisuus ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa (1864—1914). Turku 1972.

Rafael ENGELBERG, *Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset*,³² which explores the links between Finland and the Finnish-Americans, and the Finnish attitudes towards returning emigrants. Press opinions about the return migrants are dealt with in an article by Paavo SALONEN (1967),³³ while the Finnish return migration from South Africa has been studied by Eero KUPARINEN.³⁴

Previous research on the long-distance return migration is thus extremely limited even in Finland, though it does offer some points of comparison when the nature of the phenomenon is being analyzed over a wider geographical area. The overseas return migration presents an interesting research topic, in fact, precisely because so far no really thorough investigation has been carried out on any migrant group. Return migration to the country of origin is, however, alongside the original emigration, one of the central questions in migration research, and deserves comprehensive investigation.³⁵

The time limits of the present study are derived from the emigration movement. The natural starting point is the beginning of overseas emigration from Finland, in the 1860s. Here it should be noted that a change took place in the latter half of the 19th century in the pan-European pattern of overseas migration, of which the Finnish migration must be seen as one component. Whereas the main current had earlier been drawn from western and northern Europe, in the last two decades of the century the eastern and southern parts of Europe became involved; whereas the majority of earlier immigrants had gone into agriculture, the expansion of industry in the receiving countries created a need for immigrant labour, while free farm land (especially in the main destination for Finnish emigrants, the United States) began to be in short supply; and whereas in earlier phases there had been cultural bonds between the immigrants and their host countries, which furthered the assimilation of immigrants, the migration movement now began to include nationalities whose way of life frequently significantly diverged from the customs in their host country. The main reason for the change in the nature of the migration movement can be identified as the radical economic changes occurring both in Europe and in the chief destination for emigrants, the United States. Consequently the prime motive of the majority of migrants during this "new" migration movement was — as it was seen — to get rich quick and then return home.³⁶ It is important for the present investigation to note that the beginnings of the Finnish overseas emigration, and its growth into a mass movement, occurred during this transitional period.

The termination date for this investigation is 1930: i.e. the latest Finnish emigrants to be included are those emigrating in that year, although their return, or non-return,

³² Helsinki 1944.

³³ SALONEN: Turun sanomalehdistön suhtautuminen siirtolaisuuteen vuosina 1900—1930. Turku 1967.

³⁴ KUPARINEN: Suomalainen siirtolaisuus Etelä-Afrikkaan ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa. Turku 1978.

³⁵ On research into problems raised by the return migration, see VIRTANEN 1975, *passim*.

³⁶ JONES 1960, *passim*.

is investigated up to the 1970s. 1930 has been chosen because in that year Canada imposed drastic restrictions on immigration, as had already happened in the United States in the early 1920s.³⁷ In addition, the international economic depression also tended to reduce migration, and in effect put a complete stop to Finnish emigration to Australia.³⁸ Consequently, after 1930 Finnish overseas emigration dwindled away almost to nothing, not to revive until after the Second World War (and even then only to a limited extent).

The overseas return migration is not some discrete phenomenon in the history of the migratory movements, but an essential part of them. Defining the central questions in the investigation therefore necessitates the definition of certain key concepts. Theory formation proper is still in its infancy in migration studies; the most attention has been paid to it by the Swedish researcher, Sune ÅKERMAN.³⁹ The development of a general theory is however hampered both by the international state of research and by the heterogeneity of the sources. Many historians, moreover, are skeptical about the creation of theories of migration. With the aid of empirical research, however, and by posing similar questions in different investigations, it should be possible to move towards a greater degree of generalization. This is all the more important in studying the return migration, since international research is only in its beginnings. The only person to have shown interest in theoretical and methodological questions relating to the history of return migration is so far Lars-Göran TEDEBRAND.⁴⁰

It is important that the questions investigated in the present study should be posed in such a way as to render them comparable to the international research so far on the return migration. Although there has as yet been so little research carried out, the cross-comparison of the results makes it possible to move towards analyzing general factors underlying the return migration.

The present research is concentrated on that part of the migration movement which was directed overseas (in practice, for Finnish emigrants, the United States, Canada, South America, Australia, and South Africa) between the 1860s and 1930, and the terms "migrant" etc. are used to refer to persons moving to such countries (and not, for example, within Europe or within a European country). The term "return migrant", consequently, is here restricted to persons returning from an overseas destination to their country of origin, i.e. Finland. Within Finland, return migrants may have settled down in their place of origin, or somewhere else. It would be interesting to compare all types of return migration, but that is not possible within the limits of the present study, in which a global approach has been adopted, i.e. including other countries of overseas immigration besides North America. In a

³⁷ See TUNKELO 1936, 259—260; JONES 1960, 276—277; SALONEN 1967, 44—45, 92.

³⁸ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 42.

³⁹ ÅKERMAN 1970, *passim*; ÅKERMAN 1971, *passim*; ÅKERMAN 1975, *passim*; ÅKERMAN 1976, *passim*.

⁴⁰ TEDEBRAND 1976, 205—208.

number of places reference is made to earlier research on internal migration within Finland, or on remigration to a country other than that of origin, but this is only done where it is required by the topic of the present investigation.

A distinction needs to be made between permanent and temporary return. A "permanent return migrant" is someone who returns from overseas to his country of origin and does not subsequently re-emigrate abroad, even though he may subsequently move within his home country. A "temporary return migrant" is someone who, after returning, emigrates abroad again; he may become a "permanent return migrant", but only when he returns to his home country never to emigrate again. The concept of the return migrant cannot in practice be defined with great exactness; the distinction between a visit and temporary return, for example, may be very unclear.

In the majority of earlier studies no attempt has been made to define the concept of the return migrant, possibly partly due to the nature of the source material, which does not always make it possible to distinguish between different return phenomena. BLOMFELT, on the other hand, draws a distinction between three different phenomena: 1) brief visits to the home country, 2) return for a longer period (at least one year), i.e. temporary return, and 3) permanent return.⁴¹ In practice, his research covers all returns, without being able to classify them all according to these criteria, and he points out that it is impossible to draw these distinctions on the basis of population registers alone.⁴² KERO restricts himself to studying those migrants who returned permanently to their home country.⁴³ The official Finnish Statistics on return migrants simply listed all those persons "having been resident outside Europe for purposes of employment and having subsequently returned to Finland";⁴⁴ in other words no distinction was drawn between those returning permanently and those visiting Finland, a distinction which would moreover have been impossible to apply in practice with the aid of the material used.

Classification on the basis of the motives which migrants had for emigrating or returning also raises serious difficulties, since these vary so widely.⁴⁵ The most straightforward solution is therefore to classify as "emigrants" all persons travelling overseas, and as "temporary or permanent return migrants" all persons returning from overseas. Thus children born abroad cannot be considered as returning migrants. At the height of the emigration from Finland, Finnish tourism to other continents or studying abroad was on such a small scale that it has no practical impact on the data for the volume of migration. Emigrants merely paying short visits

⁴¹ BLOMFELT 1968, 149.

⁴² BLOMFELT 1968, 149.

⁴³ KERO 1970, 232 footnote 1.

⁴⁴ SVT XXVIII: 1, 9. Quotations from Finnish sources both here and subsequently are free translations.

⁴⁵ WESTER, for example, divides migrations into three different groups according to their duration. The main source is the information in passport registers about the purpose of the journey (WESTER 1977, 67--73, 78).

are usually not recorded in the major sources of information for return migration.⁴⁶

The investigation in this study of RAVENSTEIN's "Law" of the automatic counter-current occasioned by migration is thus limited to the overseas migration. However, it would be too mechanical a research method simply to treat the return migration as a counter-current; that cannot be taken as the basis for an historical explanation.⁴⁷ The emigrants were faced with two alternatives: to settle in the new country, or to return; and the exploration of these alternatives is a major aim of this investigation. This question is linked to the original motives of emigrants: whether they had originally intended to stay permanently in the host country or whether after a time some development caused them to change their minds about remaining.

The dichotomy between return and non-return will be seen both on the macro- and micro-levels; i.e. the general and personal factors for leaving or staying in the host country will be discussed. Thus, the aim of the present investigation is to unravel both the quantity and quality of return migration, keeping the dichotomy in mind. This dichotomy is here understood broadly in the sense that it is influenced by personal motives, but also by quantitative factors such as socio-economic and demographic features. Knowing the general factors of return migration in relation to emigration already explains return or non-return as such, while simultaneously creating a framework for understanding personal motives. In consequence, the final Chapter of the present study introduces a model or a typology of the factors which influenced the dichotomy between the settlement overseas or permanent return.

The central goal of the investigation, to sum up, is to analyze a certain phenomenon, return migration, taking into account the dichotomy between emigrants who returned, and those who did not, on the macro- and micro-levels; and examining the framework of theoretical generalizations which have originated in mobility studies already completed. However, as an historical phenomenon, return migration is such a complex problem that those generalizations will be used mainly as a tool of the investigation. But at the same time, they will help to place Finnish return migration in a wider international context.

The model developed by the American scholar, Everett S. LEE, to describe the factors influencing the process of mobility can be applied in its main outlines to the analysis of the return migration:⁴⁸

- a) Factors associated with the area of origin,
- b) Factors associated with the area of destination,
- c) Intervening obstacles, and
- d) Personal factors.

As mentioned above, the return or non-return of an emigrant was influenced both by general and by personal factors. The latter may be taken to be more significant in the return migration than in the original emigration; the return migration does

⁴⁶ I.e. parish registers and lists compiled by the Registrars of Population attached to the District Courts.

⁴⁷ See TEDEBRAND 1976, 205.

⁴⁸ LEE 1966, 49—50.

not constitute a mass phenomenon to the same extent as the emigration does.⁴⁹

The general factors connected with the area of origin in LEE's model are primarily dealt with in the Chapters concerning the overall scale and the structure of the return migration (II, IV, and V). It is important at that stage — and throughout the investigation — to compare the emigration and return migration movements with each other, since the emigration goes a long way towards providing the explanation for return or non-return. From this point of view one could say that the topic of this investigation is the overseas migration in both directions, but seen from the perspective of the return.

From the point of view of overseas migration as such, research on return migration must concern itself with four phases: life in the country of origin, emigration, life in the host country, and return (see Figure 1). Theoretically, the phenomenon of migration is a continuous circle which the migrant travels: return may lead to a new departure, and so on, but one day the circle stops, either in the host country or in the country of origin. In the investigation of return migration, these four phases must be analyzed. The study of mere emigration where research has thus far concentrated can stay only in the first two categories. Correspondingly, study of immigrants in the host country can concentrate on that category. The present investigation needs to analyze the whole scope of migration then, in order to understand the return migration.

The main analysis of factors connected with the receiving area will be found in Chapters III and VI, which explore cyclical variations in the return migration on three levels⁵⁰ and the significance of the migrants' places of residence and occupations. It is not possible to separate LEE's third category (intervening obstacles) for distinct treatment, since the obstacles to return mainly arise precisely in the receiving country. The main factor which LEE reports here is that of distance,⁵¹ but this is not of central importance in the present study since the analysis concerns overseas migration alone, not internal migration. The obstacles were moreover both general and personal in character.

The personal factors relating to the return migration are explored in Chapter VII, where the adjustment of the immigrants to their host country, and the motives for return, are analyzed in personal terms. It is precisely the personal factors involved in the return migration which make it necessary to regard many generalizations with caution; individual decisions about returning cannot always be regarded as fully rational.

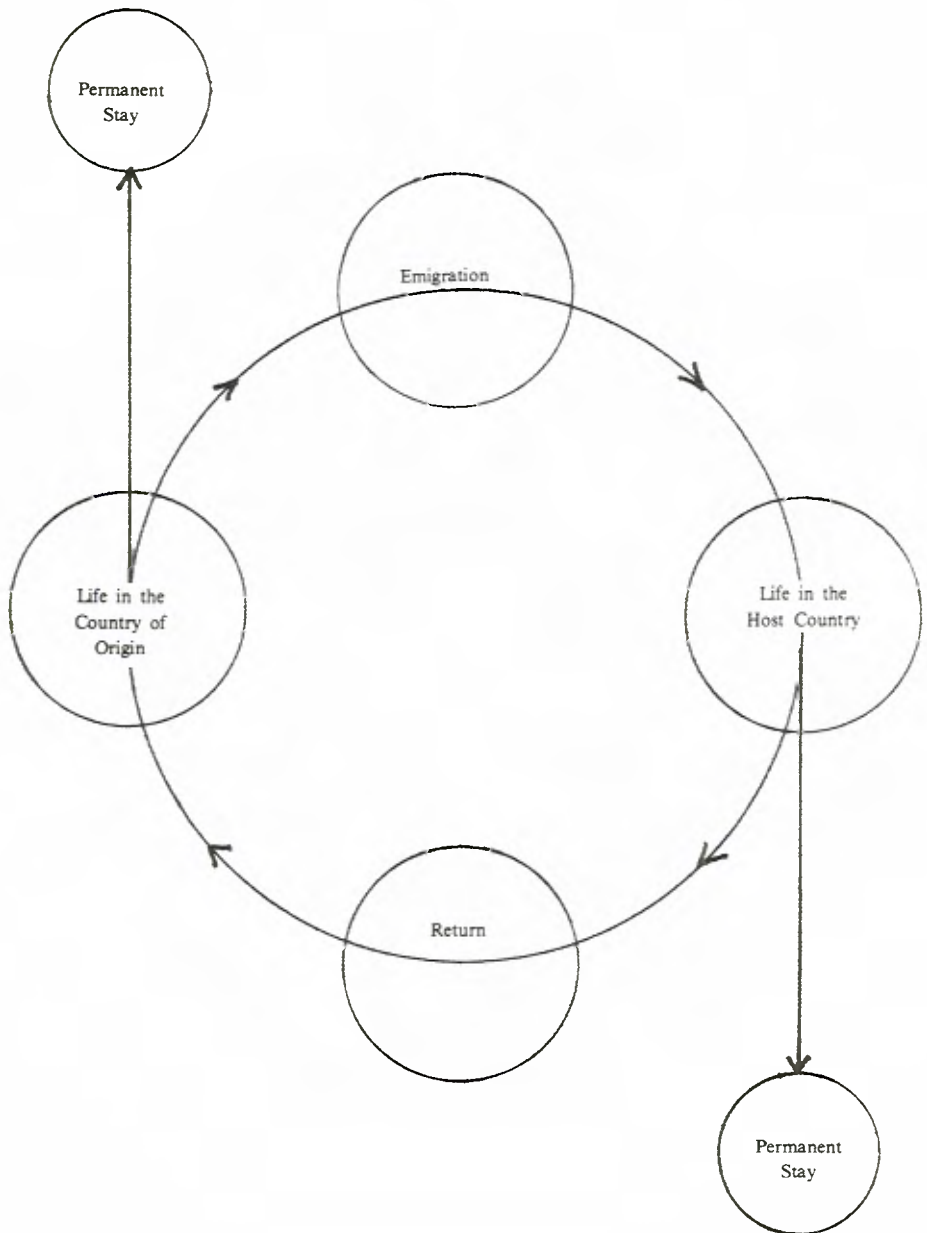
A personal perspective is also adopted in Chapter VIII, which looks at the return migrants' readjustment both in relation to their home country and the host country. Finally, there is a Chapter dealing with the impact of the return migration. This

⁴⁹ Cf. ÅKERMAN 1975, 20.

⁵⁰ Cyclical variation was also affected by many other factors, e.g. those operating in the home country (see for instance ÅKERMAN 1976, 25–32, on the emigration, and Chapter III below, on the return migration).

⁵¹ LEE 1966, 51.

Figure 1. *The Phases of Overseas Migration Phenomenon as a Continuous Circle: the Theoretical Scope of the Present Investigation.*



relates only indirectly to the dichotomy mentioned above (between permanent emigration and return), but is crucially linked to the overall picture of the return migration. As long as so little is known about the phenomenon of return migration within the wider phenomenon of mobility as is at present the case, no really thorough analysis of the impact of the return migration can be carried out. This question is in itself an important and complicated area of research, which the present investigation attempts to throw light on, although the research is primarily concerned with the return migration as a phenomenon of mobility.

LEE's model does of course generalize very strongly, and against this the return migration is a highly intricate phenomenon which it is difficult to unravel. Consequently this investigation is not divided along the lines of LEE's model, but is set out as a sequential argument, based on a series of problem-complexes, with the general factors being handled at the beginning (Chapters II—VI) and the personal factors at the end (Chapters VII—VIII). Factors relating to the volume and structure of the return migration are included among the general factors. Even so, it is not entirely possible to keep even the general and personal factors separate. While overseas migration was primarily brought about by general, i.e. economic, factors, it also incorporates many personal considerations. Some people may have decided merely to go away and make some money, others to emigrate permanently. Thus the motives for departure may have predetermined the decision to return or to remain abroad as an immigrant. The analysis as a whole, however, incorporates both general and personal factors, in both the home country and the host country. It largely depends on the migrant's own value judgments which reasons he will have emphasized most in coming to his decision.

The methodology and the sources used in the investigation are closely linked with each other, and are explained in detail in the following sections. The main reason for this is that the sources are composed of a combination of a large number of different pieces. The reliability of the results of this research is to a considerable extent dependent on the success with which the combination of these sources has been achieved. While emigration is a mass phenomenon, the collection of evidence has had to be carried out at the level of the individual, due to the absence of comprehensive and reliable statistical data. A number of sample areas have therefore been selected for the investigation, since it is only in this way that the crucial personal level can be reached in the analysis. This also makes it methodologically important to study the emigration first, as an essential step towards establishing the representativity of the sample areas; it also renders it possible to carry out the comparison of emigration with return migration, and of temporary with permanent return, which is crucial to the research approach adopted here. Since this investigation is in international terms largely a pioneer undertaking, a detailed survey of the methodological and source-materials basis on which it has been constructed is particularly important. It actually is an essential part of the entire investigation.

2 THE EMIGRATION AND THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE AREAS

The crucial problem in analyzing the return migration is to find sample areas which will allow results to be reached that are indicative of the nature of the migration for the country as a whole. Since the source material for migration studies is incomplete and fragmentary, the use of sample areas is necessary. There is always of course room for criticism when samples are used. Many previous studies — in Finland and elsewhere — dealing with the demographic aspects of migration have concentrated on one sample area (a municipality or a group of municipalities in the same area), and on the basis of that material have drawn conclusions for the entire country. However — as can be seen in previous investigations —, the migration phenomenon differs greatly from one part of the country to another, which makes it necessary to select many sample areas. The sample areas for the present investigation have been chosen — on various grounds to be explained below — on the basis of the central aims of the study. They are, moreover, only one source of information in this study: on the one hand, they will be complemented by the plentiful other research material available, and on the other, they will be used mainly in a particular section of the investigation (the volume and composition of the return migration).

One of the important criteria for selecting suitable sample areas is that they should be situated in contrasted geographical zones in terms of the volume of emigration. Furthermore, they should be areas where the different stages of the emigration occurred at contrasted times.⁵² In this way, the geographical variation within the country will be demonstrated. A further consideration to take into account is that the sample areas should be contrasted with each other in terms not only of their geographical location in Finland but also of their demographic and economic structure. The location of those areas for which research on the return migration is already available may also be taken into consideration, though the significance of this criterion is reduced by the fact that in the majority of cases such investigations of the return migration are limited to the exploration of one or two questions, so that it is only possible to make limited use of them.

The sample areas for the research should, then, be selected on the basis of the original emigration; in terms, moreover, of very general factors. In making the selection of the sample areas on a geographical basis, it is impossible to foresee whether the area will turn out to be typical or not in terms of migration; this will only become clear when the research reaches the personal level, i.e. after the selection of the sample areas has been made.

The general factors affecting the overseas migration, and its overall features, must be recognized as especially important background factors in the return migration, which is merely one component in the migration movements of the latter half of the last century and the beginning of this one. The nature of the return migration in

⁵² ÅKERMAN divides the emigration into four phases: introductory, growth, saturation, and regression phase (ÅKERMAN 1976, 25–31).

different parts of the country can only be understood if this wider context is known. Consequently we shall now take a closer look, though in general terms, at mobility during the period under investigation, and after that at the sample municipalities selected for this study.

As has often been mentioned in research, there were Finnish sailors who settled in America as early as the Californian Gold Rush in the mid-nineteenth century. The first symptoms of a real "America fever", however, appeared in the 1860s, and by the end of that decade one can regard the migration as having properly begun, initially in the northern part of the country.⁵³ From the middle of the century, the desertion of sailors from ships began to occur on a larger scale; between 1856 and 1860 the number of deserters was around 500, which means 6—8 % of the total strength of the merchant navy.⁵⁴ In the same period, the movement from northern Finland to Norway was quite marked; it has been estimated that by 1865 over 5000 Finns had moved there. Many of these continued their journey as far as America: John I. KOLEHMAINEN speaks of 700—1000 emigrants for the 1860s.⁵⁵

Emigration from the western parts of Europe was already very marked by this period, for between 1820 and 1860 the United States absorbed something like six million immigrants.⁵⁶ Up to the turn of the century over 26 % of the European immigration into the United States consisted of Germans, over 20 % of Irish, about 16 % of British, while Scandinavian-origin immigrants made up about 6 %. The peak of the Irish migration, for example, had already been reached in the middle of the last century, and the Irish population continued to fall steadily from the 1840s to the end of the century, primarily due to emigration.⁵⁷ By contrast, the immigration of some of the "new" immigrant groups, e.g. the Greeks, did not begin until the early 20th century.⁵⁸ Within this overall trend, the Finnish migration is located between the extremes, though it did not reach its peak until after the turn of the century.

By 1930, the number of those who had left Finland in the overseas migration had almost reached 400 000.⁵⁹ In comparison with the other Nordic countries, this is about the same in absolute numbers as the Danish emigration. Up to the First World War more than 300 000 emigrants had departed from both Denmark and Finland, while in the same period the numbers emigrating from Sweden and Norway were 1 100 000 and 750 000 respectively.⁶⁰

The main flow of the overseas migration was directed to the United States, where a labour shortage prevailed, caused by the rapid economic growth. The attraction

⁵³ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 21; KILPI 1917, 24—25; ILMONEN I 1919, 80—84; WARGELIN 1924, 52—53; ILMONEN III 1926, 10; WARIS 1936, 21; ENGELBERG 1944, 21—27; SAVOLAINEN and KOKKONEN 1964, *passim*; KERO 1974, 16—23.

⁵⁴ HAUTALA 1967, 101—103.

⁵⁵ KOLEHMAINEN *n.d.* (1946), 12, 19, 51—52.

⁵⁶ See CAROLI 1973, 15.

⁵⁷ SCHRIER 1958, 9, 158—159.

⁵⁸ SALOUTOS 1956, 1—2.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 1; cf. TOIVONEN 1963, Appendices Table 3.

⁶⁰ See KERO 1974, 47.

of the United States was based on the higher rates of pay compared to Finland, for example. For the individual emigrant the most essential feature was precisely higher wages, of which information spread through letters and returning migrants. While a farmhand or a lumberjack earned two or three marks a day in Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the wages of an immigrant working on railroad construction was two dollars a day around 1910; one dollar was more than five Finnish marks in the early 1900s.⁶¹ Even these rough figures give some idea of the differences. From the point of view of an individual emigrant this difference was the main "pull" factor in America. In broader terms, the rapid growth of American economy attracted labour from Europe, where the development was slower.

But the original cause for this mass movement of people was in the "push": a radical change in the traditional bases of society, though this of course did not happen overnight. The population increased at an unprecedented rate in Europe during the 19th century, as industrialization proceeded; with rising standards of living, and improvements in medicine, the birthrate rose and mortality declined.⁶² The increase in population became so rapid that the economy could not keep pace with it, leading in Finland as elsewhere in Europe to the emergence of "relative surplus population", whom the economy could not adequately support.⁶³ This relative surplus population, the result of a contradiction between demographic development and economic opportunities, had become problematic in Finland even in the 1840s. Between 1815 and 1875 the main increase in population occurred in rural areas, leading to population pressure since the range of economic opportunities did not expand accordingly. This was further reinforced by the one-sidedness of the country's economy, for in the 1860s 85 % of the Finnish population were still engaged in agriculture. The Finnish industrial revolution had its beginnings in the following decade, but it was not until the last decade of the century that industrialization really got under way.⁶⁴

In this transitional period the population pressure in Finland was thus concentrated in the countryside. An increasing proportion of the rural population was non-self-supporting, since the number of farms did not increase as fast as the potential number of farmers. The division of farms was blocked both by prevailing law and the prevailing custom, i.e. that the entire property should be taken over by a single child, with the consequence that the other children had to seek their living in other ways, leading to a degree of downward social mobility. The proportion of landless population steadily increased towards the end of the 19th century, and their opportunities for supporting themselves meanwhile deteriorated.⁶⁵

⁶¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 145—146.

⁶² JUTIKKALA 1953, 403—408.

⁶³ KILPI 1917, 77—93; TUDEER 1923, 372; WARIS 1936, 15; KERO 1974, 60.

⁶⁴ HAATANEN 1965, 1, 6, 13—16, 29.

⁶⁵ LENTO 1951, 38—40; HAATANEN 1965, 17, 20—21; cf. ROSENBERG 1966, 198—200.

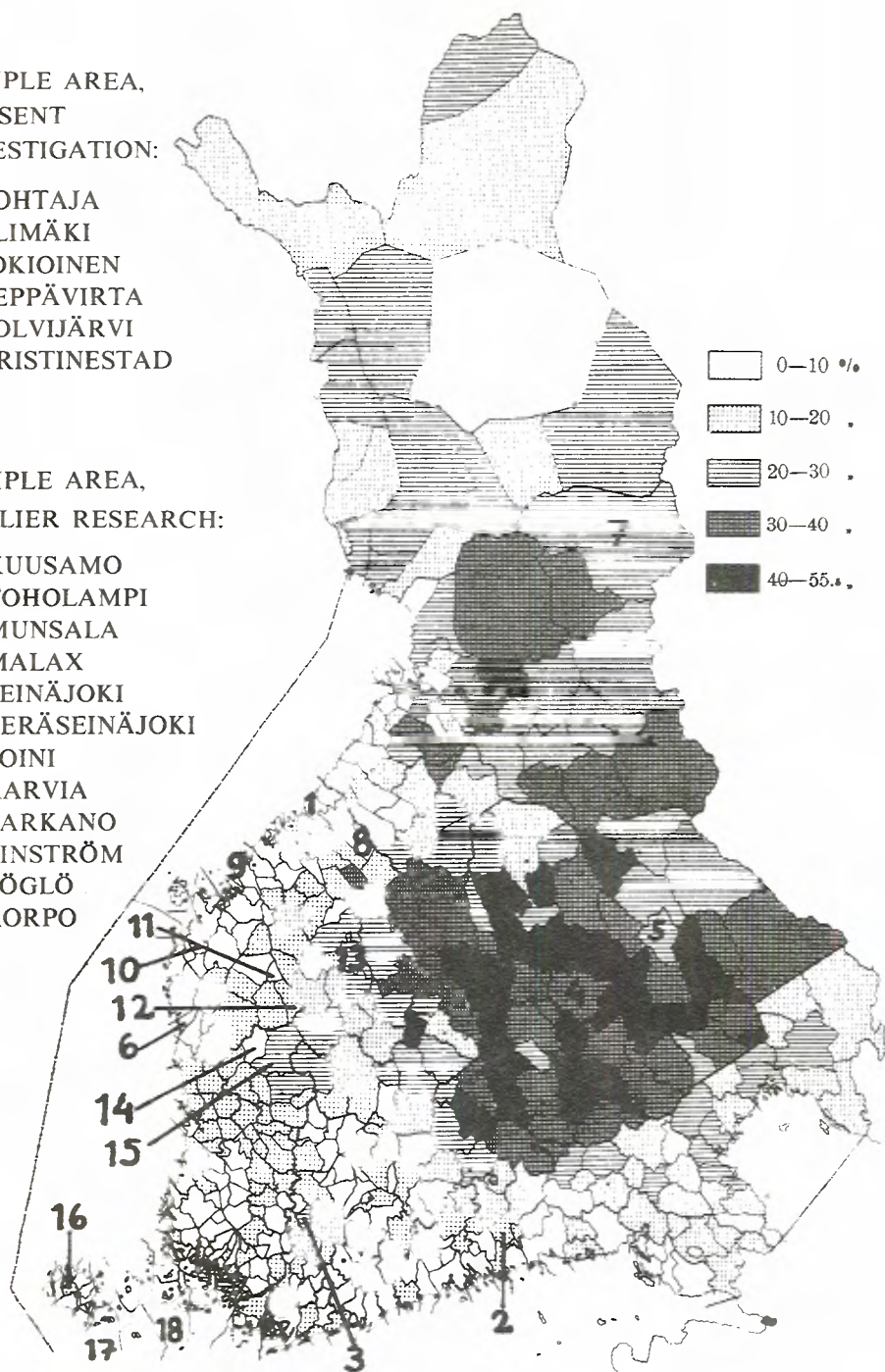
Map 1. Percentage of Rural Households without a Specific Dwelling Space in Relation to All the Rural Households in Finland, in 1901 (i.e. Dependent Lodger Population).^a

SAMPLE AREA,
PRESENT
INVESTIGATION:

1. LOHTAJA
2. ELIMÄKI
3. JOKIOINEN
4. LEPPÄVIRTA
5. POLVIJÄRVI
6. KRISTINESTAD

SAMPLE AREA,
EARLIER RESEARCH:

7. KUUSAMO
8. TOHOLAMPI
9. MUNSALA
10. MALAX
11. SEINÄJOKI
12. PERÄSEINÄJOKI
13. SOINI
14. KARVIA
15. PARKANO
16. FINSTRÖM
17. FÖGLÖ
18. KORPO



a: GEBHARD 1909, Map 3.

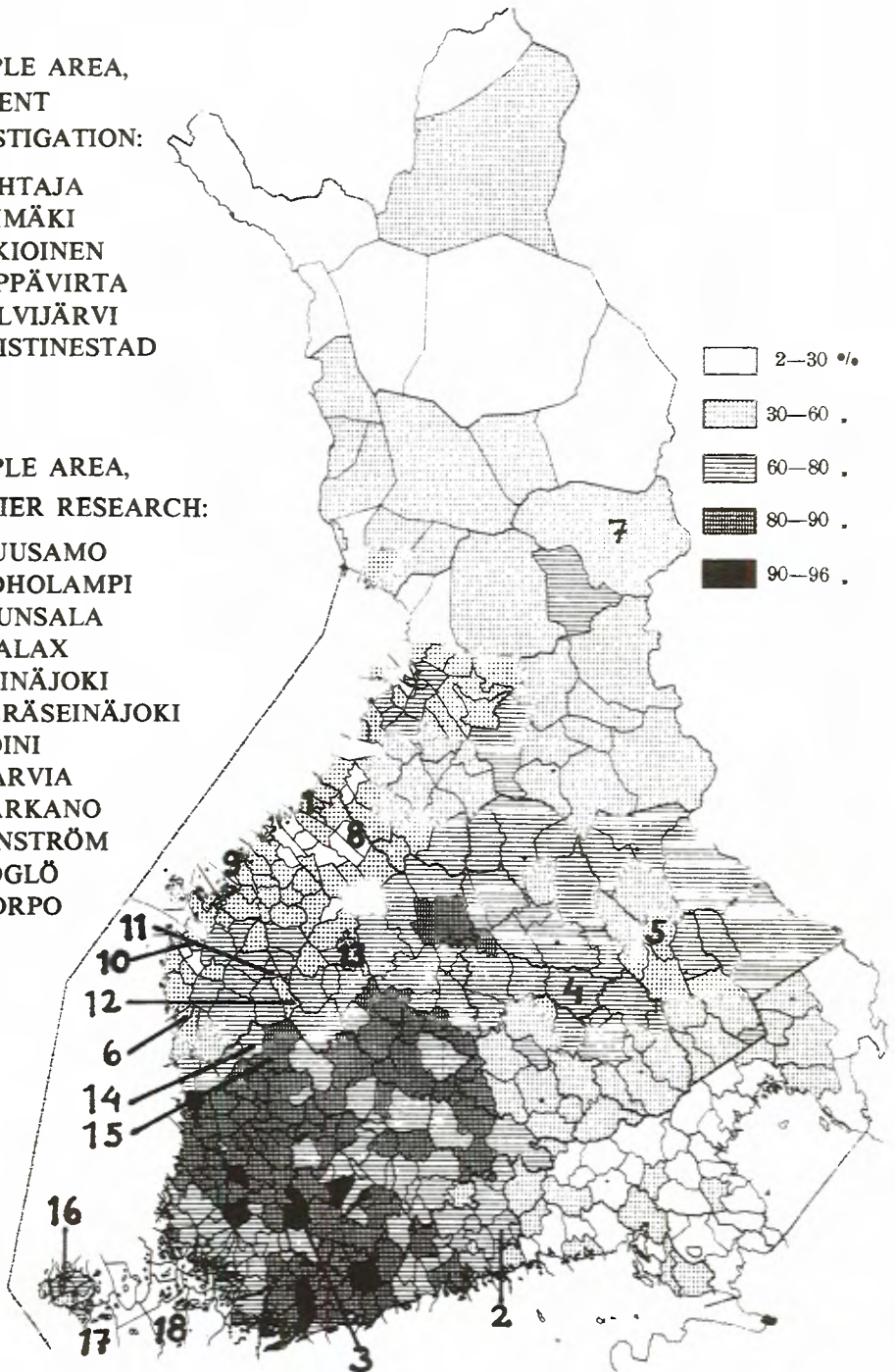
Map 2. *Percentage of Rented Farm Land in Relation to the Total Farm Land in Finland, in 1901 (i.e. Crofter Areas).^a*

**SAMPLE AREA,
PRESENT
INVESTIGATION:**

1. LOHTAJA
2. ELIMÄKI
3. JOKIOINEN
4. LEPPÄVIRTA
5. POLVIJÄRVI
6. KRISTINESTAD

**SAMPLE AREA,
EARLIER RESEARCH:**

7. KUUSAMO
8. TOHOLAMPI
9. MUNSALA
10. MALAX
11. SEINÄJOKI
12. PERÄSEINÄJOKI
13. SOINI
14. KARVIA
15. PARKANO
16. FINSTRÖM
17. FÖGLÖ
18. KORPO



^a: GEBHARD 1909, Map 5.

The highest proportion of landless population in relation to other population groups at the end of the last century is to be found in Kuopio Province,⁶⁶ while the heartland of crofters farming rented land was located in the Provinces of Uusimaa, Turku and Pori, and Häme.⁶⁷ Thus, whereas over the country as a whole the proportion of rented arable and meadow land at the turn of the century was 22.9 %, in Häme Province it was for instance 34.5 %.⁶⁸ In Oulu and Vaasa Provinces, the proportion of landowners actually increased during the 19th century,⁶⁹ but in Uusimaa Province it declined.⁷⁰ The dismantling of restrictions on mobility and on freedom of economic occupation,⁷¹ and the beginnings of manufacturing industry,⁷² contributed to the increasing pull of the cities and even foreign countries on the surplus rural population.

In addition, the structure of agriculture began to change in the 1870s, when the increasing demand for timber led to a rapid rise in its price. The importance of cattle farming also increased in Finnish agriculture in the same period. Thus for farmers, overall prosperity began to improve markedly in the course of the 1870s, whereas the position of the landless population further deteriorated. Arable farming, where new equipment had been introduced, no longer required anything like the same amount of labour as it had done previously, nor were there sufficient employment opportunities even in forestry to resolve the situation, claims Arvo SOININEN. The rising price of timber also tended to widen the gap between the landed farmers and the landless population, whose common law rights to wood were lost. The group most affected by this were the crofters, who were tied to their crofts and by their obligations to provide labour, and were thus prevented from benefiting from the rising value of timber, i.e. they did not have enough time to engage in forestry work. The number of crofters nonetheless steadily increased towards the end of the century.⁷³

⁶⁶ LENTO 1951, 41; PIIRAINEN 1958, 17; see Map 1, p. 25, for the landless population, and Map 3, p. 32, for the location of the Finnish Provinces.

⁶⁷ WARIS 1936, 37; cf. RASILA 1961, 24—25; see also Map 2, p. 26.

⁶⁸ JUTIKKALA 1969, 83.

⁶⁹ TOIVONEN 1963, 84.

⁷⁰ ROSENBERG 1966, 198. ROSENBERG's calculations cover the period 1820—1875, during which the number of farmers in Uusimaa Province fell by 14 %.

⁷¹ The long series of decrees between 1852 and 1883 which abolished forced labour by the landless population, extended freedom of economic activity, and created freedom of choice in respect of place of residence, laid a new basis for economic activity on the part of the landless population in the country (PIIRAINEN 1958, 23—24).

⁷² MATTILA 1969, 25—27.

⁷³ SOININEN 1975, 410—415; see also RASILA 1961, 45—48.

The following list sets out the loss or gain in population in rural areas by different Provinces as a result of internal migration between 1881 and 1939:⁷⁴

Kuopio Province	— 107 152
Turku and Pori Province, with the Åland Islands	— 98 362
Vaasa Province	— 74 854
Häme Province	— 66 391
Mikkeli Province	— 65 582
Uusimaa Province	— 22 115
Oulu Province with Lapland	— 13 554
Viipuri Province	+ 19 445
<hr/>	
Total Finland (rural areas)	— 428 565

As one would predict on the basis of what has been discussed above, the loss of rural population was greatest in Kuopio Province. Viipuri Province was the only Province to gain in rural population, which was the result of the establishment of industrial communities. The small size of the population decrease in Oulu Province, on the other hand, is explained by new settlement, a phenomenon not found elsewhere.⁷⁵ It is noticeable that the most important Provinces in the long-distance migration, Vaasa, and Turku & Pori, also lost rural population heavily in the internal migration.

In Heikki WARIS's opinion, geographical factors explain why it was primarily overseas emigration which eased the population pressure in Ostrobothnia and northern Satakunta while that in Häme and eastern Finland was mainly eased by internal migration.⁷⁶ More concrete factors can be identified, however. The increase in population in the first three quarters of the 19th century was greater in southern Ostrobothnia than anywhere else in Finland. When forestry began to change the structure of Finnish agriculture in the 1870s, southern Ostrobothnia did not share in this. The tar and shipbuilding industries finally lost their significance in the same period, i.e. in the 1860s and 1870s. The earlier tar industry, shipbuilding, and the sale of timber in central and southern Ostrobothnia meant that this area no longer possessed a proper stock of timber, and was thus excluded from benefiting from the economic upswing based on forestry. In addition, it was more common to divide

⁷⁴ LENTO 1951, Appendices Table V; cf. Suomen historian kartasto (Atlas of Finnish History) 1959, Map N:o 57.

⁷⁵ WARIS 1936, 18—20.

⁷⁶ WARIS 1936, 28. The word "Province" is used to translate two different Finnish terms. *Lääni* is an administrative unit (in the early 20th century the country consisted of eight *läänit*; see Map 3, p. 32). The other word, *maakunta*, is translated here as "historical province", and the only historical provinces referred to in this text are Ostrobothnia, covering the main part of Vaasa Province and the coastal areas of Oulu Province, while Satakunta is situated in the northern parts of Turku and Pori Province.

properties in Ostrobothnia than in southern Finland, so that Ostrobothnian farms were comparatively small.⁷⁷

KERO has also pointed out that the growth of population in "Emigration Finland", i.e. the western parts of the country, was rapid and that the region was lacking in industrial centres. He draws attention to the overall increase in mobility, taking the form for traditional reasons of emigration in one area and internal migration in another.⁷⁸ Holger WESTER, on the other hand, whose doctoral dissertation deals with the spread of the emigration movement in Ostrobothnia, makes use of some other investigations and reaches different results from KERO: Finnish society in the 19th century was not in fact so stable as to rule out migration even at the beginning of the century; internal migration was actually greater at the beginning of the century than at the end. The increase in emigration abroad may partially explain the reduction in internal migration towards the end of the century,⁷⁹ but in fact it has not been shown explicitly in any investigation that emigration and internal migration compensate each other, though it may be possible to treat different migration destinations as alternatives to a certain extent. In WESTER's sample area, internal migration did decrease as emigration abroad became more widespread, with Sweden as the major destination in the period 1861—1890 and North America thereafter. In the transitional period, the tradition of emigration to Sweden was for a short time a barrier to emigration to North America, but on the other hand it had established the habit of going abroad to find work. Once emigration to a particular destination (e.g. North America) had gained momentum, self-perpetuating factors came into play: factors such as family ties (with different members of the family emigrating at various different times), and the migration tradition in a given area (with emigration gradually becoming a collective form of behaviour, or social norm).⁸⁰

These overall features of the Finnish emigration (especially the "push" factors) must be borne in mind in setting out to select the sample areas for the present investigation, even though the selection proper is based on the criteria set out above (p. 22). The next step (Table 1), therefore, is to compare the extent of emigration in different Provinces, bearing in mind that one Province may include several emigration areas.

Both in absolute and relative terms the emigration was heaviest in the Provinces along the Finnish west coast, and all the investigations to date of the return migration have concentrated on localities in these Provinces (see Map 3, p. 32). The selection of sample areas from the regions of high migration is easier than from those of low migration, inasmuch as a number of localities are available which are representative in terms of the volume of emigration. Regions of low emigration are less revealing for research purposes; in these regions there are relatively few localities where the absolute number of emigrants is sufficient to permit the examination of

⁷⁷ SOININEN 1975, 402.

⁷⁸ KERO 1974, 60—63.

⁷⁹ WESTER 1977, 73—78, 186.

⁸⁰ WESTER 1977, 177—178, 186, 189—191.

Table 1. *Absolute and Relative Emigration, by Provinces.*

Province	Emigrants Departing 1893—1930 ^a		Mean Emigration per 1000 Mean Population	
			1870—1914 ^b	1866—1930 ^c
Vaasa	156 376	47.1 %	8.6 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	6.2 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Turku and Pori with Åland	51 858	15.6 %	2.5 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	1.8 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Oulu with Lapland	44 987	13.5 %	4.3 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	2.9 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Viipuri	23 104	7.0 %	1.0 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	0.8 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Uusimaa	22 012	6.6 %	1.1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	1.1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Häme	13 971	4.2 %	0.7 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	0.7 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Kuopio	13 042	3.9 %	0.8 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	0.7 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Mikkeli	6 575	2.0 %	0.6 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	0.5 ⁰ / ₁₀₀
Place of Origin Unknown	369	0.1 %	..	..
TOTAL	332 294	100.0 %	2.8 ⁰ / ₁₀₀	2.1 ⁰ / ₁₀₀

a: SVT XXVIII: 21, Table XV.

b: KERO 1974, Appendix A.

c: TOIVONEN 1963, Appendices Table 2.

the results from an adequate range of aspects, and their comparison with the regions of high emigration.

Following on from the previous Table, Table 2 compares the municipalities selected as the sample areas for the present investigation, together with those studied in earlier research, in terms of the relative overall volume of emigration. The Table gives the absolute and relative volume of emigration only up to the First World War, since it is only for this period that the information available for the sample areas from this investigation and from earlier studies is comparable. These figures may also be compared with the data for different Provinces between 1870 and 1914, in Table 1. The location of the places mentioned in Table 2 is shown in Map 3.

This Table is derived from a single source (passport registers), and it covers less than the full time range of the present investigation, but does nevertheless provide a good overall impression of the extent of emigration in different areas.⁸¹ As the Table shows, and as was mentioned earlier, research so far has been restricted to areas of high or fairly high emigration. In the present investigation, Lohtaja represents a high emigration region, since according to KERO's calculations there are only five Finnish municipalities in which emigration prior to the First World War was relatively higher than in Lohtaja. These five municipalities were Nykarleby, Toholampi, Alajärvi, Isokyrö, and Munsala.⁸² When Lohtaja is compared with the southern Ostrobothnian places whose emigration has been calculated by TOIVONEN for the period up to 1930, the only place to emerge with a higher emigration

⁸¹ The official Emigration Statistics are based on passport registers. For the sample areas in the present investigation, see more specifically Table 3, p. 34.

⁸² KERO 1974, Appendix A.

Table 2. *Volume of Emigration in the Sample Areas for the Return Migration, 1870-1914*^a

Sample Area	Emigrants	Mean Annual Emigration	Mean Population 1870-1914	Annual Mean Emigration per 1000 Mean Population
PRESENT INVESTIGATION:				
Lohtaja	1881	41.8	3255	12.8 ⁰ / ₀₀
Kristinestad	947	21.0	2791	7.5 ⁰ / ₀₀
Elimäki	261	5.8	5612	1.0 ⁰ / ₀₀
Polvijärvi	183	4.1	4215	1.0 ⁰ / ₀₀
Leppävirta	232	5.2	14892	0.3 ⁰ / ₀₀
Jokioinen ^b	45	1.0	3464	0.3 ⁰ / ₀₀
EARLIER RESEARCH:				
Toholampi	2346	52.1	3279	15.9 ⁰ / ₀₀
Munsala	2826	62.8	4836	13.0 ⁰ / ₀₀
Malax	1724	38.3	4419	8.7 ⁰ / ₀₀
Peräseinäjoki	1438	32.0	3971	8.1 ⁰ / ₀₀
Finström	789	17.5	2237	7.8 ⁰ / ₀₀
Karvia	947	21.0	3093	6.8 ⁰ / ₀₀
Parkano	1618	36.0	5552	6.5 ⁰ / ₀₀
Seinäjoki	838	18.6	2905	6.4 ⁰ / ₀₀
Föglö	467	10.4	1695	6.1 ⁰ / ₀₀
Soini	679	15.1	2802	5.4 ⁰ / ₀₀
Kuusamo ^c	1078	24.0	8576	2.8 ⁰ / ₀₀
Korpo	228	5.1	2463	2.1 ⁰ / ₀₀

a: KERO 1974, Appendix A. The figures for 1893-1914 are based on the official Emigration Statistics, and those for 1870-1892 on the passport registers, with the exception of Elimäki, for which the number of emigrants is that from the official Emigration Statistics for 1893-1914 (see KERO 1974, 48-49). The modes of calculation of the various figures are explained in Appendix A in KERO 1974.

b: By 1930, according to a detailed investigation, the absolute emigration figures are considerably higher, especially in Jokioinen (see Table 6, p. 51).

c: Including Posio, which did not become an independent municipality until 1926.

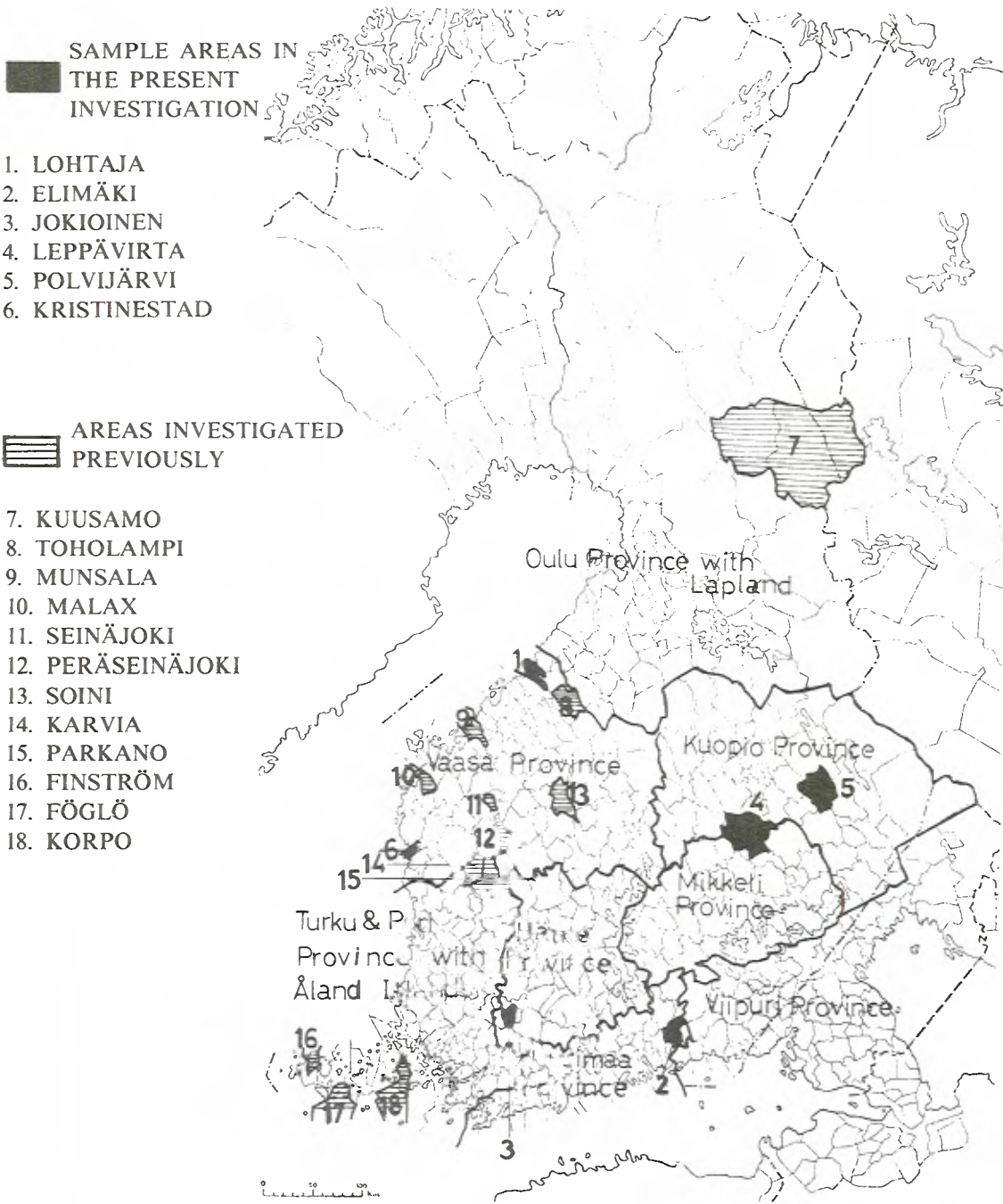
rate is Nykarleby.⁸³ These comparisons clearly indicate that Lohtaja should be regarded as one of the most important areas in the Finnish emigration.

The urban sample in the study, Kristinestad, represents fairly high emigration, and its selection is justified by the fact that emigration there was of real significance in the demographic development. In view of the low level of urban emigration in absolute numbers,⁸⁴ it is appropriate to select only one town among the sample areas, and this has been taken from the centre of the main emigration region, Ostrobothnia. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals that the relative extent of

⁸³ TOIVONEN 1963, Appendices Table 2, for southern Ostrobothnia; Table 3, p. 34 below, for Lohtaja.

⁸⁴ About 12 % of the Finnish overseas emigration occurred from urban areas (KERO 1974, 15).

Map 3. The Sample Areas for the Return Migration.



emigration from Kristinestad is slightly below both that for Vaasa Province as a whole (8.6 per thousand) and that for urban areas in the Province as a whole (Vaasa Province urban areas 8.8 per thousand,⁸⁵ Kristinestad 7.5), but in comparison with the whole country this represents a high emigration rate (the mean urban rate for the whole of Finland was 3.1 per thousand⁸⁶). Overall, the relative emigration rate was slightly higher in urban than in rural areas, according to KERO.⁸⁷

It would also have been possible to investigate urban emigration by selecting a growing industrial town, but Kristinestad has been chosen on the basis of the criteria set out above, and also since of the sample areas selected this is the only one located in a Swedish-speaking area.

Four of the sample areas have been selected from regions of low emigration, mainly because in order to obtain an overall picture of the Finnish return migration, information is also needed from these regions, which in previous research have been completely ignored. The low absolute numbers for the emigration make it possible to examine several places, since the technical processing of the data is relatively easy. On the other hand, precisely because of the low rate of emigration, these sample areas may not be particularly representative in dealing with some of the questions being investigated, though this problem can be overcome by comparing a number of areas. After all, the absolute emigration figures for each sample area by 1930 (see Table 6, p. 51) are in the hundreds according to a detailed investigation, Jokioinen having the fewest emigrants, i.e. 187. Consequently, to find out the number of returning migrants (whether large or small) is a research problem as such, and it has no direct impact in the selection of sample areas.

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that emigration from Elimäki up to the First World War was at approximately the same level as that for Uusimaa Province as a whole, whereas the emigration from Jokioinen before the First World War was noticeably lower than that for Häme Province as a whole. It should however be noted in Table 3 that by 1930 the relative emigration from Jokioinen was distinctly higher than that for the whole of Häme Province given in Table 1: firstly, because a comparatively significant flow of emigration continued from Jokioinen during the 1920s, and secondly, because a detailed investigation of the emigration from this area revealed considerably more emigrants than the passport register would suggest.⁸⁸ In the sample areas from Kuopio Province, the emigration rate from Leppävirta was below that for the Province as a whole and that for Polvijärvi greater.

The beginnings and climax of the emigration from the sample areas are set out in Table 3, which gives the volume of emigration from each area at five-year intervals: cf. the criteria established for the selection of the sample areas. The numbers of emigrants used in this Table are derived from the detailed examination of a range

⁸⁵ KERO 1974, 227 Appendix A.

⁸⁶ KERO 1974, 232 Appendix A.

⁸⁷ KERO 1974, 53—54.

⁸⁸ These principles are explained in Chapter I:4.

Table 3. Mean Annual Emigration Rate against Mean Population, by Sample Areas.^a

Year	Lohtaja			Elimäki			Jokioinen			Leppävirta			Polvijärvi			Kristinestad		
	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate	Mean Population	Mean Emigration Rate	Emigration Rate
1860—64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2529	0.6	0.2 ^{0/00}
1865—69	3027	1.0	0.3 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2546	0.4	0.2 ^{0/00}
1870—74	2966	18.2	6.1 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2590	0.2	0.1 ^{0/00}	
1875—79	3050	9.8	3.2 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2685	0.8	0.3 ^{0/00}	
1880—84	3108	77.2	24.8 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2682	11.0	4.1 ^{0/00}	
1885—89	3205	53.8	16.8 ^{0/00}	5645	0.2	0.0 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	13955	0.4	0.0 ^{0/00}	—	—	2670	18.0	6.7 ^{0/00}	
1890—94	3240	51.0	15.7 ^{0/00}	5716	0.4	0.1 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	14009	0.2	0.0 ^{0/00}	—	—	2657	23.2	8.7 ^{0/00}	
1895—99	3334	48.4	14.5 ^{0/00}	5804	1.2	0.2 ^{0/00}	—	—	—	14750	1.8	0.1 ^{0/00}	—	—	2730	22.8	8.4 ^{0/00}	
1900—04	3437	64.0	18.6 ^{0/00}	5829	13.0	2.2 ^{0/00}	3767	2.0	0.5 ^{0/00}	14889	0.8	0.1 ^{0/00}	—	—	2908	43.8	15.1 ^{0/00}	
1905—09	3560	65.0	18.3 ^{0/00}	5847	30.4	5.2 ^{0/00}	4114	7.6	1.8 ^{0/00}	14657	11.8	0.8 ^{0/00}	—	—	3084	43.0	13.9 ^{0/00}	
1910—14	3723	28.8	7.7 ^{0/00}	5864	21.2	3.6 ^{0/00}	4444	13.4	3.0 ^{0/00}	14482	18.0	1.2 ^{0/00}	—	—	3330	32.6	9.8 ^{0/00}	
1915—19	3797	14.2	3.7 ^{0/00}	5939	1.2	0.2 ^{0/00}	4579	2.2	0.5 ^{0/00}	14918	21.6	1.4 ^{0/00}	—	—	3530	6.0	1.7 ^{0/00}	
1920—24	3875	31.2	8.1 ^{0/00}	6250	12.0	1.9 ^{0/00}	4613	9.6	2.1 ^{0/00}	15311	3.0	0.2 ^{0/00}	—	—	3542	14.0	4.0 ^{0/00}	
1925—30	4007	20.5	5.1 ^{0/00}	6500	3.3	0.5 ^{0/00}	4884	4.1	0.8 ^{0/00}	15220	7.2	0.5 ^{0/00}	—	—	3467	9.5	2.7 ^{0/00}	
TOTAL	3595	37.2	10.3 ^{0/00}	6004	9.2	1.5 ^{0/00}	4405	6.5	1.5 ^{0/00}	14476	7.1	0.5 ^{0/00}	6049	6.4	1.1 ^{0/00}	2903	16.1	5.5 ^{0/00}

^a The population figures are derived from the following sources: SVT VI: 1, Table IV; SVT VI: 5, Table 3; STV 1887—1902, Table 3; STV 1903 & 1912, Table 8; STV 1904, 1906—1911, Table 9; STV 1905, 1913—1919, Table 10; STV 1920—1927, Table 12; STV 1928—1932, Table 14. The Emigration Rate is calculated per thousand population. It has been obtained by calculating the mean annual emigration against the mean annual population for five-year periods.

The Mean Emigration is the sum emigration for each five-year period divided by 5. The Mean Population has been obtained according to the following example: for the period 1900—1904, by summing the population recorded for 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, and 1904 in the population registers kept by the parishes and dividing this by 6. The terminal period (1925—1930) covers six years. Before 1885 the population of each municipality was given only once in five years. The Total Emigration Rate for each sample area over the entire period being investigated has been averaged starting from the five-year period in which the local emigration started, while the Total Mean Population is the mean of the population in the first year of emigration in each sample area and in 1930, which is a slightly less precise method of calculation than that used for each five-year period.

of sources,⁸⁹ thus providing a more accurate picture than that in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 3 indicates that mass overseas emigration from Lohtaja had already started in the early 1870s.⁹⁰ The wave of emigration from northern Finland via Norway had begun to spread at precisely this time to central Ostrobothnia, but also to the coastal parts of southern Ostrobothnia, where it was strengthened as a result of reports coming in through Sweden.⁹¹ Individual cases of emigration occur in Kristinestad throughout the 1860s and 1870s, though these mainly consist of seamen remaining abroad.⁹² The Table does not show the mass emigration as beginning in Kristinestad until the 1880s. It was in the same period that "America fever" began to spread in Satakunta⁹³ and the Åland Islands, as also, it would appear, in the Turku archipelago. BLOMFELT dates the beginnings of emigration from Åland to the late 1860s.⁹⁴ Elsewhere in Finland overseas emigration remained at a very low level right up to the end of the nineteenth century, as the figures in Table 3 for Elimäki, Jokioinen, Leppävirta, and Polvijärvi indicate.⁹⁵ The Finnish emigration was thus relatively late in starting in comparison with the rest of the Nordic countries, since the numbers of emigrants leaving Sweden, Norway, and Denmark for America had been considerable even in the 1850s.⁹⁶

As the Finnish emigration reached its peak, in the first decade of the twentieth century, it was already ebbing in the areas where it had first started. The peak of emigration from Lohtaja is shown in Table 3 to have occurred in the first half of the 1880s, although high emigration continued throughout the emigration period. In Kristinestad, overseas emigration was at its maximum in the first years of this century, while in the other sample areas under investigation the peak came slightly later, in 1905-1914, which has been typical for regions of low emigration. The dates of occurrence of emigration in the sample areas taken as a whole thus cover the distinctive features of different parts of the country in this respect.

The conditions for the Finnish return migration were completely different from what they had been in the overseas migration of the early nineteenth century. Firstly, the supply of free farmland, which had originally been readily available in North America, began to run out towards the end of the century.⁹⁷ In consequence, immigrants tended to take up occupations with which it would be comparatively easy to transfer to other kinds of work or to move on somewhere else.

⁸⁹ See in more detail Chapter I:4.

⁹⁰ A few cases of individual seamen remaining abroad as emigrants have been traced in Lohtaja for the mid-nineteenth century period (see JUNKALA 1977, 59).

⁹¹ ILMONEN III 1926, 10—11; WARIS 1936, 21—22; TOIVONEN 1963, 21—22 and Appendices Table 1; WESTER 1977, 65, 126.

⁹² Cf. ILMONEN II 1923, 53.

⁹³ KERO 1970, 38.

⁹⁴ BLOMFELT 1968, 79; see also WIDÉN 1975, 16.

⁹⁵ On the beginnings and expansion of the Finnish emigration in different parts of the country, see especially KERO 1974, 16—23.

⁹⁶ KILPI 1917, 23—26.

⁹⁷ LINDBERG 1930, 249; see also HVIDT 1971, 326.

A second vital precondition for the return migration was the development of communications. The voyage on a sailing ship lasted in some cases as long as three months, whereas steamships were able to transport emigrants over the Atlantic in two weeks. Even by the 1870s, steam had replaced sail in the transport of emigrants.⁹⁸ The level of comfort for the passengers was still far from satisfactory, however, despite the faster passage. In 1891 the Finnish Steamship Company started sailings between Hanko in Finland and Hull in England specifically with emigrants in mind, which meant a marked improvement in communications as well as better opportunities for return migration. From 1894 on, the Finnish Steamship Company had established itself as practically the only carrier of Finnish emigrants as far as England, since it had by that time cut out its foreign competitors. By the time of the First World War, improvements in the cleanliness of the ships and in cabin space had made the passage more comfortable, and this trend was reinforced by the competition between the shipping lines for overseas traffic in the 1920s.⁹⁹

While it cannot be shown that emigration was increased by the improved communications, it must certainly have made at least the return to the home country easier. ENGELBERG, for instance, alludes to this in his examination of the volume of the return,¹⁰⁰ as does Wolfgang HELL for the German return.¹⁰¹ There was a mutual interaction between the emigration and the development of sea communications, since the emigrants enjoyed the benefits of improved transport, while the shipping lines became rich on the proceeds of shipping large numbers of emigrants overseas and back again. CAROLI points out the significance of the emigration in the development of the Italian shipping industry,¹⁰² and the same phenomenon has been observed for Greece as well.¹⁰³

Finally, the sample areas selected must be examined in terms of their geographical distribution within Finland, and the composition of their population. The examination of the criteria for selection of the sample areas, introduced earlier in this section, will then be complete. Table 4 supports the text below, presenting the exact proportions of independent farming population, crofters, and labourers in the rural sample areas.

In terms of the social composition of their populations, the sample areas selected were located in rather sharply contrasting regions. At the end of the last century crofting was prevalent in Jokioinen, while Polvijärvi and Leppävirta are located in a region which had a high proportion of landless rural population, even though the former had also quite a lot of independent farmers and the latter of crofters, according to Table 4. Elimäki cannot readily be assigned to either of these regions;

⁹⁸ ENGELBERG 1944, 24—26, 31; JUTIKKALA 1953, 299—301; JONES 1960, 183—187; KERO 1974, 131—132, 196—197; HELL 1976, 55.

⁹⁹ ENGELBERG 1944, 29—31, 43, 52; KERO 1974, 148, 155, 196, 202.

¹⁰⁰ ENGELBERG 1944, 36—38.

¹⁰¹ HELL 1976, 55.

¹⁰² CAROLI 1973, 62.

¹⁰³ SALOUTOS 1956, 121.

Table 4. *The Agricultural Population and Its Socio-economic Composition in the Rural Sample Areas, 1901.*^a

Sample Area	Agricultural Population				TOTAL
	Relation to the Whole Population	Independent Farmers	Crofters ^b	Labourers ^c	
PRESENT INVESTIGATION:					
Polvijärvi	86.6 %	39.7 %	12.5 %	47.8 %	100.0 %
Lohtaja	84.3 %	74.1 %	6.7 %	19.2 %	100.0 %
Elimäki	70.1 %	19.2 %	24.8 %	56.0 %	100.0 %
Jokioinen	68.3 %	1.4 %	55.4 %	43.2 %	100.0 %
Leppävirta	64.8 %	22.4 %	27.6 %	50.0 %	100.0 %
EARLIER RESEARCH:					
Toholampi	88.9 %	57.3 %	3.0 %	39.7 %	100.0 %
Peräseinäjoki	86.1 %	36.0 %	13.9 %	50.1 %	100.0 %
Kuusamo	81.2 %	66.5 %	16.8 %	16.7 %	100.0 %
Karvia	80.6 %	30.2 %	29.1 %	40.7 %	100.0 %
Malax	76.8 %	82.0 %	1.5 %	16.5 %	100.0 %
Soini	76.3 %	41.0 %	12.2 %	46.8 %	100.0 %
Munsala	72.4 %	77.3 %	3.9 %	18.8 %	100.0 %
Parkano	69.1 %	23.7 %	28.1 %	48.2 %	100.0 %
Finström	66.6 %	40.3 %	3.7 %	56.0 %	100.0 %
Seinäjäki	56.8 %	32.8 %	20.4 %	46.8 %	100.0 %
Föglö	43.4 %	95.2 %	1.2 %	3.6 %	100.0 %
Korpo	36.0 %	71.2 %	3.3 %	25.5 %	100.0 %
Country as a Whole	71.2 %	35.5 %	16.8 %	47.7 %	100.0 %

a: GEBHARD 1913, Appendix Table II. In each grouping the households are included. On the terminology for the rural socio-economic composition, see p. 99—102 below.

b: Includes the population renting enough land to support them.

c: Includes the labourers plus the population renting land but not enough to support them alone.

there was a considerable proportion of landless population, but crofting had also become established there (cf. Maps 1 and 2, p. 25—26). In fact, Elimäki was even called "the promised land of the crofters" because of their activity to improve the livelihood of people renting land in the early 20th century.¹⁰⁴ Lohtaja, on the other hand, was located in a region where — in contrast to the rest of the country — there was a striking increase in the number of landowners.¹⁰⁵ Kristinestad was of course dominated by various urban occupations.

Lohtaja is in central Ostrobothnia, on the coast close to the border between Vaasa and Oulu Provinces, so that in addition to farming, one of its major occupations was also fishing. The summer, in particular, was spent by many of the men

¹⁰⁴ RASILA 1961, 289 footnote 32, 296.

¹⁰⁵ See TOIVONEN 1963, 84; SOININEN 1975, 402.

on the coast or among the outer islands.¹⁰⁶ This point must not be forgotten when the places where emigrants from Lohtaja settled overseas are being traced. The main economic activity, however, was farming, despite the fact that the soil and climate were not the best possible, due to sand dunes.¹⁰⁷ The size of farms in Lohtaja was overwhelmingly small, though they did provide the livelihood of the majority of people in the municipality, since industry was at the beginning of the century virtually nonexistent.¹⁰⁸ Most of the farms were independent, and crofting settlements did not occur on any large scale either in Lohtaja or its surroundings; crofts mainly occurred singly. The railway line between Seinäjoki and Oulu, completed in 1886, was also important for the emigration, especially once a station had been opened in Kannus, the neighbouring municipality to Lohtaja.¹⁰⁹

Elimäki is situated in eastern Uusimaa, to the west of the Kymi River. In contrast to Lohtaja, the farmland here was good, and in the emigration period this was one of the "wealthier farming areas" in southern Finland.¹¹⁰ Large farms were relatively common in Elimäki.¹¹¹ The industrial population was small, only 8.7%, while the mean figure for the entire country in the rural areas was 11.1%, in 1901.¹¹²

Jokioinen, in the south-west corner of Häme Province, was one of the wealthiest crofting areas in Finland, with good potential farmland.¹¹³ Throughout its development, since the late sixteenth century, Jokioinen had been dominated by the largest manor in Finland, including "Jokilääni", which in its time was the largest coterminous crofting area in Finland.¹¹⁴ Consequently, the land reform after the First World War (redivision of the land into independent farms) took place in Jokioinen on a scale unparalleled elsewhere.¹¹⁵ Its importance within the whole crofting institution is also reflected in the fact that many of the disturbances among crofters at the turn of the century originated precisely there; the Finnish crofter movement for independent land owning actually started there in the 1880s according to Viljo RASILA.¹¹⁶

Leppävirta, south of Kuopio, which has been selected as a sample inland area, is in geographical extent one of the largest municipalities in the country. Agriculture is still the mainstay of the economy, while in 1900 as many as 80.9% of the popula-

¹⁰⁶ KOHTAMÄKI 1938, 63; LUUKKO 1957, 210.

¹⁰⁷ LUUKKO 1957, 138.

¹⁰⁸ Suomenmaa VII 1925, 285—286.

¹⁰⁹ JUNKALA 1977, 31, 49, 436—441.

¹¹⁰ KOKKONEN 1927, 17—18; cf. Suomenmaa I 1919, 182; ROSENBERG 1966, 194—195.

¹¹¹ Suomenmaa I 1919, 182.

¹¹² GEBHARD 1913, 61.

¹¹³ RASILA 1961, 101—102; PELTOVUORI 1963, 99; JUTIKKALA 1969, 88, 117, 132.

¹¹⁴ RASILA 1961, 84—85; MÄKINEN 1968, 320; PAPUNEN 1968, 317; see also GEBHARD 1913, 101, 106, 115.

¹¹⁵ PAPUNEN 1968, 317.

¹¹⁶ RASILA 1961, 84—93, 260—263, 323—327; see also HELLE 1931, 248; JUTIKKALA 1969, 133, 138—139.

tion derived their livelihood from farming and ancillary occupations.¹¹⁷ Here, as throughout the Kuopio Province in eastern Finland, small farms dominated the economy. The complex network of lakes also meant that fishing played an important role in the local economy.¹¹⁸ In comparison with the other rural areas selected as samples in this investigation, Leppävirta also had a considerable amount of industry in the emigration period, especially along the Sorsakoski Rapids.¹¹⁹ Hannes GEBHARD states that the proportion made up by industrial population was 13.3 % in 1901, the figure for rural Finland as a whole being 11.1 %.¹²⁰

Polvijärvi, also in Kuopio Province and near the Finnish eastern frontier, is a typical Finnish rural area. A decisive step in the agricultural development and population expansion of the area was the draining of Lake Höytiäinen in 1859, which provided a radical increase in fertile arable land.¹²¹ Industry, on the other hand, as in most rural areas at the turn of the century, was negligible.¹²²

Kristinestad, in southern Ostrobothnia on the shore of the Bothnian Gulf, the urban migration sample area here, became a borough in 1649. It flourished around the middle of the nineteenth century, when despite its small size it was one of the leading ports in the country. Ships from Kristinestad sailed right round the world, including the United States, Canada, South America, Australia, and even Japan. At mid-century the town's main trade was with North America,¹²³ thus as it were creating traditional links when mass emigration began shortly afterwards. With the end of the sailing ship era, the Kristinestad shipping lines failed to change over to steam smoothly enough, and the town gradually withdrew into its own peaceful life, which has continued right up to the present day. The biggest blow to trade in the town was the completion of the Vaasa railway line in 1883, which meant that it had to share its trading area with Vaasa,¹²⁴ which soon moreover became the economic centre. The economy of Kristinestad naturally included many trading and seafaring professions. It should be borne in mind, however, that agriculture was also practised within the borough limits, since in 1920, for example, the area being farmed was nearly 600 hectares. Kristinestad is the only one of the sample areas to be in a predominantly Swedish-speaking region (in 1920 there were 1697 Swedish speakers, 951 Finnish speakers, and four native speakers of other languages).¹²⁵

Of the areas which have been investigated previously with reference to the return migration, Parkano and Karvia are inland municipalities located in northern Satakunta, though relatively close to the coast. They were chosen, according to KERO.

¹¹⁷ RINTA-TASSI 1967, 44, 63—64; cf. Table 4 above.

¹¹⁸ Suomenmaa VIII 1927, 43—44.

¹¹⁹ Suomenmaa VIII 1927, 44—45.

¹²⁰ GEBHARD 1913, 61—62.

¹²¹ TUOMI 1960, 3—4.

¹²² Suomenmaa VIII 1927, 215.

¹²³ VUORISTO 1971, 99—100.

¹²⁴ VUORISTO 1971, 100.

¹²⁵ Suomenmaa VII 1925, 510.

because their emigration was in broad terms similar to that of the major emigration regions in Finland, while their sources covering the return migration were better than average.¹²⁶ They belonged to the heavy crofting area (see Table 4 and Map 2). The areas investigated by BLOMFELT are in the Åland Islands, Finström being on the main island of Åland itself and Föglö covering a number of smaller islands.¹²⁷ Munsala, on the other hand, is a "typical Ostrobothnian area", with an extremely high rate of emigration, the second-highest, in fact, for Swedish-speaking areas of Ostrobothnia.¹²⁸ A little further south is the coastal area of Malax studied by SMEDS.¹²⁹ Both were dominated by independent farms. It should be noted that Finström, Föglö, Munsala, and Malax are all predominantly Swedish-speaking areas, as is Korpo, in the south-west archipelago,¹³⁰ for which there is also some information available on the return migration. In addition to Munsala and Malax, the return migration has been studied — though to a very limited extent — in Seinäjoki, Peräseinäjoki,¹³¹ and Soini,¹³² in southern Ostrobothnia. Like Parkano and Karvia, these are inland areas. A certain amount of attention was paid to the return migration to central Ostrobothnia, in the study of Toholampi, though this only concerned the early stages of the American emigration.¹³³ For northern Finland, the return migration is mentioned in PÄTYNEN's study of Kuusamo.¹³⁴

To sum up, the representativeness of the areas selected in geographical terms can be considered by combining the observations set out above into wider contexts. The major emigration region, the Ostrobothnian coast, is represented by Lohtaja and Kristinestad, and supplementary comparative material is available for Munsala, Malax, as also for Toholampi (which is situated somewhat further inland, but nevertheless offers some interesting material, especially in relation to Lohtaja). Kristinestad also represents Finnish urban emigration. The inland areas of southern Ostrobothnia are represented by Seinäjoki, Peräseinäjoki, and Soini, but more useful research material is available for Parkano and Karvia, which may be seen as representing not only northern Satakunta but also to some extent both southern Ostrobothnia and northern Häme, while the return migration in southern Häme can be examined by means of the data for Jokioinen. Finström, Föglö, and Korpo represent the island areas in the south-west of Finland: the Åland Islands and the Turku archipelago. The south and south-east of the country are represented by Elimäki, the centre by Leppävirta, the east by Polvijärvi, and the north by Kuusamo. The emigration in Lohtaja also offers points of contact with northern Finland, since it began there very early, as it did, characteristically, in areas further north.

¹²⁶ KERO 1972, 10.

¹²⁷ BLOMFELT 1968, 3—4.

¹²⁸ BACKMAN 1945, 4—5.

¹²⁹ See SMEDS 1935, 1—2.

¹³⁰ WIDÉN 1975, 9.

¹³¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 27.

¹³² WASASTJERNA 1957, 58.

¹³³ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 49—52.

¹³⁴ PÄTYNEN 1972, 108—123.

The sample areas selected also cover a range of variation in that they are situated in ecologically contrasted regions. Detailed study, it should be remembered, is only possible for the six actual areas.¹³⁵ On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the sample areas represent only one group of data; simultaneously they will be compared to all the available research material in order to unravel the aim of the present investigation.

3 THE USE OF THE OFFICIAL MIGRATION STATISTICS

Research into the migration history of large masses of people must of necessity be largely based on quantitative data; and research into the return migration needs to pay as much attention to the statistics on the emigration as to those on the return, since it is only in this way that the composition and volume of the return migration can be investigated in relation to the emigration movement.

As TOIVONEN has observed, the state authorities failed to achieve any grasp on the emigration during the peak years of the movement overseas. The most concrete achievement was the compilation of the Emigration Statistics, which represent a virtually irreplaceable source for research purposes.¹³⁶

The ultimate motive for the initiation of the Emigration Statistics was that even in the 1880s, statistical surveys of population trends were becoming inaccurate through failure to take emigration into account, and this eventually, in 1905, led to the Emigration Statistics being published as a separate series in the Finnish Official Statistics. These Emigration Statistics only cover the emigration, and were based on the registers of passports issued by the Provincial Administrations and certain other authorities. The earliest Emigration Statistics date from 1893, and they contain fairly detailed information on the composition of the emigration Province by Province, with annual emigration totals for the municipalities. Prior to the establishment of the Emigration Statistics, information concerning emigrants had been presented in a few Tables, containing rather limited information, in the Finnish Statistical Yearbook, restricted — between 1882 and 1892 — to the Provinces of Vaasa and Oulu.¹³⁷

The principles on which the Emigration Statistics were compiled remained unchanged in essentials up to the 1920s, when indications of a new increase in emigration prompted consideration of ways in which their compilation could be brought up to date. In consequence, from 1924 onwards the Statistics also included persons moving to other European countries, and efforts were made to increase the reliability

¹³⁵ The total number of acts of emigration from the sample areas in the present investigation during the period being studied was 4871 (see Table 6, p. 51), and with the aid of the Emigrants Index that was compiled, it was possible to examine these emigrant by emigrant.

¹³⁶ TOIVONEN 1963, 249.

¹³⁷ SVT XXVIII: 1, 1—9.

of the figures for emigrants actually departing, since the tightening up of immigration regulations by the United States in 1921 suggested that it would be worth investigating whether everyone who had obtained a passport had in fact succeeded in emigrating. From 1924 on, this was checked with the help of passenger lists, and only those whose names were found there were included in the Statistics.¹³⁸

The reliability of the Emigration Statistics aroused comment immediately, for in 1905 August HJELT pointed out in his analysis of the emigration that "the figures for emigrants do not include persons emigrating in secret without passports, nor those emigrating overseas who had stated another country as their destination",¹³⁹ and it is precisely these factors which constitute the major weakness in the Statistics. Particularly in the early years of the emigration, many people emigrated without passports, especially from the north of the country; on the other hand, by no means every person obtaining a passport — for a variety of reasons — then actually emigrated.¹⁴⁰ TOIVONEN has also noted that the statistics submitted by the authorities in the early years were so imprecise that the Central Bureau of Statistics did not have respect for them, while the Central Bureau in its turn made errors of calculation.¹⁴¹ Some of the passport registers were so carelessly kept, and in such bad handwriting, that this alone caused errors in the compilation of the Statistics. This would seem for instance to have led to partial confusion in the official Statistics between emigrants from Kristinestad, and from the adjacent Kristinestad Rural Municipality (Tjöck), particularly in the decade preceding the First World War.¹⁴²

It can also be seen that throughout the emigration period officials counted some persons as emigrants, and others not, on highly inconsistent principles. The greatest problem, from this point of view, consists of these passports for which the destination is simply recorded as "Abroad", since these occur in widely varying proportions in different places and at different times.¹⁴³ Generally speaking many of those going "abroad" must in fact have been travelling overseas;¹⁴⁴ this can be seen simply by cross-reference of the data from the passport registers with other sources. Since the compilers of the official Statistics appear to have been cautious about treating such persons as emigrants, the emigration figures in the official Statistics are in this respect an underestimate.

On the other hand, a further complication is that the official Statistics include every time a passport for emigration was issued; in other words, if the same person

¹³⁸ SVT XXVIII: 18, 1—5; see also TUNKELO 1936, 258.

¹³⁹ HJELT 1905, 52.

¹⁴⁰ KERO 1974, 35—38.

¹⁴¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 259—260.

¹⁴² For example, the official Statistics record 53 emigrants as having emigrated from Kristinestad in 1909, whereas research using a range of different sources reveals 70 persons as having emigrated. The opposite is then true, for instance, in 1912, when the official Statistics report 54 emigrants from Kristinestad (detailed research only reveals 42).

¹⁴³ This question is studied with reference to the sample areas in the present investigation in the following section of this Chapter.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. TOIVONEN 1963, 256—257; KERO 1974, 39.

obtained a passport several times for separate journeys, he would be separately recorded as an emigrant each time.¹⁴⁵ This has the effect of inflating the emigration figures, as do also those who obtained a passport but never in fact emigrated.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, which can only be studied in detail in the investigation of limited areas, the Emigration Statistics from 1893 onwards are a valuable aid to research into migration history. With their aid, it is possible to gain an overall impression of the emigration for the whole of Finland. BLOMFELT's harsh criticism of the official Statistics, especially of the passport registers,¹⁴⁶ cannot therefore be supported. When the reliability of the Statistics is examined, regional variation is certainly considerable; indisputably, however, they constitute a basic core of research material, provided that their deficiencies are borne in mind.

As regards the return migrants, however, the official Statistics are incontrovertibly extremely deficient.¹⁴⁷ The same applies to most European countries. In his study of the Greek return migration, for instance, SALOUTOS deplors the absence of statistics,¹⁴⁸ which makes it impossible to draw any precise conclusions about the volume or composition of the return migration. The best return migration statistics available appear to be those for Sweden, where they are based directly on the primary material of the population registers kept by the parishes.¹⁴⁹

When plans were being made for the compilation of statistics on emigrants from Finland, it was decided that in order to achieve the fullest coverage of information possible, attention should also be given to tracing those emigrants who had subsequently returned. The task of collecting this information was given to the Registrars of Population attached to the District Courts (*kihlakuntien henkikirjoittajat*), who from 1894 were required to complete and return a special form to the Central Bureau of Statistics.¹⁵⁰ The information obtained, however, proved to be so inadequate that even the compilers of the official Statistics considered it unreliable,¹⁵¹ and it was not thought worth including in the official Emigration Statistics, which thus covered emigration alone. Data on returning emigrants were published in the Finnish Statistical Yearbook from 1894 to 1939 in the form of a few Tables of limited scope.¹⁵²

From 1894 to 1916, returning emigrants are recorded for the country as a whole and can be analyzed in terms of sex, age, occupation, marital status, length of absence, and the countries from which they return. Some of this information is also available for separate Provinces, but from 1917 all that is provided is the total

¹⁴⁵ This cannot of course be considered as an error, but it does obscure the true number of emigrants. In investigating cyclical variations in the emigration movement, on the other hand, it is useful to have information on the number of emigrations at different times.

¹⁴⁶ BLOMFELT 1968, 6–8.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. HJELT 1905, 63–64; GYLLING 1910, 98; TOIVONEN 1963, 25; KERO 1972, 11–12.

¹⁴⁸ SALOUTOS 1956, 49.

¹⁴⁹ TEDEBRAND 1973, 246–247.

¹⁵⁰ SVT XXVIII: 1, 3–4, 7.

¹⁵¹ SVT XXVIII: 1, 9; STV 1924, 72 footnote 2.

¹⁵² STV 1897–1940, Tables concerning the return migration.

number of return migrants per Province, subdivided however into urban and rural areas.¹⁵³

In addition to the data supplied by the District Court Registrars, in 1910 the Finnish Statistical Yearbook began to publish the annual numbers returning on the basis of the shipping companies' passenger lists. This source is available for the period 1894—1925.¹⁵⁴

A good impression of the reliability of the official Statistics for returning emigrants can be obtained simply by comparing with each other the numbers of return migrants recorded by the District Court Registrars and by the shipping lines. Between 1894 and 1925, according to the Registrars, 37 997 emigrants had returned to Finland, while the figure from the shipping companies for the corresponding period is 111 714,¹⁵⁵ almost three times larger. GYLLING considered that the figures provided by the shipping lines were approximately correct; the total number of those returning was in his opinion probably slightly higher than this.¹⁵⁶ ENGELBERG, on the other hand, believed the true number of those returning to be slightly below that reported by the shipping companies.¹⁵⁷

The information from the shipping lines is at least reliable to the extent that it is based on passenger lists; but these of course also include people merely visiting Finland. The same naturally also applies to the information from the Registrars, since a person recorded as having returned might well subsequently re-emigrate. People on short visits, however, have been excluded from the Registrars' returns, while the shipping passenger lists include all third class passengers. Consequently, the figures provided by the shipping lines are too high, and those from the Registrars too low, especially in view of the fact that the care with which such records were kept varied widely from one District Court to another; this will be discussed in the following section.

Both series of figures for the return migration are thus rather unreliable, due quite apart from anything else to their illogicality and mutual contradictions. Use can however be made of them, at least in exploring quantitative fluctuations in the numbers returning, since taken over the country as a whole they give some indication of the scale of the return migration. Even if these Statistics were reliable, however, it would not be possible to base the research on them alone. Firstly, these return Statistics provide no information at all at the municipality level, while it is only by examination at this level that the detailed analysis of the return migration is possible. Furthermore, one of the crucial questions in return migration research — the definition of and distinction between temporary and permanent return — remains com-

¹⁵³ STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1903, Table 45; STV 1919, Table 61; STV 1921, Table 63.

¹⁵⁴ This information is basically derived from the transport carried by the Finnish Steamship Company (STV 1910, 90—91 footnote 1). The development of the communications have been introduced above on p. 36.

¹⁵⁵ STV 1926, Tables 52—53.

¹⁵⁶ GYLLING 1910, 100.

¹⁵⁷ ENGELBERG 1944, 38—39.

pletely obscured in the sources used for these official Statistics. This question can only be solved by proceeding to the level of the individual emigrant, and tracing his or her total pattern of departures and returns.¹⁵⁸

The official Statistics covering both the emigration and more especially the return migration thus suffer from serious overall limitations. They are however of significance as indicators of general trends, and as comparative material in relation to the sample areas selected. Indeed, in comparison with many European migration statistics, they could even be called rather good. Even the overall picture they provide of the migration, however, is limited chronologically, since the Emigration Statistics date only from 1893 and those for the return migration from 1894, whereas emigration had been occurring on a considerable scale before then. This point makes detailed research all the more necessary. Consequently the quantitative basis for analysis and for the solution of the various research questions needs to be obtained from primary material proper.

4 THE USE OF ORIGINAL MATERIAL, AND THE METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS IN THE INVESTIGATION

In investigating the emigration and return migration for each particular area, it is essential to establish as accurately as possible all the various stages passed through by each individual emigrant. The compilation of a card index of these individuals permits the analysis of a number of different quantitative factors in the migration. Since the historian is concerned with specific periods and series of events, in order to obtain adequate information he usually needs only to examine quantitative fluctuation between different periods, and the reliability of the material analyzed then becomes of crucial importance. It is therefore necessary, in view of the scattered nature of the sources, to explain how the basic core of the quantitative material in the present investigation was established, since this decisively conditions the results of the research. The same point applies equally to the other material used in the investigation. The examination of the reliability of the material is however at the same time a methodological question, and consideration will therefore also be paid here to methodological points.

The Emigrants Index for each of the sample areas (Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Leppävirta, Polvijärvi and Kristinestad) is initially based on passport registers, as follows:¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ It then also becomes possible to investigate return to an area other than that of origin.

¹⁵⁹ The present location of the passport registers mentioned in this list will be found in the List of Sources at the end of the present investigation. On the passport registers prior to 1892, and their reliability, see also VAINIO 1974b, *passim*.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

Häme	1886—1930
Kuopio	1880—1930
Mikkeli	1883—1892
Oulu	1870—1892
Turku and Pori	1880—1892
Uusimaa	1880—1923
Vaasa	1860—1930
Viipuri	1880—1885

CITY ADMINISTRATIONS

Hanko	1890—1903
Jakobstad	1891—1903
Joensuu	1893—1899
Kaskö	1893—1903
Kokkola	1874—1892, 1897—1903
Kristinestad	1860—1903
Lovisa	1901—1903
Nykarleby	1897—1900
Pori	1893—1903
Raahе	1880—1894

BAILIFF'S OFFICE (*nimismiespiiri*)

Kokkola	1885—1896
---------	-----------

These passport registers have been selected with a view to ensuring that every emigrant from each of the sample areas who took out a passport would be included. The possibility remains that some emigrants might have applied to some other passport-issuing authority, but the number of such cases will be extremely small, and the use of supplementary sources also compensates for this possible deficiency.

For Lohtaja, the most important source are the passport registers of the Vaasa Provincial Administration, with the exception of the period 1885—1903: firstly, since from 1885 to 1896 passports were also issued by the Bailiff (*nimismies*) of Kokkola, due probably to the very high rate of emigration, since no similar instance is known of elsewhere in Finland. Passports issued by the Kokkola Bailiff were not included in the statistics in the Finnish Statistical Yearbook for 1885—1891, when they only include those persons from Lohtaja listed in the passport registers of the Vaasa Provincial Administration;¹⁶⁰ this creates a gross error of almost 400 emigrants from Lohtaja alone.¹⁶¹ The Kokkola Bailiff's passport registers have also been completely overlooked, for instance, in the recently-published History of Greater Lohtaja,¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Central Bureau of Statistics Archives. Source Material for the Emigration Statistics, 1882—1889. (Separate) Statistical Table on the Numbers of Emigrants, Municipalities in Vaasa Province, 1882—1893 (Finnish National Archives).

¹⁶¹ Similar cases could be quoted for other areas in the vicinity of Kokkola, e.g. Kokkola Rural Municipality, Kälviä, Kannus, Himanka, and Toholampi.

¹⁶² Cf. JUNKALA 1977, 62; Appendix I below.

thus giving a false picture of the scale of emigration from the area. Secondly, between 1897 and 1903 almost all the emigrants from Lohtaja obtained their passports from the City Administration in Kokkola.

In general, these passport registers have been reasonably well kept. In the early years of the emigration, up to 1881, certain important information is not included, e.g. the emigrant's age, a point which is of great significance in identifying individuals whose surnames vary.¹⁶³ "Abroad" entries are also common up to this date, but cross-reference of these cases with other sources usually makes it possible to establish whether the person in question was an overseas emigrant. A few emigrants from Lohtaja also applied for their passports from the Hanko City Administration or the Uusimaa Provincial Administration, i.e. prior to embarkation.

Emigrants from Kristinestad only began to apply for their passports to the Vaasa Provincial Administration from 1904, since until then there had been the opportunity of obtaining them in the city itself, which virtually every local emigrant naturally took advantage of. The Kristinestad City Administration did not record information about passport applicants' destinations before 1882, but this is not too serious a disadvantage, since the numbers of applicants in the 1860s and 1870s were very low. Consequently all of these cases can be solved by cross-reference to other sources, mainly parish records. Not until 1880 and thereafter are the homes of applicants regularly recorded. Between 1860 and 1879¹⁶⁴ there are very few persons in the Kristinestad passport registers emigrating overseas, as can be confirmed not only from the parish records but also by the fact that even after 1882 the majority of passport applicants from Kristinestad continued for many years to be moving to Sweden. 1880 is the first year in which the city experienced marked overseas emigration,¹⁶⁵ so that the deficiencies in the registers for earlier years are not a real problem. In addition to the Vaasa Provincial Administration and Kristinestad City Administration, Kristinestad residents also applied for a few passports to the City Administrations in Kaskö and Hanko and the Uusimaa Provincial Administration.

For the other sample areas, the use of the passport registers is fairly straightforward, mainly due to the later date at which emigration there began. Travellers from Elimäki almost all applied for their passports to the Uusimaa Provincial Administration, and only in a few cases to the City Administrations of Hanko or Lovisa. It should be pointed out, however, that of the passport registers examined, those of the Uusimaa Provincial Administration are noticeably the most carelessly and inadequately kept. There are especially many cases where the applicant's destination has not been recorded or is simply given as "Abroad". Such cases were usually excluded

¹⁶³ Women's surnames frequently changed as a result of marriage, but men might also use up to three different surnames, which makes the identification of the same person in different sources difficult.

¹⁶⁴ The passport registers for 1871–1879 have not been lost (cf. KERO 1974, 6), although they are seriously deficient. They are preserved in the Vaasa Provincial Archives. The only registers missing are for the following months: Oct. 1866, Aug. 1870, May and Nov. 1873, April, May, and Nov. 1874, and Dec. 1880.

¹⁶⁵ See in more detail Appendix 1.

from the official Emigration Statistics, although cross-reference to other sources shows that many of them, at least in Elimäki, were in fact emigrants. Inconsistencies can also frequently be noticed; e.g. it is not uncommon for a farmer's wife to be recorded as unmarried.

Emigrants both from Leppävirta and Polvijärvi usually applied for their passports to the Kuopio Provincial Administration, though a small minority of travellers from both areas appear under the Hanko City Administration or the Uusimaa Provincial Administration.

In Jokioinen, practically all the emigrants applied for their passports to the Häme Provincial Administration. These registers are relatively well kept; the greatest weakness is the frequency of "Abroad" entries. This is particularly the case in 1910, with 50 such entries.¹⁶⁶ Cross-reference with the parish records reveals that 26 of these actually emigrated to America, a considerable increase for the figures of emigrants from this area, since according to the official Statistics not a single person emigrated from there in that year. Somewhat similar cases can be traced for certain other years.

In general, therefore, intending emigrants applied for their passports to the nearest passport-issuing authority. A second choice was either the Hanko City Administration or the Uusimaa Provincial Administration, since these were conveniently situated along the route.

The passport registers contain a considerable amount of inadequate or erroneous information,¹⁶⁷ which indicates how important it is to ensure that the information being used about the emigration outwards is accurate, when the return migration is being investigated. These flaws can however be eliminated by the use of other sources, especially parish records, which are important sources of information throughout the emigration but more particularly so in the early stages, when people often emigrated without passports. The parish priest usually managed to find out the names of "secret" emigrants before long.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore the parish records indicate that the intention to emigrate had been carried out, whereas passport registers, strictly speaking, only record the intention.¹⁶⁹ For these reasons, all

¹⁶⁶ One major reason for applying for a passport may have been unrest among the crofters, which was especially frequent in Jokioinen around the turn of the century (see RASILA 1961, *passim*). In the present investigation the only holders of "Abroad" passports who have been classified as emigrants are those recorded in parish archives as having left for America, since the other missing passport holders cannot be traced from the shipping lines' passenger lists either.

¹⁶⁷ See also TOIVONEN 1963, 252—258; BLOMFELT 1968, 8—19; KERO 1970, 18—31; WESTER 1977, 199—202.

¹⁶⁸ SAVOLAINEN and KOKKONEN 1964, 597.

¹⁶⁹ The actual embarkation on the passage can also be confirmed from shipping passenger lists, but the use of these is made more difficult by the fact that passengers' home areas are not recorded. On the reference of different sources to the planning of and to the embarkation on a journey, see WESTER 1977, 199—201.

material relating to emigrants from the parish records in all the sample areas has been collected.¹⁷⁰

In contrast to many other areas of high emigration, Lohtaja parish did not keep an "Emigrants Book". This was a book where the parish priest kept a record of all emigrants, in order to keep the parish population register up to date. An Emigrants Book was kept in the neighbouring parish in Toholampi, for instance,¹⁷¹ as also in some of the areas investigated by TOIVONEN and KERO.¹⁷² Even where an Emigrants Book is available, however, it is indispensable for completeness to refer to the main parish registers as well, since Emigrants Books only came into use after the turn of the century. Thus the Lohtaja parish registers have been gone through, page by page, from 1870 onwards. In the "Notes" column in the parish register there was usually a pencilled entry when the person in question had emigrated. The use of pencil here (as in the other sample areas) suggests that the parish priests expected the emigrants to return after a while to the parish.

A striking feature in Lohtaja is that overseas emigrants are recorded relatively punctiliously in the parish register from the 1880s on, and this considerably increases the reliability of the Emigrants Index compiled for the present investigation. In addition, in place of an Emigrants Book, for each decade from the 1910s onward there are lists of absent parishioners — i.e., up to 1930, in practice emigrants — at the end of the parish registers for the decade.¹⁷³ Only about half of the emigrants from Lohtaja are recorded here, however, and this reinforces the necessity of also consulting the parish registers if a complete picture is to be obtained. The church records in the second sample area in Vaasa Province, the urban migration sample from Kristinestad, are also relatively well kept. Lists of absent parishioners, however, only date from the 1950s.

As was only natural in an area of low migration, there was no special need for the parish to pay particular attention to overseas emigration. It is therefore surprising how well the parish registers were kept in Elimäki and Jokioinen, and in both parishes the names of parishioners still alive but resident elsewhere were collected at the end of the registers for the 1950s. In Leppävirta, on the other hand, very little attention was paid to the overseas emigration in the parish. The sole source of information there are the ordinary registers, since even the lists of absent parishioners only record those who had moved to Russia. A separate list of absent parishioners has been kept since the end of the 1960s. Polvijärvi differs from the other sample

¹⁷⁰ This material is recorded in the List of Sources. Although KERO's article on the return migration is one of the most thorough pieces of work on this topic so far in Finland, its weakness is precisely that the statistics for the numbers of emigrants are derived solely from the passport registers (KERO 1972, 12).

¹⁷¹ Also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/m/9/2).

¹⁷² TOIVONEN 1963, 268; KERO 1970, 274—275.

¹⁷³ Also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).

areas in that not all of its emigrants belonged to the Lutheran parish; some of them were members of Taipale Orthodox parish.¹⁷⁴ The Lutheran registers from Polvijärvi parish provide good research material, and there is also a list of absent parishioners for the 1950s. The registers of the Orthodox parish in Taipale are in Russian, and they do not record the date of departure of the emigrants, though this can be traced with the aid of the passport registers.

The main material for the Emigrants Index compiled for this investigation is thus derived from the passport registers and parish records. Further methods used in verifying the identity of emigrants were interviews,¹⁷⁵ Finnish-American biographies, etc.,¹⁷⁶ the passenger lists of the shipping lines,¹⁷⁷ as well as those sources which can be used in tracing the return migrants, which will be discussed below.

The following Table 5 gives the composition of sources used in compiling the Emigrants Index for the present investigation.

Table 5 includes all acts of emigration; consequently, to some extent the same person occurs more than once, depending how many times he or she emigrated. As the Table indicates, for Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, and Polvijärvi, roughly three quarters or more of the total number of acts of emigration are confirmed by at least two sources; and for Leppävirta and Kristinestad the corresponding figure is almost 60%. Only 8.9% of all acts of emigration from Lohtaja are recorded on the basis of passport registers alone; the corresponding figure for Jokioinen is 8.5%, for Elimäki 18.3%, for Polvijärvi 26.6%, for Kristinestad 37.4%, and for Leppävirta 38.9%.

In other words, the better the records kept by the parish clergy, the less necessary it is to rely on passport registers alone. The systematic use of the shipping lines' passenger lists would probably bring the "Two or More Sources" category very close to 100%, but this raises practical problems, because the passenger lists do not usually mention the passengers' places of origin.

The Emigrants Index thus obtained makes it possible to differentiate between the true number of emigrants (persons) and the total numbers of acts of emigration, which is an essential step towards measuring the scale and composition of the return migration (Table 6).

Table 6 indicates that the total number of acts of emigration exceeds the true total number of emigrating persons by approximately 10% overall. As a result of the distortion revealed in this Table, the figures for emigrants in the official Emigration Statistics are too high for the number of persons, despite the fact that the figures are

¹⁷⁴ 24, i.e. 9.9% of the emigrants from the area, were Orthodox. Their return migration is examined below, in Chapter VIII: 2.

¹⁷⁵ The main source here has been the collection of interviews at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S 1/1—2504, 5001—6268, 7001—7328), plus some information obtained by correspondence and through personally conducted interviews.

¹⁷⁶ These publications are discussed more fully on p. 57—58.

¹⁷⁷ Also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku: Gothenburg Police Department migrants register (reference: TYYH/S m 4/1—49) and Finnish Steamship Company passenger lists (reference: TYYH/S/m/7/1—20).

Table 5. *Sources Used for the Emigrants Index, by Sample Areas.^a*

Source	Lohtaja Emigrants	Elimäki Emigrants	Jokioinen Emigrants	Leppävirta Emigrants	Polvijärvi Emigrants	Kristine- stad Emigrants
Two or More Sources	2134 87.4%	323 73.7%	148 74.4%	214 57.8%	193 73.4%	655 56.5%
Passport Registers						
Alone:						
Vaasa PA	176 7.2%	— —	— —	— —	— —	239 20.6%
Kokkola BO	32 1.3%	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
Kristinestad CA	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	195 16.8%
Uusimaa PA	8 0.3%	76 17.4%	— —	4 1.1%	3 1.1%	— —
Kuopio PA	— —	— —	— —	137 37.0%	61 23.2%	— —
Häme PA	— —	— —	17 8.5%	— —	— —	— —
Hanko CA	3 0.1%	4 0.9%	— —	3 0.8%	6 2.3%	— —
Parish Registers						
Alone	88 3.6%	35 8.0%	34 17.1%	12 3.2%	— —	71 6.1%
TOTAL	2441 100.0%	438 100.0%	199 100.0%	370 100.0%	263 100.0%	1160 100.0%

a: Abbreviations used: PA=Provincial Administration, BO=Bailiff's Office, CA=City Administration.

In accordance with prevailing practice, percentages have been calculated to two decimal places and rounded off to one decimal place. As a result, the sum of all the percentages may not always be exactly 100.0%, though it will be extremely close to that.

Table 6. *Ratio of Acts of Emigration to the True Number of Emigrants, by Sample Areas, from the Beginnings of the Emigration to 1930.^a*

Sample Area	Total Acts of Emigration	Total Number of Emigrants (Persons)	Difference in Relation to the Total Acts of Emigration
Lohtaja	2441	2134	307 12.6%
Elimäki	438	380	58 13.2%
Jokioinen	199	187	12 6.0%
Leppävirta	370	333	37 10.0%
Polvijärvi	263	242	21 8.0%
Kristinestad	1160	1050	110 9.5%
TOTAL	4871	4326	545 11.2%

a: The "Total Acts of Emigration" refers to the total number of times a departure overseas occurred, and in the cases of persons re-emigrating thus includes more than one such departure or act of emigration. The "Total Number of Emigrants" refers to the actual number of persons involved, and separate departures are not counted separately.

too low for total acts of emigration (cf. the discussion above, p. 42—43). The precise balance between the figures given for emigrants in the official Emigration Statistics and the findings in the present investigation is shown for each sample area in the following Table.

Table 7. *Numbers of Emigrants and Emigrations as Established in the Present Investigation and as Recorded in the Official Emigration Statistics, 1893-1930.^a*

Sample Area	Findings of the Present Investigation:		Figures Recorded in the Official Emigration Statistics	Difference between the Total Acts of Emigration and the Official Statistics
	Total Acts of Emigration	Number of Emigrants (Persons)		
Lohtaja	1486	1254	1320	— 166
Elimäki	436	379	348	— 88
Jokioinen	199	187	101	— 98
Leppävirta	364	328	297	— 67
Polvijärvi	263	242	254	— 9
Kristinestad	921	820	870	— 51
TOTAL	3669	3210	3190	-- 479

a: For the official Emigration Statistics figures given here, see SVT XXVIII: 21, Table XV.

In all the sample areas, the emigration figures given in the official Statistics are too low in comparison with the numbers established here for the total acts of emigration. In Elimäki, Jokioinen, and Leppävirta, a major cause for this difference is the high number of "Abroad" passports among the emigrants. In the cases of Kristinestad and Lohtaja, on the other hand, the "passportless" emigration which occurred there mainly took place before the compilation of the official Statistics had been initiated, with the result that the difference in the Table is relatively small.

When the numbers traced here for the true number of actual persons emigrating are compared with the figures in the official Statistics, the official figures can be seen in three cases to be too low and in three too high. The differences are however fairly small, as is reflected in the total figures for all six sample areas together. The results of this comparison do however vary between different areas, nor are the true number of persons emigrating and the figures in the official Statistics strictly comparable, being derived from a different statistical basis.

Once the Emigrants Index has been established, what then has to be traced is whether each individual emigrant settled in his or her host country, or returned to Finland. As was discussed in Chapter I:3, the official return Statistics compiled by the District Court Registrars are imperfect, but this material does nevertheless constitute one of the major sources of information in tracing the return, since data

were submitted by District Court Registrars for each municipality to the Central Bureau of Statistics in accordance with a standard form from 1894 to 1924,¹⁷⁸ in which every returning emigrant is mentioned by name. The completeness of these lists varies considerably from one area to another. In regions of low emigration, the only entry in many years is "No information available", whereas many of the Registrars in Vaasa, Oulu, and Turku and Pori Provinces kept their lists rather carefully. The lists for Åland were regarded by BLOMFELT as being reliable enough for him to use these as his only source of information concerning the return.¹⁷⁹ Even in those areas where the lists are relatively reliable, however, they remain incomplete, for the Registrars did not always learn of all returning emigrants.

For the present investigation, all the extant Registrars' lists have been examined, in order to trace to what extent emigrants may have returned to areas other than those of their origin.¹⁸⁰ Among the sample areas, the information for Kristinestad and Lohtaja is the most reliable, since the Registrars at Jakobstad and Närpes District Courts kept rather careful records of returning emigrants. By no means all emigrants who returned came to their notice, however, as can be seen by consulting the parish records. The lists for Elimäki (which came under Pernaja District Court) are noticeably more incomplete, since for several years there is no information at all, though compared to the lists elsewhere in Uusimaa Province they are among the best. The same applies in Kuopio Province to Leppävirta (Rautalampi District Court), whereas for Polvijärvi, as for the whole of Liperi Court District to which it belonged, the records only become satisfactory after 1909. Prior to this the information is very scanty: e.g. in the peak years of the return migration, 1907 and 1908, the Registrar for Liperi District does not record the return of a single emigrant. The Registrar for Tammela District Court in Häme Province, on the other hand, kept good records of returning emigrants, and this is a relatively good source of information about return migrants in Jokioinen.

Not only are many returning emigrants missing from the Registrars' lists, but they are also limited in the period they cover. As was mentioned earlier, the information is available for separate municipalities only for 1894—1924, whereas return migration occurred on a considerable scale both previously and subsequently. Without any doubt, the best sources of information about return migrants are the parish archives.¹⁸¹ As in the case of the outward emigration, the most important material here is to be found in the parish registers,¹⁸² which have been gone through up to the

¹⁷⁸ Central Bureau of Statistics Archives. Source Material for the Emigration Statistics, 1882—1924 (Finnish National Archives).

¹⁷⁹ BLOMFELT 1968, 150—151.

¹⁸⁰ Return to an area other than that of origin is discussed in Chapter II: 3 below.

¹⁸¹ This material is recorded in the List of Sources below.

¹⁸² The church records of the Orthodox parish in Taipale do not mention any returning emigrants for Polvijärvi, but they do include references to emigrants' places of residence in their host countries. The District Court Registrars' lists record three Orthodox emigrants as returning permanently to Polvijärvi.

1970s in order to trace the return of any person emigrating before 1930.¹⁸³ Some parishes have recently started to keep a special record of parishioners returning from abroad, but it is virtually pointless to look there for the names of people from the overseas emigration.

In Lohtaja, the most serious problem in the search for returning emigrants arises with the 1870s, when emigrants were not yet regularly recorded in the parish register. The only way of establishing the return of an emigrant is by means of the Communion lists in the register, since it can be said that right through the 1880s it was a virtually unbroken rule for parishioners to attend Communion at least once a year. Paavo KORTEKANGAS states that the Church had not gone through a transition before 1895; attendance at Communion was regularly high. In the parishes in Häme Province, a mean of 84 % of parishioners aged 15 and over attended Communion in 1895. Ten years later the number had dropped to 73 %, and by 1912 it was only 58 %. The earlier social function of church attendance gradually changed to a purely religious one.¹⁸⁴ During the nineteenth century, however, Communion attendance lists have definite relevance in tracing the return migration. With their aid, the return entries proper (which the clergy sometimes forgot) can be filled out. The same method has also been used in the search for emigrants returning to Kristinestad, and to a certain extent in the other sample areas as well.

Another important source for tracing return or non-return are death certificates from overseas. Almost 200 of these are extant in Lohtaja,¹⁸⁵ and there are several dozen in Elimäki, Jokioinen, Polvijärvi, and Kristinestad. There is no material of this type to be found in Leppävirta. Since these death certificates regularly state the dead person's last place of residence, they can also be used in tracing which parts of their host countries the emigrants settled in.

Each parish also has a record of persons officially declared as deceased by the courts after a specific time had elapsed from the person's birth and since the last information concerning him or her had been received.¹⁸⁶ In practice almost all of these cases concern emigrants, and thus confirm that they had not permanently returned to Finland.

The church records are the best general source of information in the search for returning emigrants. Their greatest weakness arises from the fact that often people used several alternative surnames. In central Ostrobothnia, for instance, people changed surnames when they moved to a farm or house with a different name.¹⁸⁷ This particularly applied to landless persons, and servants, who might use the name

¹⁸³ This aspect has not been covered in previous investigations of the return migration; in other words, the return of people emigrating up to 1914 has only been itself investigated up to 1914.

¹⁸⁴ KORTEKANGAS 1967. 2. 19. 75—76. 190—191.

¹⁸⁵ Also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).

¹⁸⁶ For Lohtaja, these are also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).

¹⁸⁷ Tokoi 1947, 10.

Table 8. *Sources Used in Tracing Returning Emigrants, by Sample Areas.^a*

Sample Area	Two or More Sources		District Court Registrars' Lists		Parish Archives		Other Sources (mainly personal recollections)		TOTAL	
	Returning Migrants	%	Returning Migrants	%	Returning Migrants	%	Returning Migrants	%	Returning Migrants	%
Lohtaja	152	20.3%	87	11.6%	392	52.5%	116	15.5%	747	100.0%
Elimäki	17	13.2%	34	26.4%	41	31.8%	37	28.7%	129	100.0%
Jokioinen	12	23.1%	13	25.0%	25	48.1%	2	3.8%	52	100.0%
Leppävirta	10	13.5%	23	31.1%	14	18.9%	27	36.5%	74	100.0%
Polvijärvi	7	11.9%	28	47.5%	12	20.3%	12	20.3%	59	100.0%
Kristinestad	22	10.2%	29	13.4%	143	66.2%	22	10.2%	216	100.0%

a: This Table includes all returns, both permanent and temporary, for the sample areas. Subsequent references to quantitative data for emigration and return migration in the sample areas are derived from the sources listed in Tables 5 and 8 unless otherwise stated.

of the house or farm they were working for, their parents' surname, or a patronymic, e.g. Jaakonpoika ("James's son"). The matching of information from the church records and the passport registers is sometimes difficult in consequence. In uncertain cases, the only possibility is to check the forenames, dates of birth, occupations, and dates of emigration listed in the different sources.

The dates of return recorded in the District Court Registrars' lists and the parish records agree fairly well, but statements of the length of time spent abroad vary from one source to another.¹⁸⁸ For this reason, the length of time spent in emigration by each person has been measured in the present investigation simply as the difference between the dates of departure and return.

Returning emigrants have also to some extent been traced through personal recollections.¹⁸⁹ Due to the passage of time, however, this method is no longer anything like as reliable as it was for example in the 1940s, when BACKMAN was able to base his quantitative calculations almost entirely on interview materials.¹⁹⁰

As is predictable from what has been said earlier, the proportion of return migrants for whom data were obtained from at least two sources (see Table 8) is small in comparison with that for emigrants (cf. Table 5, p. 51). The main reason for this is that the District Court Registrars' lists only cover a relatively short period within

¹⁸⁸ The lengths of time spent abroad as an emigrant which are given in the lists kept by the District Court Registrars are especially frequently incorrect.

¹⁸⁹ The main source used here were the questionnaire forms on returning emigrants stored at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/1/5001—6268, 7001—7328), plus some information obtained by correspondence and through personally conducted interviews.

¹⁹⁰ See BACKMAN 1945, 5—6.

the whole span of the return migration. In Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, and Kristinestad, the group identified from parish records is the largest, while in Leppävirta, personal recollections are the most important source. Only in Polvijärvi is the Registrar's list of central importance, due at least partly to the late beginnings and late peak period of emigration there. Table 8 also clearly demonstrates the importance of utilizing as many sources as possible in tracing return migrants, since the information covered by the different sources is far from coinciding.

It is only once the data on returning emigrants has been incorporated into the Emigrants Index compiled for this investigation that it becomes possible to distinguish between those who returned to Finland permanently and temporarily. With the Emigrants Index alphabetically arranged, and every departure and every return recorded for each individual emigrant, the information as to who returned and who remained abroad becomes immediately accessible. In general it can be said that through cross-reference between different sources high reliability is obtained in the material for the quantitative analysis of the return migration in the sample areas. Furthermore, comparative material is available: not only the findings of earlier research, but also a computer-programmed statistical analysis of all emigrants who left Finland in 1873, 1882, 1890, and 1905, dealing with a number of different aspects in the scale and composition of the emigration.¹⁹¹

These data are also useful for the investigation of the return migration in contributing to the analysis of where the emigrants from the sample areas settled in their host countries and what significance this had for the return migration. The data in this survey only cover the emigrants in four specific years, however, and being based on shipping passenger lists they only give the emigrants' first destinations in the host country. Considerable additional material is therefore needed from the sample areas in order to answer this question.

Comprehensive source material is however not available for tracing which State or region the emigrants from a particular municipality or region in Finland tended to move to. In many investigations all that has been said on this subject is that people from the same place of origin liked to congregate together in their new country.¹⁹² For Satakunta, however, the question has been more thoroughly investigated, by KERO. The sources he used were death announcements in the Finnish-American press, registers of members in Finnish-American parishes and associations, interviews, and the Emigrants Books from the emigrants' parishes in Finland. The sample thus obtained includes about a quarter of the emigrants from the areas he was studying.¹⁹³ BACKMAN and BLOMFELT also examined where the emigrants from their research areas settled. BACKMAN used interviews,¹⁹⁴ while BLOMFELT

¹⁹¹ This investigation was carried out at the Department of History, University of Turku. The material used is mainly based on passport registers and passenger lists.

¹⁹² ILMONEN III 1926, 11; WARIS 1936, 30; TOIVONEN 1963, 55.

¹⁹³ KERO 1970, 123—124.

¹⁹⁴ BACKMAN 1945, 5—6, 15—16.

Table 9. Sources Used in Tracing Places of Settlement by Emigrants from the Sample Areas.

Source	Lohtaja	Elimäki	Jokioinen	Leppävirta	Polvijärvi	Kristinestad
Parish Records	239	28	39	6	36	50
Passenger Lists ^a	114	4	—	8	—	—
Interviews ^b	72	12	3	10	14	7
Aaltio ^c	19	—	—	—	—	—
Arra ^d	12	—	—	—	—	—
Holmio ^e	5	—	—	—	—	—
Ilmonen I ^f	1	—	—	—	—	—
Ilmonen II ^g	71	—	—	—	—	1
Ilmonen III ^h	74	6	—	2	1	3
Myhrman ⁱ	—	—	—	—	—	8
Nikander ^j	35	—	—	27	—	1
<i>New Yorkin Uutiset</i> ^k	—	—	—	1	—	—
TOTAL	642	50	42	54	51	70

a: Also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku: Gothenburg Police Department migrants register (reference: TYYH/S/m/4/1—49), and Finnish Steamship Company passenger lists (reference: TYYH/S/m/7/1—20).

b: The main source used here are the questionnaire forms stored at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH/S/1/1—2504, 5001—6268, 7001—7328), plus some information obtained by correspondence and through personally conducted interviews.

c: AALTIO 1953, *passim*.

d: ARRA 1971, *passim*.

e: HOLMIO 1967, 159, 601—602.

f: ILMONEN I 1919, 152.

g: ILMONEN II 1923, *passim*.

h: ILMONEN III 1926, *passim*.

i: MYHRMAN 1972, *passim*.

j: NIKANDER 1927, *passim*.

k: (New York News), 29 Oct. 1971.

mainly relies on the findings of earlier research.¹⁹⁵ Armas HOLMIO's study of the places of origin in Finland of Finnish settlers in Michigan should also not be overlooked.¹⁹⁶

Table 9 gives the sources used in tracing the areas abroad where emigrants from the sample areas settled.

¹⁹⁵ BLOMFELT 1968, 140—143.

¹⁹⁶ HOLMIO 1967, 553—564.

In general, each source has provided information about different persons: only in Lohtaja and Polvijärvi was information in a few cases obtained from two separate sources about the same person. The places of settlement were traced from the sources given in Table 9 for altogether 601 emigrants from Lohtaja (28.2 % of all emigrants), for 42 from Jokioinen (22.5 %), for 48 from Polvijärvi (19.8 %), for 54 from Leppävirta (16.2 %), for 50 from Elimäki (13.2 %), and for 70 from Kristinestad (6.7 %).¹⁹⁷

As Table 9 shows, the main source of information in Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Polvijärvi, and Kristinestad were the parish archives, primarily death certificates sent from overseas,¹⁹⁸ which give the dates of birth and death of the deceased, the last place of residence, place of decease, and place of burial. This source reports a different point in time from the passenger lists, which record the emigrant's destination when he or she left Finland, which usually in practice also means the first place of residence in the host country. If the parish material and the passenger lists were analyzed separately, therefore, a different profile of the emigrants' destinations might be obtained from that given here; it has, however, been suggested that the first and final place of residence were often in approximately the same region.¹⁹⁹ When information from interviews is used, on the other hand, it is possible to trace all the places of residence of each emigrant, though in practice the reliability of such information varies greatly. A further point is that many of the people filling out the questionnaire forms were unable to write the names of places correctly, so that in some cases the names are quite impossible to identify.²⁰⁰ TOIVONEN is thus wrong in claiming interviews to be the only source for tracing destinations.²⁰¹

The other sources mentioned in Table 9 are printed material: mainly biographies, chronicles, or works dealing with the history of the Finnish-Americans in a particular State. Of these, the most important for tracing emigrants' places of residence in the host country are S. ILMONEN's series of publications, in which the author gives long lists of the names of emigrants from various different parts of Finland, by State or Province and by locality in the United States and Canada.

The analysis of what the return migration was like naturally also raises a number of questions for investigation which cannot be measured quantitatively in the ways described above. Even the research on the destination areas of the emigrants must be based not only on quantitative material, but also on qualitative explanations because of the state of sources. In studying the motives which finally led to a specific emigrant's decision to return to his or her home country, interviews and questionnaires comprise the best source of information. As the old generation of emigrants is fast dying out, however, the opportunities for collecting material from personal

¹⁹⁷ Percentages have been counted from the total numbers of emigrants listed in Table 6, p. 51.

¹⁹⁸ For Lohtaja, these are also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku (reference: TYYH S:m 9/1).

¹⁹⁹ KERO 1970, 119—120.

²⁰⁰ This is especially the case with emigrants who have returned to Finland permanently.

²⁰¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 55.

recollections are deteriorating equally fast. The results of the 1969 survey of emigrants who had returned to Finland are thus rather satisfactory, since of 7000 questionnaire forms sent out, over 1200 were returned correctly completed. There were 61 questions on the form. There was also space for free comment, which makes it possible to gather each emigrant's individual experience of his or her journey, while the standardized questions on the form permit some of the data to be quantified, and at the same time bring out points which it might not occur to the interviewee to mention. The same kind of questionnaire had been sent in 1968 to 20 000 Finnish emigrants living abroad, with 89 questions emphasizing life overseas; more than 2500 questionnaires were completed.²⁰²

The questionnaire material that has been collected is not restricted to emigrants from any particular areas, but covers the whole of Finland. The personal motives for return — like the other questions on the form — can thus be examined in a broader context than that of the sample areas alone. In addition, further material has been collected from personal recollections for this study, both in Finland and in the United States and Canada.²⁰³

The greatest drawback in using material based on personal recollections is the reliance on the interviewee's memory, and this weakness becomes the more serious with increasing passage of time between the return and the interview. The greatest possibility of error arises when information is provided about an emigrant who has died, by someone else from the locality. On the other hand former emigrants often keep various documents as souvenirs of their journeys, and with the aid of these they are able to recall past events more precisely. Letters, for instance, are one such source.²⁰⁴ Still, the analysis based on personal recollections needs to be supplemented by other available source material; thus the information on the questionnaire forms can be used only to a limited extent.

When the experiences of returning emigrants are being investigated after their return — e.g. in terms of satisfaction, adjustment, and impact — interviews can again be used to obtain information. With the present investigation in mind, a follow-up questionnaire was carried out in 1974 which contained questions dealing with precisely these points. Of 1500 questionnaires sent, more than 300 were returned correctly completed.²⁰⁵

Official attitudes and public opinion about the adjustment and impact of returning emigrants can most clearly be traced in the steps taken by the Government and in editorial comment in the press. The most prominent example of the former is the Migration Committee, appointed in 1918, which completed its Report in 1924.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Reference: TYYH/S/1/5001—6268 (return), and TYYH/S/1/1—2504 (emigrants abroad). All the questionnaire and interview forms used are included in the Appendices (Appendices 7, 8, and 9).

²⁰³ These materials are catalogued in the List of Sources.

²⁰⁴ On the use of letters from America as a source, see VIRTANEN 1976a, *passim*.

²⁰⁵ Reference: TYYH/S/1/7001—7328.

²⁰⁶ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö. Helsinki 1924.

It has not thought to be essential to consult the press on any large scale here, for three main reasons: firstly, because press writings on migration have already been studied in a number of previous investigations; secondly, because the attitudes expressed by the press mainly concern emigration, and the return migration is peripheral; and thirdly, because in 1921 the Migration Committee sent out a large-scale questionnaire to over 150 municipalities, in which the main focus of attention was the impact of the return migration. The findings of this questionnaire²⁰⁷ may be regarded as providing a considerably clearer view of the question than could be obtained from the press. The American and Finnish-American press has however been used in attempting to answer certain questions,²⁰⁸ whereas for the Finnish press this study mainly relies on the findings of earlier research.

²⁰⁷ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot. n.p., n.d.

²⁰⁸ These are catalogued in the List of Sources.

II The Overall Scale of the Return Migration

1 PERMANENT RETURN

The number of Finnish emigrants who permanently returned to Finland is described by TOIVONEN as "an estimated one-third of those emigrating", since "many different investigators have reached the same findings."¹ Estimates have even been offered that as many as half of the emigrants may have returned.² The present investigation, however, demonstrates that TOIVONEN's generalization is not valid, as can be seen from Table 10 below.

When examining the return percentages in Table 10, it must be borne in mind that this question has been investigated in different areas in very varied ways. Both of the figures given for the whole of Finland are unreliable, so that it is research at the local level of the municipality which must form the core of this investigation, though much of the local data is far from accurate and should be treated with caution.

In the sample areas under the present investigation, only in Jokioinen did the return migration marginally exceed the 20 % level. Almost a fifth of the emigrants from Lohtaja and Elimäki also returned, whereas the return migration for Polvijärvi, Leppävirta, and Kristinestad is even lower.³ The Table indicates that the return of emigrants from Kuusamo and the areas in the Åland Islands was only in the 10 % class. In the areas investigated by KERO and TOIVONEN, on the other hand, the return was larger than in the present sample areas (broadly speaking, about a quarter of the emigrants). TOIVONEN's figures, however, are based entirely on interviews. The return to Korpo comprises about a fifth of the emigrants, and this figure was obtained by careful analysis. The data for Munsala, Soini, Finström, and Föglö are also only based on a single source category; those for Soini, moreover, on a sample. The exceptionally high return rate for Malax is based on an approximate guess. The figures for Toholampi are reliable, but only cover the initial phase

¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 257.

² KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 34. The information is derived from the Encyclopedia Americana, 1968.

³ The figures in Table 10 for the sample areas in the present investigation do not include emigrants from elsewhere returning to the sample areas.

Table 10. *Numbers of Return Migrants Traced in Different Investigations.*^a

Sample Area	Period	Numbers Emigrating	Numbers Returning	Percentage Returning
PRESENT INVESTIGATION:^b				
Jokioinen	1902—1930	187	38	20.3
Lohtaja	1867—1930	2134	419	19.6
Elimäki	1888—1930	380	68	17.9
Polvijärvi	1894—1930	242	38	15.7
Leppävirta	1882—1930	333	36	10.8
Kristinestad	1862—1930	1050	87	8.3
Total	1862—1930	4326	686	15.9
OTHER INVESTIGATIONS:				
Malax ^c	1883—1930	2093	..	ca 50.0
Munsala ^d	1847—1934	2033	632	31.1
Parkano ^e	1881—1914	1618	441	27.3
Peräseinäjoki ^f	1867—1930	..	..	27.0
Karvia ^e	1881—1914	947	216	22.8
Korpo ^g	ca 1880—1960	326	72	22.1
Seinäjoki ^f	1867—1930	..	..	21.8
Toholampi ^h	1870—1889	513	96	18.7
Soini ⁱ	ca 1880—?	147	23	15.6
Finström ^j	1856—1918	1554	..	ca 12.0
Föglö ^j	1856—1918	1066	..	less than 12.0
Kuusamo ^k	1864—1914	1934	209	10.8
FINLAND, TOTAL:				
Shipping Passenger				
Lists ^l	1894—1925	292928	111714	38.1
Official Statistics ^m	1894—1930	323177	43616	13.5

a: For the location of the sample areas, see Map 4.

b: For the sample areas in the present investigation, the terminal date given (1930) means that the permanent return of all persons emigrating up to 1930 has been investigated down to the present; for the other investigations, the terminal date means that return migration has been investigated up to the date given.

c: SMEDS 1935, 336—337.

d: BACKMAN 1945, 12, 22.

e: KERO 1972, 19—20.

f: TOIVONEN 1963, 27.

g: WIDÉN does not offer any precise calculations of the return migration, but I have calculated this from the miniature biographies of Korpo emigrants which he has included at the end of his work (WIDÉN 1975, 87—174, see also 80).

h: KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 52.

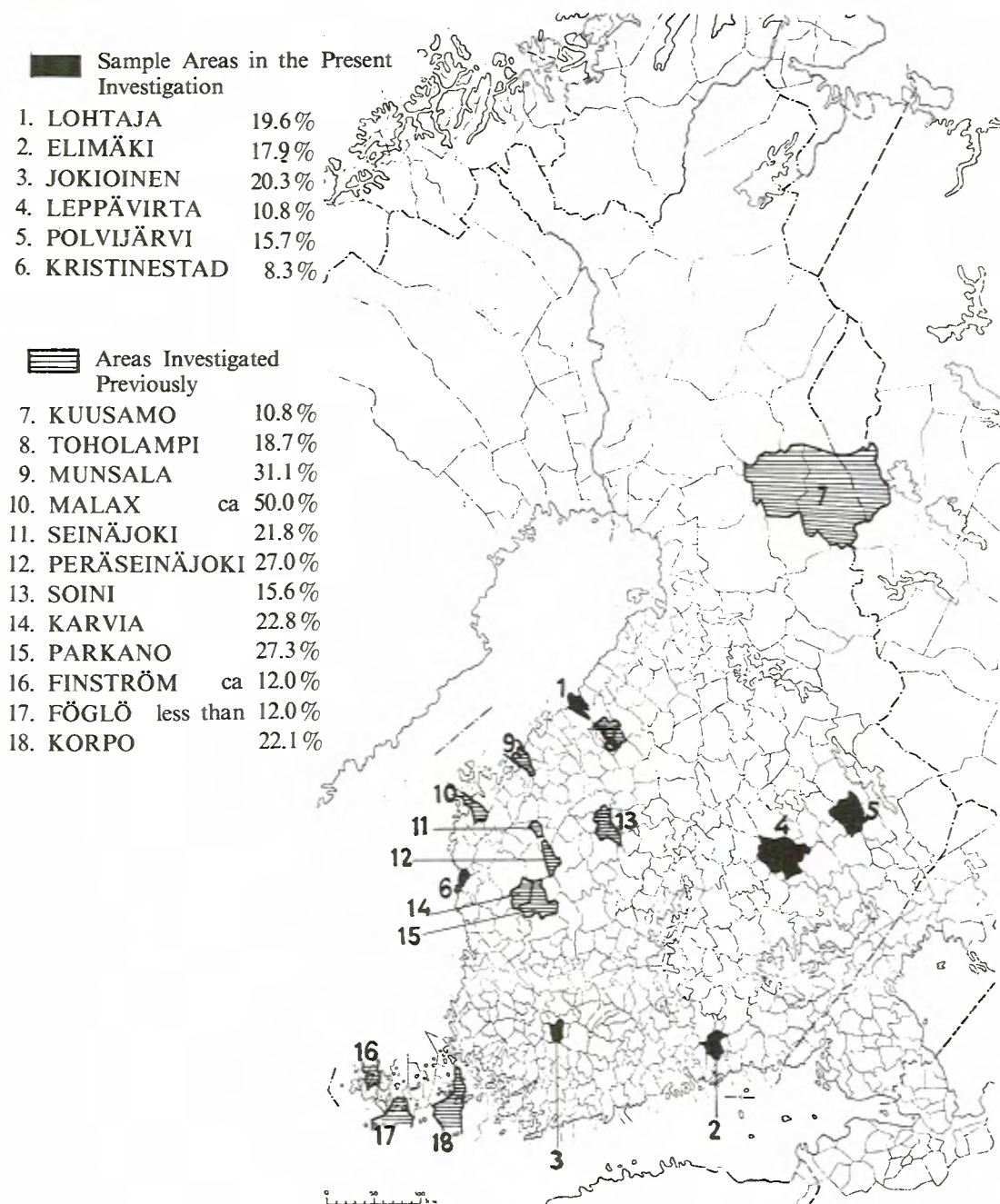
i: WASASTJERNA 1957, 58.

j: BLOMFELT 1968, 79, 93, 153.

k: PÄTYNEN 1972, 111.

l: STV 1926, Table 53.

m: SVT XXVIII:1, Table IX; SVT XXVIII:9 and 11, Table X; SVT XXVIII:16 and 17, Table XIV; SVT XXVIII:18, Table XVI; SVT XXVIII:19 and 20, Table XVII; SVT XXVIII:21, Table XV; STV 1906, Table 46; STV 1916, Table 65; STV 1921, Table 63; STV 1924, Table 52; STV 1928, Table 54; STV 1931, Table 55; STV 1932, Table 55.

Map 4. *The Rate of the Return Migration in Different Regions.*

of the emigration.⁴

The estimates given in many investigations, that around a third of the Finnish emigrants subsequently returned,⁵ are thus based either on estimates, or on the published passenger list statistics alone. The unreliability of these estimates can for example be illustrated by the replies submitted by 106 municipal councils to the Migration Committee in 1918 regarding the numbers of those returning. Almost half the municipal authorities believed that at least half of those emigrating had returned to their place of origin. Many of the authorities, however, considered it difficult to make an estimate, as is illustrated by the range of variation in the percentages reported, from as low as 2 % to as high as 80 %.⁶

The major reason why the return percentages for many of the areas in Table 10 are so sharply higher than those for the sample areas now under investigation is that in the absence of detailed research it is impossible to differentiate between temporary and permanent return. The importance of this point is evident in the following Table. A further important point is also of course the need to differentiate the true number of emigrating persons and the total number of acts of emigration in the emigration statistics (cf. p. 50—52 above). In terms of research methodology the differentiation between permanent and temporary return are closely linked together. It will therefore be necessary to deal with problems relating to temporary return in this section while in the section concerned with temporary return there will also be points which throw light on the permanent return. The main point is, nonetheless, to observe this differentiation.

As Table 11 indicates, the percentage return rate is raised by about 10 % by taking the total number of returns rather than the numbers returning permanently (cf. Table 10). Nevertheless, not in a single sample area does the return rate reach even one-third of the emigration; TOIVONEN's "estimated one-third of those emigrating" is thus too high. The conclusion reached by KERO in his own research is that one emigrant in four permanently returned home.⁷

An examination of the return migration in different parts of the country from Table 10 (p. 62) immediately indicates that the permanent return in eastern and northern Finland was relatively considerably lower than elsewhere.⁸ The return has also been found in Sweden to have been lower in the north than elsewhere.⁹ In the regions of Finland with heavy crofting, Uusimaa and Häme, where the emigra-

⁴ Of the 85 emigrants who returned to Toholampi in the 1880s, 20 subsequently re-emigrated, but it is not known whether they returned again (KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 49, 56).

⁵ ILMONEN II 1923, 13—14; WARIS 1936, 26; ENGELBERG 1944, 38—39.

⁶ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 114—117.

⁷ KERO 1972, 20.

⁸ Only 4.9 % of American emigrants from Lapland are recorded in the parish registers as having returned between 1841 and 1940 (SAVOLAINEN and KOKKONEN 1964, 611), but this figure is probably too low.

⁹ TEDEBRAND 1972, 232—233.

Table 11. *Total Acts of Return in Relation to Total Acts of Emigration in the Sample Areas.*

Sample Area	Total Acts of Emigration	Total Acts of Return	Percentage Return Rate
Lohtaja	2441	747	30.6
Elimäki	438	129	29.5
Jokioinen	199	52	26.1
Polvijärvi	263	59	22.4
Leppävirta	370	74	20.0
Kristinestad	1160	216	18.6
TOTAL	4871	1277	26.2

tion was relatively low, approximately one-fifth of those emigrating subsequently returned permanently. The findings of the research indicate that the return migration rate in northern Satakunta and southern Ostrobothnia was slightly higher, at 20 to 30%. Approximately the mean rate for the country as a whole is thus found in Lohtaja (19.6%), and this probably also applies to other areas in central Ostrobothnia where there was heavy emigration even in the 1870s. One reason why the return rate in areas of the northern Bothnian Gulf coastal region is slightly lower than that further south is the early beginning of the emigration in the north; communications were then poorer, and this was the peak period of emigration by entire families.¹⁰ Of the 1254 emigrants from Lohtaja between 1893 and 1930, 303, i.e. 24.2%, returned, which is close to the mean value obtained by KERO and TOIVONEN for the areas they investigated. The lower return figures for areas of low emigration are largely explicable in terms of structural factors in the emigration.¹¹

The permanent return rate in Kristinestad, the sole sample of urban emigration in Table 10, is low, at around 8%, which indicates that the return to urban areas is distinctly lower in relation to the return to rural areas. Although Kristinestad is located in a region of high return migration, in southern Ostrobothnia, the return rate there was distinctly low. It has been found by TEDEBRAND in Sweden that the towns were not able to attract an increasing number of returning migrants; thus the return was agrarian in character,¹² though not to the same extent as in Finland, where the pull of towns on return migrants was relatively even lower than that of the country areas (see also Table 12, p. 66). The return migration was thus even more rural in character than the emigration.

In all, the return rate fluctuated in different parts of the country between 10 and 30%. Since, as Table 10 indicates, the return rate was higher in regions of high emigration than in low emigration regions, the figures for the former are closer to those

¹⁰ See closer Chapter V:3.

¹¹ See closer Chapters IV and V.

¹² TEDEBRAND 1972, 229—233, 313—314.

Table 12. *The Return Migration Rate as Recorded in the Official Statistics, 1894-1930, by Provinces.^a*

Province	Numbers Emigrating		Numbers Returning		Percentage Returning		Total		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Emigrating	Returning	Percentage
Oulu with Lapland	4 619	38 622	123	7 152	2.7	18.5	43 241	7 275	16.8
Vaasa	10 115	140 547	330	23 215	3.3	16.5	150 662	23 545	15.6
Mikkeli	502	6 044	22	986	4.4	16.3	6 546	1 008	15.4
Turku and Pori with Åland	7 162	43 821	120	6 191	1.7	14.1	50 983	6 311	12.4
Häme	5 249	8 659	353	1 273	6.7	14.7	13 908	1 626	11.7
Kuopio	1 752	11 250	30	1 317	1.7	11.7	13 002	1 347	10.4
Uusimaa	15 724	5 786	1 132	665	7.2	11.5	21 510	1 797	8.4
Viipuri	3 418	19 538	81	626	2.4	3.2	22 956	707	3.1
TOTAL	48 541	274 267	2 191	41 425	4.5	15.1	322 808	43 616	13.5

^a: SVT XXVIII:1, Table IX; SVT XXVIII:9 and 11, Table X; SVT XXVIII:16 and 17, Table XIV; SVT XXVIII:18, Table XVI; SVT XXVIII:19 and 20, Table XVII; SVT XXVIII:21, Table XV; STV 1906, Table 46; STV 1916, Table 65; STV 1921, Table 63; STV 1924, Table 52; STV 1928, Table 54; STV 1931, Table 55; STV 1932, Table 55. The emigration does not include the 369 persons whose place of origin is unknown.

for the country as a whole, since the low numbers of emigrations and more particularly of returns in regions of low emigration do not have very much effect on the statistics for the whole of Finland. The same also applies to the urban return migration.

The discussion above entitles us to the following conclusion: when the findings of both the present investigation and of those earlier investigations which can be regarded as at least moderately reliable are considered, it appears that only one in five of those emigrating returned permanently home. In other words, of the 380 000 Finnish emigrants before 1930,¹³ about 75 000 came back to stay.

The return migration rate for different parts of the country, differentiated between rural and urban areas, can be examined from the summary in Table 12, although the data given here should be treated with circumspection.

Table 12 reveals the same feature for urban areas as a whole as has already been seen in examining the return migration to Kristinestad. In all Provinces, the return to urban areas was relatively lower than that to the rural areas. Since the official Statistics, being based on the information reported by the District Court Registrars, give figures that are too low, the return migration rate to Finnish towns can be

¹³ The figure is derived from Appendix I below.

estimated at an average of 5—10 % of those emigrating, and that to rural areas at about 20—25 %.

Comparison of the overall return emigration rate in different parts of Finland as depicted in Table 12 with the information given in Table 10 reveals that the return rate in the larger emigration Provinces (Oulu, Vaasa, and Turku & Pori) was higher than in most other Provinces. Since each Province may have included a number of different emigration regions, however, and in view of the unreliability of the official Statistics, it is impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions on the basis of Table 12. The data in Table 10 are considerably better in this respect. Nevertheless, the data in Table 12 do confirm the return migration rates presented earlier for different parts of the country fairly well: i.e., the return migration rate in high emigration regions on the Finnish mainland was also relatively higher than in regions of low emigration. On Åland, on the other hand — if BLOMFELT's data are reliable — the return migration was very low, although the emigration had been rather high. In Korpo, however, in the south-west Finnish archipelago, the return migration rate may be closer to the average for the country as a whole, although Bill WIDÉN considers that the emigration pattern in other island areas may have been at least partly different.¹⁴

Even though the official Statistics compared with data from within sample areas agree regarding regional differences of return migration, the official Statistics do not accurately reflect the overall volume of return migration. According to Table 12, the official Statistics indicate that slightly more than 40 000 emigrants returned to Finland. But since a return rate of about 20 % has already been noted on the basis of the present investigation, it means that about 75 000 of the 380 000 emigrants — as was mentioned above — returned to Finland permanently. This number is nearly twice that recorded in the official Statistics.

A wide range of variation in the return migration rate between different parts of the country is, of course, not an exclusively Finnish phenomenon. As shown above, the rural return migration rate in different regions of Finland varies between about 10 and 30 %, and the same can be observed in Sweden, where the return migration rate up to the First World War varies between different Provinces from about 8 to 26 %.¹⁵ In Italy the return migration rate varied between different parts of the country from one-quarter to three-quarters;¹⁶ due to the different character of the emigration movement there, the return rate figures are higher than in the Nordic countries.

The Finnish overseas return migration should, indeed, be set in a wider European context, and compared with the "old" and "new" emigration countries. The return

¹⁴ WIDÉN 1975, 9.

¹⁵ See TEDEBRAND 1972, 227. In a special investigation of migration in Halmstad, in south-west Sweden, about 15 % of the American emigrants were found to have returned (KRONBORG and NILSSON 1975, 268—269), which supports the figures given in the text.

¹⁶ See CAROLI 1973, 49—50.

Table 13. *Annual Mean Emigration and Return Migration Rates in Different Countries.*^a

Country	Period	Annual Mean Emigration	Annual Mean Return	Percentage Return Rate
Spain ^b	1882—1924	83 334	75 364	90.4
Britain	1876—1924	234 543	113 958	48.6
Italy	1887—1924	223 950	97 172	43.4
Sweden	1876—1924	19 296	3 408	17.7
Finland ^c	1894—1924	8 800	1 177	13.4

a: International Migrations I 1929, 204—205. The Table was compiled by taking the annual emigration and return migration mean rates, given at five-year intervals, from this source, summing these, and dividing the sum by the number of five-year periods.

b: No data available for 1900—1913 and 1924.

c: Figures derived from passport registers and District Court Registrars' lists.

migration rate has been picked out as one of the distinguishing characteristics of these two groups.¹⁷

The figures given in Table 13 for emigrants and return migrants cannot be regarded as even remotely reliable. For Spain and Britain they are based on passenger lists, and for Italy, Sweden, and Finland, on each country's official statistics. As has already been shown, both the official Statistics and the different categories of sources available are in Finland unsatisfactory, and this may be presumed to obtain for the other countries as well. The high return percentages for Spain and Britain, for example, depend partly on the sources used. It should also be pointed out that the figures here indicate the ratio of return migration to emigration both occurring within the same year; this does not enable us to say what proportion of those emigrating in any year prior to 1924 subsequently returned.

Notwithstanding its deficiencies, the overall picture given by this Table is clear. In the southern European countries — Spain and Italy — the return migration was extremely high.¹⁸ It has in fact been shown that the Italian emigration was more temporary in character than that of other nationalities.¹⁹ The return migration by Greeks, for instance, was also very high; the numbers returning during the period 1908—1931 have been calculated to be about 40% of the numbers emigrating over the same period. In absolute numbers, the Italians, British, Greeks as well as Poles returned to Europe in this period more than any other nationalities.²⁰ Table 13 also indicates that the return migration to Britain was, relatively speaking, extremely high,²¹ despite the fact that this was a typical country of the "old" emigration.

¹⁷ JONES 1960, 178.

¹⁸ Cf. LINDBERG 1930, 252 footnote 2; CAROLI 1973, 49—50; TEDEBRAND 1973, 245.

¹⁹ FOERSTER 1924, 23.

²⁰ SALOUTOS 1956, 29—30.

²¹ See also CAROLI 1973, 6—8.

The Finnish return migration does not differ greatly from that in the other Nordic countries. In Denmark, for instance, the return migration in 1908—1914 has been calculated on the basis of American statistics (which are thought to represent an underestimate) as being only 8.6 % of those emigrating.²² The return percentages for Sweden²³ and Finland are in Table 13 definitely below 20 %; and although on the basis of the detailed investigation outlined above the numbers returning to Finland permanently have been found to be about one fifth of those emigrating, the same trend might be predictable in Sweden and Denmark if it were possible to investigate the return using sources other than official statistics.

Return migration of approximately similar proportions can also be attributed to the German and Irish emigrants, though the information on these is very imprecise. Between 1908 and 1924 the German return migration was about 16 % of the emigration to the United States.²⁴ SCHRIER, who investigated the Irish return migration, was unable to state more than that the Irish were no "birds of passage" and that the return migration rate was low.²⁵

It should however be pointed out that the return migration among certain other nationalities has been even lower than the Finnish one. The Ukrainian return migration has been estimated at about 10 %, and this has been at least partly attributed to the changed political circumstances after the First World War.²⁶ There was also very little Jewish return migration to Europe during the period of high emigration.²⁷

Finland thus does clearly belong to those nationalities with a low rate of overseas return migration, comparable to Scandinavia and central Europe. On this criterion, Finland does not qualify as a country of the "new" emigration; and the entire division into "new" and "old" becomes questionable in view of the return rate for Britain, which represented the "old" emigration. On the other hand, in many southern European countries the overseas emigration was by nature temporary: workers from these countries made longer journeys to work than is usual. In terms of the numbers returning, very few Finnish emigrants travelled overseas to work temporarily, though this is not the same question as that of their motives at the point of emigration.

Genuine work journeys abroad (determined again by reference to the return frequency) usually took place over shorter distances; thus Italians took work in France,²⁸ Dutch workers in Germany,²⁹ Swedes in Denmark,³⁰ and Finns in Sweden³¹ or Russia.³² This in most cases meant a commuting labour force, with

²² See HVIDT 1971, 327—328.

²³ Cf. TEDEBRAND 1972, 223.

²⁴ International Migrations II 1931, 477; cf. HELL 1976, 55.

²⁵ SCHRIER 1958, 152.

²⁶ HALICH 1937, 23, 146.

²⁷ JOSEPH 1914, 182.

²⁸ TEDEBRAND 1973, 245.

²⁹ SAMSON 1977, 113, 115, 128.

³⁰ KRONBORG and NILSSON 1975, 268—269.

³¹ WESTER 1977, 72, 78.

³² JUNGAR 1974, 92.

much higher return percentages than in the overseas emigration. A similar phenomenon can for example be observed in the migration of Yugoslavs in Europe³³ and of Americans to Canada after the Second World War. Owing to the improvements in communications, work journeys between European and overseas countries are easier than they used to be, as is illustrated in the — essentially temporary — British movement to Canada after the Second World War.³⁴

In the context of migration movements, the Finnish overseas emigrants cannot in general be regarded as "birds of passage" or as commuting workers, although they did include some of these, who formed however a relatively small proportion in comparison with other groups of emigrants.

2 TEMPORARY RETURN

The majority of emigrants left for overseas for economic reasons; the majority of Finnish emigrants only made one journey, either to remain abroad as an immigrant or to return permanently to Finland. Some, however, made several journeys, though the ultimate result was, naturally, either that they returned permanently to Finland or that they remained for the rest of their lives in their host country. The purpose of this section is to draw a picture of these "birds of passage". In very many cases, the reasons for the return remaining temporary were the various difficulties of adjustment, which will be studied in more detail in Chapter VIII:2. In the following, however, temporary return will be placed in the context of the overall overseas return migration rate.

The examination of the emigration from the sample areas for the present investigation suggests that around 10% of the emigrants, both from rural and urban areas, paid at least two visits overseas. The figure for Elimäki is 12.9%, for Lohtaja 12.1%, for Leppävirta 9.9%, for Kristinestad 9.1%, for Polvijärvi 8.7%, and for Jokioinen 6.4%.³⁵ KERO, who investigated the same question for the period before 1914 on the basis of passport registers, states that 7—8% of Finnish emigrants had been overseas at least twice.³⁶ According to BACKMAN, as many as 21.3% of Munsala emigrants made at least two journeys;³⁷ the figures obtained for the present sample areas and for the whole of Finland are, however, so similar that they represent an approximate mean value for this phenomenon, despite the variations which do occur between one area and another in different parts of the country.

³³ SEFERAGIĆ 1977, 363.

³⁴ RICHMOND 1967, 229, 252.

³⁵ Up to 1930 there were 380 emigrants who had left from Elimäki, 49 of whom had emigrated at least twice. The corresponding figures for Lohtaja are 2134 and 259, for Leppävirta 333 and 33, for Kristinestad 1050 and 96, for Polvijärvi 242 and 21, and for Jokioinen 187 and 12.

³⁶ KERO 1974, 46—47.

³⁷ BACKMAN 1945, 11. The number of emigrants was 2033, of whom 433 emigrated twice at least.

In comparison with the Italians, for example, the Finns made far fewer journeys, since of the Italians emigrating between 1897 and 1906 as many as 2/5 had visited America previously.³⁸ The opposite extreme is represented by the Jews, who according to Samuel JOSEPH were less likely than other nationalities to make a number of journeys overseas.³⁹

In Kristinestad, 52.3 % of all acts of return migration caused subsequent re-emigration; in Leppävirta, 51.4 %; in Elimäki, 47.3 %; in Lohtaja, 42.4 %; in Polvijärvi, 35.6 %; and in Jokioinen, 26.9 %.⁴⁰ The return was thus often only temporary, though it should be remembered that some merely came to visit, and that some travelled backwards and forwards as many as five or six times. The urban return migration appears to have been somewhat more temporary in character than the rural, at least in Kristinestad, which was a port; part of the reason is the high proportion of seamen among the emigrants.⁴¹ In the light of the findings for the sample areas under investigation, we need to reverse PÄTYNEN's estimate that the re-emigration rate for Kuusamo return migrants (34.6 % of all acts of return migration) was higher than normal. PÄTYNEN reached his conclusions by reference to the questionnaire sent out by the Migration Committee to the municipalities,⁴² the data from which are not derived from reliable statistical information.

Those emigrants who emigrated two or more times usually re-emigrated fairly soon after having returned, as is shown in Table 14.

In the sample areas, at least 60 % of all the re-emigrations occurred within the first two years after the previous return. Except in Lohtaja, the low absolute numbers make it difficult to draw precise conclusions. Nevertheless, a clear generalization is that if a return migrant decided to re-emigrate, he or she usually carried out this intention very soon after the previous return, in general within a couple of years. The findings also suggest that at the most one-fifth of re-emigrations occurred five or more years following the previous return.

Altogether those emigrating twice or more only comprise a small portion of the emigrants as a whole (about 10 %); on the other hand, as was seen above, the return to Finland was rather frequently merely temporary. Some migrants emigrated as many as five times, like Gustaf Nygård from Lohtaja, who emigrated for the first time in 1884, and made several visits to Finland, but having left for the fifth time in 1906 did not return any more. Another such "bird of passage" was Juho Antin-

³⁸ FOERSTER 1924, 36; cf. CAROLI 1973, 46.

³⁹ JOSEPH 1914, 138—139.

⁴⁰ There were 216 cases of return in Kristinestad, of which 103 were permanent and 113 temporary. The corresponding figures for Leppävirta were 74 (36 + 38), for Elimäki 129 (68 + 61), for Lohtaja 747 (430 + 317), for Polvijärvi 59 (38 + 21), and for Jokioinen 52 (38 + 14). These figures include emigrants from the sample areas who returned elsewhere, and also emigrants from elsewhere who returned to the sample areas. The majority of the following statistics for the sample areas are based on this calculation. The figures are thus somewhat higher than those in Table 10 (p. 62). This point is really significant, however, only in Kristinestad (see closer the following section, Chapter II:3).

⁴¹ This question is discussed in Chapter IV.

⁴² See PÄTYNEN 1972, 109.

Table 14. *Subsequent Re-emigration by Temporary Return Migrants, by Sample Areas.*^a

Interval	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen	
After 0—2 Years	129	61.4 %	18	69.2 %	5	83.3 %
After 3—4 Years	37	17.6 %	5	19.2 %	1	16.7 %
After 5—10 Years	39	18.6 %	3	11.5 %	—	—
After More than 10 Years	5	2.4 %	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	210	100.0 %	26	100.0 %	6	100.0 %
	Leppävirta		Polvijärvi		Kristinestad	
After 0—2 Years	15	68.2 %	6	60.0 %	35	79.5 %
After 3—4 Years	4	18.2 %	1	10.0 %	6	13.6 %
After 5—10 Years	1	4.5 %	2	20.0 %	2	4.5 %
After More than 10 Years	2	9.1 %	1	10.0 %	1	2.3 %
TOTAL	22	100.0 %	10	100.0 %	44	100.0 %

a: The figures in this Table refer to all acts of temporary return migration. In addition, for the following cases it was impossible to determine the interval between the previous return and the new emigration: in Lohtaja, 107; in Elimäki, 35; in Jokioinen, 8; in Leppävirta, 16; in Polvijärvi, 11; and in Kristinestad, 69. The interval between the previous return and the new emigration was calculated to the nearest year: e.g. a person returning in 1907 and re-emigrating in 1910 would be assigned an interval of 3 years.

poika Paavola from Elimäki, who was the earliest known emigrant from Elimäki, and who left for overseas in 1888, 1891, 1897, 1899, and 1902; he too never returned to Finland permanently. Persons such as these, who made their journeys in something of a spirit of adventure, are the exceptions among the re-emigrants. In some cases the slightly pointed remark by one writer that it was home-sickness that drew people back to Finland but money-sickness that drew them back to America again applies.⁴³ His generalization overlooks the fact however that the majority of emigrants only made the one journey overseas, thereafter either remaining there or returning permanently to Finland.

Table 15 relates the temporary and permanent returns to each other, and shows the number of journeys made by those who returned permanently.

In each of the sample areas, over four-fifths of those permanently returning made only one journey abroad as an emigrant; the picture given by this Table can therefore be generalized. There are not any differences between urban and rural areas in this respect. Rather a sizable proportion of the permanent return migrants, however, consist according to Table 15 of persons who had made two journeys abroad (7.9—17.6 %), whereas persons who had made more than two journeys only composed a tiny fraction of the permanent return migrants. In interviews with people in

⁴³ TARKKANEN 1902, 24.

Table 15. *Number of Journeys Overseas Made by Emigrants Permanently Returning to Finland, by Sample Areas.^a*

Number of Journeys	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen	
One	355	82.6 %	55	80.9 %	34	89.5 %
Two	63	14.7 %	12	17.6 %	3	7.9 %
Three	8	1.9 %	1	1.5 %	1	2.6 %
Four	4	0.9 %	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	430	100.0 %	68	100.0 %	38	100.0 %
	Leppävirta		Polvijärvi		Kristinestad	
One	32	88.9 %	34	89.5 %	92	89.3 %
Two	4	11.1 %	4	10.5 %	9	8.7 %
Three	—	—	—	—	1	1.0 %
Four	—	—	—	—	1	1.0 %
TOTAL	36	100.0 %	38	100.0 %	103	100.0 %

a: This Table includes all emigrants departing for overseas up to 1930 inclusive who permanently returned to Finland. For the differences from Table 10 in the absolute totals, see footnote 40, p. 71.

southern Ostrobothnia, TOIVONEN has reached slightly differing results,⁴⁴ but it must be noted that her data are based on interviews carried out at rather a late stage, and only cover slightly over 100 return migrants, whereas the figures in Table 15 include all the permanently returning emigrants of the sample areas.

Despite the fact that those making only a single journey comprise the great majority of the permanent return migrants, it is worth raising the question how far the permanent return rate varies between those making a single journey and those emigrating several times. As in Table 15, therefore, temporary and permanent return are set out for comparison.

Table 16 demonstrates that relatively more of those who had emigrated twice returned permanently to Finland than of those who had emigrated only once. This finding applies to all the sample areas under investigation, and its generalization is therefore justified. There were so few emigrants who made three or more journeys that no firm conclusions can be drawn about them, not even in Lohtaja. Despite the low numbers, however, the relative frequency in Lohtaja of permanent return by those who had travelled overseas three or four times is noticeable.

⁴⁴ TOIVONEN 1963, 187. Of the 116 emigrants who had returned to southern Ostrobothnia, 73, i.e. 62.9%, had emigrated once, 29, i.e. 25.0%, twice, 10, i.e. 8.6%, three times, and 4, i.e. 3.4%, four times.

Table 16. *Permanent Return Migration Rate in Relation to the Number of Journeys Overseas Made by Emigrants, by Sample Areas.*^a

Number of Journeys	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen	
	Emigrating	Returning	Emigrating	Returning	Emigrating	Returning
One	1875	355 18.9 %	331	55 16.6 %	175	34 19.4 %
Two	221	63 28.5 %	42	12 28.6 %	10	3 30.0 %
Three	29	8 27.6 %	6	1 16.7 %	2	1 50.0 %
Four	8	4 50.0 %	—	—	—	—
Five	1	—	1	—	—	—
TOTAL	2134	430 20.1 %	380	68 17.9 %	187	38 20.3 %

	Leppävirta		Polvijärvi		Kristinestad	
	Emigrating	Returning	Emigrating	Returning	Emigrating	Returning
One	300	32 10.7 %	221	34 15.4 %	954	92 9.6 %
Two	29	4 13.8 %	21	4 19.0 %	82	9 11.0 %
Three	4	—	—	—	12	1 8.3 %
Four	—	—	—	—	1	1 100.0 %
Five	—	—	—	—	1	—
TOTAL	333	36 10.8 %	242	38 15.7 %	1050	103 9.8 %

a: This Table includes all emigrants departing for overseas up to 1930 inclusive who permanently returned to Finland.

The information in Table 16 suggests the conclusion that an emigrant who revisited Finland and attempted to readjust to Finnish conditions without succeeding and therefore decided to re-emigrate was, nevertheless, more drawn to his or her old home area even at a later stage than those emigrants who only made a single journey.

Temporary return migration has a prominent position in its entirety in the picture of the total return. As has been shown above, almost half of the total return journeys were temporary in character. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of Finnish emigrants (about 90 %) only made a single journey, thereafter either remaining as immigrants in their host country or permanently returning to Finland. As was suggested at the beginning of this section, the factors contributing to temporary return can to a large extent be related to emigrants' difficulties of adjustment. The temporary return also needs to be related to the permanent return in order to obtain an overall picture. As has been seen, the relative permanent return migration rate was higher among those who had previously had the experience of a temporary return to Finland than among those who only made a single journey overseas.

As far as the international research situation is concerned, there is no accurate comparative material available on the recurrent re-migration movement between Europe and the New World. Wider generalizations should not therefore be made on the basis of one country (Finland), though the findings may be indicative, especially in relation to the Scandinavian migration.

3 RETURN TO AREAS OTHER THAN THE PLACE OF ORIGIN

Since the return migration must be recognized as merely one factor within the migration movements of any particular country, it will now be investigated whether emigrants returned to their original home areas and areas from which they had emigrated, or elsewhere. In this connection, it will also be necessary to examine any mobility of emigrants within their home country.

The research findings from the rural areas under investigation indicate that emigrants in general returned to the place from which they had set out on their journey. Among the 419 emigrants from Lohtaja who permanently returned to Finland, there were only five who returned somewhere other than their place of origin. The corresponding figures for Elimäki are 68 and 4; for Jokioinen, 38 and 1. No such cases are traceable for Leppävirta or Polvijärvi at all. Of these ten persons who returned outside their place of origin five were women and five men. Four of the women had got married while abroad, and returned with their husband to his home locality. All the men returned close to their place of origin, i.e. a neighbouring locality or town, most likely because of the job opportunities.

Similarly, there were 11 persons who returned to Lohtaja but who had originally emigrated from elsewhere; there were no equivalent cases at all in the other rural sample areas. Of these persons returning to Lohtaja six were women and five men; all the women and three of the men had got married overseas, and had now moved to the places of origin of their spouses.

These figures clearly indicate that for rural areas it is virtually a rule that emigrants returned to the areas from which they had emigrated; marriage abroad was the main factor to cause an exception. The return migration to Malax confirms this, although SMEDS does not present any precise figures.⁴⁵ Similarly the information obtained in Toholampi indicates the emigrants as normally returning to the area of emigration.⁴⁶ For Korpo, about one-fifth of those returning settled either immediately or subsequently outside the municipality; these figures also however include persons who had moved away from Korpo even before emigrating.⁴⁷

In Västernorrland, the region of Sweden investigated by TEDEBRAND, about 80 % of the people emigrating between 1875 and 1913 who returned settled down in the area they had emigrated from. This region includes both industrial and agricultural areas.⁴⁸ Approximately similar conclusions have been reached with reference to people returning to Norway.⁴⁹ The data for Norway and Sweden are not necessarily in contradiction with those for Finland, though there may be a difference of degree. The differences may derive from the framing of the question for investigation. For the sample areas in the present investigation, return to the place of origin

⁴⁵ SMEDS 1935, 336; cf. WARIS 1936, 28.

⁴⁶ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 51.

⁴⁷ WIDÉN 1975, 81.

⁴⁸ TEDEBRAND 1972, 237—240, 314.

⁴⁹ SEMMINGSEN 1950, 461.

has been interpreted in an "immediate" sense, i.e. the returning emigrants' various stages, including possible moves within Finland, have not been studied subsequent to the actual return.⁵⁰ The investigation in Norway and Sweden may have been framed rather more broadly, i.e. the calculations may include persons who moved away from their place of origin only later, following their actual return. Another significant point is that the rural areas under investigation here were during the emigration period highly agricultural, whereas TEDEBRAND's research region also included industrialized areas.

This is relevant because return elsewhere than to the place of origin is different in character within the urban return migration from that for rural areas. There were 87 emigrants from Kristinestad who permanently returned to Finland, and of these there were 27 (31.0 %) who settled down elsewhere than in Kristinestad. Similarly, there were 16 people who returned to Kristinestad, having emigrated from somewhere else, i.e. 21.1 % of the 76 persons who actually returned to Kristinestad.⁵¹ Of the latter cases, 12 were men and four women; the majority of them were young unmarried persons who probably felt their job opportunities to be better in a town than in their place of origin.

The majority of the 27 Kristinestad emigrants who resettled somewhere else did so in one of the neighbouring areas in southern Ostrobothnia, as the following list shows:

AREAS IN SOUTHERN OSTROBOTHNIA		ELSEWHERE IN FINLAND	
Närpes	4 persons	Helsinki	3 persons
Lappfjärd	4 persons	Turku	1 person
Vaasa	2 persons	Pori	1 person
Sideby	2 persons	Lovisa	1 person
Tjock		Ruotsinpyhtää	1 person
(Kristinestad Rural Municipality)	1 person	Sortavala	1 person
Isokyrö	1 person	"Elsewhere"	2 persons
Korsnäs	1 person		
Kauhajoki	1 person	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>27 persons</u>
Karijoki	1 person		

⁵⁰ It has been shown, at least for Toholampi in the early phases of the American emigration, that some (around 10 %) of the return migrants subsequently moved elsewhere in Finland (KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 56), although the immediate return from America did take place to the area of origin.

⁵¹ As was mentioned earlier (footnote 40, p. 71), the majority of the following statistics for the sample areas include emigrants from the sample areas who returned elsewhere as well as emigrants from elsewhere who returned to the sample areas. This point has real significance, however, only in Kristinestad.

In general, return outside the place of origin occurred in a neighbouring area. In this case, moreover, a bilingual area. Those settling in other parts of Finland also mostly moved to bilingual areas, usually a town. The material presented here thus indicates that it was only in the rural return migration that emigrants almost always returned to their place of origin.

The findings for Kristinestad can, with some reservations, be generalized over at least the towns on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, in which the emigration rate was relatively high. Almost a third, therefore, of the emigrants from these towns who returned did so to a place other than the town from which they had departed. The towns received "compensation" for this loss in the form of returning emigrants from elsewhere, although to judge by the data from Kristinestad they did not succeed in attracting as many emigrants from elsewhere as they lost to neighbouring areas in particular. This is further supported by the finding reported earlier (see p. 66 above) to the effect that the return migration to towns was weaker than to rural areas. TEDEBRAND comes to similar conclusions that areas dominated by agriculture were more able to attract returning emigrants than industrialized areas were. On these grounds, he regards the return migration in Sweden as conservative.⁵² On slightly different criteria, he thus reaches the same conclusions as were suggested above for Finland. To crystallize this finding, the countryside proper exerted a stronger attraction over returning emigrants than either towns or densely settled areas in general.⁵³ Similarly, TEDEBRAND's estimate of the return other than to the place of origin (see p. 75) brings his findings closer to those for the Finnish sample areas — at least indirectly.

The main reason for the differences which occurred between urban and rural emigration in this respect was "etape emigration". Rapidly growing centres of population included people who had moved from the surrounding countryside in to the town and later continued on their journey overseas. From Helsinki, in particular, the majority of emigrants were etape emigrants.⁵⁴ The majority of the male emigrants from Kristinestad who returned to settle elsewhere were in fact returning to their place of ultimate origin, i.e. 10 out of 17. Of the 10 women only two did the same, while four returned to the home locality of their husbands, having got married overseas. Some of the returning migrants moved to other parts of the country, usually a town (see the list on p. 76); this was caused by various reasons (e.g. job opportunities, or familiarity with city life while abroad).

In any case, even in Kristinestad — which was not even an important industrial town — roughly half of the persons who returned to settle elsewhere went to their ultimate home place, which usually was located quite close. The same phenomenon has been observed also for emigrants returning to Sweden even though there is no

⁵² TEDEBRAND 1972, 237—240, 314.

⁵³ The concentration of the return migration almost exclusively in the areas of origin (with the exception of towns) is important for the present investigation, since it is extremely difficult to trace return migrants who have settled elsewhere than their place of origin.

⁵⁴ KERO 1974, 54—55.

Table 17. *Places of Birth of Persons Emigrating from Toholampi to America and of Those Returning to Toholampi, 1880-1889.*^a

Place of Birth	Persons Emigrating		Persons Returning	
Toholampi	376	80.7 %	56	65.9 %
Neighbouring Areas	34	7.3 %	8	9.4 %
Elsewhere in Finland	56	12.0 %	15	17.6 %
America	—	—	6	7.1 %
TOTAL	466	100.0 %	85	100.0 %

a: KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 52. "Neighbouring Area" refers to municipalities abutting on Toholampi municipality.

exact information.⁵⁵ If etape emigrants are regarded, on the basis of their place of ultimate origin, as rural population, this reduces the number of truly urban emigrants in the overseas emigration even further.⁵⁶

To a certain extent etape emigration also occurred in the country, though in a different way from that in for instance Helsinki. One-fifth of the emigrants from Toholampi in 1880—1889 had been born somewhere other than Toholampi (see Table 17). It is of course a question of definition whether all the persons born outside a particular municipality should be regarded as etape emigrants, but an emigration movement of this type, involving a series of stages, appears to have taken place in country areas as well. At any rate, this illustrates the connection between the overseas emigration and its accompanying return migration, and internal mobility within the home country. Even during the emigration period, internal domestic mobility was numerically greater: for example, 90 % of the moves into and out of Halmstad, in Sweden, in 1870—1910 took place within Sweden.⁵⁷ The return rate in the internal domestic mobility is approximately of the same order as in the American emigration, at least for the 1880s in Toholampi.⁵⁸

Was the return rate higher among etape emigrants than other groups? An indication can be obtained by comparing the places of birth of those emigrating from Toholampi to America and of those returning in Table 17.

Those born in Toholampi comprise a distinctly larger proportion of the emigrants than of those returning, while the reverse holds true for those born in neighbouring areas and elsewhere in Finland. It must be noted that the material is only taken from one area, covers a short period of time, and contains only a small population; but with these reservations, the conclusion may be drawn that those who had already moved at least once before emigrating were more likely to return than those who had

⁵⁵ TEDEBRAND 1972, 238.

⁵⁶ Cf. KERO 1974, 55.

⁵⁷ KRONBORG and NILSSON 1975, 226.

⁵⁸ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 50--51.

lived all their lives in the same place before emigrating. The former group were more used to moving, so that the return was also "easier" for them. A similar conclusion was also reached on the basis of wider material in the preceding section (see p. 73—74), when it was found that permanent return was relatively more common among those who made at least one temporary return previously, than among those who had only made a single journey.

Overall, however, the return migration from overseas was stable in character, inasmuch as emigrants wished to return specifically to the place they had left from. The decision to return was largely dependent on individual factors, among which homesickness for Finland was important.⁵⁹ It is therefore logical that emigrants should wish to return to the place where they had roots.

4 THE DURATION OF THE EMIGRATION OF PERMANENT RETURN MIGRANTS

The majority of overseas emigrants left for economic reasons, wishing to earn as much as possible and then return home. This can be seen in the following figures (based on questionnaires), reporting how long emigrants intended to remain in their host country:⁶⁰

Maximum 5 years, or "a few" years	94	(35.7 %)
5—10 years	11	(4.2 %)
Indefinite period (but definite intention to return)	147	(55.9 %)
Intention to emigrate permanently	11	(4.2 %)
TOTAL	263	(100.0 %)

It was reported in ENGELBERG that most of the emigrants intended to return to Finland before long,⁶¹ and only a tiny proportion of those in the figures quoted above had planned to remain permanently in America or one of the other immigration countries. One emigrant from 1922, now resident in Florida, Wallu Jaakkola, commented on the question as to the intention to return at the moment of emigration that "I should think everyone intends to."⁶² Another very illuminating comment is provided by Otto Lammi, who emigrated from Kiikka in 1921, who stated that he had intended to remain abroad until he had a "pocketful" of money.⁶³ Very few, it can be said, intended to leave their home country for ever.

⁵⁹ This question is discussed in Chapter VII:2.

⁶⁰ TYYH/S/1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires). These figures refer to emigrants actually returning to Finland, and this should be borne in mind.

⁶¹ ENGELBERG 1944, 58.

⁶² Interview with Wallu Jaakkola in 1975 (author's notes).

⁶³ TYYH/S/1/7180.

Table 18. *Length of Time Spent Abroad by Emigrants Permanently Returning to Finland^a*

Time	Lohtaja	Elimäki	Jokioinen
0— 2 Years	101 23.7%	22 36.7%	15 39.5%
3— 5 —"—	179 41.9%	20 33.3%	9 23.7%
6— 8 —"—	63 14.8%	7 11.7%	3 7.9%
9—11 —"—	40 9.4%	4 6.7%	6 15.8%
12—15 —"—	17 4.0%	2 3.3%	3 7.9%
16—20 —"—	9 2.1%	2 3.3%	— —
over 20 —"—	18 4.2%	3 5.0%	2 5.3%
TOTAL	427 100.0%	60 100.0%	38 100.0%

	Leppävirta	Polvijärvi	Kristinestad	Finland
0— 2 Years	11 44.0%	10 31.3%	16 20.3%	9170 29.4%
3— 5 —"—	9 36.0%	9 28.1%	24 30.4%	9431 30.2%
6— 8 —"—	1 4.0%	5 15.6%	18 22.8%	} 12642 40.5%
9—11 —"—	1 4.0%	5 15.6%	6 7.6%	
12—15 —"—	1 4.0%	2 6.3%	5 6.3%	
16—20 —"—	1 4.0%	— —	2 2.5%	
over 20 —"—	1 4.0%	1 3.1%	8 10.1%	
TOTAL	25 100.0%	32 100.0%	79 100.0%	31243 100.0%

^a: The figures for Finland refer to those returning in 1894—1916 (STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1898, Table 121; STV 1899—1900, Table 116; STV 1901, Table 119; STV 1902, Tables 119 and 120 b; STV 1903—1904 and 1906—1908, Table 45 B; STV 1905, Table 46 B; STV 1909 and 1911, Table 47 B; STV 1910 and 1912, Table 50 B; STV 1913, Table 57 B; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 B; STV 1916, Table 64 B; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 B). During this period, the division between 1894 and 1898 was as follows: 1—3, 3—5, over 5, unknown. The data for 1899 and 1900 were defined more precisely by starting the first group at 3 or 6 months. From 1901 to 1916 the following division was used: less than 1, 1—3, 3—5, over 5, unknown. The divisions used in the official Statistics thus to some extent overlap. The data have however been set out in the Table so as to match the divisions used in the sample areas. The figures for the sample areas refer to those returning permanently, and in order to ensure comparability between the data obtained from different sources, the time spent abroad by each emigrant has been calculated as the difference between the year of departure and the year of return; e.g. the time spent abroad by someone emigrating in 1905 and returning in 1908 is given in the Table as 3 years. It is impossible to be more precise than this, since the month of return is usually not known. In the cases of persons who had emigrated several times, the period spent abroad is calculated here as the difference between the last preceding emigration and permanent return. Cases where the time spent abroad is not known have not been included in the Table at all; for Finland, these number 1337, for Lohtaja 3, for Elimäki 8, for Jokioinen —, for Leppävirta 11, for Polvijärvi 6, and for Kristinestad 24.

As has already been seen, however, in view of these motives for emigration, the return migration was small. The return rate varied considerably between emigrant groups from different origins in the social structure, but the kaleidoscopic variety of personal motives was also significant.

Since the motive for emigration was frequently to become rich quickly, it might be predicted that those who returned permanently would do so fairly soon after having emigrated.

Table 18 clearly demonstrates that both in all the sample areas and in Finland as a whole over half those returning permanently had been abroad for not more than five years; this group accounts for about 60 % or more of the returning emigrants in all the sample areas except Kristinestad (about 50 %). When these results are compared with findings of earlier research, where the classification used varies from that in Table 18, it is found that 65 % of the Karvia and Parkano emigrants returning had been in America for not more than four years.⁶⁴ The corresponding figure for Kuusamo is 51.7 %, ⁶⁵ for Munsala only 28.7 %, ⁶⁶ and elsewhere in southern Ostrobothnia 30.2 %.⁶⁷ On Åland, emigrants who had been abroad for not more than five years comprised 61.2 % of those returning permanently,⁶⁸ and in Korpo about half.⁶⁹

To generalize on the basis of these figures, over half of the Finnish return migrants came back not more than five years after having emigrated. This finding is supported both by the official Statistics and by the data obtained in different areas, with the exception of Munsala and of TOIVONEN's data for return migrants in the rest of southern Ostrobothnia. The latter findings are however based on an extremely small population and rely on interviews. The data for Munsala were also derived from interviews, whereas in all the other areas either District Court Registrars' records or parish archives, or both in complementation, were used as the main source of information. These factors are apparently responsible for some of the divergence in the findings, but it may be assumed that emigrants at least from some areas in southern Ostrobothnia remained abroad for longer than the average. In Kristinestad, for instance, those who had been abroad for five years or less comprised a smaller proportion of returning emigrants than in the other sample areas, though still over 50 %. The emigration of urban emigrants would thus have lasted longer than that of rural emigrants.

A general feature of Table 18 is that the longer the time from the emigration, the fewer emigrants who returned. In certain areas (Lohtaja and Kristinestad) the group of those who had been abroad for three to five years is, admittedly, larger than that for less than three years. The large size of the group who had been abroad for 20 years or more, in Kristinestad for instance, can be explained by the fact that this includes persons who had been abroad for 40—50 years; in other words, this group covers an extremely long period of time.

Postponement of the final decision to return usually, therefore, meant its abandonment. This can be vividly illustrated by the case of Henry Forsten, who emi-

⁶⁴ KERO 1972, 18. The population consists of 434 return migrants.

⁶⁵ PÄTYNEN 1972, 113. The population consists of 170 return migrants.

⁶⁶ BACKMAN 1945, 35. The population consists of 607 return migrants.

⁶⁷ TOIVONEN 1963, 186. The population consists of 116 return migrants.

⁶⁸ BLOMFELT 1968, 151. The population consists of 931 return migrants.

⁶⁹ WIDÉN 1975, 80—81. The population consists of 72 return migrants.

grated to America from Siikainen at the beginning of this century. As was typical of emigrants, he went in order to earn money. His intention to return can clearly be seen in his first letters to his wife, in which he also sent money for his family's needs. A few years later, he returned to Finland, but soon returned to America. His longing for home persisted over the next few years, but the First World War intervened. Prior to this, however, he had sent a ticket for his eldest son, who had joined him in America. Gradually the letters began to become less frequent, and Henry Forsten wanted to take his whole family over to America; the idea of returning began to fade. His wife and youngest son did not however join him in the new country, as a result of which Henry came back himself to their farm in 1926. He had however become so adjusted to his new country, and had acquired property there to such an extent, that he soon set out again for America. He continued to live there for several decades, but gradually broke off contacts with his family completely, even with the son living in America.⁷⁰

Henry Forsten's fate illustrates the rootlessness which often overtook the first generation of emigrants. They were continuously drawn by their old home country, while the new continent began to bind them. The end result was the abandonment of their return and, in many cases, the cutting off of all contacts with the old country.

It is significant that those emigrants who did then return to Finland usually spent a relatively short time in their host country. Also emigrants from Munsala and possibly elsewhere in southern Ostrobothnia, even if they did remain abroad slightly longer than most, had returned in more than 50% of cases by at the latest the eighth year after emigration.⁷¹

Norwegian emigrants, too, returned quickly, for Ingrid SEMMINGSEN states that about three-quarters of them remained in America for no more than nine years.⁷² a finding that accords with Table 18. Approximately 70% of those returning to the Sundsvall area in Sweden had been abroad for four years or less, a quarter for 5—9 years, and about 5% for over ten years.⁷³ This would suggest that Swedish emigrants remained abroad for somewhat shorter periods than Finnish ones.

According to CERASE, the time spent in America by Italians was longer than that of Nordic emigrants, since only 42.8% of those returning had been away for less than ten years.⁷⁴ However, this calculation is based on an infinitesimal sample (210 emigrants) out of all those returning to Italy; moreover, CERASE carried out the interviews at a very late stage. According to the Italian statistics, the majority of emigrants returning (at least between 1908 and 1916) had been abroad for less than

⁷⁰ TYYH, S. m, Satakunta, 21, SIIK III.

⁷¹ BACKMAN 1945, 35; TOIVONEN 1963, 186.

⁷² SEMMINGSEN 1950, 460.

⁷³ TEDEBRAND 1972, 252.

⁷⁴ CERASE 1970, 223—224. CERASE calculated the length of time spent as an emigrant as the difference between the date of the first emigration and of the permanent return, in the case of multiple emigrants.

five years, since these composed 57.9—82.6 % of all returns annually,⁷⁵ i.e. approximately the same result as for the present investigation of sample areas. According to the Italian government, the average length of time spent abroad by emigrants returning in 1900—1914 was five years.⁷⁶

SALOUTOS, however, found that more than half the emigrants returning to Greece had been abroad in North America for 5—10 years, and about 30 % for less than five years. This result, on the other hand, was derived from the return migration in a single year (1920). SALOUTOS regards this year as being representative,⁷⁷ which it cannot possibly be, in view of the First World War which had just taken place and which naturally prevented emigrants from returning during the course of hostilities. For this reason, the length of time spent abroad by emigrants returning in the postwar years was forced by circumstances to be longer than normal.

All in all, therefore, the length of time spent abroad by Nordic and southern European emigrants does broadly speaking not diverge, despite the minor differences observed between Sweden and Finland. It is a general feature of both the Finnish and other nationalities' emigrations that permanent return to the home country generally occurred within a few years of having emigrated. Nor does any essential change appear to have taken place in this respect following the Second World War. In RICHMOND's investigation, he found that 34 % of British return migrants had spent less than three years in Canada, 19.5 % from four to five years, 37 % from six to ten years, and 9 % from eleven to fifteen years.⁷⁸ Correspondingly, there were Polish political émigrés who planned a group return from the United States around the middle of the 1800s, but because of the political situation in Poland they had to postpone their return, and this in turn led to the abandonment of their plans, and to gradual adaptation in the host country.⁷⁹ These data are in broad terms completely in agreement with the information in Table 18, and with the rest of the analysis above, which deals with overseas migration at the end of the last century and the beginning of this.

⁷⁵ FOERSTER 1924, 35. These figures also include emigrants returning temporarily.

⁷⁶ CAROLI 1973, 50.

⁷⁷ SALOUTOS 1956, 51. In 1920 there were 20 319 emigrants who returned to Greece, 6222 of whom had been abroad for less than five years, 11 779 for five to ten years, 1729 for ten to fifteen years, 488 for fifteen to twenty years, and 101 for over twenty years.

⁷⁸ RICHMOND 1967, 231.

⁷⁹ STASIK 1973, 344—345.

III Cyclical Fluctuations in the Return

I LONG-TERM CYCLES

Like the emigration, the overseas return migration is clearly characterized by different phases: at some times there were large numbers of people returning, and at other times only a few. These phases are usually linked to economic trends, in which three types of fluctuation have been identified: 1) long cycles, lasting even decades, 2) boom-depression cycles, with phases usually 3—7 years in length, and 3) seasonal variation, recurring every year.¹

The long-term economic cycles have been defined on different criteria in different studies. Asher ACHINSTEIN refers to the movement of wholesale prices in the United States, which he says was particularly susceptible to the impact of "exceptional" events, such as war, gold discoveries, etc. There was a rising trend in prices from 1843 to 1865, a falling trend from 1865 to 1896, a rising trend from 1896 to 1920, and a falling trend again from 1920 to 1933.² The periods which he identifies match closely with the long-term cycles which can be observed in Nordic overseas emigration, and in the return migration as well.

The first phase lasted from the beginnings of the emigration until approximately 1893. It is impossible to identify the year precisely, but 1893 has been picked out in Sweden, for example, as an important turning point in the history of the return migration.³ Similarly, in Norway and Denmark the return began to rise steeply from the 1890s.⁴ In Finland, statistics on returning emigrants were initiated in 1894, which also indicates the increasing significance of the return migration factor. The early 1890s also marked a turning point in the emigration.⁵ By this decade, the conquest and settlement of North America was, broadly speaking, completed. Good and cheap farmland was decreasingly available. Transport communications also significantly improved in the early 1890s.⁶ At the same time, return migration

¹ LENTO 1951, 116—117.

² ACHINSTEIN 1961, 170.

³ LINDBERG 1930, 247; see also TEDEBRAND 1972, 248.

⁴ SEMMINGSEN 1950, 460 (Norway); HV1DT 1971, 326 (Denmark).

⁵ KERO 1974, 78.

⁶ See more especially p. 35—36.

began to occur on a larger scale then, since emigration from Finland as a mass movement only began in the 1880s.

The natural end of the second cycle is the First World War, which virtually cut off both the emigration and the return migration for many years. The third phase in the emigration ended in 1930, when emigration to overseas countries stopped almost completely. The reason for this was the international depression, together with the actual interception of immigration to Canada. Prior to this, the United States had started to impose mild restrictions on immigration in the 1890s and the early years of the 20th century. Quotas were adopted in the 1920s. First, in 1921, the quota for each nationality was fixed at 3 % of the population of that nationality recorded in the 1910 United States Census. In 1924, the reference year was changed to 1890, in order to further limit the immigration of "new" immigrants, and the quota was cut to two per cent. In 1931, even this restricted immigration was stopped. Racial discrimination was also practised.⁷ In the return migration, however, the third phase continues up to the 1970s, since the return is being investigated of persons emigrating up to 1930.

Generally speaking, the division of the emigration phenomenon into phases has been regarded as a useful device to assist in the analysis of its development over time. ÅKERMAN divides the emigration into four phases: introduction — growth — saturation — and regression.⁸ Here, both the emigration and the return migration are divided into three phases, with the first covering the introduction, the second both the growth and the saturation, and the third the regression period. The different phases vary however considerably between different areas, as will emerge in the following discussion.

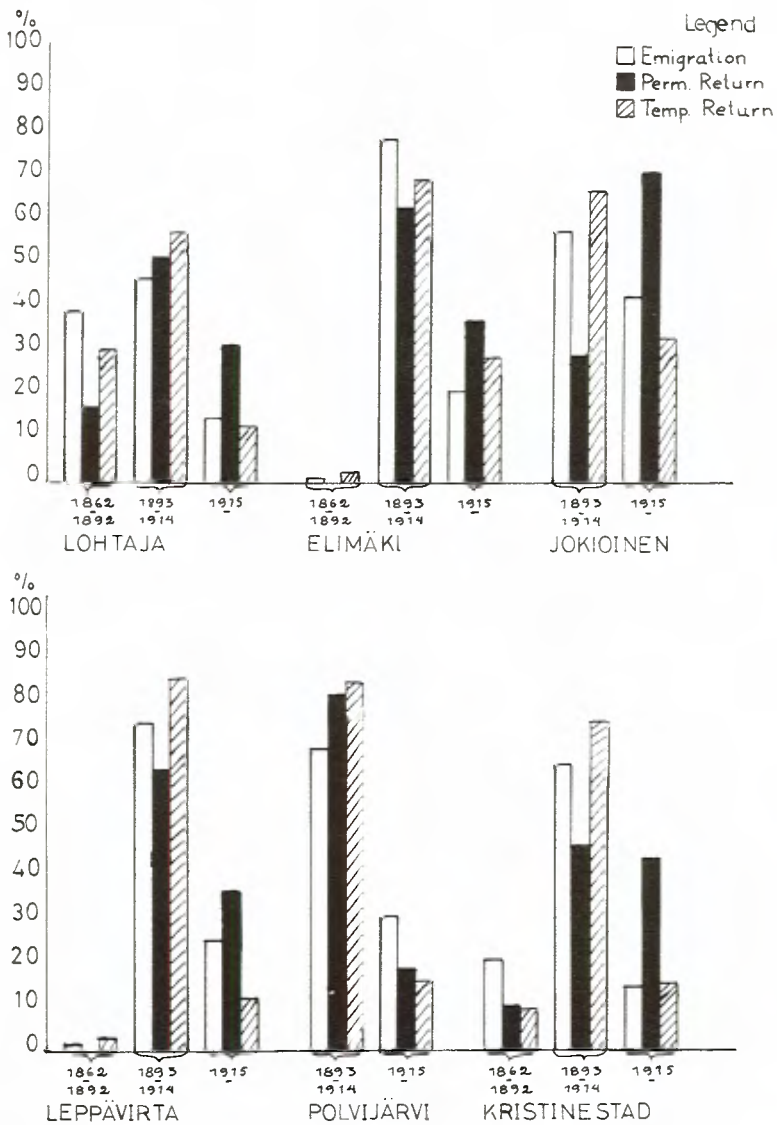
Outside the Ostrobothnian sample areas, emigration during the first phase was virtually nonexistent, i.e. up to 1893 (Figure 2). By that time, almost 40 % of the emigration from Lohtaja had already taken place, and over a fifth of that from Kristinestad. There was however as yet little return migration in these areas in this period: about 17 % of the permanent return in Lohtaja dates from this period, as does about 10 % of that in Kristinestad.

As Figure 2 indicates, both the emigration and the return migration reached their peak during the second phase (1893—1914), when the columns representing both emigration and also both temporary and permanent return are highest in all sample areas except Jokioinen, where the emigration peak was so late that the permanent return migration did not reach its maximum until after the First World War. Well over half the emigration from the sample areas dates from the second phase, with the sole exception of Lohtaja, where there had already been heavy emigration during the first phase.

The period after the First World War was, in the Finnish overseas emigration, a kind of "aftermath", and the earlier the emigration had started in each area, the

⁷ TUNKELO 1936, 259—260; ENGELBERG 1944, 45; WASASTJERNA 1957, 44; JONES 1960, 262, 276—277; SALONEN 1967, 44—45, 92.

⁸ ÅKERMAN 1976, 25—31.

Figure 2. Distribution by Different Periods of Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas.^a

a: The emigration figures include all acts of emigration. The absolute figures and percentages in the Figure, and the number of unknown cases, are explained in Appendix 2.

smaller the relative proportion of emigrants who went in this period. The direction of the emigration also changed in this period, mainly due to the adoption of quota systems in the countries of immigration. Canada was the main destination in the emigration in the 1920s, but emigrants' attention also began to be drawn to Australia. In addition to the quotas and the international boom-depression cycle, A. H. TUNKELO attributes the decline in emigration to the introduction of compulsory military service and to the "safety valve" effect of the increasing pull of Finnish towns on the rural population; the land reform, on the other hand (the transfer of rented land to owner occupation), did not in his opinion cause a decline in emigration in the 1920s.⁹

The relative permanent return was fairly high, however, in the postwar period not only in Jokioinen but also in Lohtaja, Elimäki, Leppävirta and Kristinestad. The proportion of temporarily returning emigrants after the First World War is one-third or less of all temporary returns in all the sample areas, one of the natural causes for which was the reduction in emigration opportunities as the 1930s approached.

A related question concerns what proportion of people emigrating at different times subsequently returned. The perspective here is thus different from that in Figure 2, since what is being compared in the following discussion is not the emigration and return migration rate in different periods, but primarily the date of departure of the returning emigrants (Table 19).

In Lohtaja and Kristinestad, where all three phases can be studied very clearly, the return percentage noticeably rises from the first to the third phase. Where 13.2% of the persons emigrating from Lohtaja before 1893 eventually returned permanently to Finland, the corresponding figure for Toholampi for approximately the same period was 18.7% (see Table 10). The figures for Toholampi are however not directly comparable with the data for Lohtaja, since the Toholampi investigation covered the emigration and the return migration occurring within the first phase only.

The situation in Leppävirta and Polvijärvi is exactly the reverse of that in Lohtaja and Kristinestad: very few of those emigrating after the First World War returned to Finland. In Elimäki and Jokioinen, the return rate was broadly speaking fairly level as between emigrants from the second and third phases.

Figure 2 and Table 19 suggest that the eastern Finland return migration rate after the First World War was low, and that in particular return by people emigrating in the 1920s was virtually nonexistent. In the high emigration regions, on the other hand, the return migration rate reaches its peak among those emigrating in the 1920s, as is supported by the findings both from rural (Lohtaja) and urban (Kristinestad) areas. There is no comparative material even though it has been mentioned in passing in some research that the return migration increased after the First World War;¹⁰ however, these are remarks based on guesswork. There is on the other hand a certain logic in the observation — provided that the emigration and return migration

⁹ TUNKELO 1936, 268—272.

¹⁰ TUNKELO 1936, 274; BLOMFELT 1968, 152.

Table 19. *The Permanent Return Migration Rate to Finland among Persons Emigrating at Different Times, by Sample Areas.*^a

Sample Area	Date of Emigration 1862—1892			Date of Emigration 1893—1914		
	Number Emigrating	Number Returning	Return Percentage	Number Emigrating	Number Returning	Return Percentage
Lohtaja	880	116	13.2	953	204	21.4
Elimäki	1	—	—	311	56	18.0
Jokioinen	—	—	—	109	25	22.9
Leppävirta	5	—	—	250	32	12.8
Polvijärvi	—	—	—	167	37	22.2
Kristinestad	230	11	4.8	686	50	7.3

	Date of Emigration 1915—1930			TOTAL 1862—1930		
	Number Emigrating	Number Returning	Return Percentage	Number Emigrating	Number Returning	Return Percentage
Lohtaja	301	99	32.9	2134	419	19.6
Elimäki	68	12	17.6	380	68	17.9
Jokioinen	78	13	16.7	187	38	20.3
Leppävirta	78	4	5.1	333	36	10.8
Polvijärvi	75	1	1.3	242	38	15.7
Kristinestad	134	26	19.4	1050	87	8.3

a: The figures refer to the persons emigrating, not to the total number of acts of emigration. The return figures include only emigrants from the sample areas who returned to Finland; they do not include emigrants from elsewhere returning to these areas.

occurring in the same period are being compared with each other — in that the immigration quotas deterred immigration, but not return migration. In that case, however, it is not possible — as in Figure 2 and Table 19 — to see what proportion of the total return migration occurred in each phase, nor what proportion of persons emigrating at different times eventually returned home. This point was noticed by GYLLING in 1910, in his attempt to analyze the official Statistics.¹¹

The emigration and return migration rates in different periods were affected by many different factors, which will be discussed in more detail in the analysis of the structural features of these migration movements. The important point in the immediate context is to establish the existence of the long-term cycles and their significance in the return migration seen as a whole. There is a close link between long-term economic cycles and the phases of the migration movement; the establishment of a sequence of chronological phases applicable to different migration movements is in fact the theoretical starting point for the analysis of the migration. In the overseas migration, this applies both to the emigration and the return migration;

¹¹ GYLLING 1910, 103.

each of these displays its beginnings, expansion, peak period, and decline, the timing of which, however, varies from one region of Finland to another, as has been shown in the discussion of the analysis above.

2 ANNUAL FLUCTUATIONS

The main effect of the second type of periods of economic fluctuation, i.e. boom-depression cycles, has been seen as operating on the emigration within the countries of immigration.¹² The primary impact of market fluctuations is on annual fluctuations in migration, since each cycle consists of a series of stages (e.g. boom, recession, and recovery).¹³ Over a period of 100 years, from 1854 to 1954, altogether 24 market cycles have been identified in the economy of the United States, with an average duration of slightly over four years (the shortest being 27 months, and the longest 99 months).¹⁴

Appendix 1 contains the records of the annual numbers of emigrants in the sample areas from the beginning of emigration, and also includes the annual total emigration figures for Finland and Sweden from the 1870s onwards. For the return migration, annual return figures are available for the sample areas and also for Karvia, Parkano, Åland, Finland, and Sweden. With the aid of Appendix 1, therefore, a reliable picture of both the emigration and the return migration can be established, and these can then be compared with each other.

In order to display the annual fluctuations more clearly, curves representing the emigration and return migration for the sample areas from the 1880s onwards, which is when the return migration began to occur on a considerable scale, have been drawn in Figure 3. After 1940, return by persons who had emigrated before 1930 had become so rare that no significant relation with boom-depression cycles obtains any more. In Figure 3, Lohtaja and Kristinestad have been represented separately, whereas all the remaining sample areas are represented by a single curve. The main reason for this is that the absolute numbers in the latter are so small that it would be practically impossible to see anything from the Figure if they were represented separately (the return figures for each sample area are however set out separately in Appendix 1).

The first peak in the Finnish emigration occurs in 1872 and 1873, when the United States economy was booming. Thereafter, overseas emigration was very low right up to the end of the decade, due to the depression in the United States and the Russo-Turkish War; Finland was the autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia from 1809 until 1917 when it became independent. The next peak did not occur until 1882, when the economic cycle in the major immigration country was also at its peak.

¹² HJELT 1905, 53; JEROME 1926, 208; TOIVONEN 1963, 143; KERO 1974, 78.

¹³ LENTO 1951, 117.

¹⁴ ACHINSTEIN 1961, 165–166.

This year, in fact, saw the largest emigration from Lohtaja for any single year in any period. A contributory factor was the fact that the Finnish economy passed through the bottom of a depression in precisely the same year. When we look at Finland and Sweden together as a whole (Appendix 1), however, the peak did not come until 1887. This was precisely the phase of the highest emigration from Sweden. Similarly, in Toholampi for example — which is adjacent to Lohtaja —, the highest emigration for the 1870s and 1880s occurred in 1887, with 107 emigrants setting out.¹⁵ It can, further, also be seen that the market conditions as recorded in Figure 3 and Appendix 1 for the major country of immigration continued to be reflected in the annual emigration figures in the 1890s. Thus the emigration was particularly high in 1893 and 1899, while in 1894 and 1897, due to the economic situation in the United States, there were relatively fewer emigrants.

The peak year for the Finnish emigration was 1902, but in Lohtaja, for example, the numbers emigrating were not exceptionally high, which can be attributed to the early peak of emigration there. In Kristinestad, on the other hand, 1902 was the peak emigration year. In the other sample areas, the emigration peak did not come until later, since overseas emigration did not begin to establish itself there until the turn of the century. The emigration peak in Elimäki and Polvijärvi came in 1906, and in Leppävirta in 1909, both of which were also years of high emigration for Finland as a whole. The last high emigration year before the First World War was 1913, when there was a brief boom in the economy of the United States; this was when the emigration from Jokioinen reached its maximum.¹⁶ Under the different conditions prevailing for emigration in the following decade, it was only in 1923 that the emigration came even near the prewar level.

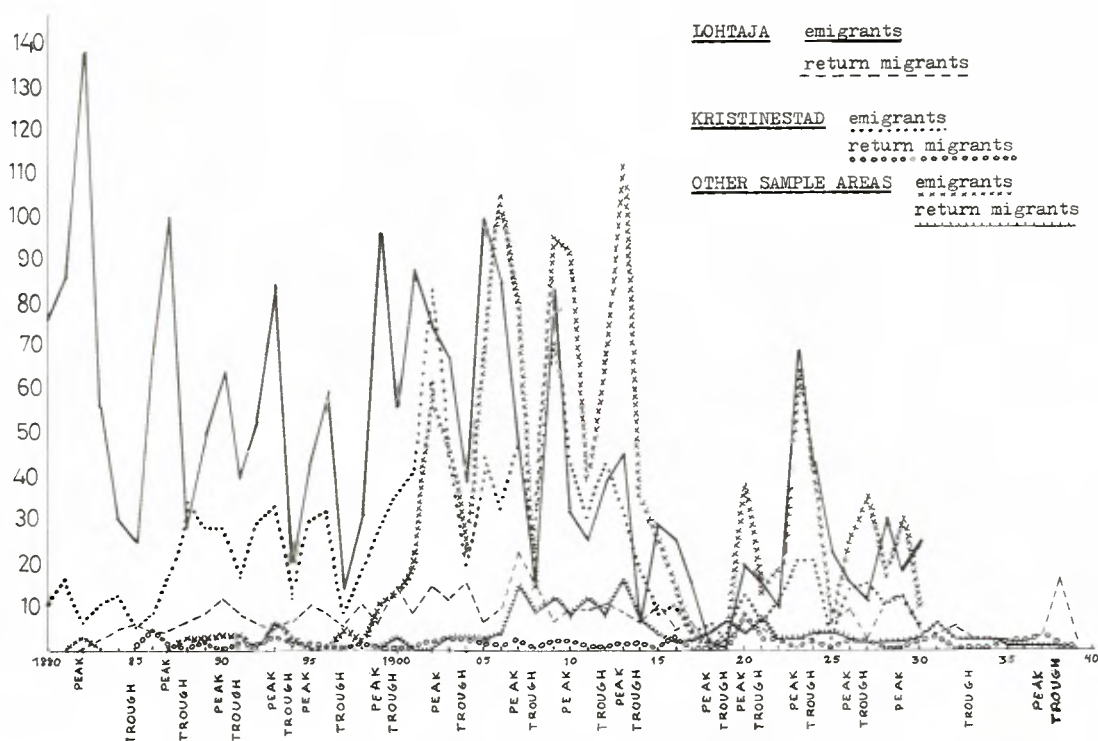
The general conclusion is that the maximum and minimum years in the emigration reflect rather closely the economic cycle in the United States. Short-term fluctuations in the Finnish economy, on the other hand, do not appear to have particularly affected the annual emigration rate, though it is noticeable that 1882, 1893, and 1902, when the emigration rate was exceptionally high in relation to its period, were years when the economy in the United States was booming and that in Finland in depression. These factors in combination may have contributed to an increased interest in emigration.

It is in general very difficult to estimate the impact of "push" and "pull" factors, and opinions as to their significance relative to each other are contradictory. The "push" of the home country was however primary, inasmuch as the emigration in its entirety was a consequence of the conditions prevailing in the region of departure, including demographic, economic, political, social, religious, and various individual aspects. The "pull" factors in the destination country, including the economic cycle, did on the other hand cause clearly recognizable fluctuations in the annual rate of

¹⁵ The annual emigration figures for Toholampi in the 1870s were: —, —, 12, 20, —, —, —, —, 7, and 8. The equivalent figures in the 1880s were: 23, 46, 38, 15, 25, 31, 46, 107, 66, and 69 (KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, Appendix 4).

¹⁶ Both in 1910 and in 1913 there were 26 emigrants who set out from Jokioinen.

Figure 3. Annual Fluctuations in the Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas, 1880–1940.^a



^a The absolute figures and data for the periods prior to 1880 and subsequent to 1940 are set out in Appendix 1. Emigrants include all acts of emigration, and return migrants consist of those returning permanently. The text below the diagram refers to the economic situation (boom-depression cycle) in the United States; see Appendix 1. The fluctuations in the Finnish economy are given in Appendix 1, as are also the emigration and return migration figures for certain other areas.

flow of the emigration.¹⁷ Short-term movements in the domestic economy have not been as significant, despite the fact that the emigration as a whole was the consequence of the overall domestic situation. The significance of the economic situation in the host country can also be seen by comparing the annual fluctuations in the emigration rate between Sweden as a whole and the various parts of Finland, in Appendix 1, when it will be observed that the variations mainly move in the same direction.¹⁸

When the return migration is compared with the fluctuations in the economy of the United States, in Appendix 1 and Figure 3, it is immediately apparent that the annual return migration rate is not nearly as dependent on the state of the economy

¹⁷ See NILSSON 1970, 37–41.

¹⁸ Cf. also JEROME 1926, 84.

as the emigration rate is. Even less effect can be attributed to the economic situation in the home country at the time in question. Nevertheless, KERO, for example, found that the return from the United States was greatest during depression years of the host country.¹⁹ The same point is made by HELL, in his study of German returnees.²⁰ In comparison with the emigration, the return migration was much more dependent on individual decisions and motives, while the lower absolute numbers in the return migration also tend to keep the return curves lower and flatter than those for the emigration. Nonetheless, the economic situation in the host country has been of significance.

Overseas return migration to Finland began to occur on a noticeable scale from the mid-1880s, as is indicated by the data for Lohtaja, Toholampi,²¹ and Kristinestad. The same observation has been made with reference to the Norwegian return migration, by SEMMINGSEN.²² The return figures for Sweden, in Appendix 1, also increase with the approach of the 1890s. This, still a low curve, is due, at least in Finland, to the relatively low emigration in the 1880s while the improvement in transport communications was apparently important in raising the return rate by the 1890s. TEDEBRAND suggests that one of the reasons for the fairly low return rate in the 1880s in Sweden was the prevalence of emigration by whole families,²³ and this would also apply to Finland.²⁴

Both in Lohtaja and Toholampi, and in Sweden, the peak return year in the 1870s was 1875, due at least in part to the high emigration rate in 1872 and 1873. The next rise in the return rate does not occur until the mid-1880s, when there was an economic depression both in the United States and in Finland. In general, however, the annual return rate to Lohtaja, Toholampi, and Kristinestad varied very little in the 1880s and early 1890s. Those returning in 1889—1891 consisted in the main of people who had emigrated in 1887, and there does not appear to be any effect on the annual return rate by market forces. In Sweden, too, the return migration can be seen to have risen both before and after the beginning of the 1890s, irrespective of the economic situation.

From the mid-1890s onwards, however, the return migration rate began to follow more closely the fluctuations in the economy of the United States, though the peak of return migration need not coincide with the trough of the depression but occurred on either side of this. The emigration rate a few years previously was also an important factor in the annual return rate; thus in 1900—1904 the return rate was consistently fairly high, due in the main to the high emigration in 1899 and 1902. The

¹⁹ KERO 1972, 14; see also GYLLING 1910, 100; JEROME 1926, 109; LINDBERG 1930, 245.

²⁰ HELL 1976, 55—56.

²¹ The annual return migration figures for Toholampi in the 1880s were: —, 1, —, 4, 11, 9, 4, 11, 14, and 31. The equivalent figures in the 1870s had been: —, —, —, —, —, 8, 1, 2, —, and — (KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, Appendix 4).

²² SEMMINGSEN 1950, 460.

²³ TEDEBRAND 1972, 251.

²⁴ See especially Chapter V:3.

impact of the economic situation in 1904 is also nevertheless distinguishable as a rise in the return rate.

The overall peak of the Finnish return migration occurred in 1907 and 1908. 1907 marked the peak of an economic boom, both in the United States and in Finland, but in the United States this rapidly turned to a depression, starting in May of that year, and reaching the trough of a depression in June 1908.²⁵ Appendix 1 shows that 1907 represented a peak in the return migration for Lohtaja, Elimäki, Leppävirta, and Åland. The data from the District Court Registrars' records also reach a maximum in that year, both for urban and rural areas over Finland as a whole.²⁶ According to the information in the shipping lines' passenger lists, the peak year for the Finnish return migration was 1908. In Norway and Italy, too, 1908 has been identified as the overall peak of the return migration.²⁷ It was also one of the years of heavy return migration to Sweden, though the peak had occurred there earlier, in 1894.²⁸

For Finland, the peak of the return migration can however be dated to 1907—1908, as was also the case in a number of other countries. The return migration was still heavy in the early years of the following decade, only then reaching its maximum in some areas (e.g. Kuusamo, in 1910,²⁹ and Jokioinen and Polvijärvi, in 1913). Similarly, in Greece, where the emigration had only begun at the beginning of the century, 1913 and 1920 were the peak return migration years, though SALOUTOS points out that the 1907 depression also led to a high return rate then.³⁰

The date of the maximum return in the years following the First World War varies considerably from one area to another, not occurring in Lohtaja until 1938, while in Kristinestad it came in 1920, in Leppävirta in 1921, in Elimäki in 1925, and in Jokioinen in 1931. The relatively high return rate in the early 1920s is due not only to the economic cycles, but also to the fact that many people who had decided some time earlier to return were forced by the First World War to postpone their plans. The return rate for Kristinestad, which had remained relatively low and steady throughout the emigration period, only reached its culmination in 1920.

Apart from the 1907 peak, it is worth mentioning that the urban return migration reached its maximum during the international depression in 1929—1933. Still, the Registrars' records do not record the numbers returning to towns as reaching 200 in any single year, whereas the same source shows over 3000 emigrants returning to rural areas in the years of the heaviest return migration.³¹ There is however a distinct

²⁵ ACHINSTEIN 1961, 165.

²⁶ The data from the District Courts Registrars for the return migration in urban and rural districts can be found in the following parts of the Finnish Statistical Yearbook: STV 1906, Table 46; STV 1916, Table 65; STV 1921, Table 63; STV 1924, Table 52; STV 1928, Table 54; STV 1931, 1933, Table 55; STV 1936, Table 56; STV 1939, Table 59; STV 1940, Table 66.

²⁷ On Norway, see SEMMINGSEN 1950, 460; on Italy, see FOERSTER 1924, 30.

²⁸ See also TEDEBRAND 1972, 224; NORMAN 1974, 50.

²⁹ PÄTYNEN 1972, 110. This refers to those returning permanently.

³⁰ SALOUTOS 1956, 32, 52.

³¹ For the sources for these figures, see footnote 26.

rise in the urban return rate in the 1920s and 1930s, probably due to their increased pull on returning emigrants following on the increase in urbanization.

The above-average return figures for 1925 and 1926 were affected by the high emigration in 1923. The return rate over Finland as a whole was also relatively high from 1927 right up to 1933. The highest annual return to Finland after the First World War was, according to both the Registrars' records and the passenger lists, 1932, when there was a severe crisis in the United States economy. The absolute numbers drop thereafter, due to the virtual ceasing of emigration in 1930. The peak in Lohtaja in 1938 is not susceptible of explanation in terms of the economic cycle, but is primarily due to the fact that of the 16 who returned in that year, 15 returned from Australia. The geographical distance of Australia from Finland apparently led a rather large group of Lohtaja emigrants to return together to Finland, since the long sea voyage must certainly have felt more comfortable and secure in a group. The majority of the return migrants in that year had set out from Lohtaja at the end of the 1920s, and it can be suggested that the emigration rate for any given period will be reflected in return figures considerably later among Australian immigrants than among those going to North America. Olavi KOIVUKANGAS has also seen an increased return rate in the 1930s for Finnish emigrants to Australia, particularly during the international depression in the early years of the decade.³² The reason for this is also naturally the fact that Finnish emigration to Australia only reached its maximum in the 1920s.

The return migration, then, did not reflect the cycles of the economy as closely as did the emigration rate. Nevertheless, the fat years and lean years in the United States can be clearly distinguished in the annual return migration rates. This is well illustrated by the high return rates for 1907 and 1908, and for the early 1930s, in comparison with the return migration for their periods. Other factors were also however rather important, e.g. the destination to which the emigrants went, or the preceding years' emigration and its composition. The main motive emigrants had for going overseas was to earn money, and it is therefore only to be expected that heavy emigration would lead to a rise in the return migration in subsequent years irrespective of the market cycle. It is precisely this feature in the return migration that was meant by RAVENSTEIN's "Law" of 1885 concerning the compensatory return movement associated with every migratory movement.³³ The return migration is thus partly a self-regulating, automatic occurrence, although fluctuations in the return migration rate were affected by many factors, such as the economic situation in the immigration countries at the time in question.

It was first observed by GYLLING that the emigration rate in the preceding quinquennium goes a long way to determining the return migration rate in the following five years.³⁴ KERO argues that it would be better to speak in terms of two- to three-

³² KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 206–207.

³³ RAVENSTEIN 1885, 199.

³⁴ GYLLING 1910, 102.

year periods.³⁵ Both opinions can be justified, as will have become clear in the above analysis. The same point is evident in the length of time spent in emigration by those who returned: over half of those permanently returning had been abroad for not more than five years (see Table 18, p. 80). This mainly applies, however, to emigrants to North America. For emigrants to Australia, a longer period — five years and upwards — is needed. For South Africa, on the other hand, the pattern in Finnish emigration prior to the First World War is the reverse of this: over two-thirds of those returning came back to Finland within the first two years from emigration, and many within one year.³⁶

The analysis of the Italian migration has revealed a high degree of sensitivity to economic conditions both in the emigration and in the return migration.³⁷ Many of these people were in effect "commuting to work" overseas, and even short-term fluctuations in the economy were therefore of considerable importance in affecting the decision to travel in either direction. Return to Europe by Jewish immigrants, on the other hand, is stated by JOSEPH not to have depended on economic conditions at all.³⁸ The Finnish emigrants come between these extremes in their return migration. The significance of individual motives in the decision to return takes on greater prominence within those groups of emigrants whose return rate was in general low; a whole range of different factors then intervene to "confuse" the economic cycles. Scandinavian and Finnish emigrants are an example of such a group.

3 SEASONAL VARIATION

The movement of emigrants between Europe and the overseas countries fluctuated according to the time of year. Examination of these seasonal fluctuations has shown that in the early stages of the Finnish emigration — in the 1870s and 1880s — the maximum occurred in the summer months, June and July. From the beginning of the 1890s, the emigration was distributed more evenly around the year, with the largest numbers of emigrants in April, the numbers then falling through the summer months and increasing again slightly in August and September. The major reason for this change, in KERO's opinion, was the improvement in communications from the 1890s on, which made it comparatively easier to transport emigrants outside the summer months, while the prospects of employment were highest in the host countries in the spring, which was when the busiest period began in mining, the construction industry, and work in the docks.³⁹ The American emigration from Italy has

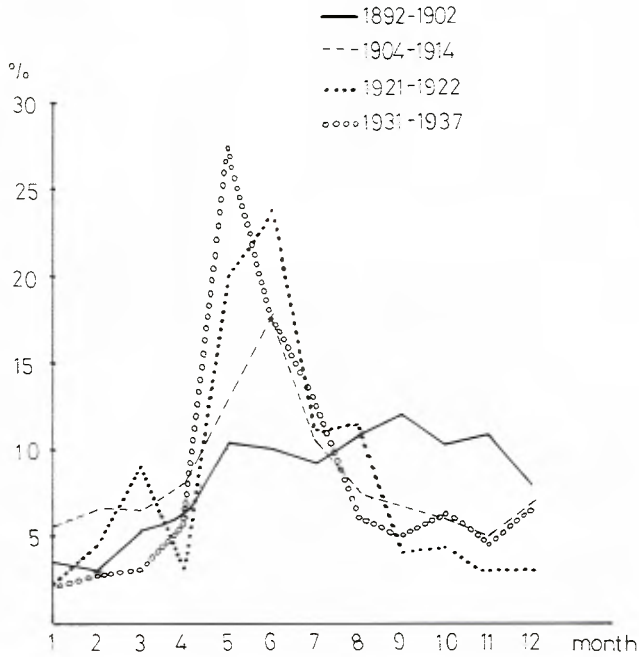
³⁵ KERO 1972, 16 footnote 13.

³⁶ KUPARINEN 1978, 163.

³⁷ FOERSTER 1924, 32.

³⁸ JOSEPH 1914, 138—139.

³⁹ KERO 1974, 69—70 especially Figure 1.

Figure 4. *Monthly Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration, 1892-1937.*^a

^a: This Figure is derived from data collected by the Finnish Steamship Company (also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku: TYYH/S/m/7/17). The figures on which the Figure is based are given in Appendix 3.

also been noticed to have been heaviest during the spring months,⁴⁰ as in Finland from the 1890s.

The seasonal variations in the return migration are displayed in Figure 4, which has been divided into four periods in order to clarify the trends of development. The figures used here are derived from the passenger lists, and thus include all persons returning to Finland. In the first phase (1892—1902) the return migration is fairly evenly distributed throughout the months, with the maximum occurring in the autumn. During the period of the heaviest return migration (1904—1914) the heaviest movement clearly shifts to the summer (May, June, and July). After the First World War, the return movement becomes even more markedly concentrated in a few summer months, particularly the early summer. The same trend continues into the 1930s, with more than a quarter of the return taking place during May. Thus in general May and June were the major months for the return migration, from the beginning of the century onwards, and the winter and autumn months

⁴⁰ See CAROLI 1973, 43.

were marked by relatively low return rates. The exception to this is in the 1890s, when the peak came in the autumn.

Comparison of Figure 4 with the seasonal fluctuations in the emigration⁴¹ reveals completely opposed trends in the two phenomena. In the early stages, the return migration was fairly evenly distributed, but with the passage of time the curve becomes sharper and its peak shifts towards spring and early summer. The curve for the emigration becomes more evenly distributed with the passage of time, though its peak, like that for the return migration, also shifts towards the spring months.⁴²

It is complicated to suggest reasons why the return migration should have become more and more concentrated at a particular time of year. In view of the improvements in communications, one would expect the opposite trend. Nor can the employment situation in the host countries be treated as a reason, for the kinds of employment mainly available for Finnish immigrants were most readily to be obtained in the spring; yet this is the season when the return reaches its annual maximum. The sex ratio among the emigrants does not offer any relevant explanation, for although in general more men returned than women, the proportion of women in the emigration was steadily rising. The return by women was not as sensitive to economic factors as that of men,⁴³ but the return curve does nonetheless distinctly become more sharply peaked as time proceeds, although it might be expected to level off as the proportion of women increased.

The return by Italians at different seasons of the year relates much more clearly than that by Finnish emigrants to employment opportunities in the host country, reaching its maximum at the end of the year.⁴⁴ The Italian overseas migration was in fact seasonal in character: they set out in large groups in the spring, for example to work on construction sites in some city on the eastern seaboard of the United States, and many of them would return at the end of the same year, when work finished,⁴⁵ to set out once again the following spring.

For the Finnish emigrants, on the other hand, the concentration of the return in the spring and early summer was probably related to pull factors in Finland. Many of the emigrants returned to rural areas and to agricultural work, in which the spring is a busy season. It is also possible that the effect of improved communications, specifically in the return migration, may have been to exaggerate the concentration in particular months: the further one proceeds from the First World War, the more common become visits home by Finnish-Americans. These, naturally, are included in Figure 4, which is based on the passenger lists; and a visit to Finland would be

⁴¹ KERO 1974, 69 Figure 1.

⁴² Figure 4 deals to some extent with a period later than the emigration investigated by KERO, but the trend is nevertheless clearly to be seen.

⁴³ The differences between the sexes in the emigration and in the return migration will be discussed in Chapter V:2 below.

⁴⁴ See CAROLI 1973, 43.

⁴⁵ Construction work, mining, and work in the docks usually closed down for the winter (KERO 1974, 70).

much more pleasant and attractive during the summer. No doubt it was also more comfortable to return permanently in spring and summer, bearing in mind that the return often took place for other than economic reasons, even though the improvements in communications made it possible to move at any time of the year. Since the return was often due to highly personal motives, such as homesickness, it occurred at the most attractive time of year in Finland. In this sense, therefore, the pull of the home country was probably of considerable significance in the concentration of the return at particular times of year, while in the emigration, economic factors in the host country were distinctly more influential.

IV The Socio-economic Composition of the Return Migration

In setting out to analyze the significance of social status in the return migration, the first point that has to be made is that the actual meaning of the terminology used to refer to occupations and social status in the various parts of Finland varied considerably. The occupational statistics are recognized as being one of the weakest parts of the Finnish Official Statistics.¹ The Emigration Statistics regularly record, on the basis of the passport lists, the occupation of the emigrant, or to be more precise they give a term indicating social status. When a small unit, such as a municipality, is investigated, it becomes obvious that these entries were made by reference to fixed criteria. Over a long period of time, however, the content of the terms could change; changes have been noted in the occupational titles of people who applied for a passport more than once.² Confusion could also be caused, within a single area, by the problem of who to call a farmer's or a crofter's son, or a cottager or a farmhand. The children of farmers and crofters did often work as farmhands or as maids, and the practice in the approach to recording social status varies considerably, e.g. between the parish records in different decades.³

When a larger area, such as a Province, or the whole country, is taken for analysis, the comparability of the data becomes even weaker, since people were allocated to different groups in different areas on different bases. The terms "tenant" (*itsellinen*), "cottager" (*mäkitupalainen*), "workman" (*työmies*), "farmhand" (*renki*), "maid" (*piika*), and "servant" (*palvelija*), for example, referred at the beginning of this century to virtually the same social status,⁴ but some of them were more frequently used in certain parts of the country than others. Thus, in Leppävirta the terms "lodger" (*loinen*) and "cottager" (*mäkitupalainen*) referred in practice to the same social status.⁵ In Elimäki, on the other hand, the terms "tenant" (*itsellinen*) and

¹ LENTO 1951, 23; see also GEBHARD 1913, 1—7, 87.

² KERO 1974, 82—83.

³ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 13.

⁴ KERO 1970, 90.

⁵ RINTA-TASSI 1967, 68.

"cottager" (*mäkitupalainen*) were used interchangeably; and since these people were also "workers" (*työläinen*) for the manor,⁶ it was a mere matter of taste which term an Elimäki emigrant might use when applying for a passport. The difficulty of classifying the various groups in society has also been stressed by Eino JUTIKKALA, dealing with Häme Province; he treats "tenant" (*itsellinen*) and "cottager" (*mäkitupalainen*) as synonyms.⁷ When the social status of emigrants from Jokioinen is examined as recorded in the passport registers and in the parish records, it emerges that the terms "workman" (*työmies*), a different term for "cottager" (*mökkiläinen*), and even the term "crofter" (*torppari*) may occur referring to the same person.

It is somewhat easier to define the status of a "farmer" (*talollinen*) and his family than of other groups in rural society, since during the emigration period the term "farmer" was used to mean a person independently farming his own land.⁸ Problems do nevertheless arise, especially with farmers' children, as has been mentioned. Moreover, the wealth and income of farmers varied very considerably from one part of Finland to another. The contrast between landowning and landless in Ostrobothnia was in most cases smaller than in southern Finland, since the farms in Ostrobothnia were usually comparatively small.⁹

A "crofter" (*torppari*), even though he was farming rented land, could in some cases be in a rather independent position. Here again, however, there were considerable variations between different parts of the country, though crofters never formed the bottom layer of rural society, nor did they constitute the agricultural "surplus" population.¹⁰ Crofters usually supported themselves on the land they rented, though towards the end of the last century conditions were tending to become more difficult for them.¹¹ With the development of technological methods in agriculture at the end of the century, the less well-off farmers and the crofters were in approximately the same position: it is only once the innovations had been established among the wealthier farmers that we find them being adopted by poorer farmers and crofters. In the latter part of the 19th century the position of the crofters in central and eastern Finland deteriorated, due to the rising value of timber, which meant that they could no longer support themselves by forest clearance.¹²

The position enjoyed by the crofters in Jokioinen, for instance, was relatively good; the area of land under their cultivation steadily expanded in the late 19th century. They even kept farmhands of their own. Nonetheless, they felt their legal position to be insecure, as is evidenced by the strikes in 1903 and in 1906. Jokioinen Manor, which had almost 400 tenants, kept a firm grip on its crofters.¹³ One of the

⁶ SAURI 1949, 57.

⁷ JUTIKKALA 1969, 77—78.

⁸ WARIS 1936, 36.

⁹ SOININEN 1975, 402.

¹⁰ RASILA 1961, 451; HAATANEN 1965, 69; see also GEBHARD 1913, 85.

¹¹ WARIS 1936, 37—39; RINTA-TASSI 1967, 67—68.

¹² ANTTILA 1974, 40, 183.

¹³ RASILA 1961, 101—102, 260—263, 323—327; PELTOVUORI 1963, 99, 108; JUTIKKALA 1969, 116—117, 128—131, 138—139.

consequences of the new crofting legislation after 1909 — which was soon felt to be only a temporary arrangement — was that the landowners tried to amalgamate the crofts with the estate, since otherwise, on the expiry of the current agreement, they would be forced to enter into very long-term new leases. As a result, the effect of this Act, which was intended to improve the situation of the crofters, was partly to make their position less secure, and this in turn led to demands for land reform.¹⁴ These demands were soon realized, in 1918, thus securing the dominance in Finland of small-scale agriculture.¹⁵

Below the crofters, there was then a group, going by a variety of different terms, which was not able to support itself from the land, since the amount of land available for the use of cottagers (*mäkitupalainen*), lodgers (*loinen*), and tenants (*itsellinen*) was quite inadequate for the purpose. The servants proper, on the other hand, farmhands (*renki*) and maids (*piika*), were distinguished from those who paid the rent for their land in labour for the landowner (i.e. crofters, cottagers, lodgers and tenants), by the fact that the servants had no land under cultivation at all. They were a purely wage-earning group, whose wages were paid partly in money and partly in food and clothing. Farming tenants quite often found themselves in the same position as farmhands or maids, as has been pointed out for Leppävirta.¹⁶

The purpose of the foregoing discussion is to demonstrate the difficulty of assigning the rural Finnish population at the end of the last century into groups according to social status. These factors must therefore be borne in mind when the socio-economic composition of the return migration is being considered. The term "socio-economic composition", i.e. referring to both the social status and the economic position of the emigrants, is therefore a more satisfactory solution, especially for rural areas, than "occupational structure"; another widely-used alternative term would be "social status".

In order to achieve comparability between the data for sample areas in various different investigations and the official Statistics, only a few groupings have been used in the following comparison of the socio-economic composition of the emigration and of the return migration. The first grouping comprises farmers (*talollinen*), and the second, farmers' wives, children, and sons- and daughters-in-law;¹⁷ the third,

¹⁴ JUTIKKALA 1969, 142, 166; cf. RASILA 1961, 447—450; RASILA 1970, 19—25.

¹⁵ On the solution of the Finnish crofter problem, see RASILA 1970, *passim*.

¹⁶ RINTA-TASSI 1967, 68—71; cf. WARIS 1936, 39.

¹⁷ In the official Statistics, farmers' wives are included with the farmers, whereas in the sample areas for the present investigation they have been assigned with the farmers' children. Leaseholders (*lampuotit*), and ex-farmers, have been assigned to Group 1, and their families to Group 2. RASILA has found that the status of leaseholders was the same as that of the crofters. However, since their number was very small (RASILA 1970, 14) and had no real significance in the overseas migration, they have been placed here in the same grouping as the farmers and ex-farmers: the latter were in the same grouping as the leaseholders also in the official Emigration Statistics. Group 1 in the present investigation thus corresponds to Groups 1 and 2 in the official Statistics, with the exception of wives, and Group 2 here corresponds to Group 3 in the official Statistics respectively. The data for comparison are from SVT XXVIII: 7, Table VI.

crofters (*torppari*)¹⁸ and the fourth their wives, children, and sons- and daughters-in-law;¹⁹ and the fifth comprises without further distinction the tenants (*itsellinen*), cottagers (*mäkitupalainen*), lodgers (*loinen*), farmhands (*renki*), maids (*piika*), servants in general, as well as factory workers and their families.²⁰ The sixth grouping for the rural areas covers all other occupations, of which the most important for the emigration were craft workers (*käsityöläinen*) and seamen and their families. Those whose occupation is unknown have also been included in this sixth grouping.²¹

It is more justified to speak of occupations in the real sense in the urban areas than it is for the countryside. The terms used to describe occupations and social status in the towns diverge almost totally from those in use in the country, with the result that the urban and rural return migrations have to be examined separately. The occupations which are gathered together in the sixth rural grouping under the heading "Others" are in fact central in the urban migration Tables. The occupational terminology in the towns was very varied, for a dozen or more different terms are to be found among the craft workers alone. These have however been reduced to a few groupings in the present investigation, in order to obtain statistically significant numbers in each grouping.

The first urban grouping consists of seamen, and the second of their families; the third covers a variety of crafts and trades (joiners, turners, painters, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, bakers, watchmakers, tailors, tanners, cobblers, saddlers, and masons), and the fourth their families; the fifth, the middle class in the towns (householders, tradesmen, master builders, supervisors, and officials), and the sixth their families.²² The seventh grouping includes servants and labourers with their families, thus approximately corresponding to the fifth rural grouping in terms of social status. The eighth grouping then includes farmers and crofters, since as was pointed out in Chapter I:2, there was a certain amount of agricultural land within the Kristinestad boundaries. Strictly speaking, the farmer and crofter groups do not belong together, but their significance in the urban migration is so small that it would be unjustified to make a distinction between them (see Table 21). For the same reason, farmers' and crofters' families have been included in the same grouping, which thus corresponds to groups 1—4 in the rural areas. The final grouping, the ninth, comprises other occupations and persons whose occupation is unknown.

It is worth noting now — simultaneously with the beginning of the actual analysis — that the socio-economic nature of the entire population in different parts of the country has been treated above in Chapter I:2 where the arguments for the selection of the sample areas were analyzed.

Examination of the figures for the whole country in Table 20 reveals that the

¹⁸ This Group corresponds to Group 4 in the official Statistics, with the exception of wives.

¹⁹ This Group corresponds to Group 5 in the official Statistics, with the addition of crofters' wives.

²⁰ This Group corresponds to Groups 6 and 22—24 in the official Statistics.

²¹ This Group corresponds to Groups 7—21 and 25—28 in the official Statistics.

²² Groups 1—6 correspond to Groups 8—21 and 25—26 in the official Statistics.

Table 20. Socio-economic Composition of the Rural Emigration, and of All Finland.^a

Social Status	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen													
	1867—1914	1915—30	1867—1914	1915—30	1867—1914	1915—30												
Farmers	73	28	4.0%	9.3%	101	4.7%	6	1.9%	6	1.6%	—	—	1	1.3%	1	0.5%		
Farmers' Families	774	144	42.2%	47.8%	918	43.0%	76	24.4%	10	14.7%	86	22.6%	8	7.3%	9	11.5%		
Crofters	37	6	2.0%	2.0%	43	2.0%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3.8%		
Crofters' Families	115	17	6.3%	5.6%	132	6.2%	27	8.7%	1	1.5%	28	7.4%	28	25.7%	8	10.3%		
Landless, Servants, and Labourers with Their Families	609	82	33.2%	27.2%	691	32.4%	133	42.6%	13	19.1%	146	38.4%	66	60.6%	44	56.4%		
Others and Unknown	225	24	12.3%	8.0%	249	11.7%	70	22.4%	44	64.7%	114	30.0%	7	6.4%	13	16.7%		
TOTAL	1833	301	100.0%	100.0%	2134	100.0%	312	100.0%	68	100.0%	380	100.0%	109	100.0%	78	100.0%	187	100.0%
							Polvijärvi								Finland			
Farmers	5	15	2.0%	19.2%	20	6.0%	18	10.8%	6	8.0%	24	9.9%	13433	5.3%	9377	11.8%	22810	6.9%
Farmers' Families	41	5	16.1%	6.4%	46	13.8%	69	41.3%	12	16.0%	81	33.5%	61422	24.3%	18926	23.9%	80348	24.2%
Crofters	—	1	—	1.3%	1	0.3%	—	—	1	1.3%	1	0.4%	6857	2.7%	594	0.7%	7451	2.2%
Crofters' Families	31	3	12.2%	3.8%	34	10.2%	—	—	1	1.3%	1	0.4%	24634	9.7%	1699	2.1%	26333	7.9%
Landless, Servants, and Labourers with Their Families	139	23	54.5%	29.5%	162	48.6%	71	42.5%	45	60.0%	116	47.9%	117451	46.4%	26105	32.9%	143556	43.2%
Others and Unknown	39	31	15.3%	39.7%	70	21.0%	9	5.4%	10	13.3%	19	7.9%	29219	11.5%	22577	28.5%	51796	15.6%
TOTAL	255	78	100.0%	100.0%	333	100.0%	167	100.0%	75	100.0%	242	100.0%	253016	100.0%	79278	100.0%	332294	100.0%

^a: For the figures for Finland as a whole, see SVT XXVIII: 1, Table VIII; SVT XXVIII: 6, 16—19; SVT XXVIII: 11, Tables 13a & 13b; SVT XXVIII: 12—21, Table VI. The figures for Finland start from 1893. The figures for the sample areas refer to the true numbers of emigrants.

grouping consisting of the landless population, servants, and labourers, was the most significant source of emigrants. The same finding applies to all the rural sample areas under investigation, with the exception of Lohtaja, where the farmers' families clearly make up the largest grouping.

The ratio between various groupings in the emigration varied between different parts of the country, mainly depending on the proportion of the local population consisting of each grouping; for it has been found that the relative emigration rate did not significantly vary between different rural social groups even though some differences can be seen²³ which at least partly are due to terminological problems. In any case, this is not a question to be analyzed in the present study.

In northern Satakunta, which was part of the core region of the crofting institution, KERO reports the proportion of crofters and their families in the emigration altogether as 25.1 %.²⁴ The amount was almost as great in Jokioinen, according to Table 20: 20.9 %; the figure for the whole country was 10.1 %. In Lohtaja, on the other hand, located as it was in a region of independent farmers, the proportion made up by farmers and their families was strikingly high. The same feature has been identified in southern Ostrobothnia²⁵ and in Kuusamo.²⁶ The proportion of landless people in the emigration from areas in Kuopio Province was higher than in the Finnish emigration altogether, precisely because of the demographic structure of this region. These also composed the largest grouping in Elimäki, despite the fact that crofting survived there for a relatively long time;²⁷ there were also far more landless people than crofters and their families among emigrants in Jokioinen, which was a typical crofting area.

Table 20 also shows that the families of farmers and crofters — especially their children — strikingly outnumbered their parents in the emigration. This was natural, for it was not easy to obtain land of one's own in a family with many children.²⁸

Following the First World War, the structure of the emigration changed in some respects very significantly. Firstly, the proportion of farmers increased, mainly due to the beginnings of the transfer of formerly rented land to owner-occupation through the land reform. The proportion of crofters, consequently, dwindled away almost to nothing. The proportion of farmers and their families in the emigration fell in Elimäki in the final stages, mainly in favour of the "Others" grouping, which became the largest source of emigration in this period (64.7 % of the emigrants). The proximity of this area to population centres appears to have been the main reason for "urban" occupations having come to dominate the emigration. The proportion

²³ TOIVONEN 1963, 47; KERO 1970, 96—97; cf. Table 4 on p. 37 and Table 20 above.

²⁴ KERO 1970, 86.

²⁵ BACKMAN 1945, 9—10; TOIVONEN 1963, 42.

²⁶ PÄTYNEN 1972, 53.

²⁷ SAURI 1949, 56.

²⁸ On the distribution of emigration of different social groupings by Provinces in Finland, see KERO 1974, 87—90, 209.

Table 21. *Socio-economic Composition of the Emigration from Kristinestad.*^a

Social Status	1862—1914		1915—1930		Total	
Seamen	145	15.8%	10	7.5%	155	14.8%
Seamen's Families	117	12.8%	9	6.7%	126	12.0%
Craftsmen, Skilled Workers	77	8.4%	14	10.4%	91	8.7%
Families of Craftsmen, etc.	131	14.3%	12	9.0%	143	13.6%
Middle Class	22	2.4%	10	7.5%	32	3.0%
Families of Middle Class	37	4.0%	16	11.9%	53	5.0%
Labourers with Their Families	265	28.9%	36	26.9%	301	28.7%
Farmers and Crofters with Their Families	28	3.1%	7	5.2%	35	3.3%
Others and Unknown	94	10.3%	20	14.9%	114	10.9%
TOTAL	916	100.0%	134	100.0%	1050	100.0%

a: The occupations included in each social group are set out above, on p. 102.

represented by this grouping also rose considerably both in the other sample areas — except Lohtaja — and in Finland in general, subsequently to 1914. Industry became increasingly common in rural areas, which also contributed to the changes in the composition of the emigration.

Overseas emigration after the First World War was however so low, compared with the earlier period, that changes in the socio-economic composition of the emigration do not very clearly emerge simply by examining it as a single phenomenon over the entire period from its beginnings to 1930; this can be seen from Table 20, by comparing the figures for the period before 1914 with those for the entire emigration. It is therefore unnecessary to distinguish between emigrants from different periods when studying the return rate for different social groups. First, however, the composition of the emigration from urban areas needs to be established.

The first point established by Table 21 is the key position of seamen and their families in the emigration from ports such as Kristinestad (over a quarter of all emigrants). The only group slightly larger than this is that of the labourers. As would be expected, the proportion made up by seamen and their families diminished after the First World War. As has been noted earlier, the emigration from Finland started with seamen, with the result that their contribution to the total number of emigrants was highest at the beginning and thereafter steadily declined.

In the various social groupings in both the urban and rural emigration, the families of emigrants consistently represented a higher quantity than the heads of families (see Tables 20 and 21), with the sole exception of the seamen, whose emigration

exceeded that of seamen's wives and children combined. This indicates the difference in character of the emigration among seamen in comparison with other social groups, though it should also be recognized that this may be merely an apparent difference, since it was considerably easier to call oneself a "seaman" at a young age — e.g. seamen's sons — than was the case among the sons of farmers, for example. The "Seamen" grouping thus includes very young age groups, which is not the case, for instance, with the "Farmers".

Table 21 indicates that emigration among the urban middle class was rather low, whereas craftsmen and skilled workers, and especially their families, fill a prominent position. The proportion of labourers is distinctly lower than in the country, though it is the largest single urban grouping. It should of course be borne in mind that it is impossible to draw a clear dividing line between terms such as "workman" (*työmies*) and many craft trades. The smallness of the grouping incorporating farmers and crofters and their households in Kristinestad is of course explained by the limited amount of farmland and of farming population within the borough limits.

Turning the focus on to the rural return, Table 22 indicates that the permanent return rate in Lohtaja, Parkano, and Karvia was relatively highest among farmers and crofters, varying in these groupings between 39.5 and 58.1 %. They also returned relatively more often than the corresponding wives and children. In Kuusamo, for some reason, the ratios are reversed; this is not explained by PÄTYNEN.²⁹

In the other sample areas, the numbers of permanently returning emigrants are so small that the trends are not so clearly visible. In Leppävirta and Polvijärvi, however, the highest relative return rate was among farmers. Farmers have also been estimated as having returned more often than other groupings in Malax, since according to SMEDS as many as 80 % of the farming population who emigrated overseas subsequently returned.³⁰ It must be remembered that the return rate for the various groupings varied in different parts of the country according to the overall local return rate, as can clearly be seen in Table 22; but it is more important for the investigation of the return by different social groups to study the ratio between the different groupings' return rates.

Farmers' children thus returned permanently distinctly less frequently than their parents, as did crofters' children; but Table 22 shows the lowest return rate as occurring among landless, servant, and labourer emigrants.³¹ The only exception is found in Elimäki where the permanent return rate has been more even between the different social groupings. Since the permanent return rate among the landless and labourer emigrants never rises above one-fifth (being highest in Elimäki: 19.9 %), the difference between this and the return rate among farmers and crofters is evident. The return rate in Sweden has also been found to have been noticeably higher to

²⁹ PÄTYNEN 1972, 115.

³⁰ SMEDS 1935, 336. The material cannot be considered very reliable.

³¹ See also SMEDS 1935, 336.

Table 22. Rural Return Migration Rate, by Social Status.^a

Social Status	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen		Leppävirta		
	Emigrat- ing	Temporarily Returning	Temporarily Returning	Permanently Returning	Temporarily Returning	Permanently Returning	Temporarily Returning	Permanently Returning	
Farmers	101	44 43.6%	20 19.8%	6 1 16.7%	1	20	4 20.0%	1 5.0%	
Farmers' Families	918	208 22.7%	161 17.5%	86 18 20.9%	17 4 23.5%	46	7 15.2%	8 17.4%	
Crofters	43	17 39.5%	9 20.9%	---	3	1	---	---	
Crofters' Families	132	20 15.2%	15 11.4%	28 5 17.9%	36 7 19.4%	34	4 11.8%	4 11.8%	
Landless, Servants, and Labourers with Their Families	691	89 12.9%	84 12.2%	146 29 19.9%	110 20 18.2%	162	15 9.3%	21 13.0%	
Others and Unknown	249	52 20.9%	28 11.2%	114 15 13.2%	20 7 35.0%	70	6 8.6%	4 5.7%	
TOTAL	2134	430 20.1%	317 14.9%	380 68 17.9%	187 38 20.3%	333	36 10.8%	38 11.4%	
		Polvijärvi		Karvia		Parkano		Kuusamo	
Farmers	24	6 25.0%	2 8.3%	66 38 57.6%	43 25 58.1%	116	15 12.9%	---	
Farmers' Families	81	17 21.0%	14 17.3%	221 44 19.9%	279 80 28.7%	750	114 15.2%	---	
Crofters	1	---	---	109 59 54.1%	135 61 45.2%	25	2 8.0%	---	
Crofters' Families	1	---	---	282 50 17.7%	442 129 29.2%	107	14 13.1%	---	
Landless, Servants, and Labourers with Their Families	116	13 11.2%	4 3.4%	210 18 8.6%	633 124 19.6%	857	51 6.0%	---	
Others and Unknown	19	2 10.5%	1 5.3%	59 12 20.3%	86 22 25.6%	79	13 16.5%	---	
TOTAL	242	38 15.7%	21 8.7%	947 221 23.3%	1618 441 27.3%	1934	209 10.8%	---	

^a: The figures for Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Leppävirta, and Polvijärvi include those emigrating up to 1930; for Karvia, Parkano, and Kuusamo, up to 1914. The figures for the sample areas from the present investigation include all emigrants returning from abroad to the sample areas and also emigrants emigrating from the sample areas but returning elsewhere. All acts of temporary return are included. For the figures for Karvia and Parkano, see KERO 1972, 21; for Kuusamo, see PÄTYNEN 1972, 115. In the figures for Karvia there was an error of calculation.

purely agricultural areas than to industrial areas,³² which (indirectly) supports the above findings about the return rate.

The data in Table 22 can be supplemented by the data from the official Statistics for the entire country. As has several times been pointed out, the Statistics are rather inadequate and unreliable, but they do throw some light on the picture obtained in the sample areas. For the period 1901—1916, they provide information on the one hand about those emigrating, and on the other hand about those returning during the same period, though many of those returning may have subsequently re-emigrated, i.e. had not returned permanently. In addition, the Statistics record the occupations of those returning at the point of return, not at emigration, with the result that the social status of the emigrants is not as readily visible as in Table 22. The following list gives the occupations of those emigrating and of those returning between 1901 and 1916, with the return percentage for each occupational grouping, on the basis of the official Statistics:³³

Farmers with wives, emigrated	10 408.	returned	2 689	(25.8 %)
Farmers' children,	"	"	6 497	(12.6 %)
Crofters with wives,	"	"	1 061	(21.5 %)
Crofters' children,	"	"	1 061	(5.2 %)
Landless and labourers,	"	"	14 890	(14.8 %)
Others,	"	"	1 613	(6.0 %)
TOTAL.	"	"	27 811	(12.9 %)

As already emerged in the examination in the sample areas, the return rate among farmers and crofters was considerably higher than in other social groupings, and this is also true for the country as a whole. The biggest difference to emerge in the national Statistics concerns the landless and labourer emigrants. The reason for the relatively high return percentage here in comparison with other groupings is that many sons of farmers or crofters gave their occupation on return as "workman" (*työmies*), on the basis of their work abroad. Also, the list includes urban return migration as well.

The motive for emigration — to become rich overseas and return — is one which can more easily be applied to the farmers and crofters than to the other social groupings in the countryside. It can be said that, except when the whole family emigrated, farmers and crofters almost always emigrated with the sole object of making money, since they owned or had rented land and other property in their

³² TEDEBRAND 1972, 237.

³³ SVT XXVIII: 4, 18—21; SVT XXVIII: 12—13, Tables 13 a and 13 b; STV 1903—1904 and 1906—1908, Table 45 A; STV 1905, Table 46 A; STV 1909 and 1911, Table 47 A; STV 1910 and 1912, Table 50 A; STV 1913, Table 57 A; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 A; STV 1916, Table 64 A; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 A. The Finnish Statistical Yearbook (STV) also contains information on returning emigrants' occupations for 1894—1900; the classification is however differently based than that for emigrants, with the result that the data are not comparable (see STV 1897, Table 110).

home country. Consequently, once their object had been achieved, they usually returned to their families to farm the land. Due to the large families, farmers' and crofters' children on the other hand were often unable to become independent farmers, and the home country was thus unable to exert such a strong attraction on them as on their parents.

The main difference between the situation of the landless and labouring rural population and that of the farmers was that the former owned no property at all in Finland. They thus had less motive to return than had the independent farmers. Another point is that although the work in their host countries was hard, the wages were considerably higher than could be earned by for instance a cottager's son in Finland.³⁴ Naturally, this was a fact which did not attract people back to Finland, and a counterargument to those who did for some reason wish to return.

Since the Finnish emigration also included some of those "birds of passage" who returned at times to Finland only subsequently to re-emigrate, perhaps ultimately to return again or perhaps to settle abroad permanently, the socio-economic composition of this group needs to be analyzed for similarities with or differences from that of the permanently returning emigrants, and in Table 22, rather clear distinctions do in fact emerge in the rural areas. In none of the sample areas did farmers form relatively the largest group among those returning temporarily. On the basis of the comparison between the temporary return rates of different groupings on the one hand, and the permanent return rates on the other, it can be said that farmers who returned did so permanently, whereas their children were fairly likely to subsequently re-emigrate. The main explanation for this would be that in many cases farmers' children returned to Finland to investigate the possibilities of farming on their home farm or of other kinds of work. Another factor was age, since the temporary return was "younger" than the permanent return.³⁵ Where the farmer himself returned, on the other hand, he had usually already made a binding decision to resettle in his place of origin, since he was adequately able to support himself there. The example of Lohtaja nevertheless also suggests that even farmers and crofters were fairly often dissatisfied after their return, and decided to re-emigrate overseas once more, in many cases with their families. The temporary return rate for servants and labourers in the countryside does not strikingly differ from that for other social groupings.

The following Table examines which social groupings returned to Finland most frequently in the urban emigration (Table 23).

The low permanent return migration rate for towns is evident from Table 23, in which the highest rate is that for farmers, crofters, and their families. The return rate for labourers is approximately the same as the mean urban rate. Overall, the urban permanent return migration is depicted in the Table as regularly low across all the social groupings. There were only a few emigrants belonging to the urban middle class, and their return rate appears to be also very low. Craftsmen and skilled

³⁴ On the wages in Finland and the United States, see p. 24.

³⁵ See more especially Chapter V: 1.

Table 23. *Return Migration Rate in Kristinestad, by Social Status.*^a

Social Status	Emigrating	Permanently Returning	Temporarily Returning
Seamen	155	13 8.4%	30 19.4%
Seamen's Families	126	12 9.5%	14 11.1%
Craftsmen, Skilled Workers	91	11 12.1%	16 17.6%
Families of Craftsmen, etc.	143	11 7.7%	10 7.0%
Middle Class	32	2 6.3%	2 6.3%
Families of Middle Class	53	3 5.7%	— —
Labourers with Their Families	301	29 9.6%	33 11.0%
Farmers and Crofters with Their Families	35	7 20.0%	2 5.7%
Others and Unknown	114	15 13.2%	6 5.3%
TOTAL	1050	103 9.8%	113 10.8%

a: The figures for emigrants cover those emigrating up to 1930. The figures for returning emigrants correspond to those for the other sample areas, in Table 22.

workers, on the other hand, have returned slightly more frequently than most: after all, they did have a trade, which would be of use to them if necessary in Finland as well. The return by seamen and their families has been slightly lower than average. The overall impression given by Table 23 is, however, that the permanent return migration to towns is definitely below the rate for Finland as a whole, irrespective of social status, and this is reinforced by the fact that in this Table it is the return rate for the "rural" grouping which is the highest.

It has been observed in Sweden that highly skilled emigrants were those who returned the most frequently.³⁶ This finding cannot be unconditionally supported for Finland, since Table 23 indicates that people belonging to the middle class clearly returned less frequently than average; the return rate for craftsmen, however, was high in comparison with that for other groupings. In Finland, in fact, only a tiny proportion of the emigrants can be classified as belonging to the middle class or to the skilled section of the population, and the whole question is therefore of limited relevance in examining the Finnish emigration in its entirety. Of course, farmers were also "skilled workers", but on the whole there was little use for their skills in the host country, especially in the early years of the emigration, when they mainly worked in mines and in forestry. This raises another, but entirely reverse and separate question, i.e. the skills acquired abroad and innovations brought with them by the return migrants; but the impact of these will be studied in Chapter IX. The important point in this examination of the socio-economic composition of the return migration is to establish the relative return migration rates of these various social groupings.

³⁶ LINDBERG 1930, 249—252.

Table 24. Socio-economic Composition of the Rural Permanent and Temporary Return.^a

Social Status	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen		Leppävirta		Polvijärvi	
	Per- manent	Tem- porary	Per- manent	Tem- porary	Per- manent	Tem- porary	Per- manent	Tem- porary	Per- manent	Tem- porary
Farmers	10.2 %	6.3 %	1.5 %	—	—	—	11.1 %	2.6 %	15.8 %	9.5 %
Farmers' Families	48.4 %	50.8 %	26.5 %	41.0 %	10.5 %	14.3 %	19.4 %	21.1 %	44.7 %	66.7 %
Crofters	4.0 %	2.8 %	—	—	—	7.1 %	—	—	—	—
Crofters' Families	4.7 %	4.7 %	7.4 %	6.6 %	18.4 %	42.9 %	11.1 %	10.5 %	—	—
Landless, Servants, and Labourers with Their Families	20.7 %	26.5 %	42.6 %	34.4 %	52.6 %	35.7 %	41.7 %	55.3 %	34.2 %	19.0 %
Others and Unknown	12.1 %	8.8 %	22.1 %	18.0 %	18.4 %	—	16.7 %	10.5 %	5.3 %	4.8 %
TOTAL	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

^a: The absolute figures for this Table's data may be seen in Table 22.

Table 25. *Socio-economic Composition of the Permanent and Temporary Return in Kristinestad.*^a

Social Status	Per- manent	Tem- porary
Seamen	12.6 %	26.5 %
Seamen's Families	11.7 %	12.4 %
Craftsmen, Skilled Workers	10.7 %	14.2 %
Families of Craftsmen, etc.	10.7 %	8.8 %
Middle Class	1.9 %	1.8 %
Families of Middle Class	2.9 %	—
Labourers with Their Families	28.2 %	29.2 %
Farmers and Crofters with Their Families	6.8 %	1.8 %
Others and Unknown	14.6 %	5.3 %
TOTAL	100.0 %	100.0 %

a: The absolute figures for this Table's data may be seen in Table 23.

In the urban return migration, the temporary return rate for labourers is at approximately the same level as the rate of temporary return overall. Seamen, on the other hand, emerge as the urban "birds of passage", as might be predictable. They, more than anyone else, were the experienced travellers in Finland at the turn of the century. There was also a more than average high temporary return rate among craftsmen and other skilled workers.

To sum up the findings obtained concerning the socio-economic composition of the return migration, both temporary and permanent, this will finally be studied from an exclusively "structural" point of view: not that of what proportion of emigrants from each social grouping subsequently returned, but the proportion which each grouping made up in the total return migration.

Table 24 indicates that the proportion of farmers among the emigrants returning temporarily was markedly lower than among those returning permanently, but that the proportion of farmers' families (especially their children) was higher in the temporary than in the permanent return. For crofters and their families, no variation is detectable between the composition of the two returns, except in the sample area most dominated by crofting, Jokioinen, where children of crofters make up rather a large proportion (42.9 %) of the total temporary return migration in the area, whereas the corresponding figure for the permanent return is less than one-fifth.

The data from Kristinestad in Table 25 indicate, first of all, the high mobility among seamen; the proportion they constitute in the temporary return is clearly shown to be higher than that in the permanent return. The proportion represented by their families in each return is approximately the same. The craftsmen composed a somewhat larger proportion of the temporary than of the permanent return. The occupations included in this grouping will have made the move from one place to another relatively easy, though on the other hand one might expect that occupational skills might have had the effect of tying them down to a particular place. The propor-

tion represented in this Table by the middle class, both in the temporary and in the permanent return, is almost non-existent. Labourers, at least in Kristinestad, made up nearly a third both in the temporary and in the permanent return, as indeed they did in the emigration too (cf. Table 21, p. 105).

Tables 24 and 25 thus confirm that the emigrants least likely to return permanently to Finland, and also most likely to move a number of times between Finland and overseas, were those without a secure source of livelihood in Finland. These people were, as it were, adrift, constantly exploring their chances both at home and abroad. This situation applied especially to the children of farmers, whereas the farmers themselves (who only made up a small fraction of the emigration) came back — relatively speaking — more frequently to Finland than the other social groupings. Return migration by the landless and labouring population was, in general, relatively rare, and the re-emigration rate varied from one part of Finland to another, due to the heterogeneity of the grouping. In the towns, where the return rate in general was fairly low, there was no "urban" occupational grouping with a return rate particularly higher than the others', whereas seamen clearly displayed greater mobility both overseas and back again (i.e. temporary return).

V Demographic Features of the Return Migration

1 AGE

When Aug. HJELT attempted at the beginning of this century to assess the loss entailed for Finland by the emigration, mainly on the basis of the official Statistics, he suggested that the age structure of the emigration was a particularly important factor. The conclusion he came to from his analysis was that "in that great loss of blood which our nation is suffering, through the emigration, it is precisely her best blood that she is losing." What he was referring to was the greater interest in emigration shown by the young.¹

As Table 26 shows, in all the sample areas with the exception of Lohtaja and Kristinestad the highest emigration rate occurred among the 21—25 age range; and this was also the case for Finland as a whole. In Lohtaja and Kristinestad, the emigration was even "younger", since the largest group occurred among the 16—20-year-olds. HJELT's estimate is thus strongly supported by the Table. It emerges that the 16—25 age range comprises roughly half of all the emigrants: the proportion varies in the sample areas between 42.2 % and 63.4 %, while for Finland as a whole the figure is 50.7 %. For comparison, the proportion of emigrants from Munsala in the 16—25 age range was as high as 69.3 %;² in Parkano, 59.7 %, and in Karvia 56.3 %;³ in Föglö, 52.5 %, and in Finström, 50.8 %;⁴ and in Kuusamo, 42.7 %.⁵ When, moreover, it is remembered that in the sample areas, as over Finland in general, the proportion of emigrants in the 26—30 age range varied between 12.1 % and 22.5 %, it is clear which age groups the emigration was overwhelmingly recruited from. This was in fact already indirectly seen earlier, since in the examination of the social status of the emigrants it emerged that the children of farmers and crofters emigrated more often than their parents. Table 26 also clearly demonstrates that the

¹ HJELT 1905, 58—60.

² BACKMAN 1945, 9.

³ KERO 1972, 22. The figures have been calculated on the basis of KERO's statistics, and cover the period 1900—1914.

⁴ BLOMFELT 1968, Appendices Tables 39a and 39b. The figures have been calculated on the basis of BLOMFELT's statistics, and cover the period 1881—1918.

⁵ PÄTYNEN 1972, 61.

older the age range, the lower was the emigration rate. Emigration by people older than 50 was extremely rare, making up less than 3 % of the emigration.

No differences emerge in the Table between the age structures of the rural and urban emigrations; the emigration from Kristinestad can be seen to be almost exactly the same in this respect as that from for instance Lohtaja. Studying the official Statistics, however, KERO came to the conclusion that the urban emigration was slightly "older" than that from the countryside. The figures involved only covered the period 1900—1914, however,⁶ which represents a relatively short part of the overall duration of the emigration.

The major reason for the variation in the emigration rate among the under-15s can be attributed to the extent to which emigration by entire families occurred in different areas; this will be further discussed below in Chapter V: 3. The general pattern which emerges from Table 26 is that the emigrants from areas of high emigration (Lohtaja and Kristinestad) were "younger" than those elsewhere. In all the other sample areas, for instance, the proportion of emigrants in the 21—25 age range is higher than for the sample areas from Vaasa Province. Since moreover the largest age group in the emigration from Lohtaja and Kristinestad consisted of the 16—20-year-olds (where elsewhere it was the 21—25-year-olds), the emigration from areas of high emigration can thus without doubt be described as younger than that in the areas of low emigration. KERO's findings for the country as a whole are similar in this respect to those for the sample areas.⁷

Comparison of the Finnish and Swedish emigrations reveals, firstly, that the proportion of 16—25-year-olds in Sweden between 1871 and 1905 was 45.0 %, i.e. slightly lower than in Finland. The emigration of children under 15 was however distinctly more common in Sweden (16.9%) than in Finland (10.8 %), whereas in the older age ranges, the Swedish and Finnish emigrations were similar.⁸ The differences thus observed may however be due to the periods being investigated, since in Lohtaja and Kristinestad, for instance, emigration by 16—25-year-olds was relatively lower in the early stages of the emigration (prior to 1892) than later. The differences in the emigration rate for children can be explained in terms of the frequency of family emigration, and of the periods being investigated, since emigration by entire families was at its maximum over Finland as a whole in the early years of the emigration, as was also the case in the other Nordic countries.⁹ The overall age structure in the Finnish and Swedish emigrations, as also in a typical "old" emigration country, Ireland,¹⁰ thus has been broadly speaking similar.

Some differences have been identified in the age structure of the emigration at different periods. Prior to 1893, data are only available for Lohtaja and Kristinestad, but on the basis of these emigration by the older age ranges was slightly higher than

⁶ KERO 1974, 116—117.

⁷ KERO 1974, 116.

⁸ LINDBERG 1930, 243 for Sweden; Table 26 for Finland.

⁹ See KERO 1974, 119—123.

¹⁰ See SCHRIER 1958, 4.

Table 26. Age Structure of the Finnish Emigration at Different Periods.^a

Age	Lohtaja				Elimäki			
	—1892	1893—1914	1915—1930	Total	—1914	1915—1930	Total	Total
—15	66	125	53	244	29	7	36	9.5 %
	7.5 %	13.1 %	17.6 %	11.4 %	9.3 %	10.3 %	36	9.5 %
16—20	182	363	50	595	89	12	101	26.6 %
	20.7 %	38.1 %	16.6 %	27.9 %	28.5 %	17.6 %	101	26.6 %
21—25	170	250	104	524	110	30	140	36.8 %
	19.3 %	26.2 %	34.6 %	24.6 %	35.3 %	44.1 %	140	36.8 %
26—30	127	95	55	277	34	12	46	12.1 %
	14.4 %	10.0 %	18.3 %	13.0 %	10.9 %	17.6 %	46	12.1 %
31—35	72	59	20	151	17	3	20	5.3 %
	8.2 %	6.2 %	6.6 %	7.1 %	5.4 %	4.4 %	20	5.3 %
36—40	42	23	10	75	7	1	8	2.1 %
	4.8 %	2.4 %	3.3 %	3.5 %	2.2 %	1.5 %	8	2.1 %
41—50	38	22	4	64	6	—	6	1.6 %
	4.3 %	2.3 %	1.3 %	3.0 %	1.9 %	—	6	1.6 %
51—	11	16	1	28	1	1	2	0.5 %
	1.3 %	1.7 %	0.3 %	1.3 %	0.3 %	1.5 %	2	0.5 %
Age Unknown	172	—	4	176	19	2	21	5.5 %
	19.5 %	—	1.3 %	8.2 %	6.1 %	2.9 %	21	5.5 %
TOTAL	880	953	301	2134	312	68	380	100.0 %
	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	380	100.0 %
Jokioinen								
—15	—	10	14	24	6	13	19	5.7 %
	—	9.2 %	17.9 %	12.8 %	2.4 %	16.7 %	19	5.7 %
16—20	—	23	9	32	65	7	72	21.6 %
	—	21.1 %	11.5 %	17.1 %	25.5 %	9.0 %	72	21.6 %
21—25	—	33	14	47	73	24	97	29.1 %
	—	30.3 %	17.9 %	25.1 %	28.6 %	30.8 %	97	29.1 %
26—30	—	19	23	42	42	15	57	17.1 %
	—	17.4 %	29.5 %	22.5 %	16.5 %	19.2 %	57	17.1 %
31—35	—	13	11	24	27	8	35	10.5 %
	—	11.9 %	14.1 %	12.8 %	10.6 %	10.3 %	35	10.5 %
36—40	—	4	5	9	12	4	16	4.8 %
	—	3.7 %	6.4 %	4.8 %	4.7 %	5.1 %	16	4.8 %
41—50	—	—	—	—	7	6	13	3.9 %
	—	—	—	—	2.7 %	7.7 %	13	3.9 %
51—	—	2	1	3	1	—	1	0.3 %
	—	1.8 %	1.3 %	1.6 %	0.4 %	—	1	0.3 %
Age Unknown	—	5	1	6	22	1	23	6.9 %
	—	4.6 %	1.3 %	3.2 %	8.6 %	1.3 %	23	6.9 %
TOTAL	—	109	78	187	255	78	333	100.0 %
	—	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	333	100.0 %
Leppävirta								

^a: For the figures for Finland as a whole, see SVT XXXVIII: 1—15, Table V; SVT XXXVIII: 16—17, Tables VII and VIII; SVT XXVIII: 18, Tables IV and XI; SVT XXXVIII: 19—20, Tables VI and XIV; SVT XXXVIII: 21, Tables V and XII. The figures for Finland as a whole cover the period 1900—1930, since for the period 1893—1899 only four age ranges were used.

Age	Polvijärvi			Kristinestad			
	—1914	1915—1930	Total	—1892	1893—1914	1915—1930	Total
—15	9	9	18	33	74	18	125
	5.4 %	12.0 %	7.4 %	14.3 %	10.8 %	13.4 %	11.9 %
16—20	32	20	52	60	234	23	317
	19.2 %	26.7 %	21.5 %	26.1 %	34.1 %	17.2 %	30.2 %
21—25	65	23	88	33	169	36	238
	38.9 %	30.7 %	36.4 %	14.3 %	24.6 %	26.9 %	22.7 %
26—30	27	11	38	31	83	16	130
	16.2 %	14.7 %	15.7 %	13.5 %	12.1 %	11.9 %	12.4 %
31—35	20	3	23	28	34	13	75
	12.0 %	4.0 %	9.5 %	12.2 %	5.0 %	9.7 %	7.1 %
36—40	3	3	6	16	34	10	60
	1.8 %	4.0 %	2.5 %	7.0 %	5.0 %	7.5 %	5.7 %
41—50	3	6	9	7	28	8	43
	1.8 %	8.0 %	3.7 %	3.0 %	4.1 %	6.0 %	4.1 %
51—	2	—	2	2	23	7	32
	1.2 %	—	0.8 %	0.9 %	3.4 %	5.2 %	3.0 %
Age Unknown	6	—	6	20	7	3	30
	3.6 %	—	2.5 %	8.7 %	1.0 %	2.2 %	2.9 %
TOTAL	167	75	242	230	686	134	1050
	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Age	Finland		
	1900—1914	1915—1930	Total
—15	23149	8870	32019
	10.7 %	11.2 %	10.8 %
16—20	54543	12025	66568
	25.3 %	15.2 %	22.6 %
21—25	60390	22425	82815
	28.0 %	28.3 %	28.1 %
26—30	36793	15174	51967
	17.0 %	19.1 %	17.6 %
31—35	18547	8972	27519
	8.6 %	11.3 %	9.3 %
36—40	9670	5414	15084
	4.5 %	6.8 %	5.1 %
41—50	8018	4490	12508
	3.7 %	5.7 %	4.2 %
51—	3062	1558	4620
	1.4 %	2.0 %	1.6 %
Age Unknown	1684	350	2034
	0.8 %	0.4 %	0.7 %
TOTAL	215856	79278	295134
	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

in the period 1893—1914. The investigation at the Department of History, University of Turku, into the emigration in the years 1873, 1882, and 1905 revealed a steadily declining mean age,¹¹ which supports the pattern emerging from Table 26. Following the First World War, however, the emigration started to become "older" again, while emigration by children under 16 also appears in the Table at its maximum after the First World War. This point was also reported by TOIVONEN in southern Ostrobothnia.¹² The same wavelike trend is thus found in family emigration as in the age structure, i.e. it reaches its minimum during the peak period of the emigration (1893—1914).¹³

One of the reasons for the change in the age structure of the emigration between the periods pre-1892 and 1893—1914 is the travelling conditions to the host countries in the early years, and the uncertainty of information about these countries, so that young men and women were less likely to set out and try their luck than they were a little later at the peak of the emigration. TUNKELO considers that the introduction of compulsory military service in Finland after the achievement of independence in 1917 reduced the emigration by 16—20-year-olds.¹⁴ The rise in the relative proportion of emigration by children and older people in the postwar period, on the other hand, is further illustration of the fact that this period constitutes merely a sort of "aftermath" to the great emigration. New emigration declined, and men who had emigrated before the First World War were now obviously being followed by their families.

When the permanent return rate for emigrants in different age ranges is then examined, against the background of the above discussion, one point, naturally, is that the age structure of the return migration was higher than that of the emigration, depending on the length of time spent abroad by the emigrants. Table 27 shows that the largest group in Lohtaja, Elimäki, and Polvijärvi were the 26—30-year-olds, followed by the 31—35-year-olds; the order is reversed in Leppävirta. The age structure of the return migration in Jokioinen is distinctly higher than in the other rural areas.

The age range 26—30 also comprises the largest group in the urban return migration, but there were also as many in the 41—50 age range; apart from this, emigrants returning to Kristinestad were usually 21—35 years old, as in the rural areas in general. Thus emigrants returning to towns (or at least to Kristinestad) were slightly older at return than those returning to rural areas. The emigrants from Kristinestad remained abroad rather longer than returning rural emigrants (see p. 80—81 above), which is the explanation of the age structure at return. It is however evident that the permanent return usually happened when the emigrant was relatively young, in the prime of his or her working life, for there were very few permanently returning emigrants over 50 years old both in the rural and urban areas.

¹¹ KERO 1974. 113—115.

¹² TOIVONEN 1963. 49.

¹³ The rather large number of unknown cases in Lohtaja for the period before 1893 should be noted.

¹⁴ TUNKELO 1936. 266.

Table 27. *Age Structure of the Permanent Return Migration, by Sample Areas.*^a

Age	Lohtajaja Returning		Elimäki Returning		Jokioinen Returning	
—15	15	3.5%	3	4.4%	4	10.5%
16—20	18	4.2%	4	5.9%	1	2.6%
21—25	72	16.7%	11	16.2%	5	13.2%
26—30	115	26.7%	16	23.5%	4	10.5%
31—35	82	19.1%	12	17.6%	8	21.1%
36—40	50	11.6%	3	4.4%	5	13.2%
41—50	47	10.9%	5	7.4%	8	21.1%
51—	29	6.7%	6	8.8%	1	2.6%
Age Unknown	2	0.5%	8	11.8%	2	5.3%
TOTAL	430	100.0%	68	100.0%	38	100.0%
Age	Leppävirta		Polvijärvi		Kristinestad	
—15	—	—	—	—	2	1.9%
16—20	1	2.8%	1	2.6%	4	3.9%
21—25	4	11.1%	4	10.5%	15	14.6%
26—30	6	16.7%	9	23.7%	18	17.5%
31—35	10	27.8%	8	21.1%	12	11.7%
36—40	2	5.6%	5	13.2%	4	3.9%
41—50	2	5.6%	3	7.9%	18	17.5%
51—	—	—	3	7.9%	6	5.8%
Age Unknown	11	30.6%	5	13.2%	24	23.3%
TOTAL	36	100.0%	38	100.0%	103	100.0%

a: This Table includes all persons emigrating before 1930 and subsequently returning permanently.

It has also been observed in Sweden that the emigrants returning were more likely to be in the 26—30 age range than in other groups, as in most of the sample areas here. One of the most striking differences in Sweden was that those under 16 made up as many as 18.3 % of those returning,¹⁵ whereas the corresponding figure in the areas under investigation here is merely a few per cent. The Swedish figures probably include children born abroad, who cannot however be considered as returning migrants.

The age structure at return of the Italian return migration, at least in 1905—1906, also is approximately the same as in Finland and Sweden.¹⁶ Minor differences can always be found, but these are capable of deriving simply from the different kinds of sources used.

The age structure of the Finnish return migrants can also to some extent be studied by means of the official Statistics. These report 2861 persons aged under 16

¹⁵ LINDBERG 1930, 243. On the age structure of the Swedish return migration, see also TEDEBRAND 1972, 240—243.

¹⁶ See CAROLI 1973, 43—45.

as having returned in 1894—1916 (8.8 % of those returning), 718 persons aged 16—20 (2.2 %), 23 605 persons aged 21—39 (72.4 %), 4 610 persons aged over 40 (14.1 %), and 831 whose age was unknown (2.5 %). The total return recorded by the Registrars for this period was 32 625 persons.¹⁷ According to these figures, the number of returning emigrants under the age of 16 was relatively higher in Finland as a whole than in the sample areas, with the exception of Jokioinen, while in the following age range the situation was slightly reversed. The explanation for this, besides the unreliability of the official Statistics, may be the low rate of family emigration in the sample areas in comparison with the rest of Finland. Another point is the fact that the Statistics include children born abroad and travelling with their parents.

Slight differences do emerge between the sample areas and the whole of Finland with respect to those returning at a higher age. When the number of emigrants returning to the sample areas is calculated in Table 27 in the age range 21—39, which corresponds to that used in the official Statistics, this gives 74.1 % for Lohtaja, 68.5 % for Polvijärvi, 61.7 % for Elimäki, 61.2 % for Leppävirta, 58.0 % for Jokioinen, and 47.7 % for Kristinestad; the figure for all Finland was 72.4 %. There thus have been minor local variations, but the data do however indicate that about two-thirds of the emigrants returning did so when aged 21—40. The figure for towns is lower, on the basis of the data for Kristinestad.

A similar pattern emerges for the return of those aged over 40 from the sample areas, from the official Finnish Statistics, and from the Swedish statistics: broadly speaking about 15 % of all the emigrants permanently returning to their country of origin did so when aged 40 or over.¹⁸ In Kristinestad and in Jokioinen, this figure is slightly over one-fifth, but the return has already been seen to have been "older" in these areas.

The age structure of the return migration having been thus established, another, more important aspect — from the point of view of return or non-return — needs to be analyzed: i.e. what proportion of those emigrating at different ages then returned to Finland. The foregoing discussion of the age structure at return says very little about this, since it was largely dependent on the age structure at emigration. The only way that this question can be studied is through the sample areas material, since the official Statistics do not include any information about the age at emigration of the returning emigrants. Comparative data for the emigrants permanently returning are however available for Karvia, Parkano, and Kuusamo, although these only cover a limited period in the return migration.¹⁹

¹⁷ STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1898, Table 121; STV 1899—1900, Table 116; STV 1901, Table 119; STV 1902, Tables 119—120 a; STV 1903—1904 and 1906—1908, Table 45 A; STV 1905, Table 46 A; STV 1909 and 1911, Table 47 A; STV 1910 and 1912, Table 50 A; STV 1913, Table 57 A; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 A; STV 1916, Table 64 A; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 A. The classification by age was as set out in the text for the period 1894—1910. For 1911—1916, it was more precise, but as the period is so brief it has not been given here separately.

¹⁸ Cf. LINDBERG 1930, 243—244; TEDEBRAND 1972, 241—243.

¹⁹ The data for Karvia and Parkano cover the period 1900—1914, and the data for Kuusamo 1864—1914.

The permanent return rate in different age groups can be examined in Table 28, where in the areas with high emigration (Lohtaja, Parkano, and Karvia) an absolutely systematic trend emerges: the higher the age of the emigrants, the higher the relative return rate. The sole exception to this pattern in the sample areas occurs with those over 50 at emigration, whose return rate is lower than in the preceding age range. This is mainly the result of the fact that the over-50s did not emigrate in search of earnings to the same extent as the younger age groups. Their motive was in many cases to spend their old age with their children, or relatives, or friends, who had already emigrated previously. In fact, among the 36 persons who were more than 50 years old at emigration (in the rural sample areas of the present investigation) there were ten who had children overseas; only one of these later returned permanently. Similarly, there were six women whose husbands had emigrated previously; only one of these women returned. Two men emigrated with their families, and never returned. Obviously, the intention of most of these persons was to emigrate permanently.

This cannot however have been the only motive for the over-50s, for the return percentages in Lohtaja, Karvia, and Parkano are all distinctly above average in Table 28. The 36 persons group includes eight married men who left their families at home; four of these returned. There were also three unmarried persons who did not return. Finally, there were seven who cannot be classified in any of the categories above; two of them returned. Generally speaking, the motives to stay permanently of the persons in these groups were certainly a lot weaker than of those described above.

The findings for Kuusamo, an area of considerable emigration, diverge almost completely from those for most areas in Table 28. No consistent trend can be observed in the relative return rates for different age groups. The relatively largest group of returning emigrants were among those who had emigrated when aged 21—25, and PÄTYNEN refers to the fact that the absolute numbers of emigrants were highest in this age group.²⁰ It must be pointed out, however, that the numbers of emigrants cannot of course explain the relative return rate for a particular age group.

The impact of age on the return in the areas of low emigration is not so distinct; however, the same trend described above can be clearly seen. In general, people aged over 50 when they emigrated tended not to return, a point which confirms the discussion above. The findings for Elimäki are moreover in general agreement with those for the areas of high emigration: the older the age group, the higher the return rate, with the sole modification that in Elimäki the under-16s returned slightly more than the 16—20-year-olds. Similarly, the permanent return rate in Jokioinen and Polvijärvi relatively increases in the older age groups, even if not quite as consistently as in the areas of high emigration. There were no emigrants aged over 40 at emigration who returned to Jokioinen, but the explanation for this is quite simply that

²⁰ See PÄTYNEN 1972, 114.

Table 28. Return Migration Rate among Those Emigrating at Different Ages, by Sample Areas.^a

Age	Lohtaja		Elimäki		Jokioinen				
	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	Temporary Return	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	Temporary Return	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	Temporary Return
—15	244	23 9.4 %	14 5.7 %	36	4 11.1 %	1 2.8 %	24	3 12.5 %	1 4.2 %
16—20	595	83 13.9 %	92 15.5 %	101	9 8.9 %	14 13.9 %	32	4 12.5 %	4 12.5 %
21—25	524	139 26.5 %	88 16.8 %	140	22 15.7 %	18 12.9 %	47	8 17.0 %	3 6.4 %
26—30	277	76 27.4 %	48 17.3 %	46	13 28.3 %	12 26.1 %	42	6 14.3 %	5 11.9 %
31—35	151	46 30.5 %	32 21.2 %	20	8 40.0 %	8 40.0 %	24	10 41.7 %	—
36—40	75	28 37.3 %	21 28.0 %	8	4 50.0 %	2 25.0 %	9	5 55.6 %	1 11.1 %
41—50	64	28 43.8 %	9 14.1 %	6	5 83.3 %	1 16.7 %	—	—	—
51—	28	7 25.0 %	2 7.1 %	2	—	—	3	—	—
Age Unknown	176	—	11 6.3 %	21	3 14.3 %	5 23.8 %	6	2 33.3 %	—
TOTAL	2134	430 20.1 %	317 14.9 %	380	68 17.9 %	61 16.1 %	187	38 20.3 %	14 7.5 %
Leppävirta									
—15	19	—	—	18	—	1 5.6 %	125	6 4.8 %	6 4.8 %
16—20	72	7 9.7 %	5 6.9 %	52	6 11.5 %	7 13.5 %	317	33 10.4 %	36 11.4 %
21—25	97	14 14.4 %	15 15.5 %	88	17 19.3 %	9 10.2 %	238	22 9.2 %	25 10.5 %
26—30	57	6 10.5 %	9 15.8 %	38	4 10.5 %	2 5.3 %	130	18 13.8 %	23 17.7 %
31—35	35	7 20.0 %	4 11.4 %	23	6 26.1 %	1 4.3 %	75	3 4.0 %	6 8.0 %
36—40	16	2 12.5 %	2 12.5 %	6	2 33.3 %	1 16.7 %	60	9 15.0 %	10 16.7 %
41—50	13	—	—	9	2 22.2 %	—	43	9 20.9 %	3 7.0 %
51—	1	—	—	2	1 50.0 %	—	32	3 9.4 %	4 12.5 %
Age Unknown	23	—	3 13.0 %	6	—	—	30	—	—
TOTAL	333	36 10.8 %	38 11.4 %	242	38 15.7 %	21 8.7 %	1050	103 9.8 %	113 10.8 %
Kristinestad									

a: For the figures for Karvia and Parkano, see KERO 1972, 22; for the figures for Kuusamo, see PÄTYNEN 1972, 114. The data for Karvia and Parkano cover the period 1900—1914, and that for Kuusamo the period 1864—1914. The data for the other areas in the Table cover permanent and temporary return by those emigrating up to 1930. In the figures for Parkano there were errors of calculation.

Age	Karvia			Parkano			Kuusamo		
	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	%	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	%	Emi- gration	Permanent Return	%
—15	58	3	5.2 %	61	4	6.6 %	327	13	4.0 %
16—20	248	33	13.3 %	412	90	21.8 %	341	40	11.7 %
21—25	209	34	16.3 %	457	109	23.9 %	485	80	16.5 %
26—30	95	28	29.5 %	235	77	32.8 %	298	38	12.8 %
31—35	55	20	36.4 %	118	48	40.7 %	153	18	11.8 %
36—40	37	15	40.5 %	66	30	45.5 %	70	2	2.9 %
41—50	38	20	52.6 %	67	32	47.8 %	59	6	10.2 %
51—	7	3	42.9 %	14	6	42.9 %	51	6	11.8 %
Age Unknown	65	17	26.2 %	25	9	36.0 %	150	6	4.0 %
TOTAL	812	173	21.3 %	1455	405	27.8 %	1934	209	10.8 %

emigration from Jokioinen by the over-40s was virtually nonexistent. The permanent return in Leppävirta was similar to that in Kuusamo, in the sense that no consistent trend emerges in the permanent return rate for different age groups. However, we can conclude that the permanent return rates for different age groups were broadly speaking similar in the rural areas.

The pattern in the urban return migration also is approximately similar. The highest relative return rate in Kristinestad was among those emigrating when aged 41—50, as was also the case in Lohtaja, Elimäki, Parkano, and Karvia. With only two exceptions, the return rate rises steadily in the age groups up to 50 and then falls over 50, a pattern which was seen above to characterize most of the rural areas too.²¹

The increasing return rate with increasing age for those emigrating up to the age of 50 is largely due to the question of adaptation to conditions in the host country, since no particularly clear differences in motives for emigration have been found between these age groups: the majority left in search of earnings, and not only those aged 21—25 as has been claimed.²² Those emigrating younger were more able to meet the challenges posed by their host country, and the new conditions, and were for this reason less interested in returning to Finland. The younger groups were also more or less forced to try to adapt to their new conditions since as the children of farmers or crofters with large families, they did not have the same possibilities of obtaining work and supporting themselves in Finland as their parents had. The relatively high return rate among the older age groups can be linked to the social status of the emigrants, since as was noted earlier it was considerably more common for farmers and crofters to return than it was for their children. The interaction between these factors is clear; but not however merely between two structural factors,

²¹ In Kristinestad, there were 32 persons who were more than 50 years old at emigration. 11 of them had children overseas; six were unmarried; nine men left their families at home; and six persons cannot be classified. Two of the unmarried persons returned permanently, and one of the unclassified group; the others emigrated to stay in the host country.

²² PÄTYNEN 1972, 114.

since the question of individual adaptation was undoubtedly of decisive importance both for rural and urban emigrants, as is indicated by the consistency of the permanent return rates for different age groups in different areas, although the social status of the emigrants from these areas diverged quite sharply.

The relative rate of temporary return between different age groups can only be examined in Table 28 for the sample areas under investigation. In Lohtaja (once again the most representative area) it can be seen that the older the emigrants were at emigration, the more frequently they returned temporarily as well, except that, in contrast to the permanent return, this curve takes a downward turn from the age of 40 upwards. The differences in the temporary return rate between different age groups are also smaller than in the permanent return. The relative temporary return rate also rises on the whole with increasing age in Elimäki, but begins to decline even earlier than in Lohtaja, at the age group of 36—40.

In general, the relative temporary return rate in rural areas between those emigrating at different ages is more even than the relative permanent return rate. The return rates for different age groups in Kristinestad are also fairly even and similar, with the highest temporary rate there occurring among those 26—30 years old at emigration.

The comparison of the temporary and permanent return suggests that temporary return was noticeably more common among the younger age groups. Re-emigration by those aged over 40 was rather rare, and it was those emigrating between the ages of 41 and 50 who permanently returned the most frequently. When those in the older age groups made their decision to return or not to return, they were more likely to have reached a final decision about how they wished to arrange their lives than the younger age groups, who were in this respect still more open-minded.

2 SEX

When the District Council of Kronoby, in its reply to the Migration Committee questionnaire in 1918, was asked to estimate the proportion of women involved in the emigration, they replied: "When so many of the men have gone, how could the girls help but follow them?"²³ In the following, it will be investigated to what extent this did in fact happen, and to what extent the sex composition of the return migration differed from that of the emigrants.

Table 29 shows that in the sample areas, apart from Jokioinen and Kristinestad, the emigration was somewhat more male-dominated than in Finland in general. TOIVONEN claimed however that approximately two-thirds of the emigrants were men, if it is remembered that virtually all of those travelling without passports were

²³ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 30.

Table 29. *Sex Composition of the Finnish Emigration at Different Periods.*^a

Area	1862—1892		1893—1914	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Lohtaja	664 75.5 %	216 24.5 %	597 62.6 %	356 37.4 %
Elimäki	1 100.0 %	— —	224 72.0 %	87 28.0 %
Jokioinen	— —	— —	77 70.6 %	32 29.4 %
Leppävirta	3 60.0 %	2 40.0 %	203 81.2 %	47 18.8 %
Polvijärvi	— —	— —	134 80.2 %	33 19.8 %
Kristinestad	134 58.3 %	96 41.7 %	387 56.4 %	299 43.6 %
Finland	.. ..	.. ..	159406 63.0 %	93610 37.0 %

Area	1915—1930		TOTAL	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Lohtaja	198 65.8 %	103 34.2 %	1459 68.4 %	675 31.6 %
Elimäki	41 60.3 %	27 39.7 %	266 70.0 %	114 30.0 %
Jokioinen	37 47.4 %	41 52.6 %	114 61.0 %	73 39.0 %
Leppävirta	50 64.1 %	28 35.9 %	256 76.9 %	77 23.1 %
Polvijärvi	37 49.3 %	38 50.7 %	171 70.7 %	71 29.3 %
Kristinestad	71 53.0 %	63 47.0 %	592 56.4 %	458 43.6 %
Finland	45458 57.3 %	33820 42.7 %	204864 61.7 %	127430 38.3 %

a: For the data for whole of Finland, see: SVT XXVIII: 15, 6—7; SVT XXVIII: 16, 4; SVT XXVIII: 21, 14.

men;²⁴ these are of course totally missing from the official calculations. The figures for the whole of Finland, moreover, only cover the period from 1893 onward. Since the data from Lohtaja and Kristinestad (where there was considerable emigration earlier than 1893) shows that the proportion consisting of men was highest in the early stages of the emigration, the figures given in Table 29 for men in Finland as a whole must be regarded as an underestimate. KERO calculated that about 65 % of the emigrants in the period 1869—1914 were men.²⁵ Two-thirds of the Finnish emigration can thus be said to have been made up by men, and the rural areas in the Table therefore correspond closely to the pattern for the whole country, with the proportion of men varying between 61.0 % and 76.9 %. BACKMAN counted 1478 men in the emigration from Munsala (72.7 %), and 555 women (27.3 %);²⁶ the emigrants from northern Satakunta in the period 1881—1914 included 11 802 men (69.7 %) and 5 140 women (30.3 %).²⁷ These figures also confirm that the sex composition of the emigration from the sample areas was highly typical.

In comparison with the emigration from the other Nordic countries, the Finnish emigration emerges as distinctly more male-dominated; on the other hand, in many countries in eastern and southern Europe, the emigration was even more dominated

²⁴ TOIVONEN 1963, 49—50.

²⁵ KERO 1974, 91—92.

²⁶ BACKMAN 1945, 8.

²⁷ KERO 1970, 98.

by men than it was in Finland. One reason that has been advanced for the difference between the Finnish emigration and that from the other Nordic countries is that there was so little urban emigration in Finland in absolute numbers;²⁸ as Table 29 indicates, the urban emigration was distinctly less male-dominated than that from the rural areas. Only about 56 % of the emigrants from Kristinestad were men, and KERO has drawn the conclusion from studying the emigration over Finland as a whole that about half of the emigrants from towns were women.²⁹ In the emigration from countries of the "old" emigration, e.g. Ireland, nearly half of the emigrants were women,³⁰ whereas in the countries of the "new" emigration such as Greece women only made up a fraction of the emigrants;³¹ the Finnish overseas emigration can thus be placed approximately in the middle of the European emigration pattern.

Both Table 29, and the figures discussed above, suggest a certain degree of local variation in the proportions of men and women emigrating from different parts of Finland: on Åland, in particular, and in some of the island communities of the south-west Finnish archipelago, women were exceptionally strongly represented in relation to the men,³² while in some other areas the men were even more dominant than TOIVONEN's two-thirds, which was approximately the mean ratio for the whole country, e.g., according to Table 29, in the areas in Kuopio Province. It has been noticed that at least prior to the First World War the emigration from Mikkeli, Kuopio, and Häme Provinces was exceptionally dominated by men, while this was somewhat less true than average in Oulu and Vaasa Provinces.³³

The reasons for variations in the sex composition of the emigration between different parts of the country have been discussed by KERO, and his conclusions will be briefly summarized here. First, he suggests that there is a relation between the sex composition of the population in the area of origin and the sex composition of the emigration, but that this is not the sole component in the local differences which emerge in the emigration. Other factors which he puts forward include internal domestic mobility, and the possible effects of differences in the kinds of work available in different areas. Furthermore, he suggests that different areas of Finland may have exerted varying degrees of "push" on men and women to emigrate; and he also mentions the possibility that the major areas of settlement in the host country for the emigrants from a particular area in Finland may also have had an effect on the proportion of men and women emigrating.³⁴

These factors may well have influenced the emigration, but it is extremely difficult to disentangle their effects; and KERO offers them more as hypotheses or possible

²⁸ See KERO 1974, 93—94.

²⁹ KERO 1974, 96, 209.

³⁰ SCHRIER 1958, 4.

³¹ SALOUTOS 1956, 7.

³² For Åland, BLOMFELT 1968, 93; for southwestern Finland, VAINIO 1974a, 39—40.

³³ KERO 1974, 98.

³⁴ KERO 1974, 102—105.

interpretations. It is for example by no means clear that the emigrants from areas where the proportion of women among the emigrants was higher than usual should have been more attracted than average to the eastern parts of North America (where there was more work available for women in the cities). Certain examples can be found in the sample areas to support this interpretation, but so can "counter-examples".³⁵ Whereas SMEDS claims that only a few women emigrated to Canada because suitable work was not available there,³⁶ this can be demonstrated to be false, since in the 1920s, when the majority of the Finnish emigration was directed towards Canada, the proportion of women in the emigration increased.

It has been commented on in a number of contexts that as emigration begins from any particular area it tends to be male-dominated, and that it is only subsequently that women also become involved.³⁷ In Table 29, the emigration from Lohtaja and Kristinestad can be seen clearly in each of the three periods used, and the proportion of men is indeed highest during the first long emigration cycle.

In all the sample areas other than Lohtaja, the proportion of women emigrating rose considerably after 1914, largely due to the increase in emigration by entire families. This was true in Finland as a whole, too. TUNKELO suggests that a wider range of employment became available for women in North America in the 1920s, and that this may have increased their willingness to emigrate.³⁸ The highest proportion of women in Lohtaja had occurred earlier, in 1893—1914, due to the earlier peaking of the emigration wave here than elsewhere in Finland. As the sample areas illustrate, the later the emigration from a particular area began, the lower was the proportion of men after 1914. Thus, in Jokioinen and Polvijärvi there were actually more women than men emigrants in the period 1915—1930.

The effect of economic conditions on the proportion of men to women in the annual emigration rates was considerable, since the absolute number of men emigrants fluctuated strikingly more than that of women. The reason for this is that in many cases the women were joining husbands who had emigrated earlier, and this was not so dependent on economic fluctuations; nor were the service occupations which women usually took up so sensitively affected by economic changes as were the jobs carried out by the men.³⁹ Similarly, it has been noticed that prepaid tickets sent from overseas were more significant in the emigration of women than of men,⁴⁰ and this too had the effect of evening out annual fluctuations in the women's emigration rate. These factors would also lead one to predict that women would return to Finland relatively less than men.

³⁵ The areas of settlement of the emigrants from the sample areas will be discussed in Chapter VI.

³⁶ SMEDS 1935, 339.

³⁷ SMEDS 1935, 337; TOIVONEN 1963, 49; KERO 1974, 95.

³⁸ TUNKELO 1936, 264—265.

³⁹ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 10—11; see also HJELT 1905, 58; KERO 1970, 106—107; WIDÉN 1975, 57.

⁴⁰ KERO 1974, 182.

Table 30. *Permanent Return Migration Rate to Finland, by Sex.*^a

Area	Men			Women			TOTAL		
	Emigrating	Returning		Emigrating	Returning		Emigrating	Returning	
Munsala	1478	550	37.2%	555	82	14.8%	2033	632	31.1%
Parkano + Karvia	1930	583	30.2%	635	74	11.7%	2565	657	25.6%
Jokioinen	114	27	23.7%	73	11	15.1%	187	38	20.3%
Lohtaja	1459	336	23.0%	675	94	13.9%	2134	430	20.1%
Toholampi	370	81	21.9%	143	15	10.5%	513	96	18.7%
Elimäki	266	58	21.8%	114	10	8.8%	380	68	17.9%
Polvijärvi	171	33	19.3%	71	5	7.0%	242	38	15.7%
Kuusamo	1163	148	12.7%	771	61	7.9%	1934	209	10.8%
Leppävirta	256	28	10.9%	77	8	10.4%	333	36	10.8%
Kristinestad	592	68	11.5%	458	35	7.6%	1050	103	9.8%
Finland	157961	25281	16.0%	95304	7299	7.7%	253265	32580	12.9%

a: The figures for Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Leppävirta, Polvijärvi, and Kristinestad cover the return by those emigrating up to 1930; those for Parkano and Karvia, by those emigrating up to 1914 (KERO 1972, 24); those for Kuusamo, by those emigrating up to 1914 (PÄTYNEN 1972, 117—118); and the figures for Munsala, by those emigrating up to 1934 (BACKMAN 1945, 5, 22). The figures for Toholampi only cover those persons emigrating before 1889 who had returned by that date (KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 36), thus including a certain number who will have subsequently re-emigrated but also excluding anyone returning later than 1889. Similar cases will also occur in the figures for Parkano, Karvia, Munsala, and Kuusamo. The percentages for the whole of Finland were calculated by taking the number of emigrants recorded in the official Statistics for the period 1894—1916 (see STV XXVIII: 13, 5—6) and the numbers returning in the same period (see STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1898, Table 121; STV 1899—1900, Table 116; STV 1901, Table 119; STV 1902, Tables 119—120 a; STV 1903—1904 and 1906—1908, Table 45 A; STV 1905, Table 46 A; STV 1909 and 1911, Table 47 A; STV 1910 and 1912, Table 50 A; STV 1913, Table 57 A; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 A; STV 1916, Table 64 A; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 A). Data on the sex of returning emigrants are only available for the period 1894—1916.

Table 30 does indeed clearly show that men did return to Finland permanently more frequently than women. In the areas shown in the Table, the relative male return rate was between 0.5 % and 22.4 % higher than that for women; the corresponding figure for the whole of Finland, according to the official Statistics, was 8.3 %. SMEDS also estimated that women returned to Malax relatively less frequently than men,⁴¹ and similar findings are indirectly indicated for Åland, since almost half of the emigrants from Föglö and Finström were women, while only 32.1 % of the Finström emigrants returning in 1894—1920 were women, and only 30.8 % of the returning emigrants from Föglö.⁴²

⁴¹ SMEDS 1935, 337 footnote 1.

⁴² BLOMFELT 1968, 93, 150. The percentages have been calculated from BLOMFELT's absolute figures: in 1894—1920, 93 men and 44 women returned to Finström, and 9 men and 4 women to Föglö.

It has also been observed in Sweden that men returned relatively more frequently than women. In the period 1875—1909, 9.2 % of the men emigrating from the Sundsvall area returned during that period, but only 5.8 % of the women.⁴³ Of the total emigrants leaving Sweden in 1861—1910, 56.1 % were men, whereas men made up 63.0 % of those returning in 1875—1910,⁴⁴ which further confirms that men were somewhat more likely to return than women. The domination of the Italian return migration by men has also been noted, although good statistical sources are not available.⁴⁵ Overall, in 1908—1924 the ratio of men to women immigrants arriving in the United States was considerably lower than the ratio of men to women in the return migration out of the United States in the same period.⁴⁶

It is thus unquestionable that men returned to their country of origin relatively more frequently than women did. Differences of degree do occur between different areas, however, as Table 30 shows. In rural areas in the high emigration region, the difference between the return rate for men and for women is consistently high. On the other hand, there is a below-average difference between the rates for men and for women in the urban migration. In general, the Table indicates that the higher the overall return rate, the bigger the difference between the two sexes.

With the difference between the return rate for men and for women in high emigration regions being so distinct, it can be said that on average 25—30 % of the men emigrants returned permanently, whereas the rate for women emigrants has been about 10—15 %. Insofar as the findings for Kristinestad can be generalized over the urban emigration as a whole, the permanent return rates, like the emigration rates, were closer to each other for both sexes.

An additional factor in the low return rate for women has also been the fact of their comparatively rapid adaptation to the new conditions in their service occupations, where language skills developed faster than in the forestry and mining jobs available for the men. Working conditions for women were somewhat more attractive than in Finland, which was not true of the work done by the men. Finally, women may have been more inclined to find satisfaction in their new surroundings once they had made the decision to go, since there was a very widespread belief in Finland that the situation of women in America was a good one.⁴⁷

Table 30 thus shows that the men were more often in the position of temporary labour in their host countries than the women were. This is confirmed by the fact that men also returned temporarily more often — relatively speaking — than the

⁴³ TEDEBRAND 1972, 247.

⁴⁴ JANSON 1931, Appendices Table III. In 1861—1910, the Swedish emigration included 523 920 men and 410 038 women; in 1875—1910 the return included 71 570 men and 42 054 women.

⁴⁵ See CAROLI 1973, 48—49.

⁴⁶ JEROME 1926, 39—40.

⁴⁷ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 30.

women did, as is shown in the following figures (which include all temporary returns to the sample areas):⁴⁸

Lohtaja	255 men (17.5 %).	62 women (9.2 %)
Elimäki	41 men (15.4 %).	20 women (17.5 %)
Jokioinen	9 men (7.9 %).	5 women (6.8 %)
Leppävirta	34 men (13.3 %).	4 women (5.2 %)
Polvijärvi	16 men (9.4 %).	5 women (7.0 %)
Kristinestad	73 men (12.3 %).	40 women (8.7 %)

In Elimäki, the women returned temporarily slightly more than the men, but in all the other areas, the men clearly outnumbered the women for temporary return as well. The material does not reveal a difference when the temporary and permanent return by men and by women are compared: the higher relative return rate for men is evident in both classes of return.

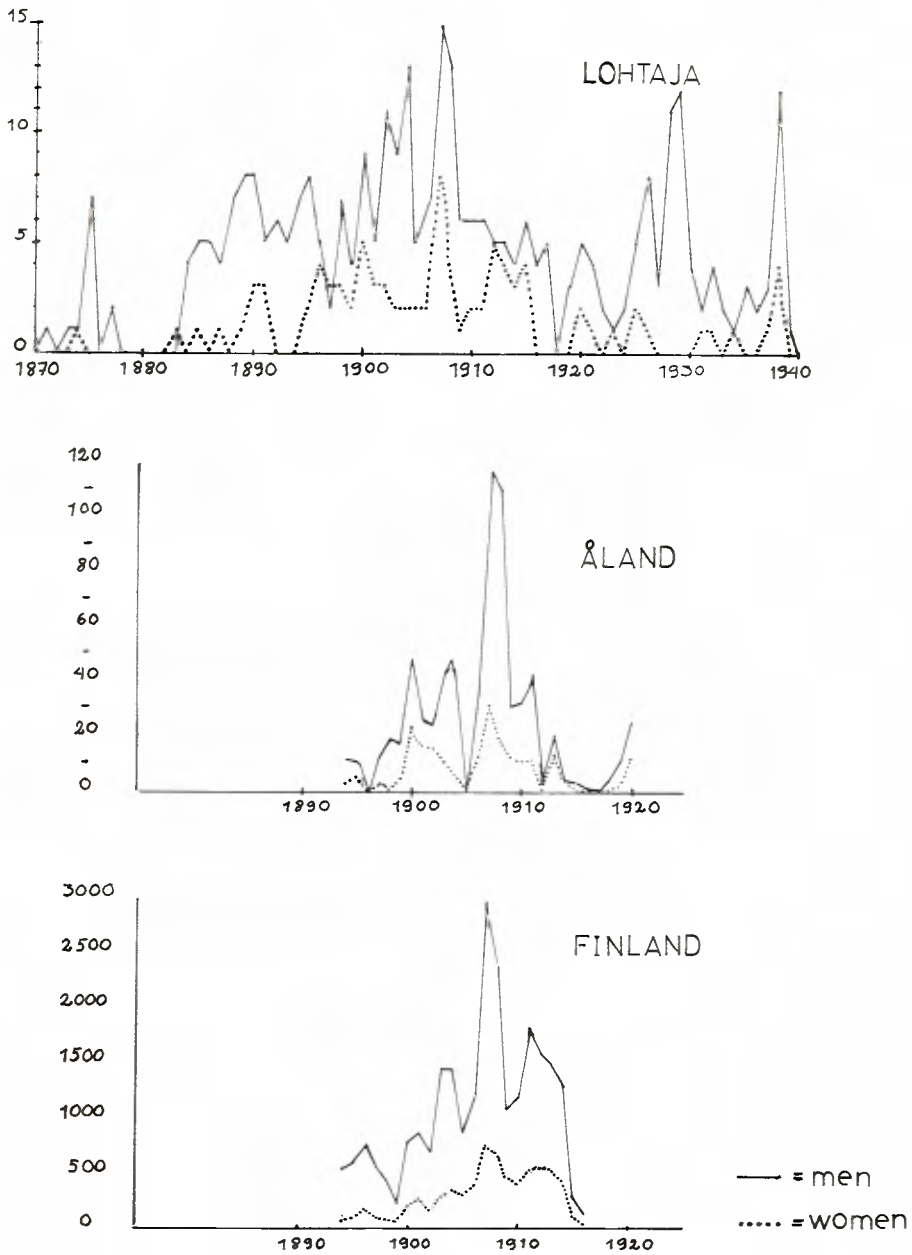
The numbers returning varied from year to year, like those for the emigration, mainly following the economic situation, though as was mentioned in Chapter III: 2, this is not as clearly visible in the numbers of return migrants as of emigrants. It was also mentioned (p. 127) that the emigration fluctuations were most noticeable in the number of men emigrating. Figure 5 is an investigation of whether this is also true for the return, and this shows that in Lohtaja, the numbers of women returning remained fairly constant from year to year throughout, whereas there was distinctly greater variation among the men. The same feature can also be observed in the curve for Finland as a whole. The same trend is thus evident in the return as in the emigration: in both cases, the men reacted to economic fluctuations more sharply than the women. The reasons for this are also largely the same, above all the sensitivity of their employment in the host country to swings in the economy. It is however also observable that in those years when the men's return rate rises, that for women also increases, though on a smaller scale; thus in 1907 (the peak year of the return migration) the return of both men and women reaches its maximum in Lohtaja, Åland, and for Finland as a whole.

Overall, therefore, Figure 5 shows that the return rate for women, like that for men, follows the swings in the economic situation, the annual fluctuations for men merely being more acute. The same feature has also been established in the case of the return migration to Sweden.⁴⁹

The economic sensitivity of the return to Finland by women was however so low that there are some years when the rate for men rises while that for women falls. Examination of the data for Lohtaja for the period from 1916 onwards reveals that return by women became extremely rare, with no women at all returning in most years, notwithstanding the fact that on the brink of the Depression, in 1928—1929, the overall return rate in Lohtaja was rather high. The major reason for this is the

⁴⁸ This percentage has been calculated with reference to the true number of emigrants (see Table 30).

⁴⁹ TEDEBRAND 1972, 249.

Figure 5. Annual Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration for Men and Women.^a

a: The absolute figures are given in Appendix 4.

increasing frequency of family emigration which set in after the First World War, since where an entire family departed overseas, or a wife emigrated to join her husband, there was no longer the same motivation to return as in the case of single emigrants. In the 1920s, men were still fairly frequently emigrating to try their luck fortune, e.g. in Australia, and the return rate from there was very high, as will be discussed below in Chapter VI: 2. If a single woman emigrated in the 1920s, on the other hand, she was quite likely to marry fairly soon (as was true earlier as well, of course) and thus to be less likely to return. Men emigrants' chances of getting married in America were lower, since there were relatively few women among the emigrants and interethnic marriages were rare among Finnish immigrants.⁵⁰ This was true of Swedish immigrants, too; where a Swedish immigrant did marry a non-Swede, this was almost always someone from another Nordic country.⁵¹

Although more men returned than women, the imbalance among the emigrants remained, for the return migration altogether was on a small scale. A completely opposite situation prevailed for women emigrating from Ireland, who — according to SCHRIER — returned to Ireland precisely in order to find a husband. They had emigrated to America before they were twenty, to work hard in the succeeding years; and since they came from a country where the age at marriage was among the highest in the world, it would never have occurred to them to look for a husband during their first years as immigrants. In the United States, on the other hand, people usually got married in the 19th century before they were 20, so that by the time these Irish girls were ready to consider marriage, round about the age of 25, they no longer had much chance in their host country. This led them to return to Ireland and to hunt "desperately" for a husband, as SCHRIER describes it.⁵²

Since about two-thirds of the Finnish emigrants were men, and since it has been seen that the men were more likely to return than the women, it will be obvious that the return migration was heavily male-dominated (Table 31).

In all of the rural sample areas, at least 70 % of those permanently returning were men. Comparison of these figures with the data in Table 29 reveals that the return migration was more male-dominated than the emigration in all the sample areas. It is justified to conclude that 75—85 % of those permanently returning were men in the rural areas.⁵³

Women were more evident in the return migration to towns, than in the countryside, due firstly to the fact that a relatively higher proportion of the emigrants from towns than from country areas were women. Nevertheless, men made up 66 % of the

⁵⁰ WARIS 1936, 33; WAISANEN 1969, 204; WIDÉN 1975, 58. There were however exceptions to the rule stated in the text, e.g. Edit Arborelius from Jokioinen, for whom there is an entry in the Jokioinen parish register (1910—1919, double-page 631): "Married to a Japanese in America".

⁵¹ NORMAN 1976, 269—271 and the sources cited there.

⁵² SCHRIER 1958, 130—131.

⁵³ The number of emigrants recorded in the Finnish official Statistics as returning to Finland in 1894—1916 was 32 580, of whom 25 281 (77.6 %) were men, and 7 299 (22.4 %) were women. The sources for these figures are given in the note to Table 30.

Table 31. *Sex Composition of the Permanent Return Migration, by Sample Areas.*^a

Sample Area	Date of Return 1871—1892				Date of Return 1893—1914			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Lohtaja	64	85.3%	11	14.7%	157	71.7%	62	28.3%
Elimäki	—	—	—	—	34	87.2%	5	12.8%
Jokioinen	—	—	—	—	9	81.8%	2	18.2%
Leppävirta	—	—	—	—	12	75.0%	4	25.0%
Polvijärvi	—	—	—	—	25	96.2%	1	3.8%
Kristinestad	5	62.5%	3	37.5%	25	67.6%	12	32.4%
	Date of Return 1915—1969				TOTAL			
Lohtaja	115	84.6%	21	15.4%	336	78.1%	94	21.9%
Elimäki	20	87.0%	3	13.0%	58	85.3%	10	14.7%
Jokioinen	18	66.7%	9	33.3%	27	71.1%	11	28.9%
Leppävirta	5	55.6%	4	44.4%	28	77.8%	8	22.2%
Polvijärvi	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	33	86.8%	5	13.2%
Kristinestad	24	68.6%	11	31.4%	68	66.0%	35	34.0%

a: The date of return is unknown for 4 men and 2 women in Elimäki, 11 men in Leppävirta, 4 men and 2 women in Polvijärvi, and 14 men and 9 women in Kristinestad. These persons have however been included in the figures for the total return.

return migrants to Kristinestad on the basis of the findings obtained, which is further evidence of the male domination of the return migration both in the country as a whole and in different areas.

The ratio of men to women did not on the other hand remain constant in all the periods, as can be illustrated from the data for Lohtaja. The lowest proportion of men occurred in the period 1893—1914; the return migration prior and subsequent to this was extremely dominated by men. The scarcity of women in the return migration to Lohtaja from the 1920s on has already been remarked on in the examination of the cyclical fluctuations in migration for men and for women. The sex composition of the return migration was also distinctly more male-dominated in the 1880s than in the decade 1900—1910 in Sweden.⁵⁴

In the postwar period, the proportion of women in the return migration to all the rural areas except Lohtaja was higher than it had been previously. The main reason for this is the date of the beginnings and peaking of the emigration. Whereas emigration from Lohtaja was high even in the 1880s, in the other rural areas it did not become significant until after the turn of the century. Consequently these low-migration areas were in some ways in a position after the First World War comparable to that for the return migration in Lohtaja during the second long-term cycle. The emigration to Australia in the 1920s was also heavily dominated by men, and Lohtaja was the only one of the sample areas where this achieved significance, which

⁵⁴ TEDEBRAND 1972. 240.

naturally is therefore visible in the sex composition of the return migration in the final long-term cycle.⁵⁵

Despite the variations between different areas and different periods, the overall features of the sex composition of the Finnish return migration are clear: the proportion of men in relation to women was even higher among those returning than in the emigration. Since the emigration itself was very male-dominated (e.g. in comparison with Sweden), and since the male return rate to Finland was slightly higher than that to Sweden in comparison with that for women,⁵⁶ the Finnish return migration emerges as a really male-dominated phenomenon. The proportion of women was distinctly higher in the urban emigration and return, approximately at the same level as in the Swedish emigration and return migration overall.⁵⁷ Urban emigration in Finland was however so low in comparison with the rural movement, with the urban return even lower still, that it was almost entirely the rural emigration and return which determined the character of the movement for the country as a whole, i.e. the heavy domination of men in the return migration. The female emigrant was, to sum up, clearly more likely to settle and adjust — for reasons analyzed in this section — in the destination country than the male was.

3 MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY EMIGRATION

The information available about the marital status of the emigrants is in many ways defective, and also unreliable. At some times, the passport registers of some Provinces, especially in the early years of the emigration, did not record marital status at all. There also appears to be some degree of error in the marital status information recorded. For the return, on the other hand, the District Court Registrars only reported the returning emigrant's marital status at the point of return. These deficiencies can however be remedied with the aid of the Emigrants Index, and this then makes it possible to examine the differences in the return rate for emigrants with different marital status at emigration. The parish records are also of assistance in filling out the gaps in the information supplied by the Registrars about marital status. Consequently it becomes feasible to carry out an analysis of adequate reliability on the return migration from this point of view.

Since it has already been established that a large proportion of the emigrants consisted of the children of agriculturists and in general of young people, the findings in Table 32 about their marital status at the time of emigration are only natural. Both in the sample areas, and throughout Finland, the percentage of unmarried emigrants varied between 73.6 % and 88.1 %. The figures for Lohtaja, Jokioinen, Kristinestad

⁵⁵ The emigration to and return migration from Australia is discussed in Chapter VI: 2 below.

⁵⁶ On the return to Finland, see Table 30; on the return to Sweden, see for instance TEDEBRAND 1972, 247.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tables 29 and 31 (Kristinestad), and footnote 44 to this Chapter (Sweden).

and for Finland as a whole are approximately similar; married emigrants made up about one-quarter, whereas in the remaining sample areas the unmarried emigrants composed more than four-fifths of those emigrating.

The high proportions of unmarried emigrants from Leppävirta, Polvijärvi, and Elimäki are supported by the data from Munsala, where the unmarried emigrants accounted for 81.1 % of all those emigrating.⁵⁸ The corresponding figure for emigrants from Föglö was 82.9 %, and from Finström 75.4 %.⁵⁹ The figure for Parkano and Karvia was 77.0 %, ⁶⁰ and for Kuusamo 71.1 %.⁶¹

Unmarried persons (including children) thus comprised about three-quarters of all the emigrants, and in some areas an even higher proportion than that. Widows, widowers, and divorced persons only made up about 1—2 % of the emigrants, leaving the proportion of married persons as varying between around 10 and 25 % in different areas. Finland appears not to have differed much in this respect from one of the countries of the "old" migration, since the proportion of married persons among the emigrants from Ireland rarely exceeded 16 % in any year in the second half of the 19th century.⁶²

When the different periods in Table 32 are compared with each other, it can be seen that the proportion of married emigrants in relation to unmarried persons rose both in the sample areas (excepting Jokioinen) and in Finland as a whole in the period after 1915 in comparison with the preceding period, despite the fact that the 1918 Migration Committee Report includes an estimation that the emigration of unmarried persons was on the increase. The Report also however states that it was rarer after the First World War for an emigrant to leave his family at home,⁶³ and it was precisely the increase in emigration by entire families which altered the composition of the emigration in the 1920s. This period also, according to TOIVONEN, saw an increase in emigration by wives joining their husbands abroad.⁶⁴ In Lohtaja and Kristinestad, the number of married emigrants is seen to have been highest prior to 1893, and the number of married emigrants was also high in the early stages of the movement from Toholampi, comprising over 40 % of those emigrating in the 1870s and 1880s.⁶⁵

It is thus clear that the proportion of married emigrants was highest in the early stages, during the first wave of emigration. During the peak period of emigration,

⁵⁸ BACKMAN 1945, 9.

⁵⁹ BLOMFELT 1968, 81, 98. The percentages have been calculated from BLOMFELT's absolute figures: there were 1534 emigrants from Finström, of whom 1157 were unmarried, and 1066 emigrants from Föglö, of whom 884 were unmarried.

⁶⁰ KERO 1972, 23. The calculation covers the period 1900—1914, when 2110 persons emigrated, of whom 1625 were unmarried. The unknown cases are excluded.

⁶¹ PÄTYNEN 1972, 56. Up to 1914 there were 1890 emigrants, of whom 1343 were unmarried. The unknown cases are excluded.

⁶² SCHRIER 1958, 4.

⁶³ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 12, 15.

⁶⁴ TOIVONEN 1963, 50.

⁶⁵ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 44.

Table 32. *Marital Status of Finnish Emigrants at Different Periods.^a*

Marital Status	1867—1892		1893—1914		Lohtaja		1915—1930		1893—1914		Elimäki		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%		%		
Married	163	34.5%	196	21.4%	77	26.2%	436	25.9%	27	11.1%	6	15.8%	33	11.7%
Unmarried	309	65.5%	715	78.0%	215	73.1%	1239	73.6%	216	88.9%	31	81.6%	247	87.9%
Widowed	—	—	6	0.7%	2	0.7%	8	0.5%	—	—	1	2.6%	1	0.4%
TOTAL	472	100.0%	917	100.0%	294	100.0%	1683	100.0%	243	100.0%	38	100.0%	281	100.0%
Marital Status Unknown	408		36		7		451		68		30		99	
Jokioinen														
Married	—	—	25	23.8%	16	21.1%	41	22.7%	25	13.0%	17	25.0%	42	16.0%
Unmarried	—	—	78	74.3%	57	75.0%	135	74.6%	167	86.5%	50	73.5%	219	83.3%
Widowed	—	—	2	1.9%	3	3.9%	5	2.8%	1	0.5%	1	1.5%	2	0.8%
TOTAL	—	—	105	100.0%	76	100.0%	181	100.0%	193	100.0%	68	100.0%	263	100.0%
Marital Status Unknown	—	—	4		2		6		57		10		70	
Leppävirta														

^a. The official Statistics only contain information about marital status from 1900 on, as the figures here for all Finland indicate (see SVT XXVIII: 1, 24; SVT XXVIII: 12, Table 8 a; SVT XXVIII: 15, Table 8 a; SVT XXVIII: 16, Table 8; SVT XXVIII: 21, 16). For the sample areas, the emigrants of unknown marital status have been excluded from the percentage calculations due to their numerosness. Data for the period prior to 1893 are only available for the sample areas Lohtaja and Kristinesiad; one emigrant set out from Elimäki in that period (marital status unknown), and five from Leppävirta (two unmarried, three with marital status unknown); these cases are included in the totals in the Table. Emigrants from the sample areas have been classified with reference to their first emigration. Widowed and divorced emigrants are in the same category in the official Statistics; no divorcees were found among the emigrants from the sample areas. Children are in the "Unmarried" category.

Marital Status	Polvijärvi		Kristinestad				Total
	1893—1914	1915—1930	1862—1892	1893—1914	1915—1930	Total	
Married	10	15	55	118	30	25	11.0%
Unmarried	140	60	140	534	86	200	88.1%
Widowed	2	—	5	15	5	2	0.9%
TOTAL	152	75	200	667	121	227	100.0%
Marital Status Unknown	15	—	30	19	13	15	—
Finland							
	1900—1914	1915—1930	Total				
Married	51629	22021	28.1%	73650	25.1%		
Unmarried	161054	54575	69.7%	215629	73.6%		
Widowed or Divorced	2146	1655	2.1%	3801	1.3%		
TOTAL	214829	78251	100.0%	293080	100.0%		
Marital Status Unknown	1027	1027		2054			

1893—1914, it then fell considerably, but rose again following the First World War, even if failing to reach the level of the first wave. Table 32 does not reveal any differences in terms of marital status between the rural and urban emigration either as a whole or at different periods.

The significance of family relationships has been investigated by KERO in his doctoral dissertation from a slightly different point of view from that adopted in Table 32. First, he points out that family emigration composed around one-third of the total emigration (on a sample consisting of all emigrants in 1905), counting for this purpose all married persons and all children whether emigrating in the company of their parents or joining them subsequently.⁶⁶ Not all of these can however be considered as family emigration, since many married men emigrated for a few years and then returned, without their families ever having been overseas. Comparisons of the rate of family and of individual emigration are in fact largely a question of terminology.⁶⁷ That is why KERO has to offer various statistics: e.g. simultaneous emigration by entire families comprised only 3.3 % of the emigration in 1905; the corresponding figures for 1873 and 1882 were 12.3 % and 12.6 %. Family emigration was higher during the early years of the emigration than for instance in the first decade of this century.⁶⁸ This trend can also be derived from Table 32, where the variable being measured is marital status. KERO's investigation finishes at the First World War, but all the evidence assembled indicates that family emigration rose again in the 1920s, since the proportion of married emigrants increased.

Not only do the investigations of the composition of the emigration in terms of marital status and of family vs individual emigration support each other when checked at different points in time, they also offer similar findings on variations in this composition between different parts of the country. Thus the proportion of family emigration and of married emigrants was above average in Oulu and Viipuri Provinces, whereas in Turku and Pori, Häme, Kuopio, and Mikkeli Provinces individual emigration took on greater importance.⁶⁹ In the central regions of the Finnish emigration, in Vaasa Province, the proportion of married emigrants and of family emigration was approximately the same as the mean level for Finland.

The majority of the married emigrants were men, whose intention was to improve their family's finances as quickly as possible by a few years as an emigrant. Alternatively, these emigrants might decide to remain abroad, in which case they were usually joined by their wives and children.

Table 33 confirms that more persons married at the time of emigration returned permanently to Finland than unmarried. For most of the sample areas in the Table

⁶⁶ KERO 1974, 122.

⁶⁷ In studying the spread of the emigration and the flow of information concerning it, etc., WESTER uses "migratory units", consisting of an entire family emigrating for the first time (WESTER 1977, 189). This technique fits WESTER's approach well, but is inappropriate for the investigation of different aspects of the demographic structure of the return.

⁶⁸ KERO 1974, 122—123 footnote 12.

⁶⁹ KERO 1974, 125—126, 210; cf. Table 32 above.

Table 33. *Return Migration Rate by Marital Status in the Sample Areas.^a*

Marital Status	Lohtaja			Elimäki			Jokioinen			
	Emi-grating	Returning Permanently	Returning Temporarily	Emi-grating	Returning Permanently	Returning Temporarily	Emi-grating	Returning Permanently	Returning Temporarily	
Married	436	120 27.5%	68 15.6%	33	8 24.2%	5 15.2%	41	11 26.8%	5 12.2%	
Unmarried	1239	234 18.9%	171 13.8%	247	42 17.0%	41 16.6%	135	26 19.3%	9 6.7%	
Widowed	8	1 12.5%	1 12.5%	1	—	—	5	1 20.0%	—	
Unknown	451	75 16.6%	77 17.1%	99	18 18.2%	15 15.2%	6	—	—	
TOTAL	2134	430 20.1%	317 14.9%	380	68 17.9%	61 16.1%	187	38 20.3%	14 7.5%	
		Leppävirta			Polvijärvi			Kristinestad		
Married	42	4 9.5%	—	25	2 8.0%	1 4.0%	203	24 11.8%	28 13.8%	
Unmarried	219	29 13.2%	28 12.8%	200	34 17.0%	20 10.0%	760	68 8.9%	82 10.8%	
Widowed	2	—	1 50.0%	2	2 100.0%	—	25	1 4.0%	—	
Unknown	70	3 4.3%	9 12.9%	15	—	—	62	10 16.1%	3 4.8%	
TOTAL	333	36 10.8%	38 11.4%	242	38 15.7%	21 8.7%	1050	103 9.8%	113 10.8%	
		Karvia+Parkano			Kuusamo					
Married	480	161 33.5%	—	525	54 10.3%	—				
Unmarried	1625	367 22.6%	—	1343	150 11.2%	—				
Widowed	5	—	—	21	1 4.8%	—				
Unknown	157	50 31.8%	—	45	4 8.9%	—				
TOTAL	2267	578 25.5%	—	1934	209 10.8%	—				

a: The figures for Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Leppävirta, Polvijärvi, and Kristinestad show return by all persons emigrating up to 1930. The figures for Karvia and Parkano refer to the period 1900—1914 (see KERO 1972, 23), and those for Kuusamo the period prior to 1914 (see PÄTYNEN 1972, 115). There was one divorced emigrant from Kuusamo who did not return. In the Table he is in the "Unknown" category, since no such cases are traceable in other areas.

(Lohtaja, Elimäki, Jokioinen, Kristinestad, Parkano and Karvia), the permanent return rate for married emigrants was distinctly higher than that for unmarried emigrants, and only in Leppävirta, Polvijärvi and Kuusamo was this reversed. The reasons for the exceptional situation in the Kuopio Province areas lie in the overall structural differences between the emigration there and in the high emigration areas, of which the most important is the different socio-economic structure in the Kuopio Province areas. Relatively, the majority of Finnish emigrants married at the time of emigration who returned were farmers and crofters who had gone abroad for a short time to earn money. The rural population of Kuopio Province was however dominated by landless persons; consequently the majority of married emigrants from this region were landless, and thus had less motive for returning to Finland than farmers or crofters, whereas the married cottager or lodger emigrants later asked their families to join them in America, unless, that is, they had emigrated as a family in the first place. In Kuusamo, it would appear that the high rate of family emigration led to a relatively lower rate of return by married than by unmarried emigrants: Oulu Province was a region with a high family emigration rate. PÄTYNEN's interpretation, however — that unmarried people could reach the decision to return more easily than married people⁷⁰ —, cannot be supported, since this point depends crucially on whether the married emigrants had their families with them in America or at home in Finland.

In the high emigration region, as also in southern Finland (Elimäki and Jokioinen), the permanent return rate for married emigrants was, for similar reasons, relatively higher than that for unmarried emigrants. A house and family in Finland exerted greater attraction than settling down permanently in the new surroundings, at least when compared with Kuopio Province and its high proportion of non-self-supporting population.

In his study of Swedish emigrants, TEDEBRAND came to the conclusion that in the period 1875—1913 the return rate for married emigrants in the Sundsvall region was relatively lower than that for unmarried ones,⁷¹ a finding that strikingly differs from those in Table 33. The only explanation is the high rate of family emigration in the Sundsvall region, to be described below. For Finland, however, Table 33 shows that in those areas where emigration was of demographic importance, married emigrants were relatively speaking distinctly more likely to return than those unmarried at emigration. This is thus also true for the country as a whole, despite the fact that in Oulu and Kuopio Provinces the unmarried emigrants appear to have returned relatively more often than the married ones.

The permanent return rates for urban married and unmarried emigrants, even in the high emigration region, have been more even than in the surrounding countryside, although the same trend is also visible in Kristinestad: the unmarried emi-

⁷⁰ PÄTYNEN 1972, 116.

⁷¹ TEDEBRAND 1972, 244—245.

grants returned less often. The main reason for this evenness is that family emigration played a larger part in the town than in the country.⁷²

The number of widows and widowers in the emigration was so small that there is no need to examine their return very thoroughly. There were altogether 69 such emigrants in Table 33, and of these six (8.7 %) permanently returned. In the sample areas of the present investigation there were 43 widows and widowers; 19 of them were more than 50 years old at emigration, and only two returned permanently. The main reason for this is the fact that 11 persons out of the 19 had children who had emigrated previously; others may have had relatives abroad. In general the return rate of widowed emigrants was low, and at least the fairly elderly persons went to spend their old age with their children or relatives, for example; thus they were less interested in high earnings and were less likely to return.

When we turn to the second part of Table 33, dealing with the temporary return, it emerges that in three areas (Lohtaja, Jokioinen, and Kristinestad) the married emigrants also returned temporarily more often than the unmarried ones; but in three other areas (Elimäki, Leppävirta, and Polvijärvi) the situation was the opposite. The return rates in Lohtaja and Kristinestad were, furthermore, very similar for the different marital-status groups. Whereas permanent return was in general more common among married than unmarried emigrants, therefore, the temporary return rates for those with different marital status were relatively even, though there are variations between different parts of the country. In Kuopio Province, both the temporary and the permanent return migration were largely movements of unmarried persons, whereas in Ostrobothnia the married emigrants were dominant, relatively speaking, especially in the permanent return.

As was mentioned earlier, whether the variable under investigation is the emigrants' marital status or the family emigration rate, approximately similar findings are obtained for the structure of the emigration. This situation is reversed in the case of the return migration, however, and to such a degree that the two questions need to be kept quite separate from each other. Whereas married emigrants were in general more likely to return than unmarried ones, return migration by families was rare. The married return migrants had usually, in other words, emigrated alone, and after a few years they then returned to their families. The low return rate for Jewish migrants has also, for example, been linked with the high proportion of family emigration.⁷³

A comparison of the proportion of children under the age of 15 in the emigration and in the return migration confirms the low rate of family return migration in the Finnish overseas movement. In Lohtaja, Elimäki, Leppävirta, Polvijärvi, and Kristinestad, the proportion of emigrants aged under 15 was 5.7—11.9 %, whereas their proportion in the return migration was only 0.0—4.4 %. These figures clearly indicate the rarity of return migration by families. The only modification to this

⁷² See KERO 1974, 127.

⁷³ JOSEPH 1914, 133.

generalization among the sample areas is found in Jokioinen, where emigrants under 15 made up 12.8 % of the emigration and 10.5 % of the return migration; the trend is however the same.⁷⁴ Despite this divergence, however, the overall pattern is very clear. The same finding applies in Sweden, for whereas emigrants aged under 15 made up 29 % of the emigration from the Sundsvall region, they only comprised 12 % of the return.⁷⁵ This point also demonstrates the relatively high rate of family emigration in that region in comparison with Finland, and this in turn explains the divergence from the Finnish findings concerning the return rates for different marital-status groups.

In Lohtaja, there were altogether 55 returns when a family or a part of family came back together at the same time (12.8 % of the total permanent return); in Elimäki, 11 returns (16.2 %); in Jokioinen, seven returns (18.4 %); and in Kristinestad, six returns (5.8 %).⁷⁶ In Polvijärvi and Leppävirta there were no such cases to be found in the major sources. On the basis of these figures, the share of family migration in the return was in general around 15 % or less, in most parts of the country. However, it must be remembered that the whole question is a matter of definition to a large extent. For example, these figures include persons who got married overseas and returned as a "family" with no children; there are also cases when only the parents returned while children remained abroad; in some cases the spouse died, and the widow returned with children. Thus these figures include "partial families". In sum, the proportion made up by family return was very small, which can be seen on the basis of these figures and also of the comparison between the proportion of children in the emigration and in the return migration.

When it is also noted that some of the returning emigrants had got married while abroad, it becomes clear that the marital structure of the return migration was completely different from that of the emigration. The following figures give the marital status of migrants at the point of permanent return, with the figures for Finland as a whole for the period 1894—1916 for comparison:⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Cf. Tables 26 and 27 in Chapter V: 1. The absolute numbers for Jokioinen are very low, which may partly explain the difference from other areas.

⁷⁵ TEDEBRAND 1972, 244.

⁷⁶ The percentages have been calculated from the total numbers of those permanently returning: Lohtaja 430, Elimäki 68, Jokioinen 38, and Kristinestad 103. The children born overseas have been excluded. The following returns, occurring together, have been counted as a "family": husband + wife + child, father + child, mother + child, and husband + wife.

⁷⁷ The percentages have been calculated from the total numbers of returning emigrants: Lohtaja 265, Elimäki 42, Jokioinen 37, Leppävirta 21, Polvijärvi 31, Kristinestad 70, and Finland as a whole 32 231. The numbers of cases where marital status is unknown are as follows: Lohtaja 165, Elimäki 26, Jokioinen 1, Leppävirta 15, Polvijärvi 7, Kristinestad 33, and Finland altogether 349. For the Finland figures, see STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1898, Table 121; STV 1899—1900, Table 116; STV 1901, Table 119; STV 1902, Tables 119 and 120 b; STV 1903—1904 and 1906—1908, Table 45 B; STV 1905, Table 46 B; STV 1909 and 1911, Table 47 B; STV 1910 and 1912, Table 50 B; STV 1913, Table 57 B; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 B; STV 1916, Table 64 B; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 B.

Lohtaja, married at return	142	(53.6% of the return migrants)	
Elimäki, "	11	(26.2%	")
Jokioinen, "	9	(24.3%	")
Leppävirta, "	5	(23.8%	")
Polvijärvi, "	9	(29.0%	")
Kristinestad, "	17	(24.3%	")
Finland, "	14 643	(45.4%	")
Lohtaja, unmarried at return	118	(44.5%	")
Elimäki, "	29	(69.0%	")
Jokioinen, "	26	(70.3%	")
Leppävirta, "	15	(71.4%	")
Polvijärvi, "	20	(64.5%	")
Kristinestad, "	49	(70.0%	")
Finland, "	17 017	(52.8%	")
Lohtaja, widowed or divorced at return	5	(1.9%	")
Elimäki, "	2	(4.8%	")
Jokioinen, "	2	(5.4%	")
Leppävirta, "	1	(4.8%	")
Polvijärvi, "	2	(6.5%	")
Kristinestad, "	4	(5.7%	")
Finland, "	571	(1.8%	")

If we compare these figures with Table 32, we see that the marital structure of the return had changed considerably from that of the emigration: there are considerably more married persons, relatively speaking, among the return migrants than among the emigrants. This is of course a natural consequence of the fact that a higher proportion of those married at the point of emigration returned, and of the many marriages abroad whose partners would therefore be married at the point of return. The latter feature has been investigated by BACKMAN for Munsala, and on the basis of his information it was calculated that 47.1 % of the emigrants from Munsala who were unmarried at emigration got married abroad. Only 12.6 % of these actually returned to Finland,⁷⁸ which suggests that marriage abroad, like family emigration, tended to reduce the interest in return. The overall return percentage in Munsala was 31.1 % in Table 10 (p. 62). Even this 12.6 % group, however, automatically raise the proportion of return migrants married at return. Consequently, even in the areas where the return rate for those unmarried at emigration was relatively higher than

⁷⁸ There were 1648 unmarried overseas emigrants from Munsala. Of these, 776 got married abroad, and of these, 98 later returned (BACKMAN 1945. 9. 28. 31).

that for the emigrants already married at emigration, the proportion of married persons at the point of return was higher than at the point of emigration.

In Lohtaja, and in Finland as a whole, approximately half of the returning emigrants were married when they came back; in the other sample areas, the proportion of married return migrants was about one-quarter. The geographical variations can mainly be attributed to the socio-economic composition of the emigration, and to the proportions of married and unmarried persons at emigration. To sum up, while about three-quarters of the emigrants were unmarried at the time of emigration, only 45—70 % of the return were so (depending on the area). The proportion of return migrants married at return has been about half of the total in the high emigration region. In the low emigration areas, the figure was distinctly lower, around one-quarter of those returning. The urban return migration, although this (Kristinestad) was a region of high emigration, appears to have resembled that for the low emigration areas, i.e. around one-quarter of those returning were married. The high emigration regions naturally dominate the pattern of marital composition in the Finnish return as a whole; thus nearly half of the emigrants returning to Finland were married at return.

TEDEBRAND reports that 40 % of the women returning to the Sundsvall region, and 44 % of the men, were married when they returned.⁷⁹ This diverges, however, from the overall pattern for Sweden, since over the period 1861—1910 17.7 % of the emigrants were married, while for the period 1875—1910 27.7 % of those returning were married.⁸⁰ These figures, which are derived from the official Swedish statistics, are completely at variance with TEDEBRAND's finding reported earlier (p. 140), that there were fewer married persons in the return migration than in the emigration in the Sundsvall region.⁸¹ Comparison of the Swedish and Finnish data also shows that relatively there were fewer married persons in the emigration from Sweden than there were in Finland; but there is a larger difference in the return, since less than 30 % of those returning to Sweden were married while in Finland they made up almost 50 %. The married emigrants from Sweden may have included more actual couples (and families) than in Finland, whose return rate was lower than that of married emigrants travelling on their own.

⁷⁹ TEDEBRAND 1972, 244.

⁸⁰ In 1861—1910, 164 867 married persons emigrated from Sweden (17.7 %), and 769 091 (82.3 %) unmarried persons. In 1875—1910, 31 435 (27.7 %) married persons returned, and 82 189 unmarried persons (72.3 %) (JANSON 1931, Appendices Table III).

⁸¹ In his article on the return migration published in 1976, TEDEBRAND does not make any further comments on the marital structure in Sundsvall, but merely deals with this feature with reference to Sweden as a whole, and the ratio between different marital-status groups in this case corresponds to those stated by JANSON (see TEDEBRAND 1976, 223—224). TEDEBRAND appears to have had terminological difficulties in his doctoral dissertation (1972), since on the one hand he refers to the relative infrequency of married persons in the return compared with the emigration, but in the summary then uses the term "married couple" (TEDEBRAND 1972, 244—245, 315). The latter term would really refer to family emigration, the return rate for which has also been found to have been low in Finland.

VI The Significance for the Return Migration of the Host Area

I THE REGIONS OF NORTH AMERICA

In the model put forward by LEE, one of the factors affecting migration was identified as the receiving area, while another factor, intervening obstacles, was also identified as particularly occurring in the receiving area.¹ Particularly in the return migration, the conditions in the receiving area have a considerable impact on the migrant's decision to settle or to return. It is these factors, approached in general terms, which are the topic of this Chapter; strictly individual — micro-level — motives will be discussed separately, in Chapter VII.

The main flow of the Finnish overseas emigration was directed to the continent of North America, i.e. to the United States and Canada. It was not until the 1920s that other countries and continents began to attract more attention from emigrants. According to the official Emigration Statistics, 99.7 % of the Finnish emigrants between 1900 and 1923 went to America,² though there is no breakdown for this period in the official Statistics between North and South America. Statistics in the countries of destination, however, indicate that during this period a total of 216 850 Finnish immigrants arrived in the United States, and 29 928 in Canada.³ In the period before the First World War, 1883—1914, the shipping lines' passenger lists record only 763 Finnish travellers to South Africa, and 299 to Australia or New Zealand, as against a total number of pre-1914 emigrants of over 300 000.⁴ Since it is also known that the number of Finnish immigrants into Brazil in 1916—1924 amounted to no more than a few dozen,⁵ a clear picture emerges of the direction of the overseas emigration. Olavi LÄHTEENMÄKI has found that the Finnish emigration to South America overall was virtually nonexistent prior to 1906, and

¹ LEE 1966, 49—50; cf. p. 18—21 in the present study.

² SVT XXVIII: 2, 22; SVT XXVIII: 18, 23. The number of emigrants departing in 1900—1923 was 259 682, of whom 259 023 went to America.

³ International Migrations I 1929, 364—365, 367, 452.

⁴ KERO 1974, Appendices A and F.

⁵ International Migrations I 1929, 552.

that even thereafter it remained very low; roughly 1000 Finns had emigrated there by 1930.⁶

From 1924 onwards, the Finnish Emigration Statistics give a more precise record of the destinations of emigrants, and these show that by 1930 Canada had taken over the leading position, since the adoption of the quota system in the United States drove the majority of would-be immigrants elsewhere. The United States remained nonetheless the next most important destination for the emigrants, 9.1 % of whom moved there during the period 1924—1930, when the equivalent figure for Canada was 79.2 %. Outside Europe, the next most important country was Australia, with 3 %, followed by South and Central America (1.6 %). There were even fewer emigrants travelling to Asia or Africa (0.3 %). European countries, mainly Sweden and the Soviet Union, absorbed altogether 6.8 % of the Finnish emigrants in this period,⁷ but this migration pattern did not begin to take on real significance until the following decade, following the introduction of immigration restrictions in Canada.

The United States and Canada, therefore, constituted the most important destination for Finnish overseas emigrants during the period under investigation. Of the figures given above and in Appendix 1, it is justified to estimate that of about 380 000 Finnish overseas emigrants before 1930 approximately 315 000 went to the United States, 60 000 to Canada, and 4 000 to other continents. The relative return migration rate from North America was around one-fifth, as was established in Chapter II without distinguishing between the different countries of destination; and the analysis of the various features of the return rate, and the composition of the return migration, also mainly refer to the North American migration. It is, however, important to recognize that the return migration from different continents was not the same, despite the limited significance of the return from continents other than North America. The return migration from elsewhere will therefore be discussed separately in its entirety in the second section of this Chapter.

Since almost all of the Finnish emigrants headed for North America, it will now be examined which factors affected the volume of return from different parts of the continent. This will also make it possible to test ÅKERMAN's hypothesis that the return migration rate falls with increasing distance.⁸

This entire question cannot be approached directly, since there is no "direct" method or source available on how the return migrants had settled in different parts of North America. The impact of host areas on the return can be studied, therefore, by first establishing the orientation of the emigration from a particular area in Finland, by then establishing the employment opportunities available in the host

⁶ LÄHTEENMÄKI 1975, 111; Interview with Olavi LÄHTEENMÄKI, 1979 (author's notes). The continents other than North America will be discussed in section 2 of this Chapter.

⁷ SVT XXVIII: 21, 13. The absolute numbers of emigrants during 1924—1930 were as follows: Canada 28 090, United States 3212, Australia and New Zealand 1 066, South America 494, Central America 71, Africa 62, Asia 40, Sweden 1 103, Soviet Union 536, the rest of Europe 772, destination unknown 6; total, 35 452.

⁸ ÅKERMAN 1976, 21.

Table 34. Numerically: Most Important Areas of Settlement by Finnish Immigrants in North America, 1900-1930.^a

State or Province	1st Generation Finns 1900	1920	1st & 2nd Generation Finns 1910	1930
UNITED STATES				
Michigan	18 910	30 096	55 548	74 229
Minnesota	10 727	29 108	44 463	60 610
New York	4 048	12 504	11 505	27 247
Massachusetts	5 104	14 570	16 170	26 889
Washington	2 732	11 863	13 257	22 048
California	2 763	7 053	8 992	16 426
Wisconsin	2 198	6 757	9 696	14 596
Ohio	2 814	6 406	7 301	12 809
Oregon	2 131	6 050	7 711	12 026
Illinois	859	3 080	3 182	9 623
Montana	2 103	3 577	6 623	6 051
New Jersey	367	2 109	2 258	4 954
Pennsylvania	988	2 818	3 688	4 549
North Dakota	651	1 108	2 610	3 331
South Dakota	1 175	1 085	3 075	3 100
New Hampshire	321	1 558	1 834	3 011
Connecticut	442	1 226	1 231	2 974
Maine	179	1 393	1 214	2 913
Idaho	292	989	954	1 898
Wyoming	1 220	856	2 154	1 417
Colorado	844	879	1 857	1 252
Utah	734	779	1 535	1 130
Vermont	53	476	467	1 076
CANADA				
Ontario	..	..	8 619	27 137
British Columbia	..	..	2 858	6 558
Alberta	..	..	1 588	3 318
Quebec	..	..	218	2 973
Saskatchewan	..	..	1 008	2 313
Manitoba	..	..	1 080	1 013

a: For the United States, see US Census of Population 1900—1930; for Canada, see RAIVIO 1975, 119, 138. RAIVIO cites and refers to the Canadian census statistics. They do not include separate information on those born in Finland. "1st Generation" means persons born in Finland, and "2nd Generation" their children.

country, and finally by establishing the return migrants' last place of residence and employment before their return home, insofar as the source material permits this.

The starting point for the study of the impact of the host area on the process of return is the number of Finnish immigrants in the various regions of North America at different times. Table 34 presents data on the number of Finns in different States and Provinces in 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930. It only covers those States and Prov-

inces in which the total number of 1st and 2nd generation Finns in 1930 was at least 1000.

In the United States, the Finnish immigrants were strikingly concentrated in the north of the country, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast (see also Map 5). Their settlement is concentrated more to the north than that of for example Swedish immigrants, which is due to the later date at which the Finnish migration began.⁹ The better farmland lay to the south of the Finnish areas, and had already been settled and brought under cultivation.

There were only a very few Finnish immigrants in the southern States by the end of the major emigration movement. Florida had already become the most important area of Finnish settlement, with a total of over 600 1st and 2nd generation Finns.¹⁰ It was not until after the Second World War, and especially in the 1950s and 1960s, that the Finnish population in Florida began to increase rapidly, mainly due to a flow of retired people from the north: over half of them were at least 60 years old on arrival, and the major State they came from was Michigan. In the 1970 Census, there were 6665 Finns in Florida.¹¹

During the great emigration period, the most important Finnish areas were Michigan and Minnesota. In the upper Michigan peninsula, Finnish settlement was so dense that research has shown the English spoken in the area to have been affected by Finnish.¹² In the eastern States, the major Finnish settlements were in New York and Massachusetts. The western States on the Pacific coast, California, Oregon, and Washington, also attracted quite a number of Finnish immigrants. Immigration to Canada, especially to Ontario, was so high in the 1920s that by 1930 there were almost as many Finns there as in New York, which was the third biggest Finnish State in the US.

In the United States, the pattern of Finnish settlement had on the whole been established by the beginning of the 20th century; Michigan and Minnesota stand out as the major Finnish States in each decade shown in Table 34. Certain changes did occur, however: the most striking feature is that the number of Finns in the mountain States — Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah — began to decline in the second and third decades of the century whereas in all other States of the US the sum of 1st and 2nd generation Finns increased from 1910 to 1930. The numbers of 1st-generation Finns reached their maximum in the 1920 Census in the United States, but the numbers of persons reckoned as Finnish did not begin to decline until the Census of 1940.¹³ The areas of Finnish settlement certainly shifted somewhat in the

⁹ See NORMAN 1976, 244—247.

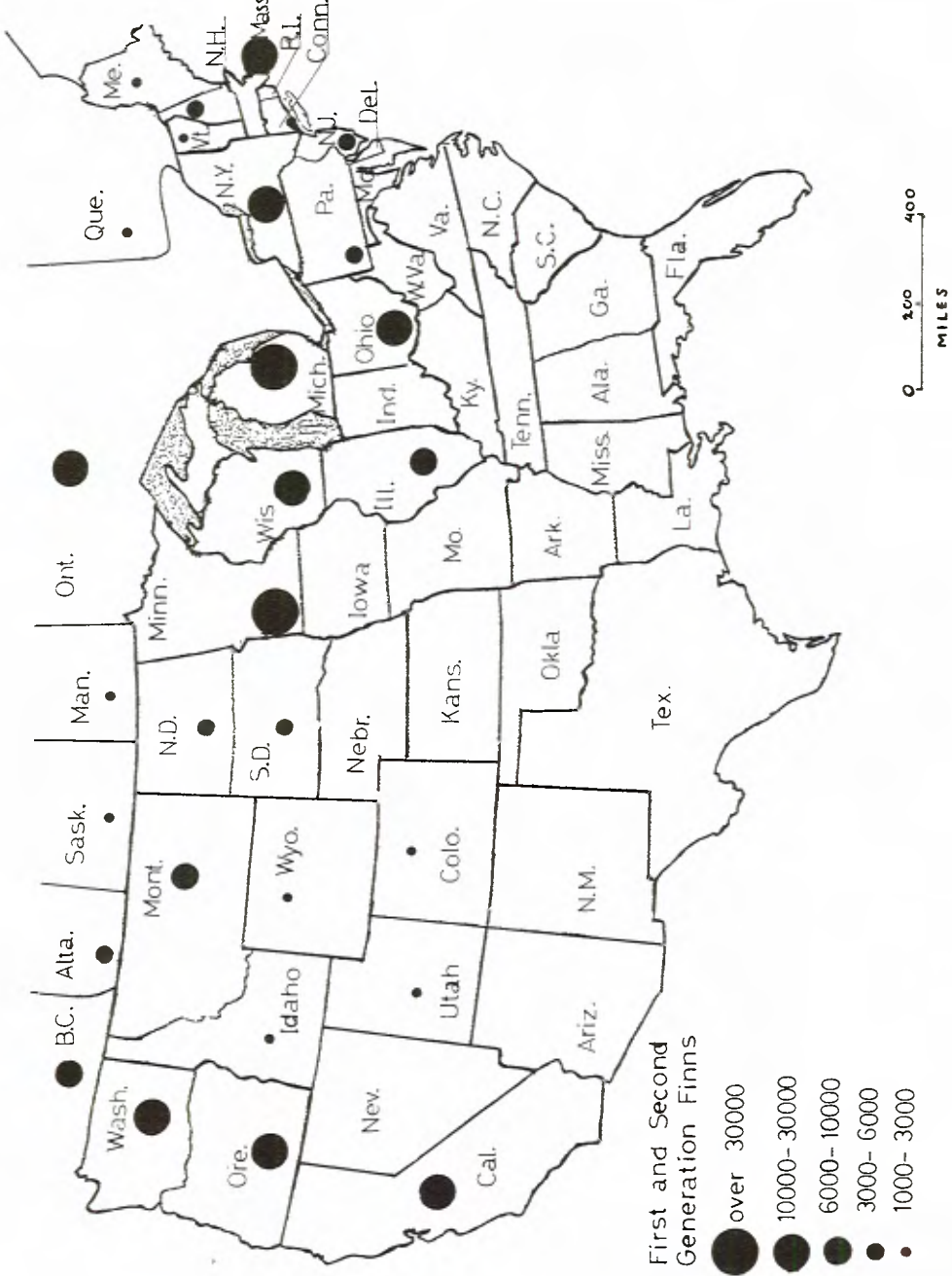
¹⁰ US Census of Population 1930. The first Finnish arrivals in Florida were probably seamen, who deserted ship in Pensacola harbour in considerable numbers in the later 19th century (HAUTALA 1967, 108—109).

¹¹ On the movement of Finns to Florida, see more particularly VIRTANEN 1976b, *passim*.

¹² *Detroit Free Press*, 19 Jan. 1975; *Ann Arbor News*, 9 March 1975. These investigations were carried out at Northern Michigan University, Marquette.

¹³ US Census of Population 1910—1970: cf. WASASTJERNA 1957, 57; *Raivaaja*, 3 Dec. 1974.

Map 5. Main Areas of Finnish Settlement in the United States and Canada, 1930.^a



^a: US Census of Population 1930; RAIVIO 1975, 138 (RAIVIO's figures are based on the Canadian Census of 1931).

course of time, largely due to the occupations followed by the immigrants, which will be discussed below; the decline in Finnish settlement in the mountain States was in fact a consequence of the closing down of the mines where the Finnish immigrants generally worked, as the mines became exhausted.

As settlement became established, towards the end of the century, the Finns immediately began to set up various organizations in order to maintain their ethnic identity. These, naturally, increased the pleasantness of their new surroundings.

The greatest number of organizations emerged in the largest Finnish areas of settlement, and they have in part survived to the present day, as is illustrated by the following figures for parishes in the Suomi Conference (formerly the Suomi Synod) in different States in 1960:¹⁴

Michigan	54	Illinois	3
Minnesota	34	Pennsylvania	3
Massachusetts	10	North Dakota	3
Ohio	8	South Dakota	2
California	6	Florida	2
Wisconsin	6	Connecticut	2
New York	4	Wyoming	1
Oregon	4	West Virginia	1
Washington	4	Mississippi	1
Maine	4		
		TOTAL	152

These figures show that in 1960 the parishes of the major Finnish church were still distributed in approximately the same areas as the main Finnish settlements at the beginning of the century. Similar examples could be multiplied from other Finnish organizations, but one example will suffice here to illustrate the force of various background factors affecting the return migration. Many organizations, moreover, were concentrated in particular areas, and did not cover the areas of Finnish settlement as well as the parishes cited above. It must also be noted that there were a number of different Finnish churches; in the eastern USA, for example, the Congregational parishes were as important as the Suomi Synod, whereas there were relatively few Congregational parishes in the Mid-West (as is indirectly reflected in the figures above).

The places of settlement of the emigrants from the sample areas in the present investigation have been collated in Appendix 5. The major area of settlement for emigrants from Lohtaja, as for Finnish emigrants in general, was the Mid-West States, especially Minnesota and Michigan. Compared with the Finnish immigration in general, there were fewer than average Lohtaja immigrants in the eastern States. Some pull was exercised by the big cities of New York and Boston. Lohtaja immi-

¹⁴ Reports of the Activities of the Suomi Conference Congregations in the United States and Canada in 1960.

grants moved, on the other hand, like other central Ostrobothnians in general, to the western USA,¹⁵ where the most important area was the State of Washington on the West Coast. In Canada, almost the only settlement by immigrants from Lohtaja was in the major Finnish Provinces, Ontario and British Columbia.

Immigrants from Lohtaja thus spread over the various parts of North America in broadly speaking the same pattern as Finnish immigrants in general, with about half of them in the Mid-West, about a quarter in the West, approximately 15 % in the East and about 10 % in Canada. These figures for Lohtaja immigrants match the areas of general Finnish immigration settlement fairly closely, with the largest difference being the above-average settlement of Lohtaja immigrants in the West. The same overall pattern emerges when the basis of comparison is settlement in different States,¹⁶ or smaller localities.¹⁷

Despite the smaller absolute figures for areas of destination in Appendix 5 for the other sample areas, it is justified to generalize that immigrants from Elimäki were more attracted to the East than to the other parts (this also seems to have applied to immigrants from other parts of eastern Uusimaa Province and from Kymi¹⁸); the major centres of settlement by Elimäki immigrants were the city of New York, and in particular Gardner, Mass.¹⁹ In the Mid-West, the noticeable feature is the relative absence of settlement by Elimäki immigrants in Michigan. The most important States in that region were Minnesota and Wisconsin. There were virtually no settlers from Elimäki in the western USA, but relatively many in Canada, especially in Ontario.

The pattern of settlement from Jokioinen is largely similar to that from Elimäki, with almost half of immigrants settling in the East, especially Massachusetts, where the main centre was Fitchburg; similarly there were relatively many settlers from Jokioinen, like Elimäki, in Ontario, Canada, while settlement in the western USA was low.

According to KERO's calculations, half the immigrants from Kuopio Province settled in the States of the Mid-West,²⁰ and a similar pattern emerges from Appendix 5 for immigrants from Leppävirta, with the major State being Minnesota, which absorbed something like a third of all Leppävirta immigrants. Leppävirta immigrants settled in the West rather more than in the East, and also in Canada to a significant extent.

The Mid-West, especially Minnesota, was also the most important region of settlement for immigrants from Polvijärvi, with significant settlement also occurring in the eastern USA and Canada, but not the western USA. In general the immigration

¹⁵ Cf. ILMONEN II 1923, 237; ILMONEN III 1926, 11.

¹⁶ Cf. KERO 1970, 140: Table 34 above; Appendix 5 below.

¹⁷ Cf. ILMONEN III 1926, *passim*; Appendix 5 below.

¹⁸ Cf. KERO 1970, 140.

¹⁹ Interview with Pauline Mäki, 1971 (author's notes); see also Appendix 5.

²⁰ KERO 1970, 140.

from Polvijärvi followed the same pattern as for Kuopio Province overall, though not as distinctly as that from Leppävirta.

Taking North America as a whole, immigrants from Kristinestad have particularly favoured the States and Provinces of the Pacific coast, especially California in the US and British Columbia in Canada. There were also fairly many immigrants from Kristinestad in the Mid-West — Michigan, Minnesota, and Illinois, with the major centre there being Chicago. In the East, Massachusetts and New York were the main States, though fewer immigrants from Kristinestad than average settled in the East; they appear to have moved to the different parts of North America in very much the same pattern as those from Lohtaja, the major difference being the large number of settlers from Kristinestad in Canada, particularly in British Columbia. They also have settled rather more often in cities.

Anders MYHRMAN comments that settlers from Kristinestad were important in establishing the beginnings of settlement by Swedish-Finns in cities such as Chicago, and the western USA in general, and the pattern of immigration from Kristinestad over the North American continent corresponds fairly closely to the general Swedish-Finnish pattern. The major area of settlement by Swedish-Finns in Canada is stated by MYHRMAN to have been British Columbia, especially Vancouver, from the 1920s on, and the cities of Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., were also Swedish-Finnish centres (the latter due to seamen). Settlement by Swedish-Finns in the Mid-West was however heavy like that by Finnish immigrants overall, with a major centre at Chicago,²¹ as was already noted for the Kristinestad immigrants.

Overall, then, migrants from the sample areas have settled in broadly speaking similar regions of North America as other migrants from broadly speaking similar parts of Finland. As was seen above, there have been differences between emigrants from different regions of Finland, and the date of the beginnings and peaking of the local emigration are also significant: e.g. emigrants from areas of low emigration were considerably more likely to settle in Canada than those from Lohtaja. Also in the areas of high and early emigration (Lohtaja and Kristinestad), western North America was more popular than otherwise. Associated with this is a form of etape migration in the host countries, for with the passage of time, immigrants originating from these areas gradually moved further west. The higher absolute numbers of emigrants in comparison with the areas of low emigration have also helped to create traditional patterns of movement within the host countries, particularly in the formation of new local centres.

Information about the areas of settlement is, however, not sufficient to permit statements that the return migration from one particular region or State might have been higher than from elsewhere. Even if it is known that emigrants from Munsala, say, were more likely to move to the western USA,²² or those from Jokioinen to the

²¹ See MYHRMAN 1972, 165, 221, 244, 295, 323, 339, 380, 388.

²² BACKMAN 1945, 15—16.

East, the migrants returning to Finland might have mainly come from an area outside the major areas of settlement. It must also be remembered that immigrants often did not remain in one place, but may have had a number of different places of residence. ILMONEN, for instance, recounts how a group of 22 immigrants arrived from Lohtaja and Toholampi in 1873 to work on the railroads in Ohio. The same year, the group moved to work in the mines in Canada, returning the following spring to work on the railroads in the border region between Ohio and Pennsylvania. Subsequently they were engaged in forestry work in Canada and Michigan, while about three years after their arrival in America they had split and gone their separate ways.²³

Seamen, in particular, tended to move around from place to place before settling down for even a shorter time in one place. This can be illustrated by the example of August Aalto, who went to sea from Naantali in 1916, and first of all sailed from London to Pictou, Nova Scotia. He then returned to London, only to set out again across the Atlantic: this time to Florida, where he then hid aboard a ship bound for New York, on which he found himself sailing first to Brazil, before heading for New York. He then settled down for a number of years in Brooklyn, N.Y., working as a carpenter. The seaman's lust for travel then claimed him again, and he travelled through virtually every State of the US; in 1933 he emigrated to the Soviet Union, but the following year finally returned to Finland.²⁴

Emil Nummelin, from Nagu, went to sea in 1919 with the specific intention of deserting from the ship in order to settle in North America, which he succeeded in doing in Montreal, Que., and then worked in a variety of jobs in different parts of Canada. Later in the 1920s, he managed (like many others at that time) to cross into the United States at the border between Windsor, Ont., and Detroit, Mich. After having worked for some time in the Ford automobile plant in Detroit, he moved to New York, as a building worker, before finally returning home in 1932.²⁵

These two examples illustrate (in rather an extreme form) the way in which many migrants spent some time in quite a number of places before returning to Finland. A number of Finnish emigrants are known to have worked in the big cities of the eastern United States for some time in order to save up the fare to their real destination of work and settlement, e.g. one of the mining towns of upper Michigan.²⁶ This must have been the case particularly often in the early years of the emigration, before the "prepaid ticket" system had taken on its later significance. This is the explanation, for example, of the fact that emigrants from Toholampi (adjacent to Lohtaja) in the 1870s and 1880s mainly headed for the eastern USA.²⁷ Nonetheless, the East did not have to form the focus of the American emigration from Toholampi

²³ ILMONEN II 1923, 318—319.

²⁴ TYYH/S/1:7001. The emigration to the Soviet Union will be discussed below, p. 181—182.

²⁵ Interview with Emil Nummelin, 1966 (TYYH/S/ä/127).

²⁶ GRAFF 1974, 52.

²⁷ KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 45—48.

in general,²⁸ since it may have changed in later stages of the emigration. Furthermore, the sources available for the investigation of the Toholampi emigration — shipping passenger lists — would tend to shift the focus further east, since these lists only record the destination on the traveller's ticket.

The destinations of emigrants according to the shipping passenger lists continued to lie in the East even at later stages, as can be seen from the following list of ticket destinations for Finnish emigrants in 1905:²⁹

Massachusetts	3 305	emigrants
Michigan	3 104	— " —
New York	2 185	— " —
Minnesota	1 452	— " —
Quebec	936	— " —
Ontario	837	— " —
Ohio	583	— " —
Pennsylvania	522	— " —
Wisconsin	314	— " —
Illinois	308	— " —
Washington	289	— " —
California	246	— " —
Oregon	216	— " —
Montana	163	— " —
Maine	158	— " —
New Hampshire	128	— " —
Utah	128	— " —
Colorado	115	— " —
Others and unknown	848	— " —
<hr/>		
TOTAL	15 837	emigrants

The first point to make is that the States of New York and Massachusetts, and the Province of Quebec, all include major ports, which were merely points of passage for the immigrants. Comparison of this list with the figures in Table 34 reveals major differences, largely due to the sources used; the list allocates primary position to the eastern seaboard, and only a few emigrants are recorded as moving directly from Finland to the West, thus once again reinforcing the significance of internal mobility within the host country, discussed above. The shipping passenger lists are not a comprehensive source of information on emigrants' places of residence, and their major value in this respect is as a moderately good record of the emigrants' primary destination abroad.

In the investigation of the return migration, it is more important to know the migrants' last place of residence than their original destinations in the host country, and it is therefore desirable that the various places of residence of each return

²⁸ Cf. KERO, KOSTIAINEN, KUPARINEN, VAINIO 1978, 59.

²⁹ KERO 1974, 190.

migrant should be traced in the same way as has been done in Appendix 5 for emigrants. In practice, this is extremely difficult to achieve, since not all of these places can be traced and also in view of the fact that the absolute numbers of return migrants are so low. Among the sample areas in this investigation, only in Lohtaja were there enough return migrants to permit a sampling of their places of residence, and comparative material is not available from earlier studies. Appendix 6 therefore contains the places of residence of emigrants from Lohtaja alone. Information is available for 127 cases altogether of permanent and of temporary return, i.e. 17% of the total return population being studied. The comparative material in this Appendix has been obtained from the questionnaire carried out on return migrants at the Department of History, University of Turku, and covers the distribution of the return migrants' last place of work overseas.³⁰

In view of the absence of earlier research, and the defectiveness of the sources, it will be necessary to examine briefly the period between the migrants' departure from Finland and their return in terms of other aspects, before Appendix 6 can be analyzed: i.e. to enquire into what occupations the migrants took up overseas. The kinds of employment followed by immigrants in different areas of the host countries represents one of the crucial geographical factors affecting the return migration. The employment opportunities could lead to internal movement within the host countries, which in many cases counteracted against plans for return.

Finnish immigrants tended to have to take up relatively poorly paid kinds of work in both North America and Australia,³¹ primarily due to their lack of skills and to difficulties with language and adaptation. Finnish immigrants have also been reported as having deliberately accepted the "worse" jobs in order to earn more money quickly.³² The first job obtained by the men was typically in mining, forestry, or in a factory, while the women mainly worked in service occupations,³³ and were popular as employees, especially as maids in city families. The experiences of Aili Kurala, from Rymättylä, for instance, are fairly typical. She emigrated to New York in 1922, and her first place of work was as a servant in a family there. She moved on to similar jobs thereafter every few years, and claimed never to have had any difficulties in obtaining work, not even during the Great Depression. She considered herself to have adapted well to American society. She finally returned to Finland in 1962, having visited home several times earlier.³⁴

³⁰ TYYH S:1/5001—6268. On the basis of these questionnaires, the last place of work overseas has been identified for 898 emigrants who returned to Finland. At the time (1974) when this research was being carried out, a total of 1268 questionnaires had been returned, but the last place of work is not mentioned in all of them, or is stated so unclearly that the placename could not be confirmed from the map. There is also some information on those emigrating later than 1930, who are excluded from the scope of the present investigation.

³¹ KERO 1970, 164; KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 45.

³² GRAFF 1974, 52.

³³ Cf. van CLEEF 1929, 194; BLOMFELT 1968, 144; KERO 1970, 154—164; WIDÉN 1975, 55.

³⁴ Interview with Aili Kurala, 1966 (TYYH S:ä/127).

The work women obtained tended to help them to assimilate to American society in a way which was not true of the men's work, and their employment was also much less sensitive to economic fluctuations than that of the men; these are contributory factors in the relatively lower return rate for women than for men. Similarly, women did not so often have to change occupations in the host country. With the men emigrants, on the other hand, if they succeeded in saving up the desired capital in their first place of employment, they then either returned to Finland, or else turned farmer (in which case the plans for a return to Finland would lapse).

The third choice would be to move to a city and take up some urban occupation. Detroit, Mich., for example, began to strongly attract a variety of ethnic groups in the second decade of the 20th century, thanks to the automotive industry. This largely consisted of internal migration within the host country, as indicated in an earlier investigation. The immigrants attracted to Detroit tended to be living relatively nearby; e.g., the main area of origin for Finnish workers was upper Michigan.³⁵

Moving from mining or forestry onto a farm of one's own was thus not the only form of internal mobility (and thus of reduced likelihood of return migration); movement into urban occupations was also important. These city jobs were, on the other hand, relatively sensitive to swings in the economy, leading to unemployment during depressions and in many cases thus to return migration even after a relatively long stay abroad.

Geographical factors meant that the kinds of employment available in different parts of North America were very varied. Thus mining, and farming, were distinctly less important in the eastern United States than in the Mid-West, though in New England some Finnish immigrants did take over and start to cultivate abandoned farms;³⁶ their main form of work in this region, however, was in factories, with the textile industry being a major employer.³⁷ South of New England, the main centre of settlement for Finnish immigrants in the East was undoubtedly the city of New York. Finnish men worked on the docks and in construction, while the women were family maids, as in other cities.³⁸

In the Mid-West, originally in the upper Michigan peninsula, the Finnish immigrants found themselves in the mining industry, and this then became their major source of employment. In Houghton County ("Copper Country"), in the north of upper Michigan, Finnish immigrants had become the overwhelmingly largest ethnic group by 1900. Almost half of the population of the area had been born outside the United States, and its ethnic composition was extremely varied.³⁹ Mining activity

³⁵ On the impact of the automotive industry on the ethnic pattern in Detroit, see VIRTANEN 1977, *passim*; also the interview with Sylva Loukinen, 1974 (author's notes).

³⁶ WARGELIN 1924, 77–78; ILMONEN III 1926, 13; RUSSELL 1937, 75; HOGLUND 1978, 1.

³⁷ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 50–65; WARGELIN 1924, 81–82; ILMONEN III 1926, 28, 32.

³⁸ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 40–46; ILMONEN III 1926, 49; SILFVERSTEN 1931, 86; WIDÉN 1975, 48, 55.

³⁹ See THURNER 1974, 13.

also led to the emergence of large centres of Finnish settlement in north-eastern Minnesota in the 1880s, following the discovery of iron deposits.⁴⁰

Gradually the miners began to establish farms on the outskirts of the mining areas, though often only on very infertile land; the best land had already been occupied by other ethnic groups by the end of the 19th century. The main reason for this intense eagerness to establish farms has been identified as the unemployment in the mines during depressions, so that owning a farm was seen as a more secure livelihood. Mining was also a dangerous occupation, causing accidents and health hazards.⁴¹ Even those immigrants who set up a farm, however, usually also needed to work in the mines for some months in the year, since the farm did not supply enough to support them. The farms were cheap, but usually of poor quality. Real estate agents were particularly active in urging Finnish immigrants to buy farmland in the first two decades of the 20th century,⁴² thus leading to the emergence of the important Finnish agricultural colony in Kaleva, in lower Michigan, in the early years of the century, with the establishment of the Finnish-language newspaper *Siirtolainen* (Migrant) in 1901, etc. The Finns of Kaleva publicized the advantages of their area even in Finland, in order to persuade relatives and acquaintances to join them.⁴³

One of the most central factors in the origins of the Finnish farming community derives from the ultimate reasons for the emigration. The majority of the emigrants were in fact farming population without the opportunity to support themselves in Finland. They were familiar with agricultural work, and were usually the sons of farmers or crofters, so that they tended to see farming as the only genuine way of making a living. Since this was impossible for them in Finland, they determined to turn farmer in their new home, despite the obstacles. The Finnish interest in establishing farms was so great that in the 1920 Census they were the 14th largest ethnic group of farmers in the United States; in Michigan, they were the third largest group, and the fourth largest in Minnesota.⁴⁴ Two-thirds of the Finnish-American farmers lived in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.⁴⁵ Yet it must be recalled that the Finns emerged as farmers at a very late stage.

Ohio differed from the other mid-western States in that mining and forestry never became really established there. The majority of the Finnish-Americans in Ohio lived in the towns along the shores of Lake Erie, and the docks provided their main source of employment, though a few of the immigrants in Ohio and Pennsylvania attempted to get into farming in the same way as in New England.⁴⁶ Many of the dock workers

⁴⁰ AALTIO 1953, 7.

⁴¹ ÖHMAN 1927, 94–98; van CLEEF 1929, 197–200; RUSSELL 1937, 70; AALTIO 1953, 7–8; KERO 1970, 171–181; THURNER 1974, 38–39; HOGLUND 1978, 1, 5.

⁴² HOGLUND 1978, 1–3, 7–9.

⁴³ VIRTANEN 1976a, 11–14.

⁴⁴ See WARGELIN 1924, 79.

⁴⁵ See HOGLUND 1978, 4.

⁴⁶ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 69–72; ILMONEN III 1926, 60, 80.

in Ashtabula, however, moved further west to start farming once they had earned enough money.⁴⁷ In Illinois, the Finns were mainly concentrated in Chicago and its surroundings, predominantly in urban-type occupations. In general it was not until after the turn of the century that large numbers of Finns began to move into New York, Chicago, and Detroit, and similar cities, and to take up corresponding forms of work. By 1930, only about 48 % of the Finnish-Americans were still living in rural areas.⁴⁸

After Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin, the next most important Finnish farming regions were South and North Dakota, as placenames such as Savo and Pelto bear witness.⁴⁹ In Montana and Wyoming, even further west, the main source of employment for Finns was in mining.⁵⁰ Since there was virtually no other source of employment there, the number of Finnish immigrants began to decline relatively early on, as was mentioned above (p. 148, 150). In the West Coast States, Finns often engaged in fishing, which was familiar from home to emigrants from central Ostrobothnia, for example. Besides fishing, the West Coast States also offered opportunities for farming, work in connection with forestry, and various skilled trades in the cities.⁵¹

Moving north from the State of Washington to the Canadian Province of British Columbia, the main sources of employment besides farming, forestry, and fishing were mining and the railroads. The major forms of work in the biggest Finnish Province in Canada, Ontario, were mining, forestry, and farming, as in Michigan and Minnesota.⁵²

Overwhelmingly, therefore, it was the conditions in the receiving area which determined the trades followed by immigrants. Thus, for example, emigrants from Munsala, who usually went to the western USA, were more likely to be forest workers than miners,⁵³ since there was relatively little mining in the West Coast States in comparison with the Mid-West. For emigrants from Satakunta, who mainly settled in the Mid-West, the main occupation was in mining, apart from domestic jobs undertaken by the women.⁵⁴ BLOMFELT reports that the most important occupation of men emigrants from Finström and Föglö was in construction,⁵⁵ which relates to the fact that many of these were living in the cities.

Since it has already been mentioned that the likelihood of return decreased once

⁴⁷ RUSSELL 1937, 75—76.

⁴⁸ RUSSELL 1937, 69; cf. ILMONEN III 1926, 12, 92.

⁴⁹ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 149; ILMONEN III 1926, 201—203, 207.

⁵⁰ Cf. JÄRNEFELT 1899, 156, 164—165; ILMONEN III 1926, 213—214, 222—223.

⁵¹ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 196—223; ILMONEN II 1923, 250; WARGELIN 1924, 85; ILMONEN III 1926, 236, 251—252, 260—261.

⁵² ILMONEN III 1926, 299—300, 303; WILSON & DAHLIE 1971, 7—8.

⁵³ BACKMAN 1945, 20—21.

⁵⁴ KERO 1970, 157.

⁵⁵ BLOMFELT 1968, 144.

a farm had been acquired, the following list shows — to test this finding — the occupations followed in the host country by emigrants returning to Lohtaja:⁵⁶

Industry (including mining and forestry)	27	persons
Agricultural labour	18	"
Independent farming	2	"
Supervisory occupations	2	"
Domestic occupations	2	"
<hr/>		
TOTAL	51	persons

These figures show that only in two cases had a migrant who had acquired a farm of his own then returned to Finland. As expected from the above discussion, the highest proportion consisted of mining and forestry labourers as well as persons working in various other industrial jobs, i.e. in the towns. The high number of agricultural labourers, on the other hand, is mainly due to the fact that this list includes a large number of emigrants returning from Australia, where immigrants were employed on sugar plantations,⁵⁷ whereas there was relatively little of the forestry work so common in North America. In any case, the overall picture is clear: a farm of one's own tended to create roots in the host country while industrial (or agricultural) work caused return migration to a noticeably larger extent.

The same feature has been identified among migrants returning to Sweden as in this list: i.e. that the acquisition of land of one's own reduced the likelihood of return. A high return rate has also been observed among Swedish agricultural labourers and industrial workers (including the mining and forestry industries). LINDBERG states that return was common among those already possessing some skilled trade when they emigrated; the higher the professional qualifications, the harder it was to adjust to new conditions or a new occupation, he argues.⁵⁸ The sample in the above list is too small to permit examination of this question; moreover there were overall relatively few emigrants from Finland belonging to this category. As was suggested earlier, however (see p. 110), the return rate among the urban middle class was lower than the average, while that for skilled urban workers was slightly above-average compared to the overall return to towns, which in itself was lower than to the countryside; otherwise, the Finnish return is close to LINDBERG's argument.

One remark that needs to be made about Appendix 6 (places of residence abroad of return migrants to Lohtaja) is the distortion due to the exaggerated numbers of Australian migrants involved. Similarly, the data in this Appendix for all of Finland derived from the questionnaires emphasizes the return from Canada, since the most replies to the questionnaire were received from those emigrating in 1915—1930, whereas the peak of the emigration was prior to that. To avoid this distortion, the

⁵⁶ These figures have been gathered from the collection of questionnaires administered to return migrants (TYYH/S 1: 5001—6268, 7001—7328).

⁵⁷ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 42.

⁵⁸ LINDBERG 1930, 249—252.

latter figures in Appendix 6 have therefore been divided into those emigrating before the First World War and those emigrating thereafter.

The first point in Appendix 6 is that the return migration from the eastern United States has been particularly high. The largest group in the return to Finland as a whole came from the East, whereas emigration to the eastern States was lower than that to the Mid-West. For Lohtaja, too, almost as many emigrants returned from the East as from the Mid-West and West, despite the fact that there was below-average emigration from the area to the eastern parts of the United States. The major immigrant States in the East, New York and Massachusetts, also constituted major places of departure for the return migration. The return has been concentrated in densely populated areas: the big cities, and industrial towns, are in particular more strongly represented in the return than in the immigration; thus New York, and the industrial town of Fitchburg, Mass., were among the main centres of the return migration in the East, though it needs to be remembered that there were in any case relatively many Finns in these.

The most obvious reason for the high return rate from the densely populated eastern States is to be found in the types of work and the trades which were dominant among the immigrants in this region. Most of the Finnish immigrants there took up types of work from which it was much easier to leave than it was from farming, and which moreover were sensitive to economic fluctuations. This emerges clearly from a comparison between the migrants returning from New York and Massachusetts, on the one hand, and from Maine and New Hampshire, on the other; for while the former was dominated by industrial trades, in the latter farming was also significantly represented. Despite the fact that there was relatively little Finnish settlement in the latter States, the difference can clearly be seen. Another plausible factor in the high return rate from the eastern States is that the return would be geographically easier than from the States of the Mid-West or the West Coast; and this supports ÅKERMAN's hypothesis that the return rate declines with increasing distance (see p. 146 above).

Appendix 6 also indicates that the return rate from the Mid-West was rather high; nevertheless, it was distinctly lower, relatively speaking, than that from the East, when the scale of the immigration into the Mid-West is taken into account (cf. Appendix 5). The largest number of Lohtaja emigrants to return from the Mid-West did so from Minnesota, as one would expect considering that this was the major area of settlement; according to the figures for the country as a whole, Michigan was the most important return migration State, with the highest return rates there coming from the automobile city of Detroit and the mining town of Calumet, while the most important places in Minnesota were the industrial port of Duluth and the mining town of Virginia. Similarly, in Ohio the city of Cleveland seems to have occupied an important position in the Finnish return migration.

Finns in the Mid-West very often acquired a farm for themselves, as was explained earlier, and this contributed in general to reducing the return rate. The majority were employed — especially at first — in mining and forestry, from which it was relatively

easy to transfer to different occupations, to move on elsewhere, or even to move back to Finland; and many of the immigrants working in these fields subsequently remained in the Mid-West, after their mining years were over, to settle on a farm of their own.

The return migration from the West, when examined on the basis of the questionnaire data, has been low in comparison with the numbers of immigrants into that region. The return migration from the West to Lohtaja, however, according to the sample, was fairly high (emigration from Lohtaja to the West was also heavier than average). The low size of the material must however be borne in mind when one is examining the figures for Lohtaja. According to the questionnaires, only 8.6 % of the returning migrants came from the western States.

Thus the evidence presented suggests that the return rate from the western region of the United States was low. Farming, for example, was commonly followed on the West Coast; nor did fishing, another important source of livelihood, create a basis for return comparable to that in the mines. The geographical factors must also be taken into consideration. The fare for the journey from the West to Finland was considerably higher than that from the ports on the eastern seaboard; moreover immigrants had in many cases reached the West by means of etape migration from the eastern parts of the country: i.e. instead of staying put, or moving eastwards (possibly even to Finland), they had moved out to the West Coast, and this alone would have diminished their preoccupation with return.

In his observations of the conditions of Finnish immigrants in North America in the late 19th century Akseli JÄRNEFELT noted that the Finns in Oregon and Washington were extremely satisfied with both the climate and the economic conditions there, and commented: "If there is any country which can succeed in overpowering a Finn's love for Finland, then surely it must be Oregon."⁵⁹

As Appendix 6 indicates, a significant portion of the return migration after the First World War came from Canada, since the majority of the emigration during this period was directed to that country. The high percentage of the entire return migration indicated by the questionnaires as originating from Canada (31.6 % of all returns) is however an exaggeration, due to the fact that more than half of the questionnaires which were returned came from persons emigrating in the period 1915—1930.

The great majority of the emigrants returning from Canada came from Ontario, since this was also the major area of Finnish settlement there; there were also a significant number returning from the Province of Quebec, mainly from Montreal. The return rate from western Canada, on the other hand (i.e. British Columbia), appears to have been extremely low, despite the fact that this was the second most important region of Finnish settlement in Canada. This conforms closely to the pattern of distribution in the return migration noted already for the United States between the different regions of North America. British Columbia, especially Vancouver and

⁵⁹ JÄRNEFELT 1899, 196, 223.

the surrounding area, have in fact become something of a "Finnish-Canadian Florida", with many Finns, e.g. from the area of Sudbury, Ont., having moved there, mainly because of the climate.⁶⁰ To some extent, then, it might be compared with JÄRNEFELT's depiction of Oregon.

In Canada, too, it is noticeable that there was heavy return migration from the cities, such as Montreal, Que., Toronto, Ont., and Vancouver, B.C., and from the important centres of the mining and timber industries, such as Port Arthur (Thunder Bay), Ont., Sudbury, Ont., and South Porcupine, Ont.

To sum up, the evidence presented suggests that the pattern of settlement by Finnish immigrants was one of the reasons for the low return rate in comparison with many other countries. There was a mutual interaction between the area of settlement and the occupations followed there, which, in conjunction, led Finnish immigrants to remain abroad even though their motives at departure would have suggested a high rate of return. Italian immigrants, for instance, the majority of whom were concentrated in the cities of the United States, returned to Italy in extremely high numbers. In the cities, the Italians were employed in types of work which were not difficult to give up, and thus did not hinder the return home; e.g. the proportion of Italians returning in 1908—1916 who had been working as labourers was annually 67.1—83.9%.⁶¹ The high return rate of the Greeks has also been alluded to earlier, and they too mainly immigrated to the larger cities and found work there, even though they were mostly of rural origin.⁶² The large scale and urban nature of the immigration from southern Europe tended to contribute to the growing overall size of the urban population in the United States, though the industrialization of the country was naturally the primary factor. Only 18% of the population of the United States had lived in towns in 1860, whereas in 1910 and 1920 the corresponding figures were 46% and 52%.⁶³ Conversely, however, the large cities also beyond all doubt occasioned return migration, as can be seen in the Finnish case as elsewhere.

The foregoing discussion has also showed the importance of geographical factors in the return process: the further west an immigrant settled in North America, the less likely he or she was to return. These geographical factors cannot be regarded as crucial, however; rather, they closely relate to the occupations pursued by immigrants, and to internal movements within the host country. Thus the return rate from Australia, despite the distance, was exceptionally high.⁶⁴ In general, the effect of the tendency of Finnish immigrants to settle in the countryside, both in the United States and Canada, was to decrease the return rate. The eagerness of Finns to set up farms of their own must have been a particularly strong bond tying them to their adopted country. Nor should it be overlooked that the large absolute number of Finnish

⁶⁰ Interview with Katri Westerlund, 1974 (author's notes).

⁶¹ FOERSTER 1924, 41; see also CAROLI 1973, 56—57.

⁶² SALOUTOS 1956, 11.

⁶³ See WARGELIN 1924, 89.

⁶⁴ The return migration from Australia will be discussed in the following section.

immigrants in North America in comparison with the other continents led to the emergence of centres of settlement, which in themselves furthered the process of assimilation.

It is somewhat complicated to give a categorical answer to the question whether there was any difference in the return rate from the United States as a whole and from Canada as a whole, since the migrants moved around freely from place to place and even from country to country in search of work. The sources also cause difficulties in approaching this question.⁶⁵ It is however noticeable that the return rate among those emigrating to Canada from the high emigration sample areas was distinctly higher (in Lohtaja, 26.2 % and in Kristinestad, 22.7 %)⁶⁶ than the overall return rates for these two areas. The information is largely based on the destinations recorded in the passport lists, and thus mainly covers the 1920s, since before the First World War it was unusual to distinguish between the United States and Canada. The return rate among persons emigrating in this period from these sample areas has however been seen earlier to have increased relative to the return rate earlier (see p. 87—88), and this was partly due to the choice of destination but also to other factors; e.g., in particular, the improvements in transport and communications.

When these factors are taken into consideration, it cannot be said that the desire to return tended to be higher in either of these host countries; rather, the primary factor was the working and living conditions of the immigrants in the different regions of North America, analyzed above. Moreover, the later date of the peak of emigration to Canada meant in itself that the preconditions for return were more favourable (though even so it cannot be compared with the return, at approximately the same period, from Australia). According to our analysis, therefore, the horizontal (east-west) factor in North America was more important in the return rate than the vertical (USA-Canada) factor. On the basis of the discussion above, of the 315 000 Finnish emigrants to the United States before 1930 roughly 60 000 returned permanently; the equivalent figures for Canada are 60 000 and 13 000—14 000.

In this section it has been necessary to approach the investigation of the effect of the receiving area on return migration from North America in rather a roundabout way, and many of the intervening stages concern the emigration more precisely than the return. They are nevertheless essential to the understanding of the return. Indeed, it was necessary to resort to this method since there has to date been no real research on the geographical pattern of Finnish settlement in the United States and Canada. In this way the main features of the geographical pattern of the return or non-return, and the reasons for this, have been established.

⁶⁵ The major sources, passport lists and parish records, usually only state "America" or "North America" as the emigrant's destination, and this remains true up to the 1920s. The mobility of the immigrants within North America also gives rise to difficulties of definition: e.g. which migrants should be considered to have returned from Canada and which from the United States.

⁶⁶ According to the passport lists and the parish records, there were 107 emigrants from Lohtaja to Canada, of whom 28 returned permanently to Finland; the corresponding figures for Kristinestad were 66 and 15.

To categorize the findings, the following factors reduced the probability of return, apart from the employment opportunities: 1) a farm of one's own, 2) living in a rural area, and 3) living in the western States or Provinces, and/or moving there through stages, i.e. etape migration. Correspondingly, factors that eased the return were: 1) industrial work, 2) living in cities, and 3) living in the eastern parts of North America. These factors refer only to North America, and are generalizations which include various special features discussed above; women, for example, did not follow this pattern completely, since they largely worked as maids in cities but still returned infrequently.

2 OTHER CONTINENTS (AUSTRALIA, SOUTH AMERICA, AND AFRICA)

Although only a fraction of the Finnish emigration overseas prior to 1930 was directed anywhere outside the United States and Canada (see p. 145—146), the return rate should also be studied from other continents where there were Finnish immigrants, because there were considerable differences even in the emigration movement to these countries. It is therefore likely that there would also be differences in the return. The following section will investigate the return of Finnish migrants from Australia, South America, and South Africa, in order to round out the study of the influence of geographical factors on the return migration.

Numerically speaking, the most important receiving country in the Finnish emigration after the United States and Canada was Australia. Even by the 1930s, however, the number of Finns was less than 2000,⁶⁷ an extremely low figure in comparison with the American migration. There were also important differences in the character and structure of the Australian emigration from that to North America. Whereas the majority of emigrants to Australia from the other Nordic countries had emigrated in the 1870s and 1880s, the Finnish emigration was a later phenomenon, with one peak in the 1920s,⁶⁸ though, for example, there had been a group of Finns who had gone there at the turn of the century under the leadership of Matti Kurikka to found an ideal community, which did not however flourish for long.⁶⁹

The reasons which KOIVUKANGAS suggests for the Australian emigration proper include the search for adventure, the quest for gold, the support given by the Australian Government to emigration, financial opportunities (especially for seamen), etc. Without these incentives, Australia would probably not even have attracted the number of Finnish immigrants who did go there. Nonetheless, the most important factor may well have been the restrictions imposed on immigration into

⁶⁷ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 31.

⁶⁸ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 40, 42, 50; KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 197, Appendix I Table I. 1.

⁶⁹ See more especially NIITEMAA 1971, 165—194.

North America, which had the effect of making Australia a more serious alternative for prospective emigrants. The major area from which Australian emigrants originated was Turku and Pori Province, a further distinction from the North American emigration. Moreover, many of the emigrants came from towns, while the opposite was true of the emigration to North America. Finally, the movement to Australia consisted almost entirely of men.⁷⁰ The Australian emigration thus differed sharply from that to North America.

The return from Australia has not previously been studied at all, and of the sample areas in the present investigation, Lohtaja is the only one in which Australian emigration occurred on a significant scale.⁷¹ Use can also be made of KOIVUKANGAS' studies of the various stages through which the Finnish immigrants passed in Australia, although he does not directly deal with the return migration.

Emigration from Lohtaja to Australia became well established in the 1920s, since between 1915 and 1930 over a third of the local emigrants went there. Nor did this remain unnoticed at home.⁷² By 1930, altogether 117 people had left Lohtaja for Australia, only 14 of whom had gone before the First World War.⁷³ Lohtaja can thus be taken as a representative area, since the absolute numbers involved are high enough to permit the examination of the return. Such areas in rural Finland are rare, for Lohtaja may well have been the most important rural place of origin in the Australian emigration. It is reported by KOIVUKANGAS as the home area of many of the Finnish-speaking Finnish immigrants in Australia, while the corresponding area for the Swedish-speaking Finns was Munsala. Nestori Karhula, perhaps the most important figure of the Finnish-Australian immigrants, emigrated from Lohtaja in 1921.⁷⁴

Of the 117 who emigrated from Lohtaja to Australia, 67 (57.3 %) in fact returned permanently to Finland. Since only one-fifth of all the emigrants from Lohtaja permanently returned, and even of those emigrating after 1915, only 32.9 % (see Table 19, p. 88), it is indisputable that here, at any rate, the return migration rate from Australia was strikingly higher than that from the United States and Canada. In the absence of valid comparative material, this finding cannot necessarily be generalized for Finland as a whole, but the difference is so striking as to suggest that at least the rural return migration from Australia has been very high.

The statistics in the countries of immigration have been found in international research to confirm the trend observed for Lohtaja, for between 1906 and 1924 return migration was as much as 70 % of the total immigration to Australia, whereas

⁷⁰ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 31, 36--37; KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 254—256.

⁷¹ There were 117 emigrants from Lohtaja to Australia prior to 1930. From Elimäki, there were only three, of whom one returned permanently; the corresponding figures for Kristinestad were seven and one, and for Leppävirta, one and zero. There were no emigrants to Australia from Polvijärvi or Jokioinen.

⁷² See Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 18 - 19.

⁷³ The emigration from Lohtaja to Australia began as early as 1886, when two people emigrated.

⁷⁴ KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 204—205.

the figure in 1908—1924 for the United States was only 37.7 %.⁷⁵ These data refer to the entire immigration and emigration in the host countries, and they are rather coarse in terms of investigating the return migration proper; nevertheless, they do confirm the findings for Lohtaja.

The main reasons for the high return rate from Australia are to be found in economic conditions in the host country, for the geographical distance involved would rather suggest a lower return rate than that from North America. Geographical factors probably did however contribute to the fact that the return from Australia usually was permanent.⁷⁶ The economic opportunities for immigrants in Australia were somewhat more restricted than in North America; this is at any rate KOIVUKANGAS' finding.⁷⁷

A further reason for the high return rate from Australia is that, with the emigration there having expanded in the 1920s, the majority of those who returned did so in the late 1920s or early 1930s, when return migration was high everywhere, due to the international depression. With the improvements in transport, moreover, the return became more viable, and the external conditions were thus more favourable to the return migration from Australia than they had been for the bulk of the emigration to North America at the beginning of the century. Furthermore, although the Finnish immigrants in Australia tended to settle in the same localities,⁷⁸ as did the immigrants in North America, due to the small scale of the Finnish emigration of Australia they did not succeed in creating forms of cooperation or communities to the same degree as the Finns in various regions of North America. In this respect there is an illuminating document from 1928, in the form of a letter from the Brisbane Finnish Meeting to the Foreign Ministry of Finland, in which the scarcity of cooperation among the immigrants is deplored, and the exchange of consuls is suggested as a way of improving the situation.⁷⁹ Cooperative organization contributed to the assimilation of the immigrants, and this may therefore be one of the crucial factors in explaining the return migration from Australia.

On the whole, immigrants in Australia from Lohtaja settled in the same areas as other immigrants from rural Finland, i.e. mainly in the centres of Finnish settlement in Queensland,⁸⁰ and this confirms the representativeness of Lohtaja for the purpose of studying the return rate. Immigrants originating from towns, on the other hand, usually moved to one of the Australian cities, such as Sydney in New South Wales. The information gathered by KOIVUKANGAS suggests that the Finnish

⁷⁵ International Migrations I 1929, 202—203, 206—207.

⁷⁶ There were eight cases in Lohtaja of a migrant returning from Australia and of later re-emigrating either to Australia or somewhere else.

⁷⁷ KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 255—256.

⁷⁸ KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 273.

⁷⁹ Letter from the Brisbane Finnish Meeting to the Foreign Ministry of Finland, 18 Nov. 1928 (Papers of the Revd Urpo Kokkonen: TYYH/S/x/7/III).

⁸⁰ Cf. KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 44, 50; KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 197, 204—205; the data for Lohtaja in Appendix 5 below.

immigrants in Australia largely followed similar occupations to the Finnish-Americans, with the difference that the Finnish-Australians did not set up as farmers to the same extent as the Finns in North America.⁸¹ One of the effects of acquiring a farm was to tie the immigrant to his adopted country; this is therefore a further reason for the high return rate for Finnish-Australians. The Finns in Queensland were regarded as "unsettled", uninterested in cooperation and constantly on the move from one place to another.⁸²

Finnish immigrants in Australia tended to take work requiring low levels of skills, e.g. mining, farm labouring, and, in the towns, work on the docks. Their occupational status was lower than that of other Nordic immigrants.⁸³ Neither of these factors, however, explains the high return rate, since they equally applied to Finnish-Americans. One additional cause for the high return rate from Australia, on the other hand, may be a difference of degree in their motives for emigration. Nestori Karhula, from Lohtaja, attempted to examine the main current problems in the Finnish-Australian community around 1930,⁸⁴ and believed that very few of the emigrants had intended to settle permanently. Finnish immigrants were not in any hurry to apply for naturalization, since they intended to subsequently return to Finland.⁸⁵ For the emigrants to North America, too, the overriding motive had in general been to make some money quickly with a view to then possibly returning home, but evidently many of them fairly soon abandoned the idea of returning, since it has been stated that Finnish immigrants were keen on acquiring United States citizenship a few years after arrival.⁸⁶ One should not draw too many conclusions from this, however; and the major causes contributing to the frequency of return from Australia are those outlined above.

The overall Finnish emigration to Australia was so low, however, that this exceptionally high return rate, for instance, is not visible when the overseas return migration is examined as a whole. In Lohtaja, on the other hand, the return from Australia comprised a large enough portion to have a recognizable effect on the overall return process for the area; and it is at least a significant observation that whereas around one-fifth of the Finnish emigrants to North America returned permanently to Finland, over half of those emigrating to Australia from rural areas in Finland appear to have returned. ÅKERMAN's view, that increasing distance had a diminishing effect on the return migration rate,⁸⁷ is thus not borne out when the Finnish emigrations to North America and Australia are compared, although it was supported by

⁸¹ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 42—46; KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 261.

⁸² Letter from P. Saarinen at Mt. Isa to Nestori Karhula, 30 July 1930 (Papers of the Revd Urpo Kokkonen: TYYH/S/x 7/III).

⁸³ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 45; KOIVUKANGAS 1974, 259.

⁸⁴ MS by "N.I.K." (Nestori Karhula): "Australian suomalaisten tärkeimpiä kysymyksiä nykyhetkellä" (Major questions affecting the Finns in Australia at the present time), ca 1930 (Papers of the Revd Urpo Kokkonen: TYYH/S/x 7/III).

⁸⁵ KOIVUKANGAS 1972, 48.

⁸⁶ WARGELIN 1924, 166.

⁸⁷ ÅKERMAN 1976, 21; see also p. 146 and 160 above.

the comparison between different regions within North America. The actual conditions in the receiving area, and the migrants' expectations, are suggested as prior explanatory factors over the distance between the country of origin and of immigration; and this was also supported in the analysis of North America, even though ÅKERMAN's thesis was also in the main upheld there.

If quantity is the criterion, then the Finnish emigration to South America and South Africa (roughly 1000 in each case before 1930), was even less significant than that to Australia. Prior to 1906, virtually no Finns emigrated to South America, but in 1906—1907 a group set out for Argentina, to found the *Colonia Finlandesa*. According to Olavi LÄHTEENMÄKI, who has studied the history of this Finnish colony, between May 1906 and January 1907 a total of 154 people emigrated from Finland to the *Colonia Finlandesa*. Within the first year, almost a third of them had left the colony; within two years, over half; and by the end of the third year, about two-thirds. The majority of these returned to Finland, either immediately, or after spending some further time in Argentina; others moved on to Paraguay or to the United States. The large number of those quitting the colony was due to the fact that it failed to fulfil their hopes. The main reasons for the failure are identified by LÄHTEENMÄKI as the unfortunate location of the colony, the mishandling of the settlement's affairs by the Argentinian authorities, the lack of a competent leader, the composition of the colonists, financial miscalculations, the failure of the Argentinian harvest in 1906, the negative picture presented of the colony in Finland, and heavy drinking.⁸⁸

Since there is no other research material on Finnish emigration to South America,⁸⁹ no firm conclusions can be drawn about the return migration to Finland. The example of the *Colonia Finlandesa* does however suggest that the overall return migration from South America has been rather high among Finns emigrating there before 1930.

Immigration by other ethnic groups in South America also has remained temporary, since while over five million immigrants arrived in Argentina between 1857 and 1924, almost half this number (46.8 %) left the country during the same period.⁹⁰ The data collected by LÄHTEENMÄKI indicate that about four-fifths of the Argentinian immigrants came from Italy and Spain,⁹¹ which is one reason for the high return rate: it was noted earlier (p. 68) that the return rate for southern Europeans was also above average in the United States. The economic opportunities open to immigrants in South America were however also much more restricted than in North America, and this evidently led to return by other groups as well as the southern Europeans, as the fate of the Finnish colony illustrates.

⁸⁸ LÄHTEENMÄKI 1975, 109–111, 198–201, 289–290, 338–342.

⁸⁹ There was one emigrant from Lohtaja to Argentina in the period under investigation (in 1906); in Leppävirta, one in 1906 and four in 1927; and one from Polvijärvi to Brazil, in 1929. None of these is known to have returned, at least to their place of origin.

⁹⁰ International Migrations I 1929, 202.

⁹¹ See LÄHTEENMÄKI 1975, 94–95.

As in Australia and South America, so also in South Africa there were few Finnish emigrants during the height of the emigration period: slightly more than 1000 persons during the period 1893—1914. The main stimulus for immigration was the discovery of the Transvaal gold fields in the 1880s, and in particular the high wages paid in the mines; as a result, women only made up 3.5 % of the emigrants. The emigrants originated from a rather restricted area: Munsala and the surrounding areas, in particular, and the Swedish-speaking areas of southern and central Ostrobothnia in general. Thus this emigration consisted of men migrants, from a restricted area, commuting rather a long way to a temporary place of work; for almost four-fifths of the emigrants returned to Finland. The temporary nature of this emigration is further demonstrated by the fact that over two-thirds of those returning did so within the first two years.⁹² The pattern of return migration from South Africa, therefore, is utterly different from that for North America, since what was involved was essentially a journey to a highly-paid place of work. The high wages were largely due to the dangerous and unhealthy working conditions in the mines; it has been shown that the work in the South African gold mines was much more hazardous to health than that in the iron and copper mines in North America, and this is supported by the fact that immigrants stayed working in the South African mines for an average of 2—3 years, but in the North American mines for 5—7 years.⁹³ One consequence of this was that migrants returning from South Africa often brought with them not only the money they had earned, but also chronic lung disease caused by working in the mines; indeed this was often their immediate reason for returning.⁹⁴

Overall, therefore, this examination of the Finnish return migration from Australia, South America, and South Africa has demonstrated that the return rate from these was relatively high in comparison with the return from North America. In sum, over half of the 4000 Finnish emigrants to Australia, South America, and South Africa subsequently returned permanently to Finland, whereas only around 20 % did so from North America; these "minor" continents in the Finnish emigration failed, therefore, to attract immigrants to the same degree as North America could, as is evidenced both by the emigration and the return. In South America and South Africa, in particular, Finnish settlement remained on a very small scale. In Australia, on the other hand, Finnish communities survive to the present day, partially reinforced by further immigration after the Second World War. The overseas emigration to countries outside North America is, nonetheless, no more than a drop (if an interesting one) in the total flow of the migration, and this is also true of the return, despite the fact that relatively this occurred on a considerably larger scale than in North America.

⁹² KUPARINEN 1978, 156, 163, 168—171, Appendix 5. Emigrants to Africa from the sample areas under investigation included four from Lohtaja in 1895, and one from Kristinestad in the same year, of whom only the latter returned (in 1905).

⁹³ ÖHMAN 1927, 89, 91, 96.

⁹⁴ The personal motives for returning will be examined, including this aspect, in the following Chapter.

VII The Individual's Return Decision

1 ADAPTATION TO THE HOST COUNTRY

As with the emigration, so also in the case of the return migration there are two kinds of factors which can be identified: "general factors", on the one hand, and "personal" or "individual" factors on the other. The general (macro-level) factors have already been discussed above from a variety of aspects, for the "general" causes for the return are composed of such a complex of different factors that it is more appropriate, and indeed essential, to approach them in the context of various larger-scale problem areas relating to the return migration. In speaking about the "general" factors in the return migration, it is hardly exaggerated to say that everything is linked to everything else, and they have therefore been considered above in connection with an economic analysis of the cyclical fluctuations in the migration, with the composition of the return, and with the overall effect of the returning migrants' places of residence abroad on their return.

Turning to the individual (micro-level) factors, it is possible to study these in a more concentrated way. The examination of the personal motives of individual return migrants creates an entire new perspective for the understanding and explanation of the return or non-return, for these motives must be recognized as being more significant in the return phenomenon than in the original emigration;¹ the return does not constitute to the same extent a mass phenomenon.² The general and individual factors thus complement each other, and are equally crucial elements in the investigation.

The starting point here for the examination of the personal motives of returning emigrants will be their adaptation as immigrants to the conditions in their host country, since in many cases it was this which determined whether the migrant was

¹ Cf. ÅKERMAN 1975. 20.

² The mass nature of the emigration in relation to the return migration rate can be examined by gathering together from the passport registers all the residents of a particular area who were issued with passports on the same day. In this way various sizes of groups of emigrants are obtained, and these can then be compared with each other. No definite differences emerge however, which reinforces the individual character of the return. Nor can it be explicitly argued that emigration in a group encouraged return, though some degree of correlation can be observed (see VIRTANEN 1976c. 70—72).

to settle abroad permanently or to return to Finland. A theoretical approach is adopted, and the Italian return migrants are used as comparative material. Once this has been done, the migrants' ultimate motives will then be separately examined in the following section.

The immigrants' difficulties of adaptation were greatest, naturally, immediately after their arrival in the new country. The following description by Elsa Piirainen of her arrival in Canada in 1922 may serve as an illustration:³

"Let me tell you a bit what sort of impression you got when you arrived in Canada as an immigrant from Finland. We lived for six months in Niagara Falls (sic). And my husband, he was working for the Hydro, for the Electricity. And for the Public Works in Kapperliff (Copper Cliff). The Finnish-Canadians, those who'd gone there earlier, were nasty to newcomers, that much sometimes, that people sometimes got done in. Sort of by accident. They hated Finns, because they suspected they were what they called Butchers (a reference to the reprisals in the Finnish Civil War in 1918). It was only the Communists who went on like that. So we decided to get out of there, and we went to Windsor (sic), and then on to Detroit. There were lots of communists in Detroit too, but they didn't insist on a party card, like they did in Niagara. There was a Finnish parish in Detroit, with a church and everything. But you know, the life that the Finns led there, it was pretty boring. Work, that was what they talked about all the time. . . . whenever the men got together, the first question was always, What shift're you on? And conversation was mostly, just about work. . . ."

The longer an immigrant had been in the country, however, the better he or she began to adapt to conditions there, as the following extract suggests:⁴

"Well at that time (in the 1920s) life in Canada (sic) was very difficult for the Finns. Cause the Finns who'd emigrated didn't know any English so they couldn't complain to the Canadian authorities. . . . Well in the end the Canadian authorities did something about it and life changed for the better. There was a Finnish Society set up and everyone was supposed to belong to it. It wasn't anything to do with parties but you weren't allowed to be a communist. . . ."

Not only did the culture of the host country cause difficulties of adaptation for the immigrants, but as these extracts indicate, there were also tensions operating within the ethnic groups which aroused controversy. These were probably not of great significance in relation to the return; on the contrary, with the growth of the numbers of Finns in a particular area conditions were likely to become more pleasant.

Despite difficulties in adaptation, many immigrants did not return to Finland, but stayed in their host country, rootless, for the rest of their lives. The majority of those who did return came back relatively soon after emigrating; but there were also those who returned at a much later stage.⁵ The Italian migrants, and their return, have been studied from a mainly sociological angle by CERASE, and he distinguishes four stages in the process of adaptation where the immigrant opted to settle abroad or to return home.

The first stage occurs soon after arrival in the host country, when the immigrant

³ TYYH S/1:7061.

⁴ TYYH S/1:7104.

⁵ The length of stay abroad by returning emigrants was discussed in Chapter II: 4 above.

is suddenly confronted with a new cultural environment, new ways of behaviour, and a new language. This is the first point at which he is forced to consider whether to return home or to remain in America. A decision to return at this point is, in CERASE's terms, a "return of failure". In order to overcome this first stage, CERASE argues, the immigrant needs to find a job: obtaining employment is a decisive condition for continuing. Having recovered from the initial shock, the immigrant now gradually begins to get used to the new environment, and with his savings, he begins to acquire personal property, which has the effect of tying him more closely to his adopted country. This situation then again confronts him with the choice: to continue to invest his savings in maintaining himself as an immigrant, or to avoid using any more of his money so as to be able to return home and use it there to finance his social improvement ("return of conservatism"). If the immigrant surmounts this stage as well, he will then settle in his adopted country, aiming to assimilate and adapt to the American way of life as completely as possible, notwithstanding the undoubted difficulties. Complete assimilation, however, is virtually impossible, so that in many cases he may come to feel that he is merely a "naturalized immigrant", in which case he may feel that it would be better to return home, taking with him, however, the experiences and values with which he has become familiar in America ("return of innovation"). The final type in CERASE's model is the return to the country of origin in old age ("return of retirement"), prompted by the elderly's nostalgic memories of the home country and the need to see it once more.⁶

CERASE's typology of these stages of the return are based on research on Italian migrants, and cannot necessarily be applied to Finnish migrants without modification. One of the essential differences between the Italian and Finnish migrants was that the return rate among the Italians was very much higher. The reasons for the heavy return have been identified as lying in the ethnic background, while the contrast between social, religious, and economic conditions prevailing in Italy and in America has also been seen as probably causing greater difficulties of adaptation for Italian than for instance for Swedish immigrants.⁷ The Italians in the United States, in addition, to a large extent worked in the cities, whereas the Nordic immigrants tended to be engaged in mining, forestry, or farming. With these reservations in mind, CERASE's model can then be applied to the Finnish immigrants, though one should be careful not to become stuck with any particular model or types when investigating the essentially individual phenomenon of return, in which there are many factors involved, reaching back to the social background of the emigrant.

The Finnish immigrants, therefore, as stated, would naturally encounter new conditions and these would undoubtedly cause very great difficulties of adaptation. The majority of them came from a rural background, without any training or capital, either, since their reason for emigrating had been to "pan for gold". Consequently they might well return very soon after arrival, as is clearly borne out by the data

⁶ CERASE 1970, 219—223.

⁷ LINDBERG 1930, 252 footnote 2.

in Table 18 (p. 80) on the length of time spent abroad by migrants. Inadequate opportunities for employment, however, cannot be taken as the sole reason for rapid return. The poorly paid jobs which Finnish immigrants tended to take up were frequently available; but the very nature of the work may well have increased immigrants' desire to return to Finland.

The majority succeeded in overcoming this initial stage, partly helped by the fact that Finnish immigrants (like other ethnic groups) tended to settle in the same areas,⁸ which made the new environment a more comfortable place to be. In the countryside, in particular, communities sprang up, where immigrants were farming their own land and were therefore less mobile. There were also significant centres of Finnish settlement in mining towns and centres of the timber industry, although here there was more mobility of population. LINDBERG claims that this latter type of immigrants also gradually became attached to the American way of life,⁹ but that does not necessarily mean that they adapted very well, or that they changed from being "immigrants" into being "Americans". America started out for the immigrants as a disappointment, but gradually began to seem more tolerable.¹⁰

The creation of Finnish communities also, on the other hand, hindered the process of assimilation, since it maintained a wall against the surrounding population. Language skills failed to develop, and it was difficult to establish contacts.¹¹ The question has indeed been raised as to whether immigrants who only intended to remain for a limited time in the host country had any desire to adapt to the conditions there.¹² Arthur THURNER, discussing the difficulties of adaptation of Finnish workers in the Michigan copper mining region, states that other immigrant ethnic groups considered the Finns to be so stubborn that they didn't even want to learn English.¹³

The majority, in fact, of the first generation of Finnish immigrants did not become Americanized, but remained, so to speak, outside American society;¹⁴ yet they adopted the way of life of their new country to the extent that the majority of them never returned to Finland. One of the important factors here is that despite their low position in the American social hierarchy,¹⁵ the immigrants achieved with the passage of time a financially better position than they had on emigration from Finland. Some of them did decide, after a few years, to return to Finland: either because they had failed to adjust to their new surroundings, or because they had achieved the goal they had set themselves and because there was some special tie to draw them back to Finland. The return of failure, conversely, could also occur at a later stage than the initial phase suggested by CERASE.

⁸ WAISANEN 1969, 200; cf. LINDBERG 1930, 250.

⁹ LINDBERG 1930, 250.

¹⁰ NIEMI 1921, 13.

¹¹ WAISANEN 1969, 200–201.

¹² CAROLI 1973, 5.

¹³ THURNER 1974, 18.

¹⁴ Cf. KOLEHMAINEN 1976, 266; LINNAMO 1976, 329.

¹⁵ See WAISANEN 1969, 203.

When the length of the stay abroad by Finnish migrants is compared with CERASE's typology, it can be seen that the majority of those returning belonged to his first two categories; at least, this is true when his classification is taken as a merely chronological ordering, for CERASE states that his first category (return of failure) covers migrants remaining less than five years, his second (return of conservatism) those remaining 6—10 years, the third (return of innovation) those remaining 11—20 years, and the fourth (return of retirement) those remaining for more than 21 years. Less than half of those he interviewed came under the first two categories,¹⁶ whereas Table 18 (p. 80) indicates that broadly speaking 80 % of the emigrants returning to Finland had returned within the first ten years. It is certain that those who returned to Finland within the first five years included not only returns of failure, but also many who had already achieved their objective. Equally, there have been some among those returning later who had also failed economically. CERASE's chronological classification, therefore, does not fit the Finnish migration.

Turning to the return at later stages, the first point we need to note is that CERASE's third category (return of innovation) is rather vague in the Finnish migration, since even those who had only remained for a relatively short time will have brought impressions and experiences back with them; while on the other hand there were only a few Finnish migrants who returned after having been abroad for between 11 and 20 years. Once a Finnish migrant had been away from Finland for as long as ten or more years, his return to Finland became less likely: by that time he had usually brought his family over from Finland to join him, for example, or, if unmarried at emigration, had by that time got married in his new country; and once the family had children, a return to Finland became more difficult, since the children attended English-speaking schools, married members of other ethnic groups, and thus rapidly became Americanized.¹⁷ Consequently, the return of second-generation Finnish immigrants to Finland is virtually nonexistent, and these reasons also contributed to preventing return by first-generation Finns.¹⁸

Return migration with the motive of spending one's old age and enjoying one's pension in the old country also comprises only a fraction of the total return. This category can however be easily distinguished from the other returning emigrants, since some of them actually stated their reason for return as being the wish to spend their old age in Finland. One writer's doubts whether elderly people who returned should be considered at all as return migrants¹⁹ therefore is not valid. Figures quoted in the following section (p. 176) show that 4.9 % of those providing information about their motives stated that they had returned in order to retire in Finland. Emigrants returning after stays of over 20 years made up between 3.1 % and 5.3 % of all those returning in rural areas, while in Kristinestad the figure was considerably higher: 10.1 % (see Table 18, p. 80). Thus even if the time limits for CERASE's first

¹⁶ CERASE 1970, 223—224.

¹⁷ NIEMI 1921, 40—42; WARIS 1936, 33—34.

¹⁸ Cf. LINDBERG 1930, 255, for the Swedes.

¹⁹ PÄTYNEN 1972, 111.

three categories match the Finnish return migration badly, both the length of stay (over 20 years) and the motive for return (retirement to the old country) match together extremely well. Approximately 5 % of those returning to Finland evidently did so to retire here. The somewhat higher figure for this return to the town can be explained by the fact that after having been away for 10 or 20 years, a migrant no longer felt it necessary to return specifically to his or her native district; the nearest town may have been a preferable alternative, due to the availability of services which had become indispensable in the host country. 20 years cannot of course be taken as an absolute time limit, since the emigrant's age at departure would naturally also contribute to determining the motive for return after, say, 10 or say 25 years in America.

The majority of migrants, however, did learn in the course of time to adapt to the conditions in their host country. They learnt how to accept what life as an immigrant offered, and only rarely, therefore, did they then decide to sell up the property they had accumulated over the years and return to their former home country. Only for a few were the ties to their old home so strong that (perhaps intensifying with increasing age) their homesickness became intolerable;²⁰ another contributory factor might be the death of a marriage partner, leaving the immigrant feeling more isolated than ever in an environment which possibly had in any case seemed alien all through the years.

CERASE's typology can therefore be compared to a considerable degree with the Finnish migrants. The model is too rigid and stereotyped, however, even if it does offer a framework for the analysis of the return migration in terms of their adaptation to their host country. The time limits cannot be applied to the Finnish immigrants, as was discussed above; nor can they in truth be applied to the Italians either, whose length of stay abroad was much shorter than the small body of interview material used by CERASE would suggest.

2 THE MIGRANTS' OWN INTERPRETATION OF THE REASONS FOR RETURN

Despite the fact that the majority of emigrants set out with the intention of returning to the home country, the motives for the actual decision to return were highly complex, as can be clearly seen by studying the answers given by former emigrants to the question on the questionnaire form: "Why did you decide to return to Finland?" The information gained from the answers to this question has been collated in the following list:²¹

²⁰ LINDBERG 1930, 254.

²¹ TYYH/S/1/5001—6268 (1268 questionnaires). The list only includes the questionnaire replies by emigrants emigrating prior to 1930. The questionnaire surveys for the present investigation were discussed on p. 58—59 above.

Homesickness	200 persons (21.3 %)
Unemployment, the depression	136 " (14.5 %)
Just for a visit (i.e. intending to re-emigrate)	106 " (11.3 %)
Illness or injury	101 " (10.8 %)
Family at home	70 " (7.5 %)
Parents' wishes	62 " (6.6 %)
To farm or take over (buy) the family farm	56 " (6.0 %)
Retirement	46 " (4.9 %)
Achievement of original intentions and return home according to plans	34 " (3.6 %)
Wishes of spouse (also migrant)	25 " (2.7 %)
Impulse	22 " (2.3 %)
Discontent	22 " (2.3 %)
Return to join a fiancé(e) in Finland	17 " (1.8 %)
Fear of conscription into the US Army in the First World War	16 " (1.7 %)
Death of spouse (also migrant)	11 " (1.2 %)
Desire to visit Finland after the achievement of independence (1917)	6 " (0.6 %)
Deportation (illegal immigration)	4 " (0.4 %)
To enlist in the Winter War (1939—1940)	1 person (0.1 %)
Communist pressure in America	1 " (0.1 %)
Risk of military conscription in Finland no longer applicable	1 " (0.1 %)
TOTAL	937 persons (100.0 %)

Some questionnaires do not state any reason for return, while others state several. In analyzing this information it must also be remembered that it represents the interpretation of their motives for returning which the former migrants held subsequent to their return. In most cases, there was a lapse of dozens of years between the return and the questionnaire, during which time these interpretations may have changed. Since the list covers such a large number of former migrants, however, changes of interpretation may be disregarded, and the pattern of motives recognized by the returning migrants themselves can be treated as fairly reliable. Naturally there may also have been, for some migrants, reasons of which they were unaware or which they were unwilling to admit; for the understanding of personal motives, nonetheless, the migrants' own interpretations must be primary. In any case, supplementary material is needed and used here to unravel these motives.

The most common cause mentioned by the migrants themselves, then, was homesickness, of which the following, from Lohtaja, are typical expressions: "Longing for the old country brought me back to where I was born" (Otto Hirvi, returned in 1938),²² or "I felt homesick the whole time..." (Eino Kero, returned in 1933).²³ Homesickness was affected by other factors, such as difficulties of adaptation to the new surroundings, or intensified by missing one's family back home; the various headings given above thus partly overlap. Similar reasons also affected other immigrant groups, even later than the great emigration period: the main reason for British immigrants returning from Canada after the Second World War, for example, is stated by RICHMOND to have been failure of identification and homesickness,²⁴ although they were in a far better position to adapt to life in North America than were Finnish immigrants at the turn of the century.

²² TYYH/S/1/5732.

²³ TYYH/S/1/6181.

²⁴ RICHMOND 1967. 251.

A much more concrete reason for returning is the second one mentioned in the list, failure to find employment. Periods of economic depression in the United States led to noticeable increases in return migration, as was observed earlier in the analysis of the economic cycles. Oskari Tokoi, for instance, stated that employment difficulties cut short his first emigration in 1900, when the mine where he was working began to be closed down.²⁵ Another, very illuminating document is the letter from Wictor Roos, in Bessemer, Mich., to his brother in Lappi, Tl., in Finland, dated 29 Nov. 1907, i.e. just at the period when the Finnish return migration was at its height:²⁶

"Hello Brother Kusti from Bessemer and many greetings.

I have been all right and I hope the same to you. The Flambo camp stopped running in the middle of November. I spent one week going from camp to camp but could not find work. All the camps were full of men. There were not enough beds and I had to sleep on the floor. I went to one camp on Saturday evening and I was planning to stay there over the weekend. But next morning I had to start walking to another camp again to get there before dark. And when I could not find work, I drove to Bessemer. So now I lie here at Lehtonen's. I am not sure whether I can find work before Christmas. I was planning to come to see you for Christmas but it is so cold that I will leave it until next summer...

Jussi Mikola left for Finland on November 26. I am going to stay here until Christmas. After Christmas — if the camps start running again — I have to work for two or three months to get money for boarding. Because at the moment I just lie in bed and spend."

Emigrants who returned in the late 1920s or the early 1930s also very frequently mentioned the unemployment caused by the Depression as the reason for their return.²⁷

Another common reason for returning has been the intention to pay a visit to Finland and then return abroad; but for one reason or another, the return journey never took place. There is a vivid, and probably typical, account of changing plans by Oskari Laurila, from Jokioinen; he returned in 1932:²⁸

"What I'd thought of doing was to pay a visit at home in Finland and then go back and set up as a farmer. But things turned out differently. Things had changed here, and there were plenty of farms up for sale, and so I bought a farm, and got married. My savings got us off to a good start. I never did go to America again."

The introduction of the quota system in the 1920s also prevented some people from returning to America even if they wished to do so. Furthermore, KERO suggests that many of those "visiting" Finland did not at heart really want to return to America: this was a way of hiding the fact that their time in America had not in fact been very successful.²⁹ It is at any rate true that "temporary" return made up

²⁵ Tokoi 1947, 94—95.

²⁶ TYYH/S m Satakunta/13/LAP/XI; see also VIRTANEN 1976a, 14—15.

²⁷ On the effects of the Depression in the 1930s, see for example VIRTANEN 1977, 79.

²⁸ TYYH/S/1/5652.

²⁹ KERO 1972, 17.

rather an important proportion of the list of motives for return above. The same motive has also been found to have been very important among returning Greek migrants.³⁰

Injuries at work, and illness in general, caused quite a lot of emigrants to return to Finland, since their ability to work had become weaker. The health of immigrants working in the mines, in particular, was often poor. In the 1920s Runar ÖHMAN studied the return migrants who had been working in the mines both in North America and in South Africa, and over half of those investigated who had been in America were suffering from at least mild bronchial disease, while the situation with those returning from the South African gold mines was even worse, since about 70 % were suffering from mild or severe disease of the lungs. ÖHMAN reports that the work in the South African gold mines often had fatal consequences, for many of those returning died of lung disease fairly soon after their return.³¹

There were also frequently accidents in the mines. A funeral agency in Sudbury, Ont., registered almost 500 Finnish burials between 1913 and 1931, and for men the most common cause of death was accidents at work, mainly in the mines.³² In Iron County, Michigan, in 1907, there were ten deaths per thousand workers, in Marquette County five and in Houghton County three respectively. In the Michigan mines in 1911 there were 55 serious injuries per thousand workers,³³ including many Finnish miners, since they were working in the mines in Michigan in very large numbers. In addition to injuries, pneumonia was common, and mining work also led to disturbances in mental health.³⁴

The 1918 Migration Committee Report alleged that the "hectic life in America" caused mental disturbances, particularly in women, which "a quiet life at home in familiar surroundings" usually cured.³⁵ The Committee was however inclined to emphasize the disadvantages of the emigration, for the majority of the municipal authorities replying to their questionnaire considered the health of returning emigrants to be at least as good as average, nor was mental illness, for instance, reported any more often among migrants than among the rest of the population.³⁶ The same finding is also confirmed separately for Munsala, since BACKMAN states that only 13 % of those returning were ill.³⁷ As the list above shows, however, quite a number of those returning named illness abroad, or the illness of their spouse, as their reason for returning. KERO estimates, on the basis of his questionnaires, that around ten

³⁰ SALOUTOS 1956, 47.

³¹ ÖHMAN 1927, 89—91, 93—98. ÖHMAN studied 57 persons who had returned from America, of whom 26 were completely healthy; the corresponding figures for South Africa were 66 emigrants of whom only 20 were completely healthy.

³² RAIVIO 1975, 365—366.

³³ THURNER 1974, 38—39.

³⁴ ALANEN 1910, 37—38; Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 120; TEIJULA 1921, 908—909; KERO 1972, 16—17.

³⁵ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 22.

³⁶ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 120—121; TEIJULA 1921, 908—909.

³⁷ BACKMAN 1945, 29.

per cent of those returning were suffering from at least partial working disability.³⁸ Similar findings are suggested by the following list, which shows the state of health of returning emigrants at the point of return according to their own statements in the questionnaire:³⁹

Health at return good	194 persons (66.2%)
Health at return satisfactory	71 " (24.2%)
Health at return poor	28 " (9.6%)
<hr/>	
TOTAL	293 persons (100.0%)

The findings from this list, from the earlier list on reasons for returning, and from BACKMAN and KERO, are so much in agreement as to justify fairly confident conclusions being drawn on the returning migrants' state of health at return. The majority have come back either in good or at least reasonably good health; as is moreover to be expected, considering that the great majority of emigrants had emigrated in the prime of their working life and that the typical length of stay abroad was short. However, about one-tenth of those returning were either ill, disabled or partially disabled, or otherwise in poor health. The major reason for this change in the health structure of the return migration in relation to the point of emigration was the toughness of the work abroad. Immigrants must have been in relatively good health when they arrived in the host country, since there were medical inspections carried out in the port of arrival.

In the following list, finally, there are listed those diseases which the returning emigrants reported themselves as having suffered from at the point of return:⁴⁰

Rheumatism	20 persons
Gastric illness	10 "
Heart trouble	5 "
Bronchial trouble	5 "
Disease of the feet	5 "
Injuries	5 "
Back trouble	4 "
Vascular disease	3 "
Hearing trouble	2 "
Kidney disease	1 person
Tooth disease	1 "
Tumour	1 "
Pains in the head	1 "
Alcoholism	1 "
Diabetes	1 "
Ocular disease	1 "
Illness of the central nervous system	1 "
<hr/>	
TOTAL	67 persons

³⁸ KERO 1972. 17.

³⁹ TYYH S/1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires).

⁴⁰ TYYH S/1/7001—7328.

Many of the diseases etc. listed here could have been consequences of injuries in the mines, for instance, although this cannot be determined directly from the list. The list does however indicate what forms of illness most frequently troubled the migrants, and the same diseases etc. were also reported by the municipal authorities in their replies to the Migration Committee in 1918,⁴¹ so that despite the smallness of the sample this list may be taken as indicative.

Another common reason for returning was that a man had emigrated and left his family behind in the place of origin, and in cases like this the decision to return was usually definite even before emigration from Finland. The same could also be said of cases where an emigrant considered that he or she had fulfilled the objectives of emigration and could therefore return home. RICHMOND considered 38% of the British migrants who returned to Britain from Canada in the post-World War II period as merely having carried out their original plans.⁴² This motive is not as central in the list of motives above (p. 176), though one reason for this might be the long period of time that had elapsed between the return and the questionnaire. No doubt many of the migrants did in fact return in accordance with their advance plans, having fulfilled their objectives, but may have seen some other motive as nevertheless more important in their return home.

Some of those who had emigrated as single persons came back at the request of their parents, and the most common cause for this was that the parents no longer felt able to run the family farm on their own. Other returning emigrants stated that their reason for returning was to take over the family farm following their parents' death.

A few emigrants (roughly 5% of the total return), who had spent virtually their entire working life abroad, wished to come back to spend their retirement in Finland on their pension from abroad as was shown above (p. 174—175). Many of these believed that they would manage better on their pension in Finland than in America. Others reported that they had come back after retirement following the death of their spouse, since they had not wished to remain abroad on their own. Again, in other cases one or the other spouse failed to adapt to their new surroundings, and both of them therefore had to come back. Failure to adapt is also suggested by the motives described as "Discontent", "Impulse", etc.

Only rarely do the questionnaire responses indicate that political factors would have been directly responsible for a return home. On the other hand, those who gave "Homesickness" as their motive would have had difficulties in adapting, due among other factors to political aspects and to the alienness of the culture. During the First World War, a number of men emigrants returned to Finland because they were afraid of being drafted into the United States Army and thus being sent to the European theatre of war. A few also gave their motive for a return after the First World War as being the desire to visit Finland after her achievement of independ-

⁴¹ See Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 120--124.

⁴² RICHMOND 1967, 250.

ence (in 1917). One man was informed from Finland that the danger of being drafted into the Russian army was over; one came back because of communist pressure in the United States, while one returned — with approximately 300 other Finnish-Americans⁴³ — in order to fight in the Winter War in 1939–1940.

The questionnaire also contains replies concerning about ten persons who had moved in the 1920s or 1930s to the Soviet Union, and later returned from there to Finland. This raises a question requiring separate investigation, for at present there is not even accurate information about the numbers of Finnish-Americans who moved to the Soviet Union, let alone how many of them then returned. A few points can however be made in the present context.

The first phase in this migration took place in the early 1920s, when a certain number of Finnish-Americans set out to join in building the "Republic of Work". The main activities of the Finns were aimed at strengthening the economy of Soviet Karelia by the establishment of cooperatives. This project was started in 1922, and about 100 Finnish-Americans took part, but it did not last for very long, since in December 1922 the Soviet Government began to impose restrictions on foreign labour entering the country; and within a couple of years of the Finns' arrival, most of them had returned to America, or, in a few cases, to Finland.⁴⁴ In the early 1920s there was also recruitment of Americans to work in other parts of Soviet Russia. For six years, starting in 1922, they were being recruited for the Kuzbas colony in Siberia, and Finns made up the largest ethnic grouping there. The majority of the members ultimately returned to the United States, though others moved to Karelia, the Urals region, or the Caucasus.⁴⁵ There was also an entirely Finnish-American venture, the Sower's Commune, a farming cooperative in southern Russia, established in 1922. There was rapid turnover among its members, but it continued with a strength of about 100 members up to 1927; subsequently it began to change, for in 1932 it was reported as comprising as many as 16 different nationalities. There is no further information about it after the middle of that decade, and it is suggested that it may have been the victim of a purge.⁴⁶

Emigration of Finnish-Americans to the Soviet Union only began on a large scale in the 1930s, however, at the time of the international Great Depression, with thousands of Finns moving there from the United States and Canada. During the Depression, emigration to the Soviet Union emerged as a serious alternative to return to Finland, especially among the Finnish-American labour movement.⁴⁷ Difficulties of employment on the one hand, and the expectations of conditions in the Soviet Union on the other, are given as the main reasons for this migration by Hilda Ristolainen, for example, who returned from the Soviet Union to settle in Kauhajoki, Finland, as late as 1956. She had emigrated from Finland to Canada

⁴³ JOUTSAMO 1971, 3, 122; for Finnish-Canadians, cf. RAIVIO 1979, 112–115.

⁴⁴ HOVI 1971a, *passim*.

⁴⁵ McNITT 1971, 1, 9, 17–18.

⁴⁶ HOVI 1971b, *passim*.

⁴⁷ See Sainio 1965, 397–399 (TYYYH).

in 1928, and in 1933 moved with her husband to the Soviet Union.⁴⁸ Estimates of the overall numbers involved in this migration vary, but there seems to have been something like six to eight thousand taking part, including those from both the United States and Canada.⁴⁹

Only some of those who did not settle permanently in the Soviet Union returned to Finland; others returned to America. It has been calculated that of those Finnish-Canadians who moved there from the area around Sudbury, Ont., about one-fifth returned to Canada (mainly to the Sudbury area). This estimate is only based on a total of 78 departures,⁵⁰ and the finding cannot therefore be considered as more than indicative. Another estimate, on the basis of the questionnaires, is that about half came back, either to the United States, Canada, or Finland.⁵¹

Political causes for return must also be taken to include deportation. This was for example the fate of Niilo Wälläri, a later president of the Finnish Seamen's Union, who arrived in the United States in 1916, having deserted from the ship on which he was working. In 1919 he was sentenced by the United States authorities to deportation, on the formal grounds of illegal immigration, though the real reason was Wälläri's political activities in the United States. He consequently returned to Finland (though not until 1920, as the Finnish authorities would not at first agree to allow him in).⁵²

The information gathered from our questionnaire about the motives most commonly leading in migrants' opinions to a return home appear to be broadly speaking valid, although other sources differ in the order of importance they assign. The same motives are also mentioned, for example, in the municipal authorities' replies to the Migration Committee's questionnaire in 1918: e.g. homesickness, rejoining the family, political reasons, illness, the fulfilment of economic objectives, or unemployment during depressions.⁵³

This examination of the migrants' motives for returning then raises the question to what extent those returning to Finland felt they had succeeded on their journey: in other words, was their return brought about by success, or by failure? The answer can partly be found in the reasons given for their return by migrants, some of which suggest failure and some success. A more precise indication can however only be obtained by questioning interviewees explicitly on this point. On the questionnaire sent out to return migrants, five alternatives are offered to indicate the degree of success of the journey; the results can therefore easily be classified. However, the migrants' views and interpretations may have changed in this respect over the years. Unpleasant experiences have been repressed, and the emigration is then remembered as a kind of adventure, where the pleasant features stand out better in the memory.

⁴⁸ Interview with Hilda Ristolainen, 1974 (author's notes).

⁴⁹ RAIVIO 1975, 487.

⁵⁰ Interview with Yrjö RAIVIO, 1974 (author's notes).

⁵¹ KERO 1975, 220.

⁵² See Wälläri 1967, 13, 43.

⁵³ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 117—119; TEIJULA 1921, 908.

The migrants being interviewed may also in some cases have tried to present their trip as a greater success than they really experienced it as being, since failure is less pleasant to recall than success. Some of those interviewed (120 persons) did not offer any estimate of the degree of success involved; the replies that were given are distributed as follows:⁵⁴

Very successful	149 persons (16.4 %)
Successful	236 " (26.0 %)
Reasonably successful	446 " (49.2 %)
Not very successful	59 " (6.5 %)
Very unsuccessful	16 " (1.8 %)
<hr/>	
TOTAL	906 persons (100.0%)

Virtually half of those replying chose the most neutral answer, "Reasonably successful", while only a few regarded their trip as having been not very successful or very unsuccessful. Those who in their own opinion had succeeded well or very well, however (the first two groups), make up 40.4 %. This information thus suggests that the Finnish migrants had been successful in their objectives, though those who answered "Reasonably successful", probably include many who were in fact relatively disappointed when they set out to return.

BACKMAN asked the Munsala migrants about their degree of economic success, and he gives the following data: 40.3 % of those returning were successful, 17.2 % fairly successful, 16.5 % moderately successful, 18.5 % not very successful, 0.2 % were denied permission to immigrate, and 7.3 % of the replies were unclear on this point.⁵⁵ KERO suggests that emigrants from Satakunta were less successful than those from Munsala.⁵⁶ BACKMAN's classification does not coincide with that used in the list above, but he too found that the migrants were more likely to have succeeded than to have failed. The point needs to be made about questionnaire information, however, that those who had succeeded at least moderately well may have been more willing to provide information than those who had failed, and that this may give a distortion in the findings.

The return to Finland, therefore, has been occasioned either by success or by failure. Both the information listed above, however, and that supplied by BACKMAN, indicate that a considerable majority of the returning emigrants regarded their expedition as having been fairly successful, and that only a minority felt that it had been a failure. Nor does it appear that there are great differences in this respect between Finnish and other nationalities of migrants, since, for instance, a clear

⁵⁴ TYYH/S/1/5001—6268 (1268 questionnaires). In the list the persons emigrating prior to 1930 are included.

⁵⁵ BACKMAN 1945, 33. The figures are derived from a questionnaire on 632 persons.

⁵⁶ KERO 1972, 28.

majority of the emigrants returning to Britain from Canada after the Second World War were satisfied with their years abroad.⁵⁷

There were also some emigrants who had planned to return, but who were unable to afford the journey home. These people were entitled to receive a repatriation grant from the United States Government, for which the conditions were that the immigrant must have arrived in the country legally and that he or she must not have been in the country for longer than three years. Recipients of these grants were not allowed to emigrate to the United States again. Many immigrants became interested in the possibility of receiving this grant during periods of depression; and in the early 1930s, for example, the Finnish-American newspaper *Industrialisti* (Industrialist) published instructions how to apply for repatriation assistance.⁵⁸ The shipping companies offered the estimate that about 10% of those returning had been so unsuccessful abroad that their families in Finland had to send them the ticket for return.⁵⁹

The analysis of return migration as such does not include answering the question as to how many migrants would have returned if they had had the possibility. However, from the point of view of the decision between return and non-return this is of interest. Unfortunately, it is impossible to obtain any exact information; there are no data available on how many actually applied for the repatriation assistance, for example. In the early 1970s there were still old Finnish lumberjacks living in the "hotels" in Duluth, Minn., who had stayed there for decades with no real contacts to the world outside, not even the Finnish community. We may presume that many of them would have returned to Finland during the depression years of the 1930s if they had had money for the return ticket.

The ticket from North America to Finland did not require large savings but it was too much for some. In the years before the First World War the price was 40—50 dollars,⁶⁰ while the immigrant working on railroad construction got two dollars a day around 1910.⁶¹ In other words, the price of the return ticket was about the same as one month's wages. It has been estimated that a hard-working immigrant could save 25 dollars a month, since living in the host country took about a half of the wages.⁶² This means that the immigrant planning to return had to save for two months, which still was considerably less than the amount he had had to collect when he emigrated.⁶³ The prices of tickets between Europe and other continents than

⁵⁷ RICHMOND 1967, 251.

⁵⁸ *Industrialisti*, 27 June 1931.

⁵⁹ See ENGELBERG 1944, 382.

⁶⁰ See LINDSTROM-BEST 1978, 61. The author does not mention the year she is dealing with.

⁶¹ TOIVONEN 1963, 145.

⁶² TOIVONEN 1963, 146.

⁶³ A farmhand or a lumberjack earned roughly two or three marks a day in Finland during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (TOIVONEN 1963, 146), and the price of the ticket to New York varied around 200 marks during the same period (KERO 1974, 172). This means that the cost of the ticket for the emigrant was about the same as the wages for four months. Thus a person planning to emigrate had to save for a long time to finance his trip. In fact — according to TOIVONEN

North America were naturally higher because of the distance. In 1902 the trip from Finland to New York cost 195 marks, but to South Africa 340 marks, and Australia 505 marks.⁶⁴ Thus people returning from these far-away destinations had to have considerable savings to pay for the fare alone.

Despite the fact that the majority of the returning migrants (at least after the lapse of some years or even decades) felt that their visit abroad had been a success, therefore, there were also quite a number of those for whom it had been financially or otherwise a disappointment. Similarly, remaining abroad could be a result of either failure or of success, notwithstanding the fact that most of the emigrants had originally intended to return home.

Once an immigrant began to earn a higher income abroad than he or she had done before emigrating, this alone would lead him or her gradually to abandon the idea of going back again. Ultimately, they might become so wealthy that they would build a house, start farming their own land, and set up a family; return to Finland would then become extremely difficult. Their concept of the old country remained that of what it had been like when they emigrated. A better life was what they were in search of, which meant that in many cases they had unfavourable memories of Finland when it came to considering return.⁶⁵ Consequently it was difficult for them to realize that conditions in Finland had drastically improved during their absence, and even if not everything went according to plan in their life as immigrants, they remained abroad. Others, unsuccessful migrants, again, were unable to return to Finland even if they had wanted to. One of the returning emigrants recounts (somewhat exaggeratedly) how many immigrants frittered away their return fare in the bars on Saturday nights.⁶⁶

The decision of an immigrant, whether successful or unsuccessful, to remain abroad or to return to Finland depended to a large extent on his status and background at emigration. There were many factors affecting the individual's decision, e.g. social status, age, marital status, family relations, and sex; in other words, all of those structural features studied earlier in the return migration as a mass phenomenon were also always present in the background to each individual migrant's decision.

— only one-third of the emigrants could finance their trip themselves: one-third took a loan, and one-third got the ticket from a relative or a friend in America (TOIVONEN 1963, 57). In any case, when the wages in Finland and in the United States are compared with each other and to the prices of the tickets, the return was much "easier" than the original emigration. A good illustration is the fact that the wage in Finland was two marks a day and in the United States two dollars a day; one dollar was more than five Finnish marks in the early 1900s (TOIVONEN 1963, 146).

⁶⁴ KERO 1974, 173.

⁶⁵ Cf. ENGELBERG 1944, 111—112.

⁶⁶ Interview with Ainolf Kurala, 1966 (TYYH S. ä 127).

VIII Readjustment after the Return

1 ATTITUDES TO THE MIGRATION

Not only did emigrants have to overcome various difficulties of adjustment in their host countries, but they in fact faced these again following their return home. Many had as it were to make a new start, especially if a relatively long time had elapsed between their emigration and their return. The major factors affecting this readjustment process can be divided into two groups: 1) the attitudes adopted towards the emigration and more particularly towards the returning emigrants, by the Finnish state, by public opinion, and in the emigrants' home areas; and 2) factors assisting or hindering this readjustment which were strictly individual in nature. At the same time, the attitudes towards the migration movement can be seen as background factors for return or non-return in the first place; i.e. the emigrants took with them pleasant or unpleasant memories when they left their country of origin.

The Finnish central authorities first noted the existence of emigration back in 1873; but throughout the period of heavy emigration, they never succeeded in coming to grips with it.¹ The Migration Committee was not appointed until 1918, and it did not submit its report until 1924,² by which time the overseas migration was largely over. The Migration Committee obtained literature, carried out enquiries, both in America and more particularly in Finland, requested statements from the employers' and labour organizations, carried out questionnaires, etc.³

Right from the beginning of the emigration, it was the disadvantages which were emphasized. Towards the beginning, the moral consequences, in particular, were seen as noxious, and even in the Migration Committee's Report in 1924 these were still placed in front of the economic consequences. Thus, adultery by the wives of the men who had emigrated, on the one hand, and bigamous marriages abroad by the men, on the other, were seen as the greatest dangers. When the municipal council in Karstula reported that as many as 70 % of the wives left behind had committed

¹ SILFVERSTEN 1931. 368; TOIVONEN 1963. 213. 223.

² Letter from the Migration Committee to the Ministry of Social Affairs, 17 March 1924 (TYYH/S/a/184).

³ Letter from the Migration Committee to the Finnish Government, 4 March 1924 (TYYH/S/a/184).

adultery, the Committee found this "too terrible to be true."⁴ Economic disadvantages of the emigration were however also a source of anxiety. Attempts were made to assess the value of the emigrants in capital,⁵ and the loss of labour abroad was stressed.⁶

In general, the darker sides of the emigration were emphasized; the good sides of the host country were easily overlooked or minimized. Even at the beginning of this century, for example, attempts were being made in a variety of contexts to estimate to what extent the value of money orders and parcels sent back by emigrants to their relatives in Finland could compensate for the loss of capital and investment with the movement of the emigrants out of the country; on the whole the value of the inflow was placed very low.⁷ In replying to the questionnaire sent out by the Migration Committee after the First World War, however, the majority of municipal authorities considered that the emigrants had in fact taken adequate care of their dependents here and that only in a few cases had the local authorities needed to help families who had been left behind. It was also reported in Lohtaja, for instance, that money had been raised by migrants to set up a Temperance Society and to build the Labour Club.⁸ The Migration Committee, on the other hand, although on the whole they relied heavily on the results of this questionnaire, tended all the time to pick out those factors which would emphasize the evils of the emigration; thus in fact the questionnaire indicated that adultery was relatively rare, and divorce caused by emigration even rarer.⁹

The development in Sweden was similar to that in Finland. The emigration was discussed in the Riksdag (Swedish parliament) throughout the mass emigration period. In the second half of the 19th century, both positive and negative comments were made; but at the beginning of this century, the voices against the emigration became stronger. Its effects on agriculture were seen as especially deleterious. A Committee was set up in 1907, and its Report was published in 1913. No concrete restrictions on emigration were taken up; instead, the emphasis was put on reforms, i.e. on preventive action. The Report was too late to have any effect on Swedish emigration policy, however, for the emigration was cut off by the First World War, and thereafter shrank to tiny proportions. Seen from an all-European perspective, the trend throughout the emigration period was towards increasingly severe restrictions, culminating however in the drastic limitations imposed in the receiving countries in the post-war period,¹⁰ as a consequence of which restrictions in the countries of origin lost their urgency.

Although the official reactions to the emigration, both in the Nordic countries

⁴ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 24; cf. TARKKANEN 1902, 26—27; ALANEN 1910, 38—42.

⁵ HJELT 1905, 65; HOPPU 1915, 30—31.

⁶ TARKKANEN 1902, 24; ALANEN 1910, 31—32.

⁷ TARKKANEN 1902, 25—26; HOPPU 1915, 26—29, 31.

⁸ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 51, 83, 95.

⁹ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 56, 59.

¹⁰ KÄLVEMARK 1976, 106—113.

and elsewhere in Europe, remained for the most part passive, there were also exceptions. The attitude of the state authorities in Italy to the emigration differed sharply from that in the Nordic countries. The main reason for this is that right from the start the emigration from Italy was highly temporary in nature. Migrants planning their return dispatched large sums of money back to Italy, and this won the active support of the Government for temporary migration.¹¹

In Finland, the attitude of the press was also to emphasize the negative sides of the emigration, and to criticize the inaction of the authorities over preventing it. The press also however failed to come to grips with the heart of the migration problem, though this is not surprising, considering its complexity. The articles in the press reflected fairly closely the fluctuations in the emigration, and included attempts to influence the minds of those planning to leave. The people had other sources of information, however, e.g. letters, and the press failed to achieve its desired effect. The viewpoint of the prospective emigrant was entirely private, whereas the press based its position on the public aspects.¹²

In her study of the press in southern Ostrobothnia, TOIVONEN noted that the emigration was mainly opposed by Swedish-language papers and by those supporting the conservative and liberal parties, whereas those supporting the Agrarian Party and the Social Democrats adopted a more understanding attitude, since they identified their readers with that part of the population from which the majority of the emigrants were recruited.¹³ Roughly the same findings were reached by SALONEN, who states that at the beginning of this century, mainly for nationalist and patriotic reasons, the conservative press adopted a negative attitude towards the emigration, whereas — partly because of their position as the voice of the opposition, and partly following from their interpretation of socialist theory — the left-wing papers started out by supporting the emigration whole-heartedly, although later on they contented themselves with providing information for those planning to leave. In general the conservative press paid more attention to the emigration than the left-wing press did.¹⁴

SCHRIER has noted that the Irish press criticized the emigration from Ireland harshly; the object of criticism, however, was not the emigrants, but the conditions prevailing in the country which occasioned the emigration.¹⁵ Thus it appears that in those countries where the emigration tended to be permanent in character, such as Ireland and Finland, it received considerable criticism, whereas in countries where there were visible benefits to the home country from the migration, such as Italy, the attitude was the opposite.

Once the emigration had begun to decline sharply in Finland, after the First World War, the press began to turn its attention to the contacts between the emigrants and

¹¹ CAROLI 1973, 57—61, 98.

¹² SALONEN 1967, 63, 68, 118, 121—124.

¹³ TOIVONEN 1963, 232.

¹⁴ SALONEN 1967, 82, 118, 125—126.

¹⁵ SCHRIER 1958, 148.

their home country. The moralizing editorials ceased, and the emigrants were declared "innocent" in the press.¹⁶ The question of the maintenance of contacts was raised at this time in other quarters as well. Emigration was no longer blamed on the lack of a sense of responsibility (which one writer had seen at the beginning of the century as one of the emigrants' main motives¹⁷).

The task of the state came to be seen as the removal of the real causes for emigration now,¹⁸ as was also pointed out by the Migration Committee: they rejected the idea of attempting to restrict emigration by legislation, and argued that conditions in Finland should be improved to the point where there would no longer be any interest in emigrating. One of the methods proposed by the Committee was that returning migrants should be able to start farming their own land, since this was specifically what they wished to do. Plans to raise the economy were also urged, e.g. the development of industry.¹⁹

Even in 1921, the Suomen Ammattijärjestö (Finnish Trades Organization) wrote to the Migration Committee a warning against trusting that interest in emigration would not occur again; in particular, they mentioned the appeal of American wages. Improvements were therefore called for in the living conditions, the length of the working day, and the level of earnings of the working population in Finland. Freedom of movement should however be retained, as an alternative to improving the workers' conditions.²⁰

It was only after the achievement of Finnish independence that real progress began to be made in the development of contacts between the Finnish emigrants and Finland,²¹ though the first steps to ease possible problems of emigrants abroad had been undertaken in Finland right at the beginning of the emigration. The most important of these had been the foundation in 1875 of the Suomen Merimieslähetysseura (Finnish Seamen's Mission), which concentrated on assisting Finnish seamen who had got into difficulties in foreign countries.²² In 1908, there were articles in the press about improving contacts, so that as many migrants as possible might return to Finland,²³ and the creation of contacts was also favourably regarded in a booklet of 1910,²⁴ although its attitude to the emigration was in other respects hostile.

Evidently the reason why increasing attention began to be paid to improving communications in the 1920s was that the emigration came to be seen as a fait accompli, in which case it was no longer justified to adopt the same attitude towards

¹⁶ SALONEN 1967, 100, 124—125.

¹⁷ TARKKANEN 1902, 28.

¹⁸ TUDEER 1923, 378; ENGELBERG 1944, 87—90.

¹⁹ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 28—35; cf. Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 156—159.

²⁰ Letter from the Finnish Trades Organization to the Migration Committee, 15 March 1921 (TYHH S/a 184).

²¹ SNELLMAN I 1929, 10.

²² HAUTALA 1967, 114.

²³ SALONEN 1967, 61.

²⁴ ALANEN 1910, 70.

the migrants as before; rather, it was hoped that with the improvement of contacts, some of them might then return. The main motive, however, seems to have been the preservation of Finnish culture in the host countries.

But the development of links between Finland and the Finnish-Americans proceeded slowly: the major achievements from the Finnish side include the founding in 1927 of the Suomi-Seura (Suomi Society), and the Ulkosuomalais-Yhdistys (Overseas Finns' Association).²⁵

Similarly, the Finnish-Americans began to display increased interest in their mother country. In the 1920s they began to visit Finland in large numbers each summer, and the custom grew up of arranging big receptions for groups of arriving visitors, usually under the auspices of the organizations dealing with Finnish expatriates. This provoked the Finnish-American syndicalist newspaper *Industrialisti* to express its disapproval under the revealing headline, "Why Receptions by Bourgeois for Pleasure Visitors to Finland?"²⁶ These visits therefore to some extent took on political overtones, but also illustrated the new emphasis on the maintenance of contacts.

Since the majority of the emigrants had left Finland at a time when the prevailing attitude towards the emigration was hostile, this factor is essential in the examination of returning migrants' readjustment, and also contributes to the low return rate in the first place. On the other hand, it must also be remembered that the actions of both the state authorities and the press were intended to encourage as many migrants as possible to return to Finland; the press in Turku, for example, commented with satisfaction on the record number of migrants returning in 1907.²⁷ During the early Great Depression in the 1930s, a campaign was initiated in Finland to persuade Finnish-Americans to move back to Finland. According to the correspondent in Finland of *Industrialisti*, this campaign was particularly aimed at migrants with savings. In an extensive series of three articles, this correspondent tried to present the economic situation in Finland as so bad that it was not worth thinking of returning, and he sees the campaign as an attempt by the Finnish capitalists to rob the migrants of their savings.²⁸

Many of these initiatives were however belated, since by the 1930s even the return migration was largely over, despite the boost it received from the Depression. Thus it was only in the 1920s, following the setting up of organizations dealing with Finnish expatriates, that attention began to be paid to those difficulties which a migrant returning to Finland might encounter, and one of the tasks of these organizations therefore emerged as "return services";²⁹ due to the small numbers returning, however, this activity remained on a small scale. Moreover, despite the fact that the

²⁵ SNELLMAN I 1929, 36—42; ENGELBERG 1944, 441—442.

²⁶ *Industrialisti*, 3 Aug. 1931. The author was the paper's "special Finnish correspondent", Niilo Wälläri (see p. 216—217).

²⁷ SALONEN 1967, 62, 73.

²⁸ *Industrialisti*, 24 July 1931, 25 July 1931, 27 July 1931. The author was Niilo Wälläri.

²⁹ SNELLMAN I 1929, 41; ENGELBERG 1944, 388.

state authorities had wished for a high return rate even in the period preceding the First World War, the Report of the 1918 Migration Committee emphasized the view that most of the returning migrants had failed and had learned nothing during their years abroad.³⁰ Even at this late stage, the aim of the Committee was to demonstrate the undesirability of the emigration, since they could not take it for granted that — for a variety of reasons — the movement was to virtually collapse during the 1920s.

In Italy, by contrast, a wide range of very concrete steps were taken in good time to deal with potential difficulties facing return migrants.³¹ no doubt with effects on the temporary nature of the Italian migration and on its subsequent impact on the Italian economy. In Germany, contemporaries assessed the return migration in terms of nationalist and economic criteria, and the return of migrants was consequently in general welcomed. Those returning were seen as a sign of the strength of the appeal of Germany, and as a warning to other potential emigrants.³²

When the background factors affecting the readjustment of returning emigrants are studied in relation to the individual's home area, one general feature which stands out is the strictly condemnatory attitude of the clergy to the emigration, which is understandable in terms of individual morality and pastoral care. The attitude of public officials was also generally hostile to the emigration while it was at its height.³³ The educated classes condemned it both on nationalist and economic grounds.³⁴ According to TOIVONEN, the emigration was even seen as harmful in those associations with members from the rural population.³⁵ BLOMFELT considers that among the rural population in Åland, the emigration was seen by the farmers as a threat to the future of the Province, whereas the crofters, cottagers, and tenants saw it as beneficial both to themselves and to the Province, since in their opinion it enriched the lives of those who had been to America, and in this way benefited the entire community.³⁶

To a large extent, however, their re-adjustment to conditions in the places they had come from depended on the returning migrants themselves, and their degree of success abroad must largely have determined their degree of satisfaction on returning to Finland. This aspect will be studied in greater detail in the following section, now that the more general factors discussed above have been set out. They represented inescapable conditions in the readjustment of the returning emigrant, which he would constantly need to keep in mind.

³⁰ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 21, 25.

³¹ CAROLI 1973, 70–72.

³² HELL 1976, 58.

³³ TOIVONEN 1963, 240.

³⁴ Cf. LINDBERG 1930, 62, for Sweden.

³⁵ TOIVONEN 1963, 241–244.

³⁶ BLOMFELT 1968, 134–135.

2 INDIVIDUAL FACTORS FACILITATING OR HINDERING READJUSTMENT

Where homesickness or similar reasons drove so many of the migrants back to Finland, their intention in the majority of cases was, clearly, to settle again permanently here. They were, on the other hand, often aware of those factors discussed in the foregoing section, which might make life back less pleasant for them.

One concrete evidence of this is the drawing up of plans for return in large groups, with the intention to settle in an area entirely occupied by return migrants. One of the central figures in this project was Antero Havela (also p. 199—200) who had emigrated from Lohtaja in 1892, and who wrote a longish article on this topic in 1932 in the newspaper *Lännen Suometar* (Western Finn), published in Astoria, Ore. In this he referred to the current economic situation in the United States, and concludes with the question, "What is our future in this country?" The solution he suggested was a mass movement back to Finland, to establish a lakeside community settlement somewhere near the cities of Helsinki, Turku, or Tampere. He believed that virtually all emigrants suffered from fairly strong homesickness, and that organized return should therefore be pursued. A joint community — a Finnish-American village — would help the returning migrants to adapt into Finnish society more successfully.³⁷

Plans for return settlements were still alive at the time of the Second World War, for ENGELBERG was looking for ways of increasing group return in his consideration of how to overcome the difficulties faced by returning migrants.³⁸ The Suomi-Amerika Toimisto (Finland-America Office) which he ran also attempted in the early 1930s, according to *Lännen Suometar*, to assist emigrants' reassimilation in other ways besides the settlement projects; e.g. it assisted returning migrants in buying farms, since it had previously been revealed that ex-emigrants were liable to be cheated in such deals.³⁹

Group return to Finland never in fact took place, although the idea was actively canvassed, e.g. in the Minnesota Finnish Historical Society, as reported by its former chairman, Alex Kyyhkynen. The reason for the group idea, according to Kyyhkynen, was precisely that life would be more comfortable in Finland for those returning if they stuck together. The main reason for the abandonment of the plans, Kyyhkynen believes, was the failure of the Finnish-American organizations to reach agreement on the form of organization: cooperation would have been essential in such a large project, he suggests. It would also have required large funds. The final blow to the plan was delivered by the Second World War, and thereafter the idea was not taken up again.⁴⁰

These examples illustrate that many different problems were recognized in

³⁷ *Lännen Suometar*, 19 July 1932.

³⁸ ENGELBERG 1944, 381, 384—385, 388—390.

³⁹ *Lännen Suometar*, 8 Aug. 1933.

⁴⁰ Interview with Alex Kyyhkynen, 1973 (author's notes).

connection with the return, and that efforts were made to solve these in advance. This is further reinforced by the foundation in 1933 in Helsinki of the Amerikan Suomalaisen Seura (Society of American Finns) whose aims included

"to be a point of contact for Finns in America, and to provide assistance to members in difficulties; to provide guidance and support in the achievement of goals of material and intellectual progress..."

Membership was open to all Finnish citizens who had been resident for at least two years in the United States or Canada.⁴¹ No information is available on the Society's actual activities or the size of its membership, but this does not appear to have developed very far, since the last information on the Society is a minor set of alterations in its official name and statutes, recorded in the Register of Associations in 1935.⁴² A similar lack of success met the Suomen Ulkomaankävijäin Seura (Finnish Overseas Travellers' Association), founded in 1934, which two years later only had 38 members.⁴³

In Denmark, a contact association was established by returning migrants as early as 1876,⁴⁴ with the apparent aims of improving conditions for those returning. The same feature is suggested by JANSON's accounts of areas in Sweden where returning migrants made an effort to speak English at their meetings, order American papers or magazines, etc.⁴⁵

The emigrants returning to Finland did however enjoy favourable conditions for readjusting to the old surroundings, since in most cases they had only been abroad for a few years. The questionnaire suggests that most of the returning migrants settled down happily after their return, as the following figures indicate:⁴⁶

Satisfied	183 persons (61.8 %)
Moderately satisfied	91 " (30.7 %)
Dissatisfied	22 " (7.4 %)
<hr/>	
TOTAL	296 persons (100.0 %)

These figures indicate almost all of those returning as having been reasonably content after their return home, though it must be borne in mind that in many cases several decades had elapsed between the return and the questionnaire. Only about one-tenth of those returning, then, have encountered serious difficulties in settling down again in Finland. This is confirmed by the data from Munsala, where of the

⁴¹ Entries in the Register of Associations, Ministry of Justice, for the Society of American Finns, 1933 and 1935; see also *Lännen Suometar*, 18 Aug. 1933.

⁴² Alteration recorded in the Register of Associations, Ministry of Justice, for the Society of American Finns, 12 Nov. 1935.

⁴³ ENGELBERG 1936, passim (Suomi Society).

⁴⁴ HVIDT 1971, 326.

⁴⁵ JANSON 1931, 435.

⁴⁶ TYYH S 1 7001-7328 (328 questionnaires).

632 emigrants who returned. 50.2 % considered that they had been happy both abroad and following their return, 20.4 % had been happier back home, and only 11.1 % had preferred their time abroad.⁴⁷ Many of those who were dissatisfied with their return, however, will have fairly soon re-emigrated, and are therefore excluded from these figures.⁴⁸

One of the factors affecting the degree of satisfaction back in Finland would of course be the question whether the migrant had succeeded in amassing savings abroad, since these would provide a relatively good basis for making a new start back home. In the questionnaire addressed to the municipal authorities, over three-quarters of the councils believed that the financial standing of return migrants was at least somewhat better than that of persons of similar status who had been continuously resident in Finland.⁴⁹ Similar findings also emerge from the questionnaire material collected for the present investigation, according to which around 80 % of those returning did so with savings on the basis of which they were able to make a new start in Finland. This does however leave a considerable number — about one-fifth — who according to their own account returned with no savings.⁵⁰

The majority of those returning to Finland were, however, relatively well-off, as has also been found for the Norwegian return migrants by SEMMINGSEN.⁵¹ Similarly, migrants returning to the Halmstad area in Sweden were able to improve their social status to some extent as a result of their years abroad.⁵² The migrants returning to Greece are also said to have often brought money with them when they returned, but to have lost it in many cases through the frequent collapse of Greek banks.⁵³ The considerable significance of the returning Italian migrants has already been commented on in the previous section of this Chapter.

Overall, therefore, the information available for different countries suggests that the majority of migrants were fairly successful financially while abroad, though this is not to overlook the rather sizable proportion of those returning with very little to their name. The estimates of the 1918 Migration Committee, that most of the returning migrants had been unsuccessful abroad, can thus be dismissed. According to the Committee, the most successful were those who were accompanied by their wives, "to look after what the man earned."⁵⁴ One writer's booklet of 1902 shared the same aim: to discourage emigration; hence comments such as that migrants could not have learned anything "underground in the mines."⁵⁵

⁴⁷ BACKMAN 1945, 34. There are also unknown cases, i.e. 16.1 %, and "111", i.e. 2.2 %.

⁴⁸ Re-emigration was studied quantitatively in Chapter II: 2 above.

⁴⁹ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 124; TEIJULA 1921, 909.

⁵⁰ TYYH'S I/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires). Altogether there were 291 replies, of whom 233 persons (80.1 %) reported having had at least moderate savings. 58 persons (19.9 %), on the other hand, had no savings at all at return.

⁵¹ SEMMINGSEN 1950, 461—462.

⁵² KRONBORG and NILSSON 1975, 230.

⁵³ SALOUTOS 1956, 53, 104.

⁵⁴ Siirtolaisuuskomitean mietintö 1924, 21—22.

⁵⁵ TARKKANEN 1902, 25.

The majority of those returning used their savings from abroad to finance the purchase of land, a farm, or a home, as the following illustrates:⁵⁶

Farm (outright or partial purchase, or renovation)	228 persons (38.8%)
Private house (new or renovation)	187 " (31.8%)
Ordinary life	71 " (12.1%)
Bank savings	33 " (5.6%)
Business (shop, sawmill, mill, etc.)	16 " (2.7%)
Privately owned apartment	14 " (2.4%)
Return journey	14 " (2.4%)
Children's education	9 " (1.5%)
Car	6 " (1.0%)
Illness	6 " (1.0%)
Drinking	3 " (0.5%)
TOTAL	587 persons (100.0%)

The first point to be made here is that very many of those answering the questionnaire did not answer this question at all, often, no doubt, because they had not had any savings worth mentioning, or because they had forgotten. The category "Private house" probably also includes quite many farms (the word *talo* in Finnish is used both for a house and a farm) as well as family houses in the narrower sense. It is consequently evident that the largest proportion of those who returned with savings used them to set up in agriculture, either by buying a farm outright, renovating an old farm, or by buying out the co-inheritors of the family farm (the normal practice in Finland, by which all the inheritors share in the value of the farm but the estate is kept intact).

The history of Vihtori Mäkelä, who emigrated from Evijärvi in 1923, is very typical. He set out for Canada, since entry to the United States was becoming more difficult, and went to work in the mines, regularly putting "half my wages in the bank". Five years later, mainly for reasons of homesickness, he returned in typical fashion to his home area of Evijärvi, where he bought a farm with his Canadian savings. All in all, he considered his trip abroad to have been a "first-class" success.⁵⁷

TOIVONEN studied the questionnaire replies of 102 southern Ostrobothnian migrants, and found that as many as 80 % of them used their American savings on the land in one way or another.⁵⁸ The information gathered from the municipal authorities around Finland also confirms that returning migrants were especially interested in buying land of their own.⁵⁹ This is natural, since the majority of emigrants consisted of young men who either because of the large number of co-

⁵⁶ TYYH/S/1/5001—6268 (1268 questionnaires). Only those replies have been included in this investigation which concern persons emigrating in or before 1930.

⁵⁷ Interview with Vihtori Mäkelä, 1978 (Institute for Migration).

⁵⁸ TOIVONEN 1963, 189.

⁵⁹ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 128—132.

inheritors in their family, or due to their parents' social status, had no opportunity to farm their own land. Those landowners who emigrated, on the other hand, mainly did so in order to be able to improve their farm after returning, or in order to pay off debts which had accumulated over the years. It is therefore hardly surprising that many of the emigrants returning at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one were aiming to become independent farmers if their time abroad had provided them with the means to do so.

The desire to own land of one's own is also recognizable in the Finnish-American settlement project described above. Swedish and Italian return migrants, too, have been found to have largely invested their savings in agriculture.⁶⁰ Those returning to Ireland, on the other hand, did not use their savings to the same extent to buy land, reports SCHRIER. They paid off old debts, repaired property which they had already acquired before emigrating, etc. Nevertheless, many of them took up their previous farms again after returning, or invested their money in a business.⁶¹

Settling on a farm meant a lot in terms of readjustment, for it bound the owner as tightly to his native area as the acquisition of a farm in the host country reduced the likelihood of an emigrant's returning. This factor was so central in the question of readjustment that it was also noticed by the municipal authorities in their replies to the 1918 Migration Committee's questionnaire.⁶² Emil Nummelin, who returned to Finland during the Great Depression in 1932, considered that it was the purchase of a farm which decisively led to his not re-emigrating, although it had originally been his intention to do so.⁶³

The other groups mentioned in the list above suggest that setting up in business, buying a flat of one's own, or a car, all indicated success abroad; and these might be considered as urban investment equivalent to the purchase of a farm in the country. Where the savings were spent on the return journey, the trip abroad must be considered in this respect a failure. The remaining groupings in the list do not permit firm conclusions to be drawn (though where a migrant reports having spent his savings on drinking, it may be presumed that his attitude towards the end-results of his trip abroad were not very positive); and after all, these cover only a small proportion in the list.

To a large extent, therefore, returning migrants had succeeded abroad adequately to enable them to begin living in Finland again under better conditions than had been accessible to them at emigration. In this case, the experience abroad, and the new ways learnt there, were relatively easy to adapt to Finnish surroundings. Some, however, did encounter difficulties of settling down again, and these can be seen from the following information:⁶⁴

⁶⁰ For Sweden, see JANSON 1931, 432; for Italy, see FOERSTER 1924, 451—452.

⁶¹ SCHRIER 1958, 118, 138, 151.

⁶² Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 140—141.

⁶³ Interview with Emil Nummelin, 1966 (TYYH/S ä 127).

⁶⁴ TYYH/S 1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires).

No difficulties	170 persons (73.0 %)
Difficulties of employment or in finances	22 " (9.4 %)
Too quiet and strange immediately after return	20 " (8.6 %)
Indecisiveness about re-settling in Finland or re-emigrating	7 " (3.0 %)
Decline in standard of living	5 " (2.1 %)
Political difficulties	4 " (1.7 %)
Inability to speak Finnish properly	3 " (1.3 %)
Difficulties in obtaining accommodation	2 " (0.9 %)
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 233 persons (100.0%)

Approximately a quarter of the returning migrants felt that they had encountered some kind of difficulty in settling down. Many of these were however of the type that will have been reasonably easy to overcome soon after return. Even after a few years abroad, the return to an emigrant's native area could cause "natural" difficulties, inasmuch as conditions in the countries of immigration differed considerably and had already become familiar. Thus almost 10 % of those replying stated that life here was quiet and dull in the period immediately after their return, and similar experiences are hinted at in the case of those undecided whether to settle down or re-emigrate. Sometimes, however, external circumstances might prevent re-emigration; thus one emigrant came back for a visit to Finland in 1914 in order to have her baby in familiar surroundings; but the First World War intervened, and she did not return to the United States even after the war was over.⁶⁵

The returning migrants' "initial difficulties" were also referred to by the municipal authorities in their replies to the Migration Committee's questionnaire.⁶⁶ ENGELBERG, too, emphasized the difficulties migrants faced immediately after their return.⁶⁷ Those who had been abroad for a longer time, in particular, must have needed time to adjust, even if they had no actual problems. Anna Polvi, from Loh-taja, who emigrated to Australia in 1928 and only returned to Finland in 1954, commented that⁶⁸

"during such a long absence, ways of life and friends had changed a lot, and it was difficult at first to make contacts: this was a skill it took me some years to learn."

In his study of Swedish migrants, LINDBERG came to the conclusion that those who were older at return, after a relatively long time abroad, usually encountered such great difficulties of readjustment that in the end they decided to re-emigrate. The primary reason for this is that the returning migrant feels as isolated in his mother country as he had originally done in his host country, for in the meanwhile old friends and relations have died. Conditions will also have changed to such

⁶⁵ Interview with Ida Kotilainen, 1977 (author's notes).

⁶⁶ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 140.

⁶⁷ ENGELBERG 1944, 385—386.

⁶⁸ TYYH S I 7292.

a degree that it is no longer worth his trying to adapt his conceptions, nor indeed is he able to do so.⁶⁹ The problems facing those who have been abroad for a long time are also referred to by CERASE with the Italians: he suggests that the migrant who returns home to retire insists on absolute peace and quiet, so that the slightest disturbance causes irritation, yet a person in this situation often believes that he is envied by other people, which leads to his almost complete isolation.⁷⁰

Such generalizations should however be regarded with caution. First of all, it should be noted that Finnish migrants who had been abroad for several decades only comprised a small fraction of the return, and their degree of satisfaction following their return was in the main an individual question. Many of those returning to retire still had relations and acquaintances with whom they could establish contacts. Moreover, the simple fact of their age presented an obstacle to any re-emigration overseas, even if not everything corresponded to the expectations which had led them to return home. Saimi Michelson, for example, who returned back in 1965 after 49 years abroad, did not encounter any particular problems of adaptation: the only thing was that speaking Finnish felt strange at first.⁷¹ The language difficulties mentioned in the list above were in fact specifically a problem for those who had been away for a long time.

Some of those responding to the questionnaire (9.4 %) had difficulties in obtaining a job, or financial problems, which were often a more serious problem: they were not a question of time, like the sense of "dullness" immediately after the return. These economic problems would lead to dissatisfaction: as was noted earlier (p. 193), around 10 % of those permanently returning experienced dissatisfaction and difficulties of readjustment, a figure which corresponds with the list above.

Others, again, allude to political difficulties following their return, and these, like financial difficulties, must have been particularly problematic for the returning emigrant to overcome. Matti Kurikka, who had attempted to found successful utopian communities first in Australia and then in Canada at the turn of the century,⁷² came back to Finland to continue his political activities in 1905. During his absence abroad, however, he had become so estranged from political circumstances in Finland that he was no longer able to achieve the response he needed for his ideas. He therefore decided in 1908 that it would be better to return to America, and he never revisited Finland again.⁷³

For five of the persons in this list, a fall in their standard of living was the worst difficulty they faced after their return. Conditions in Finland were certainly simpler than abroad, for many of the migrants, but these answers appear to indicate real dissatisfaction with Finnish conditions in general, at least immediately after the

⁶⁹ LINDBERG 1930, 254—255; see also JANSON 1931, 435.

⁷⁰ CERASE 1970, 231.

⁷¹ Interview with Saimi Michelson, 1974 (author's notes).

⁷² See NIITEMAA 1971, *passim*.

⁷³ LINNOILA 1933, 166—167, 172, 316.

return.⁷⁴ Neither these, however, nor difficulties in obtaining accommodation, have been insuperable obstacles to settling down again.

While financial difficulties presented a real obstacle to resettling, financial success was not necessarily a guarantee that the returning emigrant would feel satisfied back at home. Finnish-American sources, in particular, refer to the way in which returning emigrants were treated with envy by the home population, and often made fun of.⁷⁵ Oskari Tokoi recounts how, immediately after his return in 1900, he met someone who asked, "Well, how does it feel to come again to Finland, after having run away from it?"⁷⁶ Hilda Koskela, who came back to Finland in 1930, refers to the jealousy and envy which was directed at emigrants returning from America, while on the other hand some people tried to take advantage of them, since they had a reputation for being wealthy.⁷⁷

ENGELBERG states that there were numerous examples of returning migrants being sold completely unsuitable farms at extortionate prices, often leading to feelings of betrayal, and re-emigration. ENGELBERG says that it was easy to cheat a returning migrant, who was out of touch with local conditions and customs, and that this made them question the sense of re-settling in Finland.⁷⁸ The need for means of dealing with this kind of problem led to the establishment of a special organization, as described above (p. 192).

Jealousy and suspicion directed against returning migrants were by no means an exclusively Finnish phenomenon, since a similar situation is also reported from Greece, where the return took place on a considerably larger scale. According to SALOUTOS, Greek return migrants felt that their public standing depended on their financial position at the given time. In towns, in particular, they were subject to criticism, while the reception in the countryside was milder.⁷⁹ The migrants themselves, however, caused some of the criticism they encountered, since FOERSTER refers to the town houses which Italians built to "show off" about having been abroad.⁸⁰

Exceptional success abroad could also be a source of difficulties in readjustment, since the opportunities overseas would seem better than at home. Antero Havela, who emigrated from Lohtaja in 1892, was one of the most successful Lohtaja emigrants abroad, and his history appears in a number of Finnish-American publications.⁸¹ Initially he worked in the coal mines in Rock Springs, Wyo., for seven years, before becoming a foreman in road construction, which was quite a step up-

⁷⁴ For Greece, cf. SALOUTOS 1956, 106.

⁷⁵ SILFVERSTEN 1931, 371—372; KOLEHMAINEN 1970, 229—233.

⁷⁶ Tokoi 1947, 95—96.

⁷⁷ Interview with Hilda Koskela, 1978 (author's notes).

⁷⁸ ENGELBERG 1944, 384.

⁷⁹ SALOUTOS 1956, 62, 106, 109.

⁸⁰ FOERSTER 1924, 457.

⁸¹ See, for example, NIKANDER 1927, 60; AALTIO 1953, 22—24; cf. Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 17, 127.

wards. At this point he began to feel homesick, and in 1904 returned, with his family, to Lohtaja, having got married during his first year abroad in a typical emigrant manner to a fellow-emigrant from the same village. Back in Lohtaja, Havela built a house, and actually set up a shop; but he had got used to a higher income in America, and in 1907 re-emigrated there. Even after this, he came back to try his luck once more in Finland, but finally moved overseas for good in 1909, where at first he worked as an agent selling farming land to Finnish immigrants, and then switched to "running forests". He was so successful in business that in 1930 he was able with two other Finnish-Americans to establish a bank, and subsequently five more banks. Due to his success, he was also able to represent Finnish national aspirations, in recognition of which he was awarded the Finnish decoration, Knight of the Order of the White Rose, in 1928. He settled in Duluth, Minn., where in 1949 he founded a Finnish-language newspaper, *Keskilännen Sanomat* (Mid-West News), and was financially involved in a number of other Finnish-American ventures,⁸² e.g. playing a central role in the idea of a Finnish-American colony in Finland as a means of organizing mass return (see p. 192 above).

No worthwhile information is available on the impact of religious factors on resettlement after return, and due to the dominant position of the Lutheran Church in Finland, this question is not crucial. One point worth mentioning concerns the emigrants from Polvijärvi, of whom about one in ten was Orthodox; 12.5 % of these returned permanently, a figure slightly lower than the overall return rate for Polvijärvi (15.7 % in Table 10, p. 62). The difference is only slight, and it might be due to the fact that the majority of the Orthodox emigrants were women; the return rate for women in general was lower than for men, and all the Polvijärvi Orthodox who came back were in fact men. There were only two cases of temporary return among the Orthodox group, one of whom eventually resettled in Finland permanently; in the other case the husband re-emigrated to North America, together with his wife and three children, and never returned to Finland.⁸³ This evidence, at least, does not therefore indicate any distinction in relation to readjustment between Orthodox and Lutherans, and this Orthodox group corresponds closely to the Polvijärvi return migration in other respects too. There were, it is true, unusually many women among the emigrants, but this might be attributable to the smallness of the group.

The difficulties encountered by migrants returning to Finland were also recorded in Finnish-American literature: e.g. Jallu Rissanen's novel *Muuttolintuja* (Birds of Passage), about a returning migrant who starts out by buying his parents' debt-laden farm. Despite the fact that everything goes approximately according to plan, the hero is unable to readapt to conditions back at home, and finally decides to re-emigrate to America. Through the mouth of this hero, Rissanen attempts to analyze why so many returning migrants then emigrated once more, and suggests that the main reason is that although the migrants had once been accustomed to conditions

⁸² AALTIO 1953, 22--24.

⁸³ There were 24 Orthodox emigrants from Polvijärvi, including 15 women and 9 men; all three who returned permanently were men.

in Finland, with the passage of time they had become familiar with those in their host country, with the result that they became confused, and were unable to find a real home either in Finland or overseas.⁸⁴

As the foregoing discussion has indicated, then, the major difficulties of readjustment encountered by returning emigrants occurred immediately following their return. This is also confirmed by the fact that more than half of those ultimately re-emigrating did so within two years of having returned, while at the most one-fifth did so five years or more after their previous return (see p. 71). Once several years had passed after returning, the possibility of re-emigrating obviously began to recede, and with the passage of time the returning migrants became increasingly tied to their mother country by a variety of bonds, and the idea of setting out again began to fade. Return from overseas to Finland, and re-emigration from Finland overseas, are thus in this respect comparable phenomena: the longer the elapse of time from the previous move, the less likely was a further move.

On the other hand, although these difficulties of readjustment led about ten per cent of the Finnish return migrants to re-emigrate (see p. 70), these people were also more liable to return again to Finland later. It was demonstrated earlier (p. 73—74) that permanent return was relatively more frequent among those migrating more than once. This is hardly surprising, since those migrating more than once may have largely consisted of people who wished to re-settle in Finland, but who on their first return had failed to adjust adequately to Finnish conditions; consequently they were willing to attempt permanent return again later. Another reason might be the failure to adapt adequately to conditions in the host country, despite having been there before. Multiple-migrants have therefore been more "ready" for the idea of return. Many of them must have found themselves in a situation where it was difficult to decide which country they preferred, leading to their making a number of moves in both directions and perhaps ultimately settling in one country or the other for quite accidental reasons.

In general, however, this Chapter has shown that migrants permanently returning to Finland did not encounter very serious difficulties of readjustment. This is not to overlook the many returning migrants (one-tenth of all the emigrants) who decided to return overseas. Anyone who had been abroad for several years was after all something of a "personage" in his or her native district, often admired as well as envied. Frans Hanhela, who returned to Kittilä in 1914, may provide the comment on this aspect of the readjustment: "A man who'd come back from America was a very desirable godfather."⁸⁵ This interest in the returning migrants is also confirmed by the plays often put on in the emigration regions: e.g. the comedy *Amerikasta palatessa* (Coming Back from America), written by Aapo Selja in 1908, which shows the villagers' excitement as they wait for the traveller to return: how much money has

⁸⁴ Rissanen 1938, *passim*.

⁸⁵ TYYH S 1/7136.

he got, what does he look like, etc. The play ends with the migrant fulfilling all the positive expectations.⁸⁶

The readjustment of a migrant returning to his or her native area was thus the sum of many factors, including the effects of the degree of financial success overseas, the migrant's impressions of the host country, family connections, social status, and the attitudes of both the state authorities and public opinion towards on the one hand the emigration and on the other those returning. The returning migrant was thus subject to a range of contradictory pressures, so that in the end it depended on the individual what attitude he adopted and which factors were the most important. Ultimately, it depended on his own value judgments how well he could readjust after a long absence. The influences which the migrants brought back with them, and the reception these received, constitute a further factor in this respect, which will be accorded separate examination in the following Chapter.

⁸⁶ S (Selja) 1908, *passim*.

IX The Impact of the Returning Migrants

Although the migrants returning to Finland had usually only been abroad for a few years, this must nevertheless have been such an experience that one would expect it to have an impact both on the migrants themselves and also on the community to which they returned. This impact cannot be measured, for the values involved are always to a greater or lesser extent based on subjective views. Similar judgments are available as comparative material from some other countries, so that general conclusions can be drawn. The reactions of the rest of the population to this impact either hindered or assisted the returning migrant's readjustment and settling down.

On the return migrants questionnaire for the present investigation, the migrants' answers on influences brought with them by those returning divided as follows: 84 considered that the returning migrants had at least some impact, while in 46 persons' opinion no such impact had occurred. More than half of those replying to the questionnaire did not reply to this question.¹ The questionnaire sent out to the municipal authorities by the 1918 Migration Committee also devoted considerable attention to this question of the impact of the returning migrants, and most of the authorities considered that those returning had not brought with them or put into practice any particular innovations. Authorities who provided answers differentiating between various areas of life, however, more often made favourable than unfavourable replies;² and although many authorities considered the returning migrants' impact minimal, there were also some which reported this impact in particular fields as having been very important.

This examination must start from the observation that only a minority (about 20 %) of the emigrants returned permanently to Finland, and in most areas, this alone will have made their impact limited. In the regions of high emigration, especially in Ostrobothnia, however, the situation might be very different. For example, there were over 400 migrants who returned (over a long period of time) to Lohtaja, which must have had a noticeable affect in a district with a population steadily hovering around 3000. Since almost 90 % of the emigrants came from rural areas,

¹ TYYH S/1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires).

² Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 126, 132—134.

and the rural return rate was also relatively higher than that to towns, then the comment of one returning migrant who returned in 1928 is generally valid:³

”In a town society there wasn’t much chance for unskilled emigrants to have much effect on the life of the town. I’m sure that returning emigrants — despite their hardworkingness and the bit of money they had - were on the receiving end.”

There were, of course, exceptions; and many of the influential returnings migrants who will be discussed below did in fact operate in town society. In the following discussion of the migrants’ impact in different areas of life, however, the main attention will be given to rural society, which was where almost the entire Finnish overseas return migration occurred, and where it therefore had the greater chances of influence.

The clearest impact of the returning migrants was in the local economy. The 1918 Migration Committee Report comments in the Appendix that the municipal authorities replying to the questionnaire were most agreed on the impact in the economy. Many of the authorities’ replies pointed out the effect of the migrants’ capital in boosting and stimulating the economy. Their entrepreneurial spirit, and open-mindedness, are also mentioned as progressive influences, and they are described as thrifty, economical, and hardworking. Finally, it was also commented on that they had become used to better conditions abroad, and were therefore interested in achieving improvements at home. Only in one district was the impact of the returning migrants disapproved of, while the positive features set out above occur in over fifty authorities’ replies,⁴ thus indicating positive influence on the economy of their areas by the returning migrants.

The financial status of the returning migrants was noted in an earlier Chapter (VIII: 2) as having in general been relatively good, a point which will have assisted them in settling down again after their return. It was also noted that their savings were most frequently used to pursue agriculture, and agriculture was indeed the branch of the economy which benefited most from the return migration. SMEDS suggests that the development of local agriculture in Malax at the beginning of this century would have been impossible without the returning migrants.⁵ Veikko ANTTILA comments on recollections that the returning migrants played an important role in the mechanization of agriculture in southern and central Ostrobothnia, having become familiar with new methods and machinery in America.⁶ Mink farming (which has subsequently developed into an economically significant activity, particularly in Ostrobothnia) was to an important extent imported by the migrants. The first minks were imported into Finland in 1928, and in the Swedish-

³ TYYH/S/1/7149.

⁴ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 134, 138—139.

⁵ SMEDS 1935, 339.

⁶ ANTTILA 1974, 104, 186; see also JUNKALA 1977, 71.

speaking areas of Ostrobothnia, the first mink farms have probably been established by migrants returning from Alaska and Canada.⁷

The following, illuminating comment was provided by Kustaa Mäntylä, from Alahärmä, who returned in 1928:⁸

“When the emigrants had come back home to Alahärmä, and probably in other places as well, they enriched the economy, because there had been especially many men from this district who emigrated, and when they came back they repaired their buildings and farms in general. Some of them bought themselves a farm, and others bought extra land.”

This then was the situation in areas where the emigration had been so great that the return was locally significant even in absolute terms.

This positive impact on the economy has also been commented on elsewhere. It was emphasized by WARIS, who tried to estimate the extent to which it was possible to make use of these experiences and this capital in raising domestic production.⁹ TUNKELO, on the other hand, who also studied the impact of the migrants in the same period (the 1930s), was rather critical of their significance in increasing efficiency and production.¹⁰ One writer refers to improvements in efficiency even before the First World War,¹¹ although otherwise he tends to be rather critical of the returning migrants.

Insofar as the municipal authorities' replies to the 1918 Migration Committee can be trusted, the migrants did evidently bring about at least some improvement in efficiency. About 50 authorities replied to this effect, while only eight claimed that efficiency had decreased as a result of the returning migrants.¹² The employees' Finnish Trades Organization stated in a letter to the Migration Committee in 1921 that Finnish workers' efficiency at work improved in America as a result of the good machinery, tools, and wages. They believed however that workers who returned did not achieve better results in Finland than the other workers, due to their unwillingness to cause a fall in the others' earnings even if they themselves were more skilled.¹³

While abroad, the migrants had become used to tough work and a fast working rhythm, in order to be able to fulfil the primary aim of their emigration (to make money) as efficiently as possible. Even holding on to one's job required that one must work hard, because there were always new miners and foresters ready to take one's place if the employer was dissatisfied. It is therefore hardly surprising that working hard had “got into the blood” of many returning migrants. Toivo Peltari, from Lohtaja, commented that¹⁴

⁷ WALLS 1968, 29.

⁸ TYYH/S/1/7161.

⁹ WARIS 1936, 27–28.

¹⁰ TUNKELO 1936, 273–274.

¹¹ ALANEN 1910, 56.

¹² Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 138.

¹³ Letter from the Finnish Trades Organization to the Migration Committee, 15 March 1921 (TYYH/S:a/184).

¹⁴ TYYH/S/1/7122. Toivo Peltari returned in 1935.

"the pace of work in America was hard. Looking at Finnish workers, you got the feeling they were being lazy: in America, at that speed they'd have got the sack."

The work was, on the other hand, gruelling, especially in the mines: it was noted in Chapter VII: 2 that about 10 % of the returning migrants were in bad health at return, either through injury or for some other reason. The majority of returning migrants, however, were still in the prime of their working lives, having emigrated young and remained abroad only for a few years.

One of the points to which special attention was paid in the Migration Committee's questionnaire was the question whether returning migrants had acquired a skilled trade while abroad. The general comment on this was that it was only in rare cases that a migrant had acquired skills in his host country which were of any use back in Finland. A few municipal authorities did however mention some isolated examples in a variety of fields: e.g. a few migrants had trained as a joiner while abroad.¹⁵ In most cases, however, the migrants had been employed in kinds of work where no special skills were required. The majority had emigrated from an agricultural background, but found themselves mainly working in mining and forestry abroad. After their return, on the other hand, they almost always settled down to their previous occupation in their native area, and thus had no real need for any skills they might have learnt abroad.¹⁶ There were however cases where the acquisition of mining skills was of use. One of the returning migrants suggested that the contribution of ex-American miners in the nickel mines in Petsamo, from the 1930s on, was important. This "migrants' mine" subsequently also influenced the development at Outokumpu mine.¹⁷ Overall, nevertheless, the significance of the returning migrants in the economy was to be seen much more clearly in their investments, mainly in agriculture, and in their efficiency, than in skills acquired abroad.

What was the impact of the returning migrants, then, in fields outside that of economic life? The following list serves as a starting point; it collates the answers of returned migrants to the questionnaire about what benefits other than economic ones they themselves considered they had acquired from emigrating:¹⁸

Broadening one's view of the world, new experience, seeing the world, etc.	421 persons (67.9 %)
Acquiring language skills	136 " (21.9 %)
Learning a trade	34 " (5.5 %)
Appreciating life in Finland	14 " (2.3 %)
Meeting a spouse	10 " (1.6 %)
Memories	5 " (0.8 %)
TOTAL	620 persons (100.0 %)

¹⁵ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 126—127, 137.

¹⁶ Cf. Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 126—127.

¹⁷ TYYH/S/1/7029.

¹⁸ TYYH/S/1/5001—6268 (1268 questionnaires).

The majority of those returning migrants who answered this question thus referred to the broadening of their view of the world. A typical opinion is that expressed by Otto Hirvi, from Lohtaja: "Views broadened, practical experience, learned to live."¹⁹ The time spent abroad was "the best high school you could hope for."²⁰ Jeremias Tuokkola, who emigrated in 1910 and returned six years later, commented that²¹

"I gained self-confidence, and became active, and I've got lots of positive things in my life to thank the time I spent there."

Many migrants referred to having learnt English tolerably well. For many, however, their English was built on a narrow vocabulary, and they had little use for it back in Finland. The migrants' own opinions of their language skills are set out in the following list:²²

Good	26 persons (8.7%)
Moderate	150 " (50.3%)
Poor	103 " (34.6%)
None at all	19 " (6.4%)
TOTAL	298 persons (100.0%)

Less than one-tenth of the returned migrants, therefore, considered that they had learnt English well, while over 40 % believed their English to be poor or nonexistent. No doubt the half of those replying who thought their English "moderate" also in fact included many whose skills were rather meagre. This list thus confirms that Finnish migrants' English remained limited, even after several years; many did not bother to learn English at all, since they could manage adequately in many places with Finnish.

A few migrants stated in the preceding list (p. 206) that the greatest benefit they had gained from emigrating was the acquisition of a skilled trade; others considered that all that they had gained was "to learn to appreciate Finland."²³ Again, for many the main achievement abroad had been to find a wife or husband, not infrequently a fellow-emigrant from the same village. A few (mainly older people at return) saw their memories of the journey as the most important thing they had gained.

The majority thus felt that they had gained experience abroad which would be worth trying to benefit from back home again. It has been stated that the returning migrants brought back with them — at least in their own opinion — more than merely savings: e.g. a faster rhythm of work, ideas of freedom and equality, and the desire to democratize life in Finnish towns and villages.²⁴

¹⁹ TYYH/S/1/5732.

²⁰ TYYH/S/1/5078.

²¹ Interview with Jeremias Tuokkola, 1977 (author's notes).

²² TYYH/S/1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires).

²³ TYYH/S/1/5316.

²⁴ KOLEHMAINEN 1970, 227.

The 1918 Migration Committee also enquired about the intellectual influence of returning migrants in their native areas. Many municipal authorities had noticed neither undesirable nor desirable effects; others — e.g. Lohtaja Council — believed that immediately after the return many migrants appeared to adhere to ideas and activities differing from those of their surroundings, but that with the passage of time these disappeared.²⁵ The interview and questionnaire material gathered for the present investigation suggests that the returning migrants were in fact active in local social and cultural life, though of course it may be that only those migrants who had in general been more active following their return responded to the questionnaire. Of the 328 replies to the questionnaire, 128 give a positive answer to the question about participation in activities of various types. The replies to a question about possible offices held in various associations and organizations shows that 114 persons had been members in at least one organization.²⁶

Those who replied had frequently held important local offices, e.g. on the local Council or on various committees. One respondent commented:²⁷

“You see, the men who’d come back from America usually got elected to various kinds of job in local government and politics. Many of them ... were active in the Agrarian Party. Some supported socialist ideas. I suppose it was only the most adventurous and active people who went off and emigrated in the first place.”

Another respondent recounts that in one of the School Districts in Vimpeli, of 22 migrants who returned there from the United States and Canada in the 1920s and thereafter as many as 18 held one or more post in local government, the reason being that ex-migrants were more ready to express their opinions freely on political and economic questions than those who had remained in Finland.²⁸ The questionnaire material does however also offer contradictory examples. One migrant, who had returned to Korttesjärvi in 1930, commented:²⁹

“All the former emigrants I know have mostly kept out of social things and politics. They’ve just been quiet, ordinary folk.”

It is however evident that the returning migrants in the areas of high emigration did make quite a significant contribution to local life; their years abroad had increased their self-confidence. BLOMFELT states that migrants returning to Åland participated actively in local associations and public life, which they were well qualified for because of their experience.³⁰ Many municipal authorities also reported to the 1918 Migration Committee that returning migrants had frequently been elected as local councillors, etc., or had become leading members of local societies

²⁵ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 132–133.

²⁶ TYYH/S/1/7001–7328.

²⁷ TYYH/S/1/7313.

²⁸ TYYH/S/1/7311.

²⁹ TYYH/S/1/7113.

³⁰ BLOMFELT 1968, 153.

of various types. Against this, it was considered that the migrants had brought back with them "socially subversive ideas" such as socialism and communism, which had led to conflicts in society.³¹

For example, one migrant who had returned to Lohtaja stated that the returning migrants spread leftwing thinking in the countryside.³² This impression is accurate, for the Finnish-Americans have been shown to have brought about an increase in rural radicalism in Finland; in the towns, on the other hand, socialist ideas were mainly home-grown. In Munsala, Otto Andersson and some other migrants who had returned from the United States founded the local Social Democratic Association as early as 1911, and in the 1919 elections following the Civil War, he was elected to the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta) as a Swedish-speaking Social Democrat.³³ Between the achievement of Finnish independence in 1917 and 1933, there were at least 15 members of the Eduskunta who had been migrants in North America, eight of whom belonged to the Left and seven to the Right. Several of the socialists had studied at the Finnish-American institution, the Work People's College, in Duluth, Minn.³⁴ There were certainly other ex-migrants in the Eduskunta, e.g. in the decade preceding independence, but there is no systematic register available for these.

The radicalizing influence of the returning migrants is thus particularly visible in rural Ostrobothnia. This is not difficult to explain, since the Finnish-American labour movement was exceptionally active in the first two decades of this century, and the return migration included people who had become radicalized abroad and who actively attempted to spread their ideas in their native area. Managing actually to become a member of the Eduskunta would increase the possibilities of influence even more.

The social ideas and influence of the returning migrants naturally enjoyed a mixed reception, depending on the views of those being influenced. The local population's own views on political matters determined whether the influences brought with them by the migrants were seen positively or negatively. Whereas some municipal Councils regarded the arrival of socialist ideas in the country as destructive, others of course — such as the Turku paper *Sosialisti* (Socialist) — regarded the spread of socialist thinking in Ostrobothnia by the returning migrants as one of the beneficial results of the emigration.³⁵

There was also particularly wide variation in the replies of the municipal authorities to the questions concerning other kinds of "intellectual activity" introduced by the migrants, and their general impact on intellectual and moral life. Some Councils saw this impact as being extremely positive, while for others it was extremely negative.³⁶ No doubt in many places the migrants brought with them new ideas

³¹ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 136–137.

³² TYYH S/1/7122.

³³ BACKLUND 1971, 91, 94–95.

³⁴ LEIWO 1935, passim.

³⁵ SALONEN 1967, 86.

³⁶ Suomen siirtolaisuusolot n.d., 134–136.

which stimulated the local associations, and similarly they often no doubt brought with them new moral ideas. There is an illuminating comment on this point by Kustaa Mäntylä from Alahärmä, though it may not be valid to generalize from it:³⁷

”At that time (in the 1920s) moral life in Ganada (sic) was much cruder than in Finland, and the kind of language used about morality, too. Emigrants who came back had to be careful not too talk too crudely. People used to talk very soberly in those days round Härmä.”

WIDÉN, on the other hand, believes that the returning migrants had an impact on religious life and the Church in Finland. The spread of the Free Churches, in particular, and the introduction of legislation ensuring liberty of religion, he attributes partly to the migration. During the emigration period, however, this led to the official Lutheran Church adopting a critical attitude towards the emigration as a whole.³⁸ A concrete example of the religious impact of the returning migrants was the foundation in Kristinestad in 1882 of the first Methodist congregation in Finland. Gustaf Bernlund, a seaman, had encountered Methodist ideas on his travels, and following his return, together with his brother began to practise preaching. He subsequently donated a house in Kristinestad, which led to the foundation of a congregation.³⁹

Innovations in the field of customs did not precipitate the same kind of positive or negative reaction from their surroundings as political or religious ones. In the Swedish-speaking parts of Ostrobothnia, at least, the returning migrants were noted as being pioneers in the use of a wide range of new commodities, e.g. sewing machines, gramophones, children’s perambulators, bicycles, and cars, which they had become familiar with abroad. Similar innovations were also observed in house construction, clothing, and food.⁴⁰ Nor should one overlook the actual information which the migrants brought back with them about American society. They were an important source of information for others planning to emigrate. This area of influence is one emphasized by WESTER in his dissertation: he states that many of the temporary migrants visiting Finland acted on the journey back abroad as a kind of leader, since they had experience of details to do with the journey and of the host country in general.⁴¹

It is impossible to define the impact of the returning migrants on society, religion, culture, and morality absolutely thoroughly. There is however definite evidence of the impact the returning migrants had, though exclusively from the high emigration regions. Thus the returning migrants were in many places active in local affairs, whereas their significance in other areas of intellectual life, etc., was more limited, by comparison for example with the very recognizable impact they had on the economy.

³⁷ TYYH/S/1/7161.

³⁸ WIDÉN 1971, 87–89.

³⁹ SJÖBLÖM 1915, 286.

⁴⁰ HULDÉN & HÄGGMAN 1971, 77–79.

⁴¹ WESTER 1977, 151, 190.

In general, the influences and innovations which the returning migrants brought with them received a favourable reception, to judge by the interviews, though there were other reactions too, as has been seen above. In addition, only 142 of those 328 replying to the questionnaire answered this question. The replies on the reception accorded to innovations divided up as follows:⁴²

Favourable	96 answers (67.6%)
Curious	31 " (21.8%)
Hostile	15 " (10.6%)
TOTAL	142 answers (100.0%)

Overall, the returning migrants do not appear to have caused much irritation in the surrounding community with the innovations they introduced. Moreover, in many cases it is remarked that there were too few returning migrants for their impact to be identifiable, whereas in the high emigration areas the returning migrants were more visible, as having both good and bad influence. One writer, in 1910, recognized both good influences (e.g. broadening the view of the world, and becoming familiar with voluntary activities) and bad ones (e.g. contempt for Finnish conditions, and the women "dressing up").⁴³

The significance of a hostile reception by the surrounding community may be illustrated by a married couple from Sievi. Having emigrated to Minnesota in the early 1920s, they returned to Finland during the international Depression at the beginning of the 1930s, and bought a farm in Tenala, which was a Swedish-speaking municipality. They themselves were Finnish-speaking, and they began to press for a Finnish-language elementary school in the area. They eventually succeeded in this, but found themselves, according to the informant, rejected and isolated. Frustrated by this, they sold their farm and moved back to the United States.⁴⁴ This cannot be considered as a typical case, however, since the milieu to which the couple returned was at least linguistically different from the original departure area.

In most cases the reaction to attempts by returning migrants to influence their communities were considerably less sharp. The evidence collected here suggests that the most favourable reaction was accorded to the economic influences, and capital, which the migrants brought back with them, whereas other forms of influence, intellectual etc., were more likely to encounter a hostile reception, depending on the attitudes of the people involved.

When the impact of the returning migrants in Finland is compared with the information available from other countries, it emerges that in Sweden, too, rural society benefited from the migrants' return. JANSON reports that the migration led to the development of agricultural methods, and that this also meant the breakdown of

⁴² TYYH/S/1/7001—7328.

⁴³ ALANEN 1910. 54—60.

⁴⁴ Interview with Arvo Saura, 1978 (author's notes).

rural isolation. She also believes that the high emigration regions in Sweden actually became Americanized.⁴⁵ HELL considers that the German migrants' view of the world became broader, thus affecting their thinking; they certainly attempted to spread new ideas.⁴⁶

In Italy, by far the most important impact of the returning migrants was seen to be economic. Between 1900 and 1914 alone, about 1.5 million migrants returned to Italy, and the money they brought with them was of real significance in the Italian economy. Consequently, the Italian Government supported this form of temporary migration, as was discussed above (p. 188). CAROLI suggests that the most important change in the returning migrant was his bank account, even if local people might also notice other alterations, e.g. in the style of clothes.⁴⁷ The migrants' impact on occupational skills, for example, was small, since in the host country they usually took on work where no special skills were required.⁴⁸ The Italian migrants were also seen as bringing less desirable effects: e.g. illness, morally undesirable ways of life, etc. CAROLI reports that these disadvantages were not taken very seriously, since the capital brought back with them by the migrants compensated for these many times over. The opinions about the impact of the migrants outside the economy varied widely within the community,⁴⁹ as was the case in Finland. Migrants returning to Italy also attempted to influence their home communities, but according to CERASE, the local population's attitude towards the returning migrants was one of jealousy at their money and at their trying to put into practice things learnt abroad; so that in his opinion, the interest of the migrants in trying to bring about change gradually vanished.⁵⁰

Similarly, what is especially emphasized with reference to the returning migrants in Greece is the capital they brought with them. But SALOUTOS also states that they brought the knowledge of the newest technological achievements, and that these were then adopted in Greece. The migrants had learnt a completely new way of life in the United States, the components of which included a spirit of optimism, and a will to bring about reforms. Overall, SALOUTOS considers that the importance of the returning migrants can clearly be seen in all areas; and even though they were also subject to criticism, their ideas were taken notice of.⁵¹ In contrast to the Italians, therefore, this account suggests that the benefits to Greece from her returning migrants went considerably further than their money alone.

SCHRIER, on the other hand, considers that the major impact of the emigration on Ireland was in the large amounts of money which the migrants sent home to their families and dependents. He also states that the returning migrants were more

⁴⁵ JANSON 1931, 433, 439.

⁴⁶ HELL 1976, 58.

⁴⁷ CAROLI 1973, 93, 98—99.

⁴⁸ CERASE 1970, 230.

⁴⁹ CAROLI 1973, 66—71.

⁵⁰ CERASE 1970, 235—237; cf. JANSON 1931, 435, for the Swedes.

⁵¹ SALOUTOS 1956, 117—121, 123—124, 130—131.

efficient workers than those who had remained all the time in Ireland. Otherwise SCHRIER does not recognize any particular impact by returning migrants, since relatively few returned, and group return, for example, did not occur at all. He also denies that the returning migrants might have tried to put what they had learnt abroad into practice in Ireland, nor did they differ in terms of political activity from other Irish people. All in all, "American money" was more important than the "returned Yank," argues SCHRIER.⁵²

When the significance of the return migration is analyzed in different countries, therefore, the general finding is that the economic impact was by far most important, though what this implied varied from one country to another. The significance of returning migrants for the national economy was particularly great in southern Europe, where the migration was predominantly temporary; but in the Nordic countries and in Ireland, where the return was on a smaller scale, the return migration did not have the same central significance for the economy, even though it was nevertheless considerably more important than other forms of impact by the returning migrants. Within the Nordic countries, agriculture in particular benefited from the return migration, but only in the high emigration regions according to the Finnish findings.

On the basis of the Italian findings, the return migration does not appear to have had much significance outside the economy in countries with large-scale return; in Greece on the other hand the findings are reversed, and the return is seen as having had recognizable impact in many areas. In the countries with low-scale return, the evidence presented indicates that outside the economy the impact of the return migration was slight; on the other hand, in high emigration areas in Finland intellectual ideas, etc., brought back by the returning migrants did find some acceptance, and the same was also true in Sweden. Intellectual and similar influences were however much more likely to meet with a hostile reception than money was, and this is the most important reason why even in the countries with large-scale return the intellectual impact of the returning migrants is less visible than their economic effect.

In this analysis of the impact of the return migration, there is, finally, one special feature of the migration which should be discussed. Many well-known contributors to Finnish culture and society had spent relatively long periods of time abroad, especially in the United States, during the period of the great emigration. Some of these were already established before their departure, while others did not become famous until after their years in America.

ENGELBERG's treatment of visits to the United States by Finnish cultural figures in the period before the Second World War, in his book on the contacts between Finland and the Finnish-Americans, is rather rich.⁵³ Examples of Finns who spent several years in the United States include painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela, who was in the States from 1923 to 1926, mainly in Chicago,⁵⁴ and the composer Selim Palm-

⁵² SCHRIER 1958, viii-ix, 103—122, 134, 141—142, 153.

⁵³ ENGELBERG 1944, 299—316.

⁵⁴ ILMONEN III 1926, 92; NIKANDER 1927, 48; ENGELBERG 1944, 300.

gren, who spent five years in the United States, from 1921—1926, and was a professor of composition for several years at Rochester, N.Y.⁵⁵ Both of these helped to make Finland better known abroad, and also brought important influences with them on their return to Finland. Although they cannot be regarded as migrants as such, they did in fact spend as many years abroad as most of the returning migrants at that time.

Probably the most successful of the returning Finnish migrants, in terms of the original motive most of the emigrants had for emigrating — to become rich —, were two brothers from Kaarina, Karl Fredrik Joutsen and Anton Fabian Johnsson. In late 1896, and the early part of the following year, the Finnish press had carried reports of enormous new discoveries of gold in Alaska and the nearby Klondike area in Canada. Anton Johnsson had already emigrated to America in search of work earlier in 1896, whereas Karl Joutsen set out at the end of August 1897. The brothers met each other by accident in Seattle, Wash., and set out together to excavate for gold on the Klondike in northern Canada, where they remained until 1904, mainly working on their own account. In 1904 they recognized that their claim, which had produced a lot of gold, was running out, and decided to give up mining; and they returned to Finland in 1905. In 1912—1913, Joutsen was prospecting for gold again, in the Vladivostok area, but since the venture failed to provide the returns he had hoped for, he abandoned it. Immediately after their years on the Klondike they had invested their great wealth well, but they continued to live very modestly in Helsinki, where Anton Johnsson died in 1942 and Karl Joutsen six years later, both of them unmarried. At his death on 1948, the older brother, Karl Joutsen, bequeathed virtually all his property to the University of Turku, to which he had previously made considerable donations. These donations were of great significance for the university, a private foundation which was in financial difficulties. The size of the bequest is indicated by the fact that it paid for the main University Library to be built.⁵⁶ The success abroad and return to Finland of the Johnsson brothers, who had literally emigrated to "pan for gold", represented a substantial contribution to Finnish culture.

The early leaders in the Finnish labour movement were particularly closely connected to the Finnish-Americans. Many of those in the socialist movement had taken part in founding and developing Finnish-American socialism: Elis SULKANEN tells of such people in his history of the Finnish-American labour movement. In many cases they only remained in the United States for a short time, a few years at the most; e.g. Kaapo Murros, A. B. Mäkelä, and Väinö Riippa, who were all editors of Finnish-American labour newspapers at the beginning of this century, but all of whom had returned to Finland by the time of the First World War. Others who visited the United States, either as journalists or on lecture tours, included Taavi Tainio, Leo Laukki, Alex Halonen, and Aku Rissanen. Many of these returned

⁵⁵ ILMONEN III 1926, 55; NIKANDER 1927, 210; ENGELBERG 1944, 305—306.

⁵⁶ RAEVUORI 1975, *passim*.

fairly quickly to Finland, but as SULKANEN points out, new men familiar with party activity and with organizational work were constantly coming to fill their place.⁵⁷

One of the pioneers of the Finnish labour movement, who must be mentioned separately, was Yrjö Sirola. He set out for the United States in 1910, in order to see the world outside Finland, and also because he had run into ideological and financial difficulties in Finland. He had been appointed to a teaching post in the Finnish-American labour movement college, Work People's College, in Duluth, Minn. There he soon adopted syndicalism, which was to affect his later activities. His view of the world also broadened, especially in the course of his extensive lecture tours. The ideological conflicts among the Finnish-American socialists began to intensify around the time when Sirola was in charge at the Work People's College, which increasingly was slipping into the control of the syndicalist IWW.⁵⁸ Sirola's period there, at any rate (1910—1913), saw the College flourish. In December 1913, frustrated at the ideological conflicts, he and his family returned to Finland, for which his wife, in particular, had also felt homesick. Following the Civil War in 1918, he went into permanent exile in Soviet Karelia, where he rose to an important position. His years in America had considerable significance for the later development of his activities; he felt that he had acquired in the United States the stimuli which drove him to join the revolutionary socialists. Being familiar with American conditions, he was sent by the Comintern to the United States for about a year in 1925, to deal with the ideological rifts in the Finnish-American labour movement. Within the Finnish labour movement, the Communists in particular have looked up to Sirola, who died in Moscow in 1936.⁵⁹

Two other well-known influential members of both the Finnish and the Finnish-American labour movements were Oskari Tokoi and Matti Kurikka, both of whom returned to Finland from the emigration, though only temporarily. Tokoi was only just over 20 when he emigrated. For ten years, he worked in the American mines, before returning to Finland in 1900. During the first two decades of this century, he became one of the central figures in Finnish politics: member of the Eduskunta, Speaker, and Prime Minister. After a complicated political history, he re-emigrated to the United States in 1921. Around the time of the Second World War, he intended to return to Finland again, but was prevented from doing so by the War. He was involved in a variety of ways in Finnish-American activities in the United States, e.g. editing the newspaper *Raivaaja* (Pioneer) in Fitchburg, Mass. He was also involved in the Finnish-American campaign to assist Finland during the Second World War.⁶⁰ It is difficult to say what significance Tokoi's years as an emigrant at the end of the last century had for his later career; the Finnish-American labour

⁵⁷ SULKANEN 1951, 106, 313, 322, 331.

⁵⁸ Industrial Workers of the World.

⁵⁹ SALOMAA 1966, 149—153, 157—160, 162—163, 168—169, 224, 235, 270—272, 296—297, 348.

⁶⁰ Tokoi 1947, *passim*.

movement was at that time only just beginning, but Tokoi would have become familiar with organized activities among the miners, having worked in the mines himself. Moreover he only became a public figure in Finland after having been abroad.

Kurikka, by contrast, was well-known in the Finnish labour movement even before he emigrated, at the turn of the century. He was involved in founding idealistic utopian settlements both in Australia and Canada, both of which, however, fairly soon collapsed. On his return to Finland in 1905, he was sure that his experience abroad would enable him to exert a powerful influence on the Finnish labour movement, but he soon discovered that his idealist ideas of society diverged drastically from the predominant ideological trends in Finland; during his absence, the Finnish labour movement had adopted a Marxist policy of class warfare, and there was no place for Kurikka any more. Following the failure of his cooperative settlement projects, he returned to America in 1908, and died there in 1915. Kurikka's ways of thinking were incompatible with the tense political situation in Finland in the decade preceding independence, though his importance has been subsequently recognized, argues one researcher.⁶¹ Kurikka's fate is a good illustration of the suspicion described earlier with which returning migrants' ideas were regarded. Kurikka worked emotionally, and ran into conflicts even within his own party. This was a situation he could not adjust to, and the consequence was re-emigration.

In relation to the return to Finland, Niilo Wälläri, the later president of the Finnish Seamen's Union, presents a contrast to Tokoi and Kurikka in that he returned to Finland permanently. Being only 16 when he went to sea in 1913, he had naturally not yet been involved in trade union activities, and his years abroad were an important influence on him as on Tokoi. He became a migrant proper in 1916, having deserted in the United States from the ship where he was working. While in the United States, he worked in the mines, and was keenly active in the syndicalist trade union movement of the IWW. He also studied at the Work People's College in Duluth, Minn., during the time when it was in the control of the syndicalists. In 1920, he returned to Finland, as described above (p. 182), having been deported from the United States for his political activities. Wälläri himself admits in his memoirs that the years he spent abroad had a decisive influence on his subsequent activities in Finland. In 1930, he joined the Suomen Merimies-Unioni (Finnish Seamen's Union), and was its President from 1938 until his death.⁶² The IWW, which as a syndicalist movement set out to achieve its aims not through party organization but through strong trade unions, evidently exerted a strong influence on Wälläri's activities in the Seamen's Union, which at that time had a number of points of contact with the IWW:⁶³ under Wälläri, the Seamen's Union was a strong union, which achieved its objectives by powerful independent action, using methods such as strikes in a typi-

⁶¹ LINNOILA 1933, *passim*; see also KALEMAA 1978, 9—13.

⁶² Wälläri 1967, *passim*.

⁶³ Cf. SAVOLAINEN 1978, 52.

cally syndicalist manner. Wälläri was therefore a perfect example of a returning migrant who rose to a key position in Finnish society on the basis of his experience abroad. He maintained close contacts with the United States for years after his return, including working as the special Finnish correspondent of the Finnish-American syndicalist paper, *Industrialisti*, in 1930—1931.⁶⁴

An example of a Finnish migrant who returned but who made his greatest achievements while still abroad was the celebrated runner, Ville Ritola. He set out for the United States, in pursuit of a better standard of living, in 1913, and won five gold and three silver medals for Finland in the 1924 and 1928 Olympics. He retired to Finland in 1971,⁶⁵ so that his impact on Finnish society occurred not after his return but almost half a century before it.

In the overall picture of the Finnish return migration, the people discussed here were all exceptions, but who were too important to be overlooked in this context. In practice, however, virtually the entire return migration consisted of people who returned to their native area to carry on an "ordinary" life there, and whose impact was therefore restricted to a relatively small community.

Even if it may not be relevant to assent directly to HJELT's view that the ex-migrants were more progressive than those who had remained at home,⁶⁶ all the evidence presented in this Chapter does nevertheless suggest that the returning migrants contributed, or wished to contribute, to life in their home area. The nature of this contribution, the areas in which it was applied, and the reactions of the rest of the population, all in their turn either assisted or hindered the returning migrant's readjustment and settling down. It is moreover self-evident that those years abroad will have left their traces in the migrant's vision of the world, with its continuing influence at least on the individual even if not always on the entire community.

One of the migrants returning to Lohtaja in 1932 crystallized the impact of the return migration as follows:⁶⁷

"Those American or Canadian emigrants who were working in the forests, or other kinds of casual work, had very limited opportunities to participate in social, political, or cultural activities, so I don't think they had anything to offer in these fields. They might have new ideas to do with the economy, though. I don't think there were any big differences in morality."

This comment is somewhat pointedly stated, but it contains the same information as has been derived from the analysis above, with the exception that in high emigration areas in Ostrobothnia the returning migrants succeeded in creating a recognizable impression on society in other fields as well as that of the economy. These innovations cannot be measured in exact terms, due to the nature and complexity of the problem.

⁶⁴ SAVOLAINEN 1978, 139; see also p. 190 above.

⁶⁵ Interview with Ville Ritola, 1971 (author's notes).

⁶⁶ HJELT 1905, 64; cf. FOERSTER 1924, 502—503, for the Italians.

⁶⁷ TYYH S 1 / 7234.

In terms of Finnish society as a whole, the low number of returning migrants was the major reason why in most areas their impact was not recognizable at all. The rural economy in high emigration regions, on the other hand, received a stimulus; the returning migrants were also active participators in local affairs. The intellectual impact of the migrants in most fields remained insignificant, at least outside the high-emigration areas, and the same also appears to apply to nationalities where the return migration occurred on a much larger scale than in Finland. Those who had never been away were not willing to modify their thinking, with the result that the ex-migrants had to adjust, and in the course of time abandon many of their ideas.

X Final Survey: Settlement or Return in Relation to the "Old" and "New" Migrations

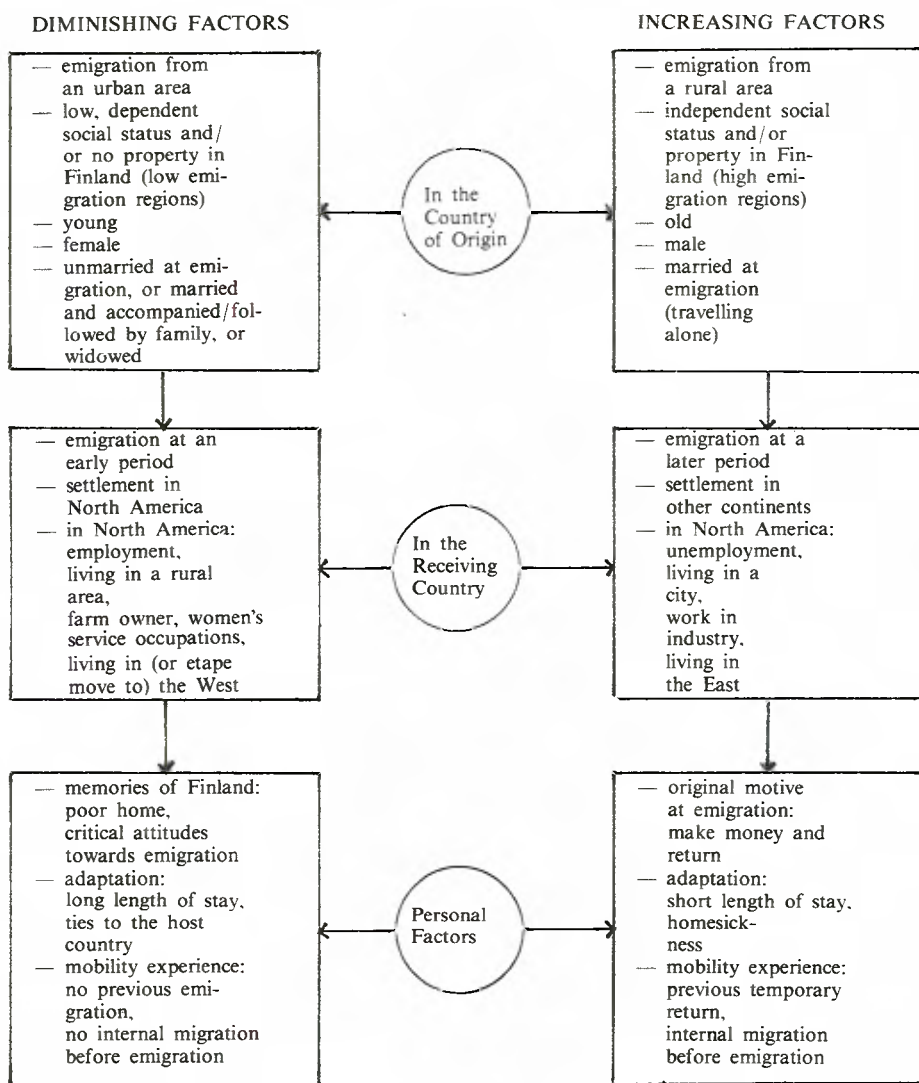
This final Chapter presents a model of the central factors which, on the macro- and micro-levels, influenced the dichotomy between the settlement overseas or permanent return to Finland (Figure 6). Simultaneously, the model indicates how the theoretical framework by Everett S. LEE (i.e. factors influencing the process of mobility: area of origin, receiving area, intervening obstacles, and personal factors)¹ turn out in the case of the Finnish return migration. This model is of course simplified, and the categories in it include many special features discussed in the text. It also should be remembered that it is not entirely possible to keep even the general and personal factors separate; they frequently complement each other. For example, the intervening obstacles influencing the return or non-return were both general and personal in character;² therefore the model does not separate these for distinct treatment (they are included in the other categories).

The model covers the major aspect of the return migration phenomenon, i.e. factors working for settlement or return. Since the aim of the present investigation has been to analyze the overall scope of return migration as well, i.e. factors which indirectly relate to the dichotomy though, the findings of the whole study will be collected here. The approach derives from the division — adopted at the beginnings of this century — between the "old" and "new" migration, since this creates the preconditions for the dichotomy between settlement or return. Simultaneously, the Finnish return migration is placed in a wider international context. Thus the following treatment covers the analysis of Figure 6 plus the features of return migration which are not as directly derived from the dichotomy, but which are connected with it and an essential part of the phenomenon itself.

It is logical to start by setting the Finnish migration in the international perspective. The division into the "old" and "new" migration originated in the Report of the Dillingham Commission's investigation of immigration into the United States, which was published in 1911. The "new" immigrants were mainly classified as those originating from eastern and southern Europe, while the "old" immigrants

¹ LEE 1966, 49—50; see also p. 18 of the present investigation.

² This question has been discussed in Chapter I: 1, p. 18—21.

Figure 6. *Central Macro- and Micro-level Factors Influencing the Probability of Settlement or Return.*

were those from central Europe and Scandinavia. The first criterion was the date of the beginnings of migration from a particular country. In addition, it was seen as characteristic of the "new" immigrants that their migration was temporary in nature; they were regarded as temporary labour in the host country, who would subsequently return to their country of origin. A further characteristic of the "new" immigrants was that they mainly worked in the big cities, not in the countryside like the

"old" immigrants. It was also noted that virtually all of the "new" immigrants were men.³

Indeed, both the background factors and the actual conditions of migration had radically changed by the end of the 19th century, when the Finnish migration began to reach its peak. The host country — in the main, the United States — had changed into a rapidly expanding industrial society, while at the beginning of the century, when mass migration had started from central Europe, it had still been a country where the majority of immigrants went into agriculture. Technological development had also led to the shortening of the Atlantic crossing, due to the steam ships, which in turn created new preconditions for overseas migratory movement in either direction and for the expansion of this. These new conditions, on the other hand, did not affect only the "new" migration countries, but equally those of the "old" migration, whose migration continued to be active even during the peak period of the Finnish movement.

The emigration from Finland took on the nature of a mass movement at a later date than from many central European and Scandinavian countries; but against this, it was already in full swing when the movement overseas from some of the countries in southern Europe was still only beginning. The beginnings of the emigration proper from Finland, in the 1860s, thus fall somewhere in the middle of the European development.

The analysis of the Finnish return migration and its comparison with the movements from the Scandinavian countries reveals considerable similarities; the Finnish return rate among those emigrating between the 1860s and 1930 was about one-fifth (of the 380 000 emigrants, about 75 000 returned permanently), which is on approximately the same scale as in Sweden and Denmark. The situation was quite different in countries such as Italy and Greece, which were typical "new" migration countries, where a very large proportion of the migrants returned home, perhaps subsequently to commute overseas to work again. The return migration to Britain (an "old" migration country) was also very high, so that the division by reference to the return rate or to the temporariness of the migration (only 10 % of the Finnish emigrants made two or more trips) cannot be sustained in the Finnish case, which has been defined as belonging to the "new" migration.

In the analysis of Figure 6 on the factors influencing return or non-return, we can start from the area of origin. Firstly, only just over 10 % of the Finnish emigrants originated from towns, and they were even less strongly represented in the return migration, since the findings of the present investigation suggest that the urban return rate was only around 5—10 % of those emigrating. Also many of these emigrants had first moved from the surrounding countryside to the town for a time before moving on overseas from there, whereas in many cases these *etape* migrants returned to the countryside direct. The return rate has also been found in Sweden to have been lower to towns than to the country as a whole.

³ See JONES 1960, 177—180, 323.

Secondly, regional variations were strikingly visible in the Finnish return migration, as was also the case in other countries. The return to areas of high emigration in southern Ostrobothnia and northern Satakunta was somewhat higher than average, while that to the areas of extremely high emigration in central Ostrobothnia was approximately the same as the national level, i.e. around one-fifth of the emigrants. It was also around 20 % of those emigrating in the crofting areas of southern Finland. In eastern and northern Finland, however, the return rate was distinctly lower than for the country as a whole, which is also true of Åland.

Thirdly, these variations in the return rate are due to considerable differences in the socio-economic and demographic structure both of the emigration and of the population in general between different parts of the country; in other words, the conditions in the country of origin and also in the area of origin both influenced the migrants' decision to settle or to return. Farmers and crofters returned relatively more frequently than farmers' or crofters' children, and the latter in turn more frequently than members of the landless population; thus there is a logical correlation between the return rate and the probability of making a living in Finland. Comparison of the return rate and the population structure in different areas reveals a definite relation also. In the towns, return by those belonging to different occupational groups was relatively more even than was the case in the countryside, except for temporary return, which in the towns was noticeably dominated by seamen. In the countryside, farmers or crofters usually returned permanently, whereas farmers' or crofters' children rather often migrated more than once, due to their lack of a sure source of livelihood in Finland.

Fourthly, the age structure of the emigration from different areas was fairly consistent: over half of the emigrants were aged 25 or less. In the return, a general finding is that the older the migrant was at emigration, the more likely he or she was subsequently to return to Finland; correspondingly, the younger the emigrant, the more probable was his or her need and ability to adapt himself to the host country. The only exceptions to the increasing return rate were those over 50 at emigration, whose return rate was low. Their motives were connected to economic factors to a lesser degree than of those of the younger groups. The temporary return was somewhat younger than the permanent: a merely temporary visit by those over 40 at emigration was rare. Overall, however, the returning migrants were still in the prime of their working lives at return, since about two-thirds of those returning permanently were aged 21—40.

Fifthly, there were relatively more men in the Finnish emigration than in that from Sweden. The main reason for this was that the Finnish emigration was more rural in origin than the Swedish; the proportion of women was higher from the towns than it was from the country. Around two-thirds of the emigrants from Finland as a whole were men, while from towns they made up only just over half. Even so, in terms of the "old"/"new" migration division, the Finnish migration was not exceptionally male-dominated, since men made up a considerably higher proportion of the emigrants from some southern European countries than from Finland. The

return rate for the men was relatively much higher than that for the women, as has also been observed in both Sweden and Italy; consequently the return migration was even more male-dominated than the emigration. The motivation of the women to return was reduced by factors operating in the receiving areas; these will be explained below. Married emigrants also often returned after a few years to rejoin their families, whereas wives did not usually emigrate without their husbands, while if they were emigrating together with their families or to join husbands — which was not rare — who had gone abroad earlier, this also reduced the likelihood of their return considerably. Thus 75—85 % of the migrants permanently returning to Finland were men.

Sixthly, about three-quarters of the emigrants were unmarried, but this was not the situation among those returning, since the permanent return rate for married emigrants was much higher than that for the unmarried, whereas the temporary return rate was approximately the same for both marital statuses. In general, nearly half of those returning permanently to Finland were married, while the corresponding figure for Sweden appears to be about 30 %; the married emigrants from Sweden probably included more actual couples (and families arriving later) than in Finland, since family emigration had an effect of binding the people to the adopted country. The return rate of widowed emigrants was lowest, however, which was due to their motives at emigration, similarly to those of the oldest age group.

The middle section of Figure 6 refers to the factors affecting return or non-return in the receiving country. The first point to make is that — in relative numbers — the later the person emigrated, the more probable was his return. Although the Finnish emigration began later than that from the Scandinavian countries, the peaks in the return migration occurred in approximately the same periods, if the following three phases, detectable in both the emigration and the return, are kept in mind: (a) the period before 1893, (b) 1893—1914, and (c) the period from the First World War up to 1930 (with the relevant return period continuing up to the present day). Return migration only achieved real significance in the second of these phases, and also then passed through its peak in absolute numbers, in all the Nordic countries. These trends can be explained to a large extent by means of the very general factors described at the beginning of this Chapter, i.e. the rapid industrial expansion in the United States and the technological development of transport and communications, which changed the nature of the manpower needed in the main country of destination, and which eased the crossing of oceans respectively. It also should be noted that the immigration quotas of the 1920s deterred immigration, but not return migration.

Almost all of the Finnish emigrants before 1930 went to North America, although there was also some significant overseas emigration to Australia in the 1920s following the introduction of immigration restrictions in the United States. The migration to Australia was exceptional, in that the return rate was extremely high: of about 2000 emigrants roughly 50 % returned permanently. Even higher return rates, however, occurred among the Finnish emigrants to South America and South Africa,

where well over half of about 1000 emigrants in each case soon came back, even though a low return rate would have been "natural", because of the long distance. The main reason for this was that these continents were second-choice areas of destination; nor did there emerge supportive Finnish communities to the same extent as in many parts of North America, where the Finnish immigrants were quite numerous. The Australian, South American and South African immigrants also took up work which was not binding in nature. These continents of "small immigration" were thus unable to attract or retain immigrants to anything like the same extent as North America, as is illustrated both by the emigration (4000 persons) and by the return (2000—3000 persons). They thus represent a mere drop in the stream of the Finnish overseas migration.

Moving on to the third unit of the middle section in the model, it is true that Finnish immigrants in North America were also often working in occupations non-binding in nature. The first job obtained by the men was typically in mining, forestry, or in a factory, while women mainly worked in service occupations. The motivation of the women to return was reduced by this work, which provided more favourable conditions for learning the new customs and language than did the men's occupations. The men's employment was relatively more sensitive to economic fluctuations in the host country. These are contributory factors in the lower return rate for women than for men. However, the Finnish return was nothing like as dependent on economic cycles as that of the countries in southern Europe; unlike the typical "new" migrants, Finnish immigrants did not usually work in large gangs in the cities, as the Italians and Greeks did.

Apart from mining and forest labour, the occupation most followed by the Finns was in agriculture, the "right" form of livelihood for the "old" migrants, according to the Dillingham Commission. With the passage of time, many men began to establish farms, which had the effect of binding the immigrant to his adopted country. The general tendency of Finnish immigrants to settle in the countryside or small towns and their eagerness to set up farms of their own must have been a particularly strong factor reducing the probability of their return.

The Finnish immigrants in the United States spread to the northern States of the country, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast, and in Canada mainly to Ontario and British Columbia. The return rate appears to have been relatively highest in the eastern States and Provinces, and to have weakened as one moved west to the Pacific coast. A reason for this was a form of *etape* migration: when an immigrant began to search for a new place to live further west, this usually meant the gradual abandonment of the idea of returning. A further factor was the availability of different kinds of work in the various parts of the host country. The eastern regions of North America were far more important places of immigrant residence immediately on arrival than a few years later, by which time many had begun to move to the Mid-West and the West. The distance factor was nevertheless not decisive on its own, as can be seen in the relatively high return rate from Australia, South America and South Africa. Internal mobility within North America, on the

other hand, did have a significant effect on the ties of the immigrant to his adopted country. It represents a more significant geographical factor in the return than does the distribution of migrants between the United States and Canada, which cannot be shown to have led to any clear difference in the return rate as such. Thus the horizontal (east-west) factor was more important than the vertical (USA-Canada) factor determining the probability of return. However, the transfer of the main focus of immigration to Canada did not occur until the 1920s, and the overall return rate for those emigrating after the First World War has been higher than for those emigrating earlier. To conclude the general factors influencing in the receiving areas, of the 315 000 Finnish emigrants to the United States before 1930 roughly 60 000 returned permanently; the figures for Canada are 13 000—14 000 out of about 60 000.

The final section in Figure 6 influencing the decision of migrants to return or not were complex personal motives, which take on greater significance in the return since this did not have the same mass features as the emigration. The predominant motive for emigration, both in Finland and in many other countries, was the search for better earnings and a subsequent return home; consequently, if migrants were going to decide to return, they would do so rather soon after arrival overseas. Thus over half of the Finnish migrants who returned did so within five years of emigration, and similar phenomena are identifiable in the migration patterns of many countries both of the "old" and the "new" migration. Against this — as the model indicates —, the overall situation in the country of origin was one factor diminishing the probability of return: i.e. economic conditions at emigration, and the critical attitudes towards migration. A positive change in the latter respect happened only in the 1920s, when the emigration came to be seen as a *fait accompli*; this was a contributing factor — at least to some extent — to the higher return rate for those who emigrated in the 1920s.

The achievement of their objectives was however not the only motive for migrants to return, since adversities might also send them back home. Correspondingly, there were some who were unable to afford the journey home even if they wanted to, and also some who succeeded so well in the new country that they decided to stay there. The most frequent individual cause of return, however, was homesickness, arising from a failure to adapt to the host country, and this was at its strongest soon after arrival. Since the return was due to highly personal motives, such as longing for the old country, it occurred at the most attractive time of the year in Finland, i.e. spring and early summer. The longer the lapse of time from the migrant's arrival in the host country, the less likely became his return to his country of origin. With the passage of the years came increasing familiarity with life in the new surroundings, with the result that (in comparison with the motives at the time of emigration) return was rare.

Return did not necessarily mean that the migrants would be happy back in Finland either, however. During their years of absence, changes had taken place in their old home area, as also in the migrants themselves, sometimes creating an insuperable tension. About 10 % of all the Finnish migrants made two or more journeys overseas

in the period up to 1930; but relatively more of those who made at least two trips returned permanently to Finland than of those who had emigrated only once. An emigrant who revisited his home country and attempted to readjust without succeeding and therefore decided to re-emigrate was, nevertheless, more drawn to his or her home area than those emigrants who only made a single journey. Similarly, those who had already moved at least once inside Finland before emigrating overseas were more likely to return than those who had lived all their lives in one place before emigrating. The former group were more used to moving, so that the return was also "easier" for them. The differences in the return rate between these groups are small, however, even though it is justified to present this factor as the final unit in the model.

In general, however, returning migrants stood a relatively good chance of readjusting to life back home, primarily due to the fact that in most cases they had only been abroad a few years. They also tended to be fairly well-off when they returned; and since they often invested their savings either in farming or some other form of real estate, this too was likely to strengthen their ties to the area they had settled in and to lead to the abandonment of any ideas of re-emigration overseas.

The returning migrants brought new influences back with them, which they often tried to put into practice in Finland. The reactions of the rest of the population to these ideas either hindered or assisted their readjustment and settling down. The numbers returning to Finland were however so low that this impact is not as clearly identifiable as for instance in southern Europe, where the economic significance of the return migration, in particular, was very considerable. In Finland, too, the most easily recognizable impact of the returning migrants was in the economy, and in rural areas in the regions of high emigration this could even be quite striking. The returning migrants also, however, wished to use the "mental capital" they had acquired abroad, and their success in this depended on the attitude in their home area to the various kinds of new ideas they held. Intellectual, political, and moral ideas were more likely to encounter an emotional reception than economic influence, depending on the attitudes and value judgments of the people involved. In general the returning migrants did not cause much irritation in the surrounding community, however; there were simply too few of them for their impact to be recognizable. But in some places (high emigration regions), they could play an important role also in these fields, though only in very restricted communities.

To conclude, in terms of the return migration in a wider context, the final balance of the Finnish overseas migration was definitely negative, for Finland only regained 75 000 of the 380 000 persons who had emigrated overseas prior to 1930 in search of a better life. The final balance in a "new" migration country such as Italy was quite different, where the economy visibly prospered from the busy movement back and forth between Italy and the United States and from the capital brought back with them by those returning. The analysis also demonstrates that the Finnish migrants cannot unambiguously be classified under the "new" migration; rather, in its main features the Finnish migration showed extensive similarities with that from the other

Nordic countries, and differed radically from the overseas migration movement in southern European countries, which was essentially a temporary phenomenon, a form of intercontinental commuting to work. The application of the terms "old" and "new" migration as such in this context is thus rendered rather questionable by the present investigation, since on many of the component features, the analysis of the "counter-current", i.e. the return migration in relation to the emigration, shows the division to be contradictory.

The alternatives confronting the migrant, to settle in the new country or to return to the old one, depended on extremely complex interactions of factors, which this investigation has attempted to illuminate in terms of central concerns. Unquestionably, the low number of those returning is a crucial factor in the history of the Finnish overseas migration, even if it does not on its own permit conclusions to be drawn on the significance of the migration for Finnish society from the 1860s to the present day. The return migration itself, however, which has previously been virtually ignored in the research, constitutes an important subcomponent in the migration movement between Europe and the overseas countries. The present investigation thus forms a piece of basic research, opening up the field by concentrating on one ethnic group, but at the same time taking into account others for comparison where possible and relevant. It is hoped that it will thus establish the framework for future studies within a European perspective.

Year	Economic Situation in:	EMIGRATING										RETURNING										
		USA ²	Finland ³	Loh- taja	Eli- mäki	Jo- kioi- nen	Lep- pää- virta	Pol- vi- järvi	Kris- tine- stad	Fin- land ⁴	Swe- den ⁵	Loh- taja	Eli- mäki	Jo- kioi- nen	Lep- pää- virta	Pol- vi- järvi	Kris- tine- stad	Åland ⁷	Fin- land ⁸	Regis- trars' Records	Pas- senger Lists	Swe- den ⁵
1900	trough			57	1	—	7	4	35	10397	16434	14	—	—	—	1	—	9	70	1043	2579	4149
1901				84	10	—	6	3	40	12561	20464	8	—	—	—	—	7	45	1148	3176	3719	
1902	peak	trough		74	26	2	19	15	82	23152	33477	14	—	—	1	2	11	41	901	2857	3387	
1903		peak		67	18	7	17	7	43	16964	35975	11	—	—	1	3	46	54	1740	5268	3612	
1904	trough	trough		38	10	—	10	2	19	10952	18968	15	—	—	1	—	3	62	51	1764	5406	4573
1905				96	36	4	17	13	43	17427	20862	7	1	—	—	—	2	12	..	1259	3930	4165
1906				84	44	9	22	29	33	17517	21692	9	3	1	1	—	1	38	50	1602	6790	4614
1907	peak	peak		47	35	8	9	25	48	16296	19818	23	9	1	4	1	3	42	148	3783	10809	4778
1908	trough	..		16	6	—	7	2	21	5812	9246	17	6	—	1	2	—	12	129	3183	12440	6421
1909		..		82	31	17	35	11	70	19144	18894	7	8	1	—	2	3	11	43	1601	4880	4988
1910	peak	..		31	18	26	30	18	41	19007	24647	8	1	1	1	3	3	5	43	1641	5348	4735
1911		..		25	16	3	15	4	30	9372	16770	8	7	—	2	2	1	38	54	2423	7688	4558
1912	trough	..		38	34	7	17	10	42	10724	14689	10	2	—	1	4	—	33	4	2159	6892	5181
1913	peak	..		43	29	26	33	23	33	20057	17224	9	1	6	2	7	3	37	35	2068	6533	4917
1914	trough	..		7	9	3	13	9	17	6474	10006	7	1	1	3	2	3	26	12	1840	4457	4864
1915		..		28	1	8	10	5	9	4041	4672	10	1	1	1	—	—	1	4	478	..	3223
1916		..		27	3	2	4	4	10	5325	7488	4	—	1	1	1	4	—	2	221	..	3159
1917		..		15	—	1	—	—	4	2773	2571	5	—	—	1	1	—	8	..	673	..	2478
1918	peak	..		1	2	—	—	—	5	1900	1498	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	7	140	..	1630
1919	trough	..		—	—	—	1	—	2	1085	4008	3	1	5	—	—	4	13	731	..	3573	
1920	peak	peak		19	7	11	16	5	12	5595	7093	7	1	4	—	—	8	8	40	1553	..	5601

Year	Economic Situation in:	EMIGRATING										RETURNING									
		USA ²	Finland ³	Loh-taja	Eli-mäki	Jo-kiöinen	Lep-pä-virta	Pol-vi-järvi	Kris-tine-stad	Kar-6-via	Åland ⁷	Fin-land ⁸	Regis-trars' senger	Records Lists	Swe-den ⁵						
1921	trough		16	4	3	1	4	6	3557	5881	5	2	1	4	—	3	8	..	1322	3026	4605
1922			9	5	3	5	6	11	5715	8985	2	1	—	—	—	1	6	..	588	1413	3237
1923	peak		69	38	9	10	8	20	13835	26559	2	—	—	—	1	—	2	..	379	1227	2433
1924	trough		43	6	21	4	9	21	5108	8401	2	1	1	—	1	1	6	..	604	2283	2539
1925	trough		22	1	—	2	2	3	2075	9612	7	3	—	—	—	—	..	..	728	2868	2260
1926	peak		16	2	6	9	9	13	5638	..	9	1	1	—	—	1	..	..	713	..	..
1927	trough		12	6	4	13	11	14	5696	..	3	1	—	—	—	2	..	..	842	..	..
1928			30	3	3	4	7	10	4742	..	11	1	1	—	—	—	..	..	917	..	..
1929	peak		19	6	7	8	9	12	6119	..	12	2	—	—	—	—	..	..	882	..	..
1930			24	2	5	1	2	5	3657	..	4	1	2	—	—	1	..	..	943	..	..
1931	trough										3	—	6	—	—	3	..	..	1183	3689	..
1932											5	—	1	—	—	1	..	..	1351	4580	..
1933	trough										2	2	—	—	—	—	..	..	892	2140	..
1934	peak										2	—	—	—	—	—	..	..	526	1656	..
1935	trough										3	—	1	—	—	1	..	..	404	1388	..
1936											2	1	—	—	—	1	..	..	420	1537	..
1937	peak										4	1	—	—	—	3	..	..	415	1921	..
1938	trough										16	—	—	2	—	1	..	..	389	..	..
1939	peak										1	—	—	—	—	—	..	..	185	..	..
...											—	—	—	—	—	—
1945	peak and trough										—	—	—	—	—	1	..	..	..	..	..

Year	Economic Situation in:	EMIGRATING						RETURNING												
		Loh- Eli- taja	Finland ³	Loh- Eli- taja	Jo- kioi- nen	Lep- pää- virta	Pol- vi- järvi	Kris- tine- stad	Fin- land ⁴	Swe- den ⁵	Loh- Eli- taja	Fin- land ⁶	Åland ⁷	Fin- land ⁸	Swe- den ⁹					
1946	..																			
1947	..																			
1948	peak																			
1949	trough																			
1950	..																			
1951	..																			
1952	..																			
1953	peak																			
1954	trough																			
...																				
1960	..																			
...																				
1962	..																			
...																				
1966	..																			
1967	..																			
...																				
1969	..																			
TOTAL		2436	418	195	361	263	1139	380760	965654	430	62	38	25	32	80	447	931	49381	130468	170417

¹ There is a visual representation of this Appendix in Figure 3, p. 91. For the sample areas of the present investigation, emigrants include all the acts of emigration, and return migrants consist of those returning permanently. Also, the return of all persons emigrating up to 1930 has been investigated to the present. The unidentified cases are excluded from the totals. Temporary returns are not included because of the numerousness of the unidentified cases; i.e. the exact date of temporary return is not known. The total number for Finnish emigration in this Appendix (about 380 000) is suggested to be very close to the true number of emigrants, even though the figures include persons who emigrated more than once. As was discussed in Chapter I: 3 and I: 4, the figures of the official Emigration Statistics are somewhat too low. In fact, the true number of emigrants and the figures of the official Statistics match closely together in the sample areas, even though the statistical basis is different (see more especially p. 52). Therefore, the figure 380 000 can be taken as the basis for calculations of the total permanent return rate for all Finland in Chapter II: 1 (p. 66—67).

² ACHINSTEIN 1961, 165.

³ LENTO 1951, 122.

⁴ In 1870—1892, see KERO 1974, 26, 28; in 1893—1930, see SVT XXVIII: 17, 2, and SVT XXVIII: 21, 13.

⁵ LINDBERG 1930, 246.

⁶ KERO 1972, 15.

⁷ BLOMFELT 1968, 150.

⁸ STV 1906, Table 46; STV 1916, Table 65; STV 1921, Table 63; STV 1924, Table 52; STV 1926, Table 53; STV 1928, Table 54; STV 1931—1932, Table 55; STV 1934, Table 55; STV 1937, Table 56; STV 1940, Table 66. In 1915—1918 the shipping companies had no passenger service (STV 1923, 75 footnote 1), and the data are missing also for 1919—1920. The data on the passenger lists in the Finnish Statistical Yearbook include the years 1894—1925. The figures for 1892—1893 and 1931—1937 are derived from the archives of the Finnish Steamship Company (also on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/7/17). There is a slight confusion in the Registrars' records for 1930 (cf. STV 1931, Table 55 and STV 1932, Table 55).

APPENDIX 2. *Distribution by Different Periods of Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas.*¹

Sample Area	1862—1892			1893—1914		
	Emigrating	Returning Permanently	Returning Temporarily	Emigrating	Returning Permanently	Returning Temporarily
Lohtaja	955 (39.1%)	75 (17.4%)	88 (30.1%)	1136 (46.5%)	219 (50.9%)	168 (57.5%)
Elimäki	2 (0.5%)	—	1 (2.0%)	345 (78.8%)	39 (62.9%)	34 (69.4%)
Jokioinen	—	—	—	115 (57.8%)	11 (28.9%)	8 (66.7%)
Leppävirta	6 (1.6%)	—	1 (2.9%)	274 (74.1%)	16 (64.0%)	29 (85.3%)
Polvijärvi	—	—	—	182 (69.2%)	26 (81.3%)	16 (84.2%)
Kristinestad	239 (20.6%)	8 (10.0%)	9 (9.6%)	760 (65.5%)	37 (46.3%)	71 (75.5%)
		1915—		TOTAL		
Lohtaja	350 (14.3%)	136 (31.6%)	36 (12.3%)	2441 (100.0%)	430 (100.0%)	292 (100.0%)
Elimäki	91 (20.8%)	23 (37.1%)	14 (28.6%)	438 (100.0%)	62 (100.0%)	49 (100.0%)
Jokioinen	84 (42.2%)	27 (71.1%)	4 (33.3%)	199 (100.0%)	38 (100.0%)	12 (100.0%)
Leppävirta	90 (24.3%)	9 (36.0%)	4 (11.8%)	370 (100.0%)	25 (100.0%)	34 (100.0%)
Polvijärvi	81 (30.8%)	6 (18.8%)	3 (15.8%)	263 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)	19 (100.0%)
Kristinestad	161 (13.9%)	35 (43.8%)	14 (14.9%)	1160 (100.0%)	80 (100.0%)	94 (100.0%)
	Date Unknown					
Lohtaja	—	—	25			
Elimäki	—	6	12			
Jokioinen	—	—	2			
Leppävirta	—	11	4			
Polvijärvi	—	6	2			
Kristinestad	—	23	19			

¹ There is a visual representation of the information in this Appendix in Figure 2, p. 86. The figures for emigration include all acts of emigration up to 1930. The figures for the return include also emigrants from the sample areas who returned elsewhere, and emigrants from elsewhere who returned to the sample areas.

APPENDIX 3. *Monthly Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration, 1892-1937.*¹

Month	1892—1902	1904—1914	1921—1922	1931—1937
January	782 (3.5%)	2588 (5.7%)	100 (2.3%)	385 (2.3%)
February	709 (3.2%)	3019 (6.6%)	209 (4.7%)	477 (2.8%)
March	1194 (5.4%)	2965 (6.5%)	397 (8.9%)	521 (3.1%)
April	1487 (6.7%)	3546 (7.8%)	150 (3.4%)	1012 (6.0%)
May	2270 (10.2%)	5810 (12.8%)	896 (20.2%)	4596 (27.2%)
June	2239 (10.0%)	8151 (17.9%)	1049 (23.6%)	3000 (17.7%)
July	2084 (9.3%)	4819 (10.6%)	496 (11.2%)	2151 (12.7%)
August	2398 (10.8%)	3436 (7.6%)	500 (11.3%)	1038 (6.1%)
September	2702 (12.1%)	2989 (6.6%)	180 (4.1%)	861 (5.1%)
October	2310 (10.4%)	2761 (6.1%)	189 (4.3%)	1041 (6.2%)
November	2353 (10.6%)	2266 (5.0%)	137 (3.1%)	744 (4.4%)
December	1771 (7.9%)	3062 (6.7%)	136 (3.1%)	1085 (6.4%)
TOTAL	22299 (100.0%)	45412 (100.0%)	4439 (100.0%)	16911 (100.0%)

¹ There is a visual representation of this Appendix in Figure 4, p. 96. These figures are based on information from the Finnish Steamship Company (also available on microfilm at the Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/7/17), and they thus cover the entire return migration. Data are missing for 1903, 1906—1907, 1910—1911, 1915—1920, and 1923—1930, and also for August-December 1914 and January-April 1931. Monthly return data have also been published for 1913—1914 and 1921—1922 in: STV 1914—1915, Table 62; STV 1922, Table 55; STV 1923, Table 54. The number of migrants reported as returning in the shipping line information for 1908 is 12 440 (see Appendix 1); this figure is based on published data; the actual archive material gives the figure of 13 314.

APPENDIX 4. *Numbers of Men and Women Returning Annually to Lohtaja, to Åland, and to All Finland.*¹

Year	Lohtaja		Åland		Finland	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1871	1	—	..	..	..	..
1872	—	—	..	..	..	..
1873	1	—	..	..	..	..
1874	1	1	..	..	..	..
1875	7	—	..	..	..	..
1876	—	—	..	..	..	..
1877	2	—	..	..	..	..
1878	—	—	..	..	..	..
1879	—	—	..	..	..	..
1880	—	—	..	..	..	..
1881	—	—	..	..	..	..
1882	—	—	..	..	..	..
1883	—	1	..	..	..	..
1884	4	—	..	..	..	..
1885	5	1	..	..	..	..
1886	5	—	..	..	..	..
1887	4	1	..	..	..	..
1888	7	—	..	..	..	..
1889	8	1	..	..	..	..
1890	8	3	..	..	..	..
1891	5	3	..	..	..	..
1892	6	—	..	..	..	..
1893	5	—	..	..	..	..
1894	7	—	11	3	550	80
1895	8	2	10	5	561	85
1896	5	4	..	..	744	150
1897	2	3	13	3	579	114
1898	7	3	19	1	464	108
1899	4	2	17	4	248	43

¹ The numbers of those returning are illustrated in Figure 5 (p. 131). The data for Lohtaja only include those returning permanently. The data for Åland are derived from the District Court Registrars' records (BLOMFELT 1968, 150), as are those for Finland as a whole (STV 1897, Table 110; STV 1898, Table 121; STV 1899—1900, Table 116; STV 1901, Table 119; STV 1902, Tables 119 and 120; STV 1903—1904, 1906—1908, Table 45 A; STV 1905, Table 46 A; STV 1909 & 1911, Table 47 A; STV 1910 & 1912, Table 50 A; STV 1913, Table 57 A; STV 1914—1915, Table 60 A; STV 1916, Table 64 A; STV 1917—1918, Table 65 A). There is a slight confusion in the Registrars' records for 1899 (cf. Appendices 1 and 4; STV 1902, Table 119 and STV 1903, Table 46). The connections between this period and the economic cycles in the United States and Finland are set out in Appendix 1.

Year	Lohtaja		Åland		Finland	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1900	9	5	47	23	819	224
1901	5	3	27	18	871	277
1902	11	3	24	17	727	174
1903	9	2	44	10	1450	290
1904	13	2	47	4	1421	343
1905	5	2	..	..	926	333
1906	7	2	39	11	1210	392
1907	15	8	117	31	2997	786
1908	13	4	110	19	2482	701
1909	6	1	30	13	1123	478
1910	6	2	33	10	1223	418
1911	6	2	43	11	1864	559
1912	5	5	4	—	1618	541
1913	5	4	20	15	1506	562
1914	4	3	6	6	1370	470
1915	6	4	4	—	369	109
1916	4	—	1	1	159	62
1917	5	—	..	..	..	..
1918	—	—	7	—	..	..
1919	3	—	12	1	..	..
1920	5	2	27	13	..	..
1921	4	1	..	..	..	..
1922	2	—	..	..	..	..
1923	1	1	..	..	..	..
1924	2	—	..	..	..	..
1925	5	2	..	..	..	..
1926	8	1	..	..	..	..
1927	3	—	..	..	..	..
1928	11	—	..	..	..	..
1929	12	—	..	..	..	..
1930	4	—	..	..	..	..
1931	2	1	..	..	..	..
1932	4	1	..	..	..	..
1933	2	—	..	..	..	..

Year	Lohtaja		Åland		Finland	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1934	1	1	..	..	..	..
1935	3	—	..	..	..	..
1936	2	—	..	..	..	..
1937	3	1	..	..	..	..
1938	12	4	..	..	..	..
1939	1	—	..	..	..	..
...						
1947	1	—	..	..	..	..
1948	1	—	..	..	..	..
1949	—	—	..	..	..	..
1950	1	—	..	..	..	..
1951	1	—	..	..	..	..
1952	1	—	..	..	..	..
1953	1	—	..	..	..	..
1954	2	2	..	..	..	..
...						
1960	1	—	..	..	..	..
...						
1969	1	—	..	..	..	..
TOTAL	336	94	712	219	25281	7299

APPENDIX 5. Location of Settlement Abroad by Migrants from the Sample Areas, as Indicated by the Research Sample and by the Investigation of All Finnish Migrants in 1873, 1882, 1890, and 1905.¹

LOHTAJA						
Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in:				Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
		1873	1882	1890	1905	
United States	537(89.4%)	43(97.7%)	104(100.0%)	29(100.0%)	78(88.6%)	254(95.8%)
Eastern States:	75(12.5%)	31(70.5%)	16(15.4%)	5(17.2%)	15(17.0%)	67(25.3%)
CONNECTICUT						
Elliott	6					
Hartford	1					
Sterling	1					
Woodstock	1					
total	9(1.5%)					
MAINE						
Rockland	1					
Thomaston	1					
total	3(0.5%)					
MASSACHUSETTS						
Ashburnham	1					
Boston	12	11	1			12
Braintree	1					
Fitchburg	2			1		1
Gardner	1				2	2
Maynard					1	1
Quincy	1					
Rockport	2					
Stow	1					
Wareham					1	1
Weymouth	1					
Worcester	2					
total	24(4.0%)	11(25.0%)	1(1.0%)	1(3.4%)	4(4.5%)	17(6.4%)
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Newport	6					
total	6(1.0%)					
NEW YORK						
Hankins	1					
New York	20	15	15	4	6	40
total	21(3.5%)	15(34.1%)	15(14.4%)	4(13.8%)	6(6.8%)	40(15.1%)
NORTH CAROLINA						
Wilmington					4	4
total					4(4.5%)	4(1.5%)
PENNSYLVANIA						
Erie	4	5				5
Philadelphia	1					
Titusville	6					
total	11(1.8%)	5(11.4%)				5(1.9%)

¹ For the sources of this Appendix, see p. 56—58. The States of the USA have been grouped geographically into four regions: East, South, Mid-West, and West; the absolute figure given for each region represents the total number of migrants, which is then divided by State and locality; the percentages represent the proportion of the total number of migrants (whose place of settlement have been found out, see p. 58) for each region or State. In some cases a figure is given immediately after the name of the State, referring to migrants the precise location of whose residence within the State is not known. The data on all the Finnish emigrants in 1873, 1882, 1890, and 1905 (this study has been carried out at the Department of History, University of Turku) have been presented in the Appendix annually and totally. Due to the beginnings of emigration, there is information only on Lohtaja in 1873, on Lohtaja and Kristinestad in 1882 and 1890, and on all the sample areas in 1905. In cases where no migrants occur for a particular locality, this space has been left blank.

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in:				Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
		1873	1882	1890	1905	
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Florence total				1	1	1(0.4%)
VERMONT total	1				1(1.1%)	1(0.4%)
Southern States:	3(0.5%)					
FLORIDA						
Lake Worth	1					
Lantana	1					
Tampa total	1					3(0.5%)
Mid-Western States:	304(50.6%)	12(27.3%)	87(83.7%)	19(65.5%)	32(36.4%)	150(56.6%)
ILLINOIS						
Chicago	1					
Waukegan total	6				1	1(0.4%)
INDIANA					1(1.1%)	
Whiting total	6					6(1.0%)
MICHIGAN						
Alston	3		1			1
Atlantic	2					
Baraga	1					
Boston Location	1					
Calumet	6				1	1
Chassell	1					
"Copper Country"	7					
Daggett	1					
Detroit	1					
Fulton	1					
Grand Rapids	5		2			2
Greenland	2					
Hancock	11	11	12	5	5	33
Highland Park	1					
Houghton	1				1	1
Iron River	1					
Ironwood	2					
Ishpeming	8			2		2
Jacobsville	2					
Kenton	3					
L'Anse					1	1
Ludington	11		14			14
Marquette	3		6			6
Mass	2				1	1
National Mine	3					
Negaunee	2				8	8
Paavola	1					
Princeton	2					
Oscado	1					
Republic	3					
Rockland	1					
Rudyard	1					
Trout Creek	1					
Wasa Siding total	1					
	93(15.5%)	11(25.0%)	35(33.7%)	7(24.1%)	17(19.3%)	70(26.4%)

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in:				Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
		1873	1882	1890	1905	
MINNESOTA	2					
Aitkin	1					
Bear River	1					
Bovey	2					
Brainerd	3		17			17
Cedar Valley	1					
Chisholm	1					
Cloquet	5					
Cokato	6					
Cromwell	1					
Duluth	9		2	5		7
East Lake	2					
Ely	9				3	3
Eveleth					1	1
Floodwood	1					
Grand Rapids	2					
Grayling	1					
Hibbing	4					
Leaf Lake	1					
Mc Gregor	1					
Menahga	4					
Middle River	1					
Minneapolis	18		23			23
Mountain Iron	6					
New York Mills	12		1	4		5
Orr	1					
Otter Tail	3					
Paddock	1					
Park Rapid	1					
Red Wing	1					
Sebeka	2					
Snelman	1					
Soudan	1					
Sparta	1				1	1
Tamarack Mills	1					
Thoms	1					
Toivola	2					
Tower	1			3		3
Virginia	8				4	4
Wadena	2					
Wright	1					
total	122(20.3%)		43(41.3%)	12(41.4%)	9(10.2%)	64(24.2%)
NORTH DAKOTA	3					
Deadwood					2	2
Lakota	1					
Oakes	1					
total	5(0.8%)				2(2.3%)	2(0.8%)
OHIO	1					
Ashtabula	18	1	9			10
Fairport Harbor	1					
total	20(3.3%)	1(2.3%)	9(8.7%)			10(3.8%)
SOUTH DAKOTA						
Aberdeen	12					
Brown	1					
Frederick	1					
Lead City	2					
Redfield	1					
Savo	9					
total	26(4.3%)					

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in: 1873	1882	1890	1905	Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
WISCONSIN						
Brule	3					
Iron Belt	4					
Maple	1					
Marengo					2	2
Milwaukee					1	1
Newton	1					
Oulu	5					
Owen	1					
Solon Springs	1					
Stanley	1					
Superior	3					
Tomahawk	1					
Tripoli	1					
Waino	1					
Washburn	1					
Withee	1					
total	25(4.2%)				3(3.4%)	3(1.1%)
Western States:	155(25.8%)		1(1.0%)	5(17.2%)	31(35.2%)	37(14.0%)
CALIFORNIA						
Berkeley	1					
Eureka	4					
Fort Bragg	3					
Martinez	1					
Nevada City	1					
Sacramento	1					
San Diego	1					
San Francisco	4				4	4
total	18(3.0%)				4(4.5%)	4(1.5%)
COLORADO						
Denver	1					
Fintown	4					
Grand Junction					2	2
Leadville	1					
Oak	2					
Somerset	1					
Telluride	1					
total	10(1.7%)				2(2.3%)	2(0.8%)
MONTANA						
Bonner-Milltown	1					
Butte	12					
Galen	1					
Great Falls					1	1
Missoula					2	2
Red Lodge	12				13	13
total	27(4.5%)				16(18.2%)	16(6.0%)
OREGON						
Adams	2					
Astoria	11				1	1
Clatskanie	1					
Mulino	2					
Pendleton	3					
Portland	7					
Rose City	1					
Salem	1					
Seaside	1					
total	31(5.2%)				1(1.1%)	1(0.4%)
UTAH						
Ogden			1			1
Scofield					1	1
total			1(1.0%)		1(1.1%)	2(0.8%)

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in:				Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
		1873	1882	1890	1905	
WASHINGTON						
Aberdeen	5					
Bentone	2					
Brush Prairie	1					
Centralia	2					
Elma	1					
Elsie	3					
Grayland	1					
Hakum	1					
Kalama	5					
Kelso	3					
Kennydale	1					
Longview	2					
Medina	1					
Monlo	1					
Raymond	4					
Renton	1					
Seattle	2				4	4
Spokane	5					
Tacoma	1					
Tieton	1					
Vancouver	2					
Winlock	2					
Yakima	3					
total	50(8.3%)				4(4.5%)	4(1.5%)
WYOMING						
Carbon	6		5			5
Freelance	1					
Garneville	1					
Kemmerer	1			2		2
Rock Springs	4			1		1
Superior	1					
total	19(3.2%)			5(17.2%)	3(3.4%)	8(3.0%)
Canada	29(4.8%)	1(2.3%)				10(11.4%)
						11(4.2%)
BRITISH COLUMBIA						
Ladysmith	5				1	1
Nanaimo	1					
Vancouver	3				2	2
Wellington	1					
total	10(1.7%)				3(3.4%)	3(1.1%)
ONTARIO						
Alma	1					
Bronder	1					
Cirleg	1					
Fort William					1	1
Kirkland Lake	1					
Nipigon	1					
Port Arthur	7				2	2
South Porcupine	1					
Timmins	3					
Toronto	3					
total	19(3.2%)				3(3.4%)	3(1.1%)
QUEBEC						
Quebec		1			4	5
total		1(2.3%)			4(4.5%)	5(1.9%)
Australia	35(5.8%)					
NEW SOUTH WALES						
Sydney	1					
total	1(0.2%)					

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in: 1873	1882	1890	1905	Total 1873, 1882, 1890, & 1905
QUEENSLAND	4					
Brisbane	4					
Chermside	1					
Freshwater	1					
Ingham	5					
Innisfail	2					
Long Pocket	5					
Mt. Isa	4					
Nambour	1					
Rutland Plains	2					
Tully	4					
total	33(5.5%)					
VICTORIA	1					
total	1(0.2%)					
GRAND TOTAL	601(100.0%)	44(100.0%)	104(100.0%)	29(100.0%)	88(100.0%)	265(100.0%)

Place of Settlement	ELIMÄKI		
	Research Sample	1905 Migrants	
United States		31(62.0%)	28(93.3%)
Eastern States:		14(28.0%)	21(70.0%)
MASSACHUSETTS			
Gardner	4		8
Lanesville	1		
Maynard			1
Quincy	2		
Rockport	1		
Springfield	1		
Worcester	1		
total		10(20.0%)	9(30.0%)
NEW YORK			
New York	4		12
total		4(8.0%)	12(40.0%)
Southern States:		1(2.0%)	
FLORIDA	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
Mid-Western States:		14(28.0%)	7(23.3%)
ILLINOIS			
Waukegan			5
total			5(16.7%)
MICHIGAN			
Republic	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
MINNESOTA	1		
Aurora	1		
Duluth	5		
total		7(14.0%)	
OHIO			
Ashtabula			1
total			1(3.3%)
WISCONSIN			
Rhineland	3		1
Tripoli	2		
Washburn	1		
total		6(12.0%)	1(3.3%)
Western States:		2(4.0%)	
CALIFORNIA	1		
Reedley	1		
total		2(4.0%)	
Canada		18(36.0%)	2(6.7%)
ALBERTA			
Minburn	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
BRITISH COLUMBIA			
Alexis Creek	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
NOVA SCOTIA	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
ONTARIO			
Connaught Station	1		
Dundalk	1		
Oba	1		
Ottawa	1		
Port Arthur	2		
South Porcupine	5		
Sturgeon Falls			1
Toronto	1		
Woodstock	1		
total		13(26.0%)	1(3.3%)
QUEBEC			
Kildare	1		
Montreal	1		
Quebec			1
total		2(4.0%)	1(3.3%)
Australia		1(2.0%)	
NEW SOUTH WALES			
Sydney	1		
total		1(2.0%)	
GRAND TOTAL		50(100.0%)	30(100.0%)

Place of Settlement	JOKIOINEN	
	Research Sample	1905 Migrants
United States	31(73.8%)	5(100.0%)
Eastern States:	19(45.2%)	2(40.0%)
MAINE		
Skawhegen	1	
total	1(2.4%)	
MASSACHUSETTS		
Fitchburg	8	
Gardner	3	
Norwood	6	2
total	17(40.5%)	2(40.0%)
NEW YORK		
New York	1	
total	1(2.4%)	
Southern States:	1(2.4%)	
FLORIDA		
Lake Worth	1	
total	1(2.4%)	
Mid-Western States:	9(21.4%)	3(60.0%)
MICHIGAN		
Laketon	3	
MacMillan	3	
Munising		2
Newberry	3	
total	9(21.4%)	2(40.0%)
MINNESOTA		
Hibbing		1
total		1(20.0%)
Western States:	2(4.8%)	
OREGON		
Astoria	1	
total	1(2.4%)	
WASHINGTON	1	
total	1(2.4%)	
Canada	11(26.2%)	
ONTARIO	1	
Cooksville	1	
Port Arthur	2	
Sault Ste. Marie	3	
Sudbury	1	
Timmins	1	
Wawa	2	
total	11(26.2%)	
GRAND TOTAL	42(100.0%)	5(100.0%)

Place of Settlement	LEPPÄVIRTA	
	Research Sample	1905 Migrants
United States	43(79.6%)	4(100.0%)
Eastern States:	4(7.4%)	2(50.0%)
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boston		1
Fitchburg	1	
total	1(1.9%)	1(25.0%)
NEW YORK		
New York	3	1
total	3(5.6%)	1(25.0%)
Mid-Western States:	29(53.7%)	2(50.0%)
ILLINOIS		
Chicago	1	
Waukegan	1	
total	2(3.7%)	
MICHIGAN		
Hancock	1	2
Mass	6	
total	7(13.0%)	2(50.0%)
MINNESOTA	1	
Duluth	10	
Hibbing	1	
Minneapolis	6	
total	18(33.3%)	
OHIO		
Cleveland	1	
total	1(1.9%)	
WISCONSIN		
Sheldon	1	
total	1(1.9%)	
Western States:	10(18.5%)	
CALIFORNIA		
San Francisco	6	
total	6(11.1%)	
WASHINGTON		
Aberdeen	4	
total	4(7.4%)	
Canada	11(20.4%)	
BRITISH COLUMBIA		
Burnaby	2	
Port Haney	1	
Vancouver	2	
total	5(9.3%)	
ONTARIO		
Hamilton	1	
Sault Ste. Marie	1	
Sudbury	2	
Toronto	1	
total	5(9.3%)	
QUEBEC		
Montreal	1	
total	1(1.9%)	
GRAND TOTAL	54(100.0%)	4(100.0%)

Place of Settlement	POLVIJÄRVI	
	Research Sample	1905 Migrants
United States	34(70.8%)	15(78.9%)
Eastern States:	10(20.8%)	6(31.6%)
MAINE		
Portland		1
total		1(5.3%)
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boston		1
Fitchburg	1	
Peabody	1	
Worcester	1	
total	3(6.3%)	1(5.3%)
NEW YORK		
Ardsley	1	
New York	5	4
Ovid	1	
total	7(14.6%)	4(21.1%)
Southern States:	3(6.3%)	
FLORIDA	1	
Lantana	1	
New Port Richey	1	
total	3(6.3%)	
Mid-Western States:	19(39.6%)	6(31.6%)
MICHIGAN	1	
Calumet		3
Hancock		2
Ironwood		1
Negaunee	1	
Wixom	1	
total	3(6.3%)	6(31.6%)
MINNESOTA	1	
Cloquet	2	
Duluth	2	
Hibbing	5	
Kettle River	2	
Minneapolis	1	
Moose Lake	2	
total	15(31.3%)	
WISCONSIN	1	
total	1(2.1%)	
Western States:	2(4.2%)	3(15.8%)
IDAHO	1	
total	1(2.1%)	
MONTANA	1	
total	1(2.1%)	
OREGON		
Astoria		3
total		3(15.8%)
Canada	14(29.2%)	4(21.1%)
BRITISH COLUMBIA		
Ladysmith	1	
total	1(2.1%)	
ONTARIO		
Brantford	1	
Fort Frances	1	
Fort William	1	
Hearst	1	
Port Arthur	3	
South Porcupine	1	
Toronto	4	
total	12(25.0%)	
QUEBEC		
Montreal	1	1
Quebec		3
total	1(2.1%)	4(21.1%)
GRAND TOTAL	48(100.0%)	19(100.0%)

Place of Settlement	KRISTINESTAD				
	Research Sample	Migrants in: 1882	1890	1905	Total 1882, 1890 & 1905
United States	56(80.0%)	8(100.0%)	17(100.0%)	27(90.0%)	52(94.5%)
Eastern States:	15(21.4%)	2(25.0%)	13(76.5%)	12(40.0%)	27(49.1%)
MASSACHUSETTS					
Boston	1			3	3
Fitchburg	2			1	1
Gardner				2	2
Gloucester	1				
Norwood	1				
Quincy	4				
Springfield				1	1
Worcester	1		2		2
total	10(14.3%)		2(11.8%)	7(23.3%)	9(16.4%)
NEW YORK					
New York	4	2	10	4	16
total	4(5.7%)	2(25.0%)	10(58.8%)	4(13.3%)	16(29.1%)
PENNSYLVANIA					
Greensburg			1		1
Milford	1				
total	1(1.4%)		1(5.9%)		1(1.8%)
VERMONT					
Gassetts				1	1
total				1(3.3%)	1(1.8%)
Southern States:	2(2.9%)				
FLORIDA					
St. Petersburg	1				
total	1(1.4%)				
LOUISIANA					
New Orleans	1				
total	1(1.4%)				
Mid-Western States:	22(31.4%)	6(75.0%)	2(11.8%)	11(36.7%)	19(34.5%)
ILLINOIS					
Chicago	6	3	1		4
De Kalb	1				
Galesburg	1				
total	8(11.4%)	3(37.5%)	1(5.9%)		4(7.3%)
MICHIGAN					
Bessemer			1		1
Calumet	1				
Escanaba	1				
Isabella				2	2
Marquette	1				
Munising				5	5
Muskegon				1	1
Norway				1	1
Palmer	1				
Sault Ste. Marie	1				
total	5(7.1%)		1(5.9%)	9(30.0%)	10(18.2%)
MINNESOTA					
Brainerd	2	1			1
Brimson	1				
Esko	2				
Hibbing	1				
Minneapolis		2			2
Saginaw	1				
total	7(10.0%)	3(37.5%)			3(5.5%)

Place of Settlement	Research Sample	Migrants in: 1882	1890	1905	Total 1882, 1890 & 1905
NORTH DAKOTA					
Devils Lake	1				
total	1(1.4%)				
OHIO					
Ashtabula				2	2
Cleveland	1				
total	1(1.4%)			2(6.7%)	2(3.6%)
Western States:	17(24.3%)		2(11.8%)	4(13.3%)	6(10.9%)
ALASKA					
total	2(2.9%)				
CALIFORNIA					
Los Angeles	2				
San Francisco	1		1		1
South Gate	1				
total	12(17.1%)		1(5.9%)		1(1.8%)
MONTANA					
Anaconda				1	1
Missoula	1				
total	1(1.4%)			1(3.3%)	1(1.8%)
OREGON					
Astoria	1				
Portland	1			1	1
total	2(2.9%)			1(3.3%)	1(1.8%)
WASHINGTON					
Seattle			1	2	3
total			1(5.9%)	2(6.7%)	3(5.5%)
Canada	12(17.1%)			3(10.0%)	3(5.5%)
BRITISH COLUMBIA					
Alberni	2				
Rivers Julet	2				
Vancouver	8				
total	12(17.1%)				
ONTARIO					
Copper Cliff				1	1
total				1(3.3%)	1(1.8%)
QUEBEC					
Quebec				2	2
total				2(6.7%)	2(3.6%)
Australia	2(2.9%)				
NEW SOUTH WALES					
Sydney	1				
total	1(1.4%)				
WESTERN AUSTRALIA					
Blackwood	1				
total	1(1.4%)				
GRAND TOTAL	70(100.0%)	8(100.0%)	17(100.0%)	30(100.0%)	55(100.0%)

APPENDIX 6. *Last Place of Employment of Migrants Returning to Finland, and Places of Residence of Migrants Returning to Lohtaja.*¹

Locality	Migrants Returning to Lohtaja	Migrants Returning to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Returning to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Returning to Finland (Total)
United States	91(71.7%)	404(92.2%)	177(38.5%)	581(64.7%)
Eastern States:	25(19.7%)	169(38.6%)	113(24.6%)	282(31.4%)
CONNECTICUT		1		1
Bloomfield			1	1
Elliott	6			
Hartford	1	1		1
New Canaan			2	2
New Haven			3	3
Norwich			1	1
Sterling	1			
Woodstock	1			
total	9(7.1%)	2(0.5%)	7(1.5%)	9(1.0%)
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA				
Washington		1	1	2
total		1(0.2%)	1(0.2%)	2(0.2%)
MAINE		3	1	4
Greenlake		1		1
Portland			1	1
total		4(0.9%)	2(0.4%)	6(0.7%)
MARYLAND				
Baltimore		1		1
total		1(0.2%)		1(0.1%)
MASSACHUSETTS		16	3	19
Ashby		1		1
Beverly		1		1
Boston	3	1		1
Clinton		1		1
Fitchburg		34	9	43

¹ The sources for the data concerning Lohtaja are listed at Table 9 (p. 57). The data for Finland as a whole have been derived from the questionnaire carried out among return migrants (reference: TYYH/S/1/5001—6268). Those emigrating prior to 1914 and those emigrating in 1915—1930 have been listed separately in this Appendix, since there are both absolutely and relatively far more replies to the questionnaire from return migrants in the latter group than would be justified by their return rate. The States of the USA have been grouped geographically into four regions: East, South, Mid-West, and West: the absolute figure given for each region represents the total number of returning migrants for the region, which is then divided by State and locality; the percentages represent the proportion of the total return migration for each region or State. In some cases a figure is given immediately after the name of the State, referring to migrants the precise location of whose residence within the State is not known. In cases where no migrants occur for a particular locality, this space has been left blank.

Locality	Migrants Return- ing to Lohtaja	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Total)
Gardner		4		4
Lowell			1	1
Maynard		8	4	12
Norwood		1		1
Quincy		4	1	5
Salem		1	1	2
West Wareham		2		2
Worcester		4	3	7
total	3(2.4%)	78(17.8%)	22(4.8%)	100(11.1%)
NEW HAMPSHIRE		1		1
Guild		1		1
Newport	1	3		3
total	1(0.8%)	5(1.1%)		5(0.6%)
NEW JERSEY		2	1	3
Bogota			1	1
Englewood		1	1	2
Jersey City		2	1	3
Newark			1	1
total		5(1.1%)	5(1.1%)	10(1.1%)
NEW YORK		9	4	13
Bronxville			1	1
Fulton		1		1
Mt. Vernon		1		1
New York	6	49	67	116
Searsdale		1		1
White Plains		2		2
total	6(4.7%)	63(14.4%)	72(15.7%)	135(15.0%)
PENNSYLVANIA		4		4
Erie	2			
Monessen		1	1	2
New Castle		1	1	2
Philadelphia		2	1	3
Pittsburgh			1	1
Titusville	4			
total	6(4.7%)	8(1.8%)	4(0.9%)	12(1.3%)
RHODE ISLAND				
Pawtucket		1		1
total		1(0.2%)		1(0.1%)
WEST VIRGINIA		1		1
total		1(0.2%)		1(0.1%)
Southern States:	1(0.8%)	2(0.5%)	2(0.4%)	4(0.4%)
FLORIDA		2		2
Miami			1	1
Tampa	1			
total	1(0.8%)	2(0.5%)	1(0.2%)	3(0.3%)
GEORGIA			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)

Locality	Migrants Return- ing to Lohtaja	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Total)
Mid-Western States:	30(23.6%)	174(39.7%)	44(9.6%)	218(24.3%)
ILLINOIS		1		1
Chicago		2	2	4
De Kalb		2	1	3
Waukegan	1	3	1	4
total	1(0.8%)	8(1.8%)	4(0.9%)	12(1.3%)
INDIANA				
Bloomington			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)
MICHIGAN		52	6	58
Bessemer		1		1
Calumet		10	2	12
Clifford		1	1	2
"Copper Country"	1	1	2	3
Daggett	1			
Detroit		4	9	13
Hancock	1	5		5
Ironwood		3	1	4
Ishpeming		7		7
Ludington	2			
Marquette		3		3
Mass		2		2
Ontonagon		1		1
Tapiola		1		1
total	5(3.9%)	91(20.8%)	21(4.6%)	112(12.5%)
MINNESOTA		19	4	23
Aitkin		1		1
Balsamtown		1		1
Bovey		4		4
Chisholm	1	3	1	4
Cloquet		3	1	4
Duluth	3	6		6
Ely	1	1	1	2
Eveleth		1		1
Hibbing	1	2	1	3
Minneapolis	2			
Mountain Iron	1			
New York Mills	1			
Orr	1			
Otter Tail	2			
Soudan	1			
Toivola	2			
Two Harbors			1	1
Virginia		8		8
Windsor		1		1
total	16(12.6%)	50(11.4%)	9(2.0%)	59(6.6%)
NORTH DAKOTA		3	1	4
Buffalo		1		1
total		4(0.9%)	1(0.2%)	5(0.6%)

Locality	Migrants Return- ing to Lohtaja	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Total)
OHIO		4	1	5
Ashtabula	3	1		1
Cleveland		4	4	8
Conneaut		1		1
Fairport Harbor			1	1
Jacksonville		1		1
Warren		1	1	2
total	3(2.4%)	12(2.7%)	7(1.5%)	19(2.1%)
SOUTH DAKOTA				
Aberdeen	2			
Lead City	1			
total	3(2.4%)			
WISCONSIN		5		5
Iron Belt	2			
Kenosha		1		1
Sparta		1		1
Superior		2	1	3
total	2(1.6%)	9(2.1%)	1(0.2%)	10(1.1%)
Western States:	35(27.6%)	59(13.5%)	18(3.9%)	77(8.6%)
ALASKA		5		5
Nome		1		1
total		6(1.4%)		6(0.7%)
ARIZONA				
Miami		1		1
Phoenix		1		1
total		2(0.5%)		2(0.2%)
CALIFORNIA		6	2	8
Berkeley		2		2
Eureka		1	1	2
Douglas		1		1
Los Angeles		1	3	4
Napa		1		1
San Francisco	1	2	2	4
total	1(0.8%)	14(3.2%)	8(1.7%)	22(2.4%)
COLORADO		1	1	2
Fintown	1			
Somerset	1			
total	2(1.6%)	1(0.2%)	1(0.2%)	2(0.2%)
IDAHO		1	1	2
total		1(0.2%)	1(0.2%)	2(0.2%)
MONTANA		2	1	3
Butte	1	1		1
Red Lodge	2	1		1
total	3(2.4%)	4(0.9%)	1(0.2%)	5(0.6%)
OREGON	1	2	1	3
Astoria	1	6		6
Pendleton	1			
Portland	1	3	1	4
total	4(3.1%)	11(2.5%)	2(0.4%)	13(1.4%)
UTAH		1		1
total		1(0.2%)		1(0.1%)

Locality	Migrants Return- ing to Lohtaja	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Total)
WASHINGTON		2		2
Aberdeen	1	4	1	5
Centralia	2		1	1
Coal Field		1		1
Grayland			1	1
Hakum	1			
Kalama	2			
Kelso	2			
Longview	1			
McMurray		1		1
Monlo	1			
Olympia		1		1
Raymond	2	1		1
Roslyn		1		1
Seattle		2	1	3
Spokane	5			
Vancouver	1			
Winlock	1	1		1
total	19(15.0%)	14(3.2%)	4(0.9%)	18(2.0%)
WYOMING		3	1	4
Freelance	1			
Garneville	1			
Kemmerer	1			
Rock Springs	2	2		2
Superior	1			
total	6(4.7%)	5(1.1%)	1(0.2%)	6(0.7%)
Canada	8(6.3%)	31(7.1%)	253(55.0%)	284(31.6%)
ALBERTA			2	2
Calgary			1	1
Edmonton			1	1
total			4(0.9%)	4(0.4%)
BRITISH COLUMBIA		2	7	9
Anyox			2	2
Ladysmith	1		1	1
Mara		1	12	13
Vancouver	2	1	1	1
Victoria			1	1
total	3(2.4%)	3(0.7%)	23(5.0%)	26(2.9%)
MANITOBA		1	3	4
Winnipeg		1		1
total		2(0.5%)	3(0.7%)	5(0.6%)
NOVA SCOTIA				
Halifax		1		1
total		1(0.2%)		1(0.1%)
ONTARIO		4	32	36
Alma	1			
Arvida			1	1
Bronder	1			
Cirleg	1			
Cochrane			4	4
Copper Cliff			7	7
Gardiner			1	1
Hamilton			2	2
Hearst			2	2
Kirkland Lake			8	8

Locality	Migrants Return- ing to Lohtaja	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating pre-1914)	Migrants Return- ing to Finland (Emigrating 1915—1930)	Migrants Returning to Finland (Total)
Levack			1	1
Niagara Falls			1	1
Nipigon		1		1
Port Arthur		5	30	35
Sault Ste. Marie		2	2	4
Silver Mountain			1	1
South Porcupine	1		21	21
Sudbury		2	31	33
Timmins			7	7
Toronto	1	4	20	24
Windsor			2	2
Worthington			3	3
total	5(3.9%)	18(4.1%)	176(38.3%)	194(21.6%)
QUEBEC		2	15	17
Beauharnois			1	1
Montreal		2	31	33
total		4(0.9%)	47(10.2%)	51(5.7%)
SASKATCHEWAN		3		3
total		3(0.7%)		3(0.3%)
Australia	28(22.0%)	3(0.7%)	24(5.2%)	27(3.0%)
NEW SOUTH WALES				
Gosford			1	1
Sydney	1	1	3	4
total	1(0.8%)	1(0.2%)	4(0.9%)	5(0.6%)
QUEENSLAND	3	1	4	5
Brisbane	2		1	1
Freshwater	1			
Ingham	4		2	2
Innisfail	1			
Long Pocket	5		4	4
Mt. Isa	4		4	4
Rutland Plains	2		1	1
Tully	4		3	3
total	26(20.5%)	1(0.2%)	19(4.1%)	20(2.2%)
VICTORIA	1	1	1	2
total	1(0.8%)	1(0.2%)	1(0.2%)	2(0.2%)
South America			6(1.3%)	6(0.7%)
ARGENTINA			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)
BRAZIL				
Penedo			1	1
Rio de Janeiro			1	1
total			2(0.4%)	2(0.2%)
CUBA				
Havana			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)
MEXICO			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)
PARAGUAY				
Alborado			1	1
total			1(0.2%)	1(0.1%)
GRAND TOTAL	127(100.0%)	438(100.0%)	460(100.0%)	898(100.0%)

APPENDIX 7. *Finnish Migrants Questionnaire*¹

The Department of General History, University of Turku, has drawn up this questionnaire in order to gather information about Finnish migrants for scientific research purposes. We would therefore be grateful if you could answer the questions below as carefully as you can, and return the form to the following address: Reino Kero, Dept. of General History, University of Turku, Turku 2, Finland. All the information will be treated in the strictest confidence, and will only be made available for scientific research. The questionnaires will be stored in the archives of migration history at the University of Turku. If you are unable to recall some details exactly, please write your answer for example like this: "About 1920."

Present name and address:

I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Your name on emigration from Finland:
 2. Your name in America:
 3. Year of birth: 4. Place of birth:
 5. What were your parents' occupations?
.....
 6. How many children did your parents have?
 7. Did you attend elementary school before emigrating from Finland?
 8. If so, for how many years?
 9. In what year did you leave Finland?
 10. What was your registered place of residence when you emigrated?
 11. Did you work anywhere outside your native district before arriving in America?
Where? What kind of work?
 12. What was your occupation when you emigrated?
 13. Why did you decide to emigrate?
 14. How did you raise your fare (please underline the appropriate alternative): own funds, parents' funds, loan from neighbours, bank loan, funds from America, some other source
 15. Where did you land in America?
 16. On your arrival in America, how long did you intend to stay there?
 17. Who did you live with in your first place of residence in America?
 18. Where have you lived in America, and what kinds of work have you done?
- | Place | Type of Work | Dates |
|---------|--------------|-------|
| 1. | | |
- (space for ten answers)
19. What is your present permanent place of residence?
 20. When did you move there?
 21. Where did you move from?
 22. Have you visited Florida (this question only applies to those not now resident in Florida)? ..
 23. If so, when?
 24. What is the most important Finnish-American newspaper you have read?
 25. Do you currently receive any Finnish-American newspaper(s)?
 26. If so, which?
 27. Do you currently receive any English-language newspaper(s)?

¹ Reference: TYYH/S/1/1—2504 (2504 questionnaires). This is a translation of the original Finnish questionnaire.

28. Have you belonged to any of the following organizations (please underline the appropriate alternatives):
 church, labour association, cooperative, temperance society, Kaleva society
29. Have you held any office in any of the above-mentioned organizations?
30. If so, what?
31. Have you been to Finland since your arrival in America?
32. When?
33. Do you currently exchange correspondence with Finland?
34. With how many people?
35. Whereabouts in Finland?
36. Do you currently exchange correspondence with people in America who originally came from the same place as you?
37. Who?
38. Are you a citizen of the United States or Canada?
39. If so, when did you apply for your new citizenship?
40. Have you owned a sauna in America?
41. If so, where?
42. Have you owned a car of your own?
43. In what year did you first buy a car of your own?
44. How many cars have you owned altogether?
45. Have you owned a home of your own in America?
46. If so, when did you acquire it?
47. Have you owned a summer cottage in America?
48. If so, when did you acquire it?
49. Have you voted in Presidential elections in the United States or Federal General Elections in Canada (please underline the appropriate alternative): regularly, occasionally, never
50. Are you at the present moment (please underline the appropriate alternative): married, first marriage/second marriage, third marriage, widowed, divorced, single
51. If married, the date(s) of your marriage(s):
52. Your wife or husband's nationality:
53. How many children do you have or have you had?

II. PERSONAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN

54. Full names of your eldest child:
55. Present place of residence:
56. His wife's/Her husband's nationality:
57. What schooling this child received:
58. His/her current type of work:
59. Has he/she visited Finland?
60. If so, when?
61. Has he/she owned a sauna?
62. If so, whereabouts?
63. Is your eldest child able to speak/read/write Finnish?
 (Please underline the appropriate alternative)
64. Full names of your second child:
65. Present place of residence:
66. His wife's/her husband's nationality:
67. What schooling this child received:
68. His/her current type of work:

69. Has he/she visited Finland?
70. If so, when?
71. Has he/she owned a sauna?
72. If so, where?
73. Is your second eldest child able to speak/read/write Finnish?
(Please underline the appropriate alternative)
74. Full names of your third child:
(etc., as in QQ 54—63 and 64—73)
84. If you have or had more than three children, please answer the same questions for them on a separate sheet of paper.

III. PERSONAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR ACQUAINTANCES

85. If you have or have had in America acquaintances from your native district, could you please provide the following information about them:

Name on emigration and present name	Longest place of work	Type of work	Still alive/ Died
.....

(space for ten answers)

86. Where were you living in 1929—1932?
87. Do you know the names of any people who moved from there to Soviet Karelia?
Name Settled there/Returned
.....
(space for ten answers)

IV. INFORMATION ABOUT OLD PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTS

88. Do you have in your possession any of the following, for example from before the Second World War (please underline the appropriate alternatives):
newspapers, magazines, books, circulars, diaries, records of associations or societies, miscellaneous
89. Would you be willing to lend (or donate) this material to the Department of General History, University of Turku, for copying?

- V. NOTES AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, for example about your departure for America, or places of work (you may use extra paper if needed).

N.B. We would be grateful if you would return the form even if you are not able to answer all of the questions.

24. Did you own real estate in America?¹
25. If so, what?
26. While abroad, did you take out citizenship of the United States or Canada?¹
27. If so, when?
28. When did you return to Finland?
29. Why did you decide to return to Finland?
30. How would you say your time in America¹ succeeded (please underline the appropriate alternative):
very successful, successful, reasonably successful, not very successful, very unsuccessful
31. When you returned from America,¹ did you have any savings?
32. If you had any money you had earned in America¹ with you, what was it spend on? (You do not need to answer this question)
33. Did you gain any benefits from being abroad apart from financial ones?
34. If so, what?
35. When did you get married?
36. What is/was the name of your wife/husband?
37. Where was your wife/husband born?
38. Have you been to America¹ since returning to Finland?
39. When?
40. Do you currently exchange correspondence with America?¹
41. Where do your correspondents live?
42. Are these acquaintances from your time in America?¹
43. If you have (or have had) acquaintances in America¹ from your native district, could you please provide the following information about them:
- | Name on emigration
and present name | Longest place
of work | Type of
work |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | | |
- (space for ten answers)
44. Do you know the names of any people from your native district who moved from America¹ to Soviet Karelia in 1921—1934?
- | Name | Previous place
of residence in
America | Returned to America/
Returned to Finland/
Settled in Karelia |
|-------|--|--|
| | | |
- (space for ten answers)
45. What kind of supplies had you with you when you set out for America?²
46. How were they packed?
47. What kinds of food familiar to you from home, and what kinds of bread, did you prepare and eat in America?²
48. Have you or your family prepared food since your return to Finland in ways you learnt in America?¹
49. If so, what?
50. What were you wearing when you set out for America?²
51. What luggage (e.g. spare clothes or things) had you with you?
52. What were you wearing when you returned from America?²
53. What luggage (e.g. watch, trunk, souvenirs) had you with you?
54. Have you any stories to tell about what happened to emigrants in America,³ e.g. running away, being broke, adventures on board ship or in the harbours, etc.³
55. Have you heard about any unusually successful emigrants? Do you think this may have influenced your decision to emigrate?³

² You may use a separate sheet of paper if you wish.

³ Answers preferably on a separate sheet of paper.

56. Were you told any warning examples about emigrants' difficulties and failures?³
57. Can you remember any songs that dealt with the migration or described the immigrants' life abroad? What Finnish folk songs did you hear in America?³
58. Were there any annual festivals among the migrants, e.g. Christmas, Midsummer, Shrove Tuesday, May Day, etc., which were kept in the Finnish way? How? Were any new festivals or ways of celebrating adopted from other nationalities?³
59. How did the emigrants celebrate family celebrations (weddings, christenings, funerals, birthdays, etc.)? Was this different in any way from customs in Finland?³
60. Do you have in your possession any Finnish-American newspapers, magazines, books, circulars, diaries, or anything else like that? If so, what?
61. Would you be willing to lend (or donate) this material to the Department of General History, University of Turku, for copying?
62. NOTES AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, for example about your departure for America,¹ or places of work (you may use extra paper if needed).

APPENDIX 9. *Finnish Returning Migrants Questionnaire II*

The Department of General History, University of Turku, has drawn up this questionnaire in order to gather information about Finnish migrants for scientific research purposes. The purpose of the present questionnaire is to gather additional information about migrants who returned; our first questionnaire on this subject was carried out in 1969. If you replied to that previous questionnaire, then you do not necessarily need to answer Questions 1—8. Please return the form to the following address:

Department of General History, University of Turku, 20500 Turku 50.

All the information will be treated in the strictest confidence, and will only be made available for scientific research. The questionnaires will be stored in the archives of migration history at the University of Turku. If you are unable to recall some details exactly, please write your answer for example like this: "About 1920". We would be grateful if you would return the form even if you are not able to reply to all of the questions.

Present name:

Present address:

1. Your name on emigration from Finland:
 2. Your name in America:¹
 3. Year of birth: 4. Place of birth:
 5. In what year did you emigrate from Finland?
 6. Why did you emigrate from Finland?
 7. On your arrival in America,¹ how long did you intend to stay there?
 8. Where did you live in America,¹ what kinds of work did you do, and when? (You may use a separate sheet of paper if necessary)
- | Place of Work | Type of Work | Dates |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------|
| a. | | |
| (space for ten answers) | | |
9. When did you return to Finland?
 10. Where (which municipality) did you return to?
 11. Where (which municipalities) have you lived in since your return?
 12. Why did you decide to return to Finland?
 13. When you came back, did you have any savings?
 14. Following your return, did you buy²
 - a) a house of your own, b) a farm, c) additional land,
 - d) other real estate (if so, what?
 15. Was your state of health at your return²
 - a) good, b) satisfactory, c) poor?
 16. If your health was poor, what illnesses etc. had you suffered from while abroad?
 17. How well would you consider you had learnt English while you were abroad?²
 - a) well, b) moderately, c) poorly, d) not at all
 18. How satisfied were you following your return?²
 - a) satisfied, b) moderately satisfied, c) dissatisfied
 19. What kinds of difficulties did you encounter in settling down again after returning?
 20. How many times have you been to America¹ as a migrant?
 21. What benefits do you consider you gained from your time abroad?

¹ If you were not in America, please state what country you were in.

² Please underline the appropriate alternative.

¹ Reference: TYYH/S/1/7001—7328 (328 questionnaires). This is a translation of the original Finnish questionnaire.

22. Following your return, have you been active in public affairs, local politics, the economy, cultural activities, etc., in the place where you were living?
23. Have you held any office in local organizations?
24. If so, what?
25. What was the general reaction in the place where you were living to the influences brought back with them by migrants returning from abroad?
(You may give examples if you wish)
26. Describe what sort of significance and effect you think the migrants returning from overseas had, where you were living, in for example the following fields: society and politics, the economy, cultural affairs, morality (you may use a separate sheet of paper if necessary):
27. Give some examples of the influences returning migrants had (you may use a separate sheet of paper if you wish):
28. Notes and additional information, e.g. on your own contribution or on the impact in general of migrants returning from overseas in the area where you were living (you may use a separate sheet of paper if necessary):
Informant's name and address:

LIST OF TABLES

1. Absolute and Relative Emigration, by Provinces.	p. 30
2. Volume of Emigration in the Sample Areas for the Return Migration, 1870—1914.	p. 31
3. Mean Annual Emigration Rate against Mean Population, by Sample Areas.	p. 34
4. The Agricultural Population and Its Socio-economic Composition in the Rural Sample Areas, 1901.	p. 37
5. Sources Used for the Emigrants Index, by Sample Areas.	p. 51
6. Ratio of Acts of Emigration to the True Number of Emigrants, by Sample Areas, from the Beginnings of the Emigration to 1930.	p. 51
7. Numbers of Emigrants and Emigrations as Established in the Present Investigation and as Recorded in the Official Emigration Statistics, 1893—1930.	p. 52
8. Sources Used in Tracing Returning Emigrants, by Sample Areas.	p. 55
9. Sources Used in Tracing Places of Settlement by Emigrants from the Sample Areas.	p. 57
10. Numbers of Return Migrants Traced in Different Investigations.	p. 62
11. Total Acts of Return in Relation to Total Acts of Emigration in the Sample Areas.	p. 65
12. The Return Migration Rate as Recorded in the Official Statistics, 1894—1930, by Provinces.	p. 66
13. Annual Mean Emigration and Return Migration Rates in Different Countries.	p. 68
14. Subsequent Re-emigration by Temporary Return Migrants, by Sample Areas.	p. 72
15. Number of Journeys Overseas Made by Emigrants Permanently Returning to Finland, by Sample Areas.	p. 73
16. Permanent Return Migration Rate in Relation to the Number of Journeys Overseas Made by Emigrants, by Sample Areas.	p. 74
17. Places of Birth of Persons Emigrating from Toholampi to America and of Those Returning to Toholampi, 1880—1889.	p. 78
18. Length of Time Spent Abroad by Emigrants Permanently Returning to Finland.	p. 80
19. The Permanent Return Migration Rate to Finland among Persons Emigrating at Different Times, by Sample Areas.	p. 88
20. Socio-economic Composition of the Rural Emigration, and of All Finland.	p. 103
21. Socio-economic Composition of the Emigration from Kristinestad.	p. 105
22. Rural Return Migration Rate, by Social Status.	p. 107
23. Return Migration Rate in Kristinestad, by Social Status.	p. 110

24. Socio-economic Composition of the Rural Permanent and Temporary Return.	p. 111
25. Socio-economic Composition of the Permanent and Temporary Return in Kristinestad.	p. 112
26. Age Structure of the Finnish Emigration at Different Periods.	p. 116—117
27. Age Structure of the Permanent Return Migration, by Sample Areas.	p. 119
28. Return Migration Rate among Those Emigrating at Different Ages, by Sample Areas.	p. 122—123
29. Sex Composition of the Finnish Emigration at Different Periods.	p. 125
30. Permanent Return Migration Rate to Finland, by Sex.	p. 128
31. Sex Composition of the Permanent Return Migration, by Sample Areas.	p. 133
32. Marital Status of Finnish Emigrants at Different Periods.	p. 136—137
33. Return Migration Rate by Marital Status in the Sample Areas.	p. 139
34. Numerically Most Important Areas of Settlement by Finnish Immigrants in North America, 1900—1930.	p. 147

LIST OF MAPS

1. Percentage of Rural Households without a Specific Dwelling Space in Relation to All the Rural Households in Finland, in 1901 (i.e. Dependent Lodger Population).	p. 25
2. Percentage of Rented Farm Land in Relation to the Total Farm Land in Finland, in 1901 (i.e. Crofter Areas).	p. 26
3. The Sample Areas for the Return Migration.	p. 32
4. The Rate of the Return Migration in Different Regions.	p. 63
5. Main Areas of Finnish Settlement in the United States and Canada, 1930.	p. 149

LIST OF FIGURES

1. The Phases of Overseas Migration Phenomenon as a Continuous Circle: the Theoretical Scope of the Present Investigation.	p. 20
2. Distribution by Different Periods of Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas.	p. 86
3. Annual Fluctuations in the Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas, 1880—1940.	p. 91
4. Monthly Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration, 1892—1937.	p. 96
5. Annual Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration for Men and Women.	p. 131
6. Central Macro- and Micro-level Factors Influencing the Probability of Settlement or Return.	p. 220

LIST OF APPENDICES

1. Annual Fluctuations in the Finnish and Swedish Emigration and Return Migration, 1862—1969.	p. 228—233
2. Distribution by Different Periods of Emigration and Return Migration in the Sample Areas.	p. 234
3. Monthly Fluctuations in the Finnish Return Migration, 1892—1937.	p. 235
4. Numbers of Men and Women Returning Annually to Lohtaja, to Åland, and to All Finland.	p. 236—238
5. Location of Settlement Abroad by Migrants from the Sample Areas, as Indicated by the Research Sample and by the Investigation of All Finnish Migrants in 1873, 1882, 1890, and 1905.	p. 239—250
6. Last Place of Employment of Migrants Returning to Finland, and Places of Residence of Migrants Returning to Lohtaja.	p. 251—256
7. Finnish Migrants Questionnaire.	p. 257—259
8. Finnish Returning Migrants Questionnaire.	p. 260—262
9. Finnish Returning Migrants Questionnaire II.	p. 263—264

List of Sources

1. ARCHIVE SOURCES

Suomen Valtionarkisto (Finnish National Archives)

- Passport registers, Uusimaa Provincial Administration, 1880—1920.
- Passport registers, Hanko City Administration, 1890—1899, and the original sections from 1900—1903.
- Basic material for Migration Statistics despatched to the Tilastollinen Päätoimisto (Central Bureau of Statistics), 1882—1924: Lists of returning migrants compiled in all the District Court Registries for the entire country; Copies of the passport registers, Uusimaa Provincial Administration, 1921—1923; Copies of the passport registers, Hanko City Administration, 1900—1903; Copies of the passport registers, Lovisa City Administration, 1901—1903; Copies of the passport registers, Kristinestad City Administration, 1898—1903; Copies of the passport registers, Nykarleby City Administration, 1897—1900; Copies of the passport registers, Kaskö City Administration, 1893—1903; Copies of the passport registers, Pori City Administration, 1893—1903; Copies of the passport registers, Kokkola Bailiff's Office, 1892—1896.

Hämeen Maakunta-arkisto (Häme Provincial Archives)

- Passport registers, Häme Provincial Administration, 1886—1930.

Oulun Maakunta-arkisto (Oulu Provincial Archives)

- Passport registers, Oulu Provincial Administration, 1870—1892.
- Passport registers, Raahe City Administration, 1880—1894.

Savo-Karjalän Maakunta-arkisto (Savo-Karelia Provincial Archives)

- Passport registers, Kuopio Provincial Administration, 1880—1930.
- Passport registers, Mikkeli Provincial Administration, 1883—1892.
- Passport registers, Viipuri Provincial Administration, 1880—1885.
- Passport registers, Joensuu City Administration, 1893—1899.

Turun Maakunta-arkisto (Turku Provincial Archives)

- Passport registers, Turku & Pori Provincial Administration, 1880—1892.

Vaasan Maakunta-arkisto (Vaasa Provincial Archives)

- Passport registers, Vaasa Provincial Administration, 1860—1930.
- Passport registers, Kokkola City Administration, 1874—1892, 1897—1903.
- Passport registers, Kristinestad City Administration, 1860—1899.
- Passport registers, Jakobstad City Administration, 1891—1903.
- Passport registers, Kokkola Bailiff's Office, 1885—1892.

Elimäki Parish

- Parish records, 1880—1970.
- Register of absent parishioners.
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident.
- Parishioners' death certificates from overseas (to 1970).
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead.

Jokioinen Parish

- Parish records, 1900—1970.
- Register of absent parishioners.
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident.
- Parishioners' death certificates from overseas (to 1971).
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead.

Kristinestad Parish

- Parish records, 1860—1970.
- Register of absent parishioners.
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident.
- Parishioners' death certificates from overseas (to 1973).
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead.

Leppävirta Parish

- Parish records, 1880—1970.
- Register of absent parishioners.
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident.
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead.

Lohtaja Parish

- Parish records, 1870—1969.
- Register of absent parishioners (also available on microfilm, Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident (also available on microfilm, Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).
- Parishioners' death certificates from overseas (also available on microfilm, Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1), to 1970.
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead (also available on microfilm, Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/9/1).

Polvijärvi Parish

- Parish records, 1890—1970.
- Register of absent parishioners.
- Register of parishioners re-registered as resident.
- Parishioners' death certificates from overseas (to 1977).
- Register of parishioners officially presumed dead.

Taipale Orthodox Parish

- Parish records, 1880—1930 (in Russian).
- Register of absent parishioners (in Russian).

Toholampi Parish

- "Emigrants Book", ca 1910 (also available on microfilm, Department of History, University of Turku, reference: TYYH/S/m/9/2).

Register of Associations, Finnish Ministry of Justice

- Documents relating to the Amerikan Suomalaisen Seura (Society of American Finns), established 1933.

Archives of the Suomi-Seura r.y. (Suomi Society)

- MS by Rafael ENGELBERG, "Suomen Ulkomaankävijäin Seura 1934—1936" (Finnish Overseas Travellers' Association 1934—1936), 6 p. (ENGELBERG 1936)

Research Archives for Migration History, Department of History, University of Turku

(Reference code: TYYH; cf. also parish and interview materials)

- Microfilm copies, Gothenburg Police Department migrants register, 1869—1914 (reference: TYYH/S/m 4/1—49).
- Microfilm copies, Finnish Steamship Company passenger lists, 1892—1935, plus other materials relating to the migration (reference: TYYH/S/m/7/1—20).
- Microfilm copies of America letters collected in Satakunta Province in 1964 (reference: TYYH/S/m/Satakunta/1—25).
- Statistics from the computerized demographic investigation of Finnish migrants in 1873, 1882, 1890, and 1905.
- Copies of incoming and outgoing correspondence, Migration Committee, 1918—1924 (reference: TYYH/S/a/184).
- Papers of the Revd Urpo Kokkonen: correspondence and other material on the Finnish-Australians from the 1920s and 1930s (reference: TYYH/S/x/7/III).
- MS memoirs of Frank Sainio, migrant returning to Finland, 402 p. (Sainio 1965)

2. INTERVIEW MATERIAL

Questionnaires

- Questionnaire forms sent out to Finnish migrants resident overseas, 1968, altogether 2504 copies (reference: TYYH/S/1/1—2504).

- Questionnaire forms sent out to Finnish migrants resident in Finland, 1969 and 1974, altogether 1596 copies (reference: TYYH, S 1: 5001—6268 and 7001—7328).

Correspondence

- Correspondence with Eero Kansanen, Leppävirta, 1971 (reference: TYYH/saapuneiden kirjeiden diaari/65/71).
- Correspondence with Linda Karhunen, Leppävirta, 1971 (reference: TYYH/saapuneiden kirjeiden diaari/15/71).
- Correspondence with Juho Kauppila, Lohtaja, 1971 (reference: TYYH/saapuneiden kirjeiden diaari/59/71).
- Correspondence with Helena Mäki, Elimäki, 1970 (reference: TYYH/saapuneiden kirjeiden diaari/376/70).

Personal Interviews

(Carried out by the author unless otherwise stated)

- Wallu Jaakkola, Lantana, Fla., 1975 (emigrant).
- Hilda Koskela, Helsinki, 1978 (return migrant).
- Ida Kotilainen, Helsinki, 1977 (return migrant).
- Aili Kurala, Naantali (interviewer: Esa Vähäkylä), 1966 (return migrant), (reference: TYYH/S/ä/127).
- Ainolf Kurala, Rymättylä (interviewer: Esa Vähäkylä), 1966 (return migrant), (reference: TYYH/S/ä/127).
- Alex Kyyhkynen, Duluth, Minn., 1973 (emigrant).
- Sylva Loukinen, Detroit, Mich., 1974 (emigrant).
- Olavi Lähteenmäki, Turku, 1973 (researcher).
- Saimi Michelson, Turku, 1974 (return migrant).
- Vihtori Mäkelä, Evijärvi (interviewer: Olavi Koivukangas), 1978 (return migrant), (Institute for Migration, Turku).
- Pauline Mäki, Quincy, Mass., 1971 (emigrant).
- Emil Nummelin, Nagu (interviewer: Esa Vähäkylä), 1966 (return migrant), (reference: TYYH/S/ä/127).
- Yrjö Raivio, Copper Cliff, Ont., 1974 (emigrant, researcher).
- Hilda Ristolainen, Thunder Bay, Ont., 1974 (return migrant).
- Ville Ritola, Helsinki, 1971 (return migrant).
- Arvo Saura, Salo, 1978 (informant, not himself a migrant).
- Jeremias Tuokkola, Helsinki, 1977 (return migrant).
- Katri Westerlund, Copper Cliff, Ont., 1974 (emigrant).

3. STATISTICAL MATERIAL AND OTHER DOCUMENTATION

International Migrations. Volume I. Statistics. Compiled on behalf of the International Labour Office, Geneva, with Introduction and Notes by Imre Ferenczi and Edited on behalf of the National Bureau of Economic Research by Walter F. Willcox. Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated, No. 14. St. Albans, Vt. 1929.

International Migrations. Volume II. Interpretations by a Group of Scholars in Different Countries. Edited on behalf of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. by Walter F. Willcox. Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated, No. 18. St. Albans, Vt. 1931.

Reports of the Activities of the Suomi Conference (formerly Suomi Synod) Congregations in the United States and Canada in 1960. n.p. (In the possession of the author)

Siirtolaisuuskomitean (1918) mietintö (1918 Migration Committee Report). Helsinki 1924. (Unpublished copy at TYYH)

Suomen siirtolaisuusolot. Siirtolaisuuskomitean aloitteesta toimeenpannun tiedustelun tulokset (Migration Conditions in Finland. Results of the Inquiry Organized by the Migration Committee). Toim. Sosialihallituksen Tilasto-osasto, laatinut lähinnä Ilmari Teijula. n.p., n.d. (Unpublished copy at TYYH)

Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1887—1940¹ (Finnish Statistical Yearbook 1887—1940). Helsinki 1887—1941. (STV)

Suomen Virallinen Tilasto XXVIII. Siirtolaisuustilasto 1—21 (Finnish Official Statistics. Emigration Statistics 1—21). Helsinki 1905—1931. (SVT)

1. Title up to 1902: Suomenmaan Tilastollinen Vuosikirja.

Suomen Virallinen Tilasto VI. Väkiluvun-tilastoa 1, 5 (Finnish Official Statistics. Demographic Statistics 1, 5). Helsinki 1870, 1880. (SVT)

The United States Census of Population 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C. 1913—1971.

4. NEWSPAPERS

Ann Arbor News, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1975.
Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Mich. 1975.
Industrialisti (Industrialist), Duluth, Minn. 1931.
Lännen Suometar (Western Finn), Astoria, Ore. 1932—1933.
New Yorkin Uutiset (New York News), Brooklyn, N.Y. 1971.
Raivaaja (Pioneer), Fitchburg, Mass. 1974.

5. LITERATURE AND ARTICLES

(Translations of the titles from other languages into English are free; they have been included in order to indicate the scope of the works referred to. Correspondingly, there is a note of a summary when available.)

- AALTIO, E.A.: Minnesotan suomalaisia (Minnesota Finns). Liikemiehiä — Lakimiehiä — Lääkäreitä. Vammala 1953.
- ACHINSTEIN, Asher: Economic Fluctuations, in: American Economic History. Edited by Seymour E. Harris. York, Pa. 1961.
- ALANEN, Yrjö: Siirtolaisemme ja kotimaa (Our Emigrants and the Home Country). Siirtolaisuuden vaikutuksesta kansamme oloihin ja luonteeseen. Kansanvalistusseuran toimituksia 154. Helsinki 1910.
- ANTTILA, Veikko: Talonpojasta tuottajaksi. Suomen maatalouden uudenaikaistuminen 1800-luvun lopulla ja 1900-luvun alkupuolella (The Modernization of the Finnish Agriculture in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries). Rauma 1974.
- ARRA, Esa: Illinoisin suomalaiset (Illinois Finns). New York Mills, Minn. 1971.
- BACKLUND, Georg: De politiska återverkningarna (The Political Influence of Migration), in: Emigrationen och dess bakgrund. Svenska Kulturfondets skrifter V. Ekenäs 1971.
- BACKMAN, Wold.: Emigrationen från Munsala socken (Emigration from Munsala Municipality). En enquête af Samfundet Folkhälsan i svenska Finland. Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk, H. 88, N:o 7. Helsingfors 1945.
- BLOMFELT, Frank: Emigrationen från ett skärgårdslandskap (Emigrationen från Åland 1856—1918 med särskild hänsyn till Finström och Föglö socknar). (Emigration from Åland Islands, 1856—1918). Unpublished licentiate thesis, University of Uppsala. Uppsala 1968.
- CAROLI, Betty Boyd: Italian Repatriation from the United States, 1900—1914. New York, N.Y. 1973.
- CERASE, Francesco: The Return to Italy. Nostalgia or Disenchantment: Considerations on Return Migration, in: The Italian Experience in the United States. Edited by Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engel. Staten Island, N.Y. 1970.
- van CLEEF, Eugene: Finland - the Republic Farthest North. The Response of Finnish Life to Its Geographic Environment. Columbus, Ohio 1929.
- DE GEER, Eric: Migration och influensfält (Migration and Fields of Influence). Studier av emigration och intern migration i Finland och Sverige 1816—1972. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 97. Summary in English. Stockholm 1977.
- ENGELBERG, Rafael: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset (Finland and the American Finns). Keskinäinen yhteys ja sen rakentaminen. Helsinki 1944. (ENGELBERG 1944)
- FOERSTER, Robert F.: The Italian Emigration of Our Times. Second printing. Cambridge, Mass. 1924. Reprinted in New York, N.Y. 1969.
- GEBHARD, Hannes: Maanviljelysväestö. Sen suhde muihin elinkeinoryhmiin ja sen yhteiskunnallinen kokoonpano Suomen maalaiskunnissa v. 1901 (Agricultural Population. Its Relation to Other Occupational Groups and Its Social Composition in Rural Finland, 1901). Tilattoman väestön alakomitea. Tilastollinen tutkimus yhteiskunta-taloudellisista oloista Suomen maalaiskunnissa v. 1901. I. Maanviljelysväestö. Helsinki 1913.

- GEBHARD, Hannes: Yhteiskuntataloudelliset olot Suomen maalaiskunnissa (Socio-economic Conditions in Rural Finland), in: *Oma maa IV. Tietokirja Suomen kodeille*. Porvoo 1909.
- GRAFF, George P.: *The People of Michigan*. Second edition, revised. Lansing, Mich. 1974.
- GYLLING, Edward: Eräitä uusia tilastotietoja Suomen siirtolaisuudesta (New Statistical Data on Finnish Emigration), in: *Yhteiskuntataloudellinen Aikakauskirja* 1910. Helsinki 1910.
- HAATANEN, Pekka: Suhteellisen liikaväestön ongelma Suomen maataloudessa (The Problem of Surplus Population in Finnish Agriculture). Unpublished MA thesis, University of Helsinki. Helsinki 1965.
- HALICH, Wasył: *Ukrainians in the United States*. Chicago, Ill. 1937. Reprint edition 1970, New York, N.Y.
- HAUTALA, Kustaa: Merimiesten karkaaminen suomalaisilta laivoilta 1800-luvulla (Desertion of Seamen from the Finnish Ships in the 19th Century), in: *Näkökulmia menneisyyteen*. Eino Jutikkalan juhla-kirja. Toimituskunta: Sven-Erik Åström, Yrjö Blomstedt, Ilkka Hakalehto. Porvoo 1967.
- HELL, Wolfgang: Amerikanisch-deutsche Rückwanderung (The Return Migration of German-Americans), in: "... nach Amerika!" Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten. Ausstellung aus Anlass der Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika am 4. Juli 1776. Aus den Schausammlungen des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte. Heft 5. Hamburg 1976.
- HELLE, Hemmi: Piirteitä Jokioisten kunnallisesta elämästä kuuden viimeisen vuosikymmenen ajalla (Features of Municipal Life in Jokioinen during the Past Six Decades), in: *Jokioinen 1631—1931. Juhlajulkaisu*. Forssa 1931.
- HERBERTS, Kjell: Borta bra men hemma bäst? En studie av återflyttare i Närpes (A Study on Returnees in Närpes Municipality). Svenska Litteratursällskapets i Finland nämnd för samhällsforskning. Forskningsrapporter N:o 28. Åbo 1977.
- HJELT, Aug.: Suomen siirtolaisuusliikkeestä (On Finnish Emigration), in: *Yhteiskuntataloudellinen Aikakauskirja* 1905. Helsinki 1905.
- HOGLUND, A. William: Flight from Industry: Finns and Farming in America, in: *Finnish Americana. A Journal of Finnish American History and Culture*. Volume 1. 1978. New York Mills, Minn. 1978.
- HOLMIO, Armas, K.E.: *Michiganin suomalaisten historia (History of the Finns in Michigan)*. Hancock, Mich. 1967.
- HOPPU, K.V.: Siirtolaisuuden merkitys maallemme (The Impact of Emigration in Our Country), in: *Yhteiskuntataloudellinen Aikakauskirja* 1915. Helsinki 1915.
- HOVI, Ritva-Liisa: Amerikansuomalaiset osuuskunnat Neuvosto-Karjalassa 1920-luvun alkupuolella amerikansuomalaisten ja neuvostokarjalaisten sanomalehtien valossa (American-Finnish Cooperative Societies in the Soviet Karelia at the Beginning of the 1920s), in: *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XXIV. Summary in English*. Turku 1971. (HOVI 1971a)
- HOVI, Ritva-Liisa: Amerikansuomalaisten maanviljelyskommuuni Etelä-Venäjällä (An Agricultural Co-operation of American Finns in South Russia), in: *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XXV. Summary in English*. Vammala 1971. (HOVI 1971b)
- HULDÉN, Lars — HÄGGMAN, Ann-Mari: De kulturella återverkningarna av emigrationen (The Cultural Influence of Migration), in: *Emigrationen och dess bakgrund*. Svenska Kulturfondets skrifter V. Ekenäs 1971.
- HVIDT, Kristian: Flugten til Amerika eller drivkraefter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868—1914 (Emigration from Denmark to America, 1868—1914). Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie 22. Summary in English. Odense 1971.
- ILMONEN, S.: *Amerikan suomalaisten historiaa I (History of American Finns I)*. Hancock, Mich. 1919.
- ILMONEN, S.: *Amerikan suomalaisten historia II ja elämäkertoja (History of American Finns II and Biographies)*. Jyväskylä 1923.
- ILMONEN, S.: *Amerikan suomalaisten historia III (History of American Finns III)*. Yhdysvalloissa ja Canadassa olevat suomalaiset asutukset. Hancock, Mich. 1926.
- JANSON, Florence Edith: *The Background of Swedish Immigration 1840—1930*. The University of Chicago Social Service Monographs, Number Fifteen. Chicago, Ill. 1931. Reprint edition New York, N.Y. 1970.
- JEROME, Harry: *Migration and Business Cycles*. With a Foreword by Wesley C. Mitchell. Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Incorporated, No. 9. St. Albans, Vt. 1926.
- JONES, Maldwyn Allen: *American Immigration*. Chicago, Ill. 1960.
- JOSEPH, Samuel: *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*. New York, N.Y. 1914. Reprinted in New York, N.Y. 1969.
- JOUTSAMO, Timo: *Amerikansuomalaiset ja talvisota (American-Finns and the Winter War)*. Tutki-

- mus amerikansuomalaisten suhtautumisesta talvisotaan sekä heidän pyrkimyksistään avustaa Suomea. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1971.
- JUNGAR, Sune: Från Åbo till Ryssland (From Turku to Russia). En studie i urban befolkningsrörlighet 1850—1890. Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A. Vol. 47 nr 3. Åbo 1974.
- JUNKALA, Leevi — NIEMELÄ, Maria: Suur-Lohtajan historia II (History of Greater Lohtaja II). Vuodet 1809—1917. Keski-Pohjanmaan historiasarja 4. Kokkola 1977. (JUNKALA 1977)
- JUTIKKALA, Eino: Maalaisyhteiskunta siirtoväen tuloon saakka (Rural Society up to the Emergence of the Evacuees), in: Hämeen historia IV. Noin vuodesta 1870 vuoteen 1945. Ensimmäinen nide. Hämeenlinna 1969.
- JUTIKKALA, Eino: Uudenajan taloushistoria (The Economic History of the Modern Times). Turku 1953.
- JÄRNEFELT, Akseli: Suomalaiset Amerikassa (Finns in America). Helsinki 1899.
- KALEMAA, Kalevi: Matti Kurikka. Legenda jo eläessään. Porvoo 1978.
- KERO, Reino: Emigration of Finns from North America to Soviet Karelia in the Early 1930's, in: The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives. Edited by Michael G. Karni, Matti E. Kaups, Douglas J. Ollila Jr. Migration Studies C 3. Vammala 1975.
- KERO, Reino: Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States Civil War and the First World War. Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Ser. B — Tom. 130. Vammala 1974.
- KERO, Reino: The Return of Emigrants from America to Finland, in: Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku, Finland. Nr. 4. Studies. Turku 1972.
- KERO, Reino: Satakuntalainen Amerikansiirtolaisuus ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa (Emigration from Satakunta Province to America before the First World War). Lähtö ja muuttoliikkeet. Unpublished licentiate thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1970.
- KERO, Reino — KOSTIAINEN, Auvo — KUPARINEN, Eero — VAINIO, Esa: Toholammin väestön muuttoliikkeet Amerikansiirtolaisuuden alkuvaiheissa (1870—1889), (Population Mobility in Toholampi in the Early Ages of the American Emigration, 1870—1889). Yhteispuhjoismaisen muuttoliiketutkimuksen Suomen osa. Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Ser. C — Tom. 23. Summary in English. Vammala 1978.
- KILPI, O.K.: Suomen siirtolaisuus ja 19. vuosisadan kansantalous (Finnish Emigration and the National Economics of the 19th Century). Taloustieteellisiä tutkimuksia XXII. Helsinki 1917.
- KOHTAMÄKI, Ilmari: Lohtajan seudun kalastuksesta (On the Fishing in Lohtaja Area), in: Vanhaa Lohtajaa. Kyrönmaa IV. Etelä-pohjalaisen osakunnan 30-vuotisjulkaisu. Vaasa 1938.
- KOIVUKANGAS, Olavi: Finnish Migration to Australia before World War II. Area of Origin and Migration Characteristics, in: Publications of the Institute of General History, University of Turku, Finland. Nr. 4. Studies. Turku 1972.
- KOIVUKANGAS, Olavi: Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II. Migration Studies C 2. Kokkola 1974.
- KOKKONEN, Heikki: Elimäen pitäjän historia I (History of Elimäki Municipality I). Alue, asutus ja entinen elämä. Kouvola 1927.
- KOLEHMAINEN, John I.: Americanization and the Search for Identity, in: Old Friends — Strong Ties. Editors: Vilho Niitemaa, Jussi Saukkonen, Tauri Aaltio, Olavi Koivukangas. Vaasa 1976.
- KOLEHMAINEN, John I.: Jenkit palaavat vanhaan maahan (Yankees' Return to the Old Country), in: Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XXII. Turku 1970.
- KOLEHMAINEN, John Ilmari: Suomalaisen siirtolaisuus Norjasta Amerikkaan (Finnish Emigration from Norway to America). Fitchburg, Mass. n.d. (1946).
- KORTEKANGAS, Paavo: Kirkko murroksen vuosina (Church during the Transition Period). Tutkimus Hämeen maaseudusta 1899—1917. Porvoo 1967.
- KRONBORG, Bo — NILSSON, Thomas: Stadsflyttare (Urban Migrants). Industrialisering, migration och social mobilitet med utgångspunkt från Halmstad, 1870—1910. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 65. Summary in English. Motala 1975.
- KUPARINEN, Eero: Suomalainen siirtolaisuus Etelä-Afrikkaan ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa (Finnish Emigration to South Africa before the First World War). Unpublished MA thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1978.
- KÄLVEMARK, Ann-Sofie: Swedish Emigration Policy in an International Perspective, 1840—1925, in: From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration. Editors: Harald Runblom and Hans Norman. Uppsala 1976.
- LEE, Everett S.: A Theory of Migration, in: Demography 1966. Volume 3. Number 1. n.p.

- LEIWO, Yrjö: Hakemisto (Index of the Finnish Parliament Members), in: *Politiikkaa ja merkkimiehiä*. Helsinki 1935.
- LENTO, Reino: Maassamuutto ja siihen vaikuttaneet tekijät Suomessa vuosina 1878—1939 (Internal Migration and Factors Affecting It in Finland in 1878—1939). Väestöpoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja A: 5. Summary in English. Turku 1951.
- LINDBERG, John S.: *The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States. An Economic and Sociological Study in the Dynamics of Migration*. Minneapolis, Minn. 1930.
- LINDSTROM-BEST, Varpu: *The Finnish Immigrant Community of Toronto 1887—1913*. Unpublished major research paper, York University, Toronto, Ont. 1978.
- LINNAMO, Jussi: *Finland's Migration Bridge to America, in: Old Friends — Strong Ties*. Editors: Vilho Niitemaa, Jussi Saukkonen, Tauri Aaltio, Olavi Koivukangas. Vaasa 1976.
- LINNOILA, Osmo: *Matti Kurikan yhteiskunnallinen ja valtiollinen toiminta (Matti Kurikka's Social and Political Activities)*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Helsinki. Helsinki 1933.
- LUUKKO, Armas: *Suur-Lohtajan historia vuoteen 1809 (History of Greater Lohtaja up to 1809)*, in: Ville Luho-Armas Luukko: *Suur-Lohtajan historia I. Esihistoriallisesta ajasta Suomen sotaan*. Keski-Pohjanmaan historiasarja 3. Kokkola 1957.
- LÄHTEENMÄKI, Olavi: *Siirtolaisuus Suomesta Etelä-Amerikkaan (Emigration from Finland to South America)*. Pioneerivaihe. Unpublished licentiate thesis, University of Turku, Turku 1975.
- MATTILA, Aarne: *Työmarkkinasuhteiden murros Suomessa (Transition Period in Finnish Labour Relations)*. Tutkimus työntekijäin pyrkimyksistä osallistua työehtojen määrittämiseen 1880-luvulta vuoden 1905 suurlakkoon. Historiallisia tutkimuksia LXXVI. Summary in English. Helsinki 1969.
- McNITT, Bill: *Americans in the Soviet Russia: The Kuzbas Experiment*. Unpublished seminar paper, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Mich. 1971.
- MYHRMAN, Anders: *Finlandssvenskar i Amerika (The Finland-Swedes in America)*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland Nr 453. *Folklivsstudier IX*. Summary in English. Helsingfors 1972.
- MÄKINEN, Vesa: *Jokioinen. Nähtävyyksiä*, in: *Suomenmaa 2. Maantieteellis-yhteiskunnallinen tieto- ja hakuteos*. Porvoo 1968.
- NIEMI, Clemens: *Americanization of the Finnish People in Houghton County, Michigan*. Duluth, Minn. 1921.
- NIITEMAA, Vilho: *Australiansuomalainen Erakko-seura vv. 1902—1904 (The Australian-Finnish Erakko Society 1902—1904)*, in: *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XXV*. Summary in English. Vammala 1971.
- NIKANDER, Werner: *Amerikan suomalaisia (American Finns)*. Muotokuvia ja lyhyitä elämäkerrallisia tietoja I, vv. 1922—1927. Hancock, Mich. 1927.
- NILSSON, Fred: *The Impact of Push and Pull*. Introduction, in: *Nordic Emigration. Research Conference in Uppsala Sept. 1969*. *Emigrationsforskningsgruppen vid historiska institutionen i Uppsala, Meddelande nr: 1, 1970*. Uppsala 1970.
- NORMAN, Hans: *Från Bergslagen till Nordamerika (From Bergslagen to North America)*. *Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struktur med utgångspunkt från Örebro län 1851—1915*. *Studia Historica Upsaliensia 62*. Summary in English. Uppsala 1974.
- NORMAN, Hans: *Swedes in North America*, in: *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration*. Editors: Harald Runblom and Hans Norman. Uppsala 1976.
- PAPUNEN, Pentti: *Jokioinen. Historia*, in: *Suomenmaa 2. Maantieteellis-yhteiskunnallinen tieto- ja hakuteos*. Porvoo 1968.
- PELTOVUORI, Risto: *Jokioisten kartanon alustalaisten asema ja vuokrat 1800-luvulla (Conditions and Rents of the Jokioinen Manor Tenants in the 19th Century)*, in: *Lounais-Hämeen kotiseutu- ja museoyhdistyksen vuosikirja XXXII*. Forssa 1963.
- PIIRAINEN, Veikko: *Kylänkierrolta kunnalliskotiin (From a System of Poor Relief to Communal Homes)*. *Savon ja Pohjois-Karjalan maaseudun vaivashoitotoiminta vaivashoidon murroskauteen 1800-luvun jälkipuoliskolla*. Historiallisia tutkimuksia XLIX. Summary in German. Forssa 1958.
- PÄTYNEN, Jorma: *Kuusamolainen Amerikasiirtolaisuus ennen ensimmäistä maailmansotaa (1864—1914)*. (Emigration from Kuusamo Municipality to America before the First World War). Unpublished MA thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1972.
- RAEVUORI, Yrjö: *Klondiken veljekset (Klondike Brothers)*. Alaskan kultakentiltä Turun Yliopiston-mäelle. Tapiola 1975.
- RAIVIO, Yrjö: *Kanadan suomalaisten historia I (History of the Finns in Canada I)*. Vancouver, B.C. 1975.

- RAIVIO, Yrjö: Kanadan suomalaisten historia II (History of the Finns in Canada II). Thunder Bay, Ont. 1979.
- RASILA, Viljo: Suomen torpparikysymys vuoteen 1909 (Finland's Crofter Question up to 1909). Yhteiskuntahistoriallinen tutkimus. Historiallisia tutkimuksia LIX. Summary in English. Kajaani 1961.
- RASILA, Viljo: Torpparikysymyksen ratkaisuvaihe (The Solution of the Finnish Crofter Problem). Suomen torpparikysymys vuosina 1909—1918. Yhteiskuntahistoriallinen tutkimus. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 81. Summary in English. Joensuu 1970.
- RAVENSTEIN, E.G.: The Laws of Migration, in: Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, XLVIII. Part 2, June 1885. n.p.
- RICHMOND, Anthony H.: Post-War Immigrants in Canada. Canadian Studies in Sociology No. 2. Toronto, Ont. 1967.
- RINTA-TASSI, Osmo: Väestö 1800-luvun puolivälistä nykypäiviin (Population of Leppävirta Municipality from the Middle of the 1800s up to the Present), in: Leppävirran kirja. Toimittanut Osmo Rinta-Tassi. JYY:n kotiseutusarja N:o 5. Pieksämäki 1967.
- RISSANEN, Jallu: Muuttolintuja (Birds of Passage). New York, N.Y. 1938.
- ROSENBERG, Antti: Muuttoliike Uudenmaan läänissä esi-industrialistisen kauden lopulla (1821—1880), (Population Mobility in Uusimaa Province, 1821—1880). Historiallisia tutkimuksia LXX. Summary in German. Lahti 1966.
- RUSSELL, Horace H.: The Finnish Farmers in America. Reprinted from Agricultural History, 11: 65—79 (April, 1937). n.p.
- SALOMAA, Erkki: Yrjö Sirola. Sosialistinen humanisti. Kuopio 1966.
- SALONEN, Paavo: Turun sanomalehdistön suhtautuminen siirtolaisuuteen vuosina 1900—1930 (The Attitude of the Press in Turku towards Emigration between 1900—1930), in: Turun Historiallinen Arkisto XX. Summary in English. Turku 1967.
- SALOUTOS, Theodore: They Remember America: The Story of the Repatriated Greek-Americans. Berkeley, Cal. 1956.
- SAMSON, Mike L.: Population Mobility in The Netherlands 1880—1910. A Case Study of Wisch in the Achterhoek. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 87. Stockholm 1977.
- SAURI, Markus: Kuvaus torpparielämästä Elimäellä (On Crofter Life in Elimäki Municipality), in: Ankkapurha II. Kymenlaakson osakunnan kotiseutujulkaisu. Kotka 1949.
- SAVOLAINEN, Erkki: Niilo Wälläri. Legenda jo eläessään. Porvoo 1978.
- SAVOLAINEN, Pekka — KOKKONEN, Erkki: Siirtolaisuus Lapin alueelta vv. 1808—1930 seurakuntien kirkonkirjojen mukaan (Emigration from the Area of Lapland in 1808—1930 according to Church Registers), in: Historiallinen Arkisto 59. Summary in English. Turku 1964.
- SCHRIER, Arnold: Ireland and the American Emigration 1850—1900. Minneapolis, Minn. 1958.
- SEFERAGIĆ, Dušica: Scientific Work in Yugoslavia on Migrant Returnees and Their Impact on the Mother Country, in: International Migration Review, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1977. Staten Island, N.Y. 1977.
- S (SELJA), Aapo: Amerikasta palatessa. Pilanäytelmä:ssä näytöksessä (Coming Back from America. A Satirical Play). Seuranäytelmiä N:o 14. Toinen painos. Hämeenlinna 1908.
- SEMMINGSEN, Ingrid: Veien mot vest. Annen del. Utvandringen fra Norge 1865—1915 (Emigration from Norway, 1865—1915). Oslo 1950.
- SILFVERSTEN, Carl: Finlandssvenskarna i Amerika (The Finland-Swedes in America). Deras materiella och andliga strävanden. Duluth, Minn. 1931.
- (SJÖBLOM, Walter): Kristinestads historia (History of Kristinestad Town). Kristinestad 1915. (SJÖBLOM 1915)
- SMEDS, Helmer: Malaxbygden. Bebyggelse och hushållning i södra delen av Österbottens svensksbygd. En studie i människans och näringslivets geografi (A Study on the Geography of the Population and the Economic Life in Malax Area). Summary in French. Helsingfors 1935.
- SNELLMAN, Teo: Ulkokansalaistoiminta ja siirtolaisten huolto I (Activities on behalf of the Finnish Migrants I). Helsinki 1929.
- SOININEN, Arvo M.: Vanha maataloutemme. Maatalous ja maatalousväestö Suomessa perinnäisen maatalouden loppukaudella 1720-luvulta 1870-luvulle (Old Traditional Agriculture in Finland in the 18th and 19th Centuries). Historiallisia tutkimuksia 96. Summary in English. Forssa 1975.
- STASIK, Florian: Polska emigracja polityczna w Stanach zjednoczonych Ameryki 1831—1864 (Political emigrés from Poland in the United States of America, 1831—1864). Summary in English. Warszawa 1973.

- SULKANEN, Elis: Amerikan suomalaisen työväenliikkeen historia (History of the Finnish-American Labour Movement). Fitchburg, Mass. 1951.
- Suomen historian kartasto (Atlas of Finnish History). Toimittanut Eino Jutikkala. Suomen tiedettä No. 2. Toinen, uudistettu painos. In Finnish and in English. Porvoo 1959.
- Suomenmaa I (Finland I). Maantieteellis-taloudellinen ja historiallinen tietokirja. Helsinki 1919.
- Suomenmaa VII (Finland VII). Maantieteellis-taloudellinen ja historiallinen tietokirja. Porvoo 1925.
- Suomenmaa VIII (Finland VIII). Maantieteellis-taloudellinen ja historiallinen tietokirja. Porvoo 1927.
- TARKKANEN, Matti: Siirtolaisuudesta (On Migration). Kansanvalistusseuran toimituksia 98. Kolmas (uudistettu) painos. Mikkeli 1902.
- TEDEBRAND, Lars-Göran: De som vände hem. Återinvandringen från Nordamerika till Sverige före första världskriget (Return Migration from North America to Sweden before the First World War). in: *Utvandring. Den svenska emigrationen till Amerika i historiskt perspektiv. En antologi redigerad av Ann-Sofie Källemark*. Malmö 1973.
- TEDEBRAND, Lars-Göran: Remigration from America to Sweden, in: *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration*. Editors: Harald Runblom and Hans Norman. Uppsala 1976.
- TEDEBRAND, Lars-Göran: Västernorrland och Nordamerika 1875—1913. Utvandring och återinvandring (Emigration from Västernorrland County to North America and Re-immigration to Västernorrland County, 1875—1913). *Studia Historica Upsaliensia XLII*. Summary in English. Uppsala 1972.
- TEIJULA, Ilmari: Suomen siirtolaisuusolot (Migration Conditions in Finland). Katsaus siirtolaisuustiedustelun tuloksiin, in: *Sosialinen Aikakauskirja 1921*. Helsinki 1921.
- THURNER, Arthur W.: *Cajumet Copper and People. History of a Michigan Mining Community, 1864—1970*. Hancock, Mich. 1974.
- TOIVONEN, Anna-Leena: Etelä-Pohjanmaan valtamerentakainen siirtolaisuus 1867—1930 (Emigration Overseas from Southern Ostrobothnia in 1867—1930). Historiallisia tutkimuksia LXVI. Summary in English. Seinäjoki 1963.
- TOKOI, Oskari: Maanpakolaisen muistelmia (Memoirs of a Deportee). Isänsä muistiinpanojen perusteella kirjoittanut Irene Tokoi. Lahti 1947.
- TOREN, Nina: Return Migration to Israel, in: *International Migration Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1978. Staten Island, N.Y. 1978.
- TUDEER, A.E.: Siirtolaisuus (Migration), in: *Valtiotieteiden käsikirja. Aakkosellinen tietoteos*. Kolmas osa. Helsinki 1923.
- TUNKELO, A.H.: Siirtolaisuutemme itsenäisyyden aikana (Our Emigration during the Independence), in: *Kansantaloudellinen Aikakauskirja 1936*. Helsinki 1936.
- TUOMI, Väinö: Näyttelyvieraille (An Opening Address on the History of Polvijärvi Municipality), in: *Polvijärvi*. Joensuu 1960.
- VAINIO, Esa: Seitsemän varsinaissuomalaisen saaristopitäjän valtamerentakainen siirtolaisuus vuosina 1867—1914 (Emigration from Seven Island Municipalities in Varsinais-Suomi Province, 1867—1914). Unpublished MA thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1974. (VAINIO 1974a)
- VAINIO, Esa: Vuosien 1865—1892 ulkomaanpassiluetteloiden arvo valtamerentakaisen siirtolaisuuden tutkimuksessa (The Value of the Foreign Passport Lists of 1865—1892 in the Study of Overseas Emigration), in: *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto 29*. Summary in English. Turku 1974. (VAINIO 1974b)
- VIRTANEN, Keijo: The Influence of the Automotive Industry on the Ethnic Picture of Detroit, Michigan, 1900—1940, in: *Publications of the Institute of History, General History*. University of Turku, Finland. Nr. 9. Studies. Vaasa 1977.
- VIRTANEN, Keijo: Letters to Finland. The Finns in the United States: The Project on Finnish Immigration of the Michigan Historical Collections. Michigan Historical Collections, Bulletin No. 26. Ann Arbor, Mich. 1976. (VIRTANEN 1976a)
- VIRTANEN, Keijo: The Migration of Finnish-Americans to Florida after World War II, in: *Turun Historiallinen Arkisto 31*. Vammala 1976. (VIRTANEN 1976b)
- VIRTANEN, Keijo: Palaava suomalainen kaukosiirtolaisuus (Finnish Overseas Return Migration). Valtamerentakaisiin maihin 1860-luvulta vuoteen 1930 mennessä siirtolaisiksi lähteneiden paluu takaisin kotimaahan. Unpublished licentiate thesis, University of Turku. Turku 1976. (VIRTANEN 1976c)
- VIRTANEN, Keijo: Problems of Research in Finnish Re-emigration, in: *The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives*. Edited by Michael G. Karni, Matti E. Kaups, Douglas J. Ollila Jr. *Migration Studies C 3*. Vammala 1975.

- VIRTANEN, Keijo: Sources for the Study of Migration in the Archives of Finland, in: Sources for the Study of Migration and Ethnicity. A Guide to Manuscripts in Finland, Ireland, Poland, The Netherlands, and the State of Michigan. Edited by: Francis X. Blouin, Jr., Robert M. Warner. Ann Arbor, Mich. 1979.
- VUORISTO, Keijo: Kristiinankaupunki (Kristinestad). Historia, in: Suomenmaa 4. Maantieteellis-yhteiskunnallinen tieto- ja hakuteos. Porvoo 1971.
- WAISANEN, Carl E.: The Social Problems of the Finns in America, in: The Finns in North America. A Social Symposium. Edited by Ralph J. Jalkanen. Hancock, Mich. 1969.
- WALLS, Georg: Elinkeinöllinen uudistuminen maaseudun kehityskuvassa (Entrepreneurial Innovativeness in the Process of Rural Development). Tutkimus maatalousuudistusten ja uusien tuotantosuuntien omaksumisesta sekä uudistuksellisuudesta neljässä maalaiskunnassa Pohjanmaalla. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis. Ser. A. Vol. 23. Summary in English. Tampere 1968.
- WARGELIN, John: The Americanization of the Finns. Hancock, Mich. 1924.
- WARIS, Heikki: Yleinen väestökehitys 1800-luvun puolivälin jälkeen (Population Trends in Finland since the Middle of the 19th Century), in: Suomen kulttuurihistoria IV. Industrialismin ja kansallisen nousun aika. Jyväskylä 1936.
- WASASTJERNA, Hans R.: History of the Finns in Minnesota. Translation from Finnish by Toivo Rosvall. New York Mills, Minn. 1957 (the Finnish printing).
- WESTER, Holger: Innovationer i befolkningsrörligheten (Innovations in Population Mobility). En studie av spridningsförlopp i befolkningsrörligheten utgående från Petalax socken i Österbotten. Studia Historica Upsaliensia 93. Summary in English. Stockholm 1977.
- WIDÉN, Bill: Korpobor i Amerika (Emigration from Korpo Municipality to America). Migrationsstudier B 1. Åbo 1975.
- WIDÉN, Bill: De religiösa återverkningarna (The Religious Influence of Migration), in: Emigrationen och dess bakgrund. Svenska Kulturfondets skrifter V. Ekenäs 1971.
- WILSON, J. Donald—DAHLIE, Jorgen: Negroes, Finns, Sikhs: Education and Community Experience in British Columbia. Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs Symposium on Languages and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society. Ottawa, Canada, May, 1971. Unpublished. Ottawa, Ont. 1971.
- WÄLLÄRI, Niilo: Antoisia vuosia. Muistelmia toiminnasta ammattiyhdistysliikkeessä (Memoirs of a Trade Unionist). Toinen painos. Helsinki 1967.
- ÅKERMAN, Sune: General Theory and Models of Explanation, in: Nordic Emigration. Research Conference in Uppsala Sept. 1969. Emigrationsforskningsgruppen vid historiska institutionen i Uppsala, Meddelande nr: 1, 1970. Uppsala 1970.
- ÅKERMAN, Sune: Intern befolkningsomflyttning och emigration (Internal and External Migration), in: Emigrationen fra Norden indtil 1. Verdenskrig. Rapporter til det nordiske historikermøde i København 1971, 9—12 August. København 1971.
- ÅKERMAN, Sune: From Stockholm to San Francisco. The Development of the Historical Study of External Migrations. Preprint from Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis 1975. Uppsala 1975.
- ÅKERMAN, Sune: Theories and Methods of Migration Research, in: From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration. Editors: Harald Runblom and Hans Norman. Uppsala 1976.
- ÖHMAN, Runar C.: Silikos-studier jämte bidrag till kännedom om den s.k. minsjukan bland utvandrare från svenska mellersta Österbotten (On the Silicosis Diseases among Migrants of Swedish Ostrobothnia). Helsingfors 1927.



Distributor:
AKATEEMINEN KIRJAKAUPPA
Keskuskatu 1
SF-00100 Helsinki 10
Finland

ISSN 0081-6493
ISBN 951-9254-25-0