

# Periods in Folk Culture, Exemplified in Finland

## *INTRODUCTION*

General treatises on folk culture not confined to presenting changes merely by genre, but attempting to combine the main points of the process of change to form an overall picture, are faced with the problem of dividing folk culture into periods or eras. Since folk culture is only one, admittedly important, aspect of the history of a nation it is, of course, tempting to apply the eras familiar from general history to folk culture too. This is usually the case if folk culture is just part of a general historical survey, but then it is not really a question of dividing folk culture into periods but of describing folk culture as it was in specific, predetermined historical periods.

General surveys dealing exclusively with folk culture do not, however, necessarily have to use the periods familiar from history, for the division of history into periods is most often based on facts, chiefly political events, that do not necessarily have the same significance in folk culture. The history of smaller nations in particular usually falls into periods according to the state they belonged to at various times; allowance is seldom made for economic or socio-historical changes, which are usually of greater significance to folk culture than political changes.

I do not intend here to go into the broad problem of dividing history into periods. Instead I intend to try to formulate the problems connected with the period division of folk culture alone, taking Finland as my example. We may, of course, ask what purpose this serves – but then we should at the same time question the sense of trying to formulate historical stages in folk culture in general. A positive solution to these problems is, to my mind, already provided by the very time dimension of folk culture. Observation of folk culture phenomena in their historical perspective automatically raises the problem of how to divide a process lasting hundreds of years into periods. The purpose of dividing folk culture and history into periods is to provide an aid to understanding phenomena as a whole; it gives a better idea of the course and dynamics of the process of change and is thus a research procedure that permits a better overall mastery of the material. At the same time it has, especially in general treatises, a positive significance from the descriptive and didactic point of view (Heckscher 1960, 18).

An overall picture of the stages in folk culture and the process of change is, of course, formed on the basis of changes observed in various sectors. One

advantage of this is that it provides a means of understanding the changes in the various sectors of folk culture too, which otherwise tend to be only unrelated phenomena. This is to my mind fundamental, because it should also stimulate study of the dynamics of the various sectors of folk culture. The background provided by an overall picture may also lead to new investigations and reassessments in the various sectors.

The central issue in dividing folk culture into periods is the process of change, i.e. its nature, the number of changes and their sphere of influence. Really significant changes that should be allowed for in period formulation are usually of wide influence and concern not only the main sectors of folk culture but also the society. Major technological innovations most often have social consequences too.

Changes in the various sectors of folk culture are normally brought about by the introduction, acceptance and spreading of innovations. This is usually a rather long process, because innovations do not become significant until they have spread regionally and socially and been accepted by various social groups. Innovations in folk culture do not usually occur in times of catastrophe, crisis or economic decline but in times that are economically good. But even then they are not felt in the early days of economic prosperity, but rather in the middle or final stages. In view of the rhythm peculiar to change in folk culture, which always implies a transitional stage between rises and falls in the economy, it would therefore seem expedient in dividing folk culture into periods not to allow the borders to coincide with the highest or lowest points of times of crisis and economic recession. Most often these are, it is true, signs that an era is drawing to a close. A new period in folk culture is, however, always tied to innovations that bring change, and they cannot be assimilated until recovery from a period of recession has already begun, in other words until the conditions for normal development again exist. Usually the recovery period between the end of an era and economic or human (often both) catastrophe or major depression is about one generation, or 20 - 30 years. During this time folk culture does indeed recover, but it remains at the level of the previous era. Not until after this recovery period can a new period be considered as having begun.

In view of the relatively slow process of change in folk culture in past centuries and the long periods required for innovations to be accepted and to spread, the periods in folk culture, or indeed in history, cannot be short. If the process of change becomes faster, as in the 19th century, the periods are naturally shorter. The Swedish economic historian E.F. Heckscher distinguishes the following periods in the economic history of Sweden (Heckscher 1960): the Middle Ages, 1520 - 1600, 1600 - 1720, 1720 - 1815, 1815 - 1870, 1870 - 1914 and 1914 - 1945. The

years 1520, 1600, 1720 and 1815 are also landmarks in Sweden's political history, whereas 1870 coincides with the start of the industrial era and 1914 with the First World War, but they are also landmarks in economic history. G. Wiegelmann places the borders between periods in German folk culture in the 16th century, the 1760s/1770s, and the 1840s/1850s, with secondary limits at about 1680 and 1730 (Wiegelmann 1976, 177ff.; 1977, 109ff.). He defines the main periods of innovation (*Hauptneuerungszeiten*) as 1) *das hohe Mittelalter* (12-13. Jh.), 2) *die Agrarkonjunktur des 16. und frühen 17. Jh.* (ca. 1550-1620), 3) *Frühindustrialisierung, Agrarkonjunktur und Agrarreform* (von etwa 1750 bis zum frühen 19. Jh.), 4) *Eindringen der industriellen und großstädtischen Welt* (etwa 1870-1914) and 5) *die Wohlstandsphase* (von 1950 bis 1975). Wiegelmann's division is concerned with times of innovation and not period limits proper. These would, according to the above arguments, have to be placed some 20-30 years before the start of the period of innovation. The periods proper would then be 1) the Middle Ages and beginning of the 16th century (perhaps up to about 1520), 2) 1520-1680 and 1680-1730 (?), 3) 1730-1760/1770, 4) 1770-1840/1850, 5) 1850-1950 (?) and 6) 1950-1975.

As already suggested, the number and rhythm of changes is not always the same in the various sectors of folk culture, nor do the periods of sectors necessarily have to be identical. Since the assimilation of innovations is, however, most often linked with the economic situation, high conjunctures and their innovations affect many sectors of folk culture simultaneously, though not necessarily with equal impact. The number, significance and background of changes may differ from one sector to another and the periods are thus not necessarily of the same significance. For example, Wiegelmann distinguishes the following periods in the food economy of Central Europe (Wiegelmann 1967, 27ff.): Middle Ages, 1500-1680, 1680-1770, 1770-1850 and 1850-. The "secondary" limit in the 1730s of the earlier classification is missing here. In the case of Finland's food economy I have, modifying this division, distinguished the following eras (Talve 1973, 162-163; 1977, 143-144): 1) Middle Ages and the 16th century (to about the 1580s), 2) 1580-1660, 3) 1660-1770, 4) 1770-1880 and 5) the 1880s to the present day. This allows for local conditions in Finland and the quantitative and temporal distribution of innovations. Taking folk culture as a whole the periods in Finland should, however, be defined as follows (Talve 1979, 278ff.): 1) Middle Ages and 16th century, 2) c. 1600-c. 1730, 3) c. 1730-c. 1860, 4) c. 1860-1960 and 5) 1960- (or the last years of the 1950s), "Modern Finland".

Finland, which will here be quoted as an example, lies remote from Central Europe, so we can already presume that the borders of periods in folk culture will not coincide with those in Central Europe. In addition to other differences there is always a delay. It must further be remembered that Finland is a small country

and nation, whose life has been influenced by political and religious events in a different way and with a different force from that of larger nations. The periods distinguished on the basis of these events correspondingly also have a deeper significance as regards folk culture. Of the utmost importance to Finland were the allegiance to Sweden up to 1809, the conversion to Christianity during the conquest and annexation period of the Crusades and the Middle Ages, the enforcement of the new administration and the emergence of a new ruling class. On the other hand the break away from Sweden in 1809 and the annexing of Finland to Russia as an Autonomous Grand Duchy (1809 - 1917) was a political event that did not have nearly such a pronounced effect on the life and culture of the nation.

In addition to the political changes of the early Middle Ages there were other factors in Finland's folk culture that did not occur in the same way in other countries. The most important was without question the start of permanent settlement in the extensive inland wastes, mainly due to Savo expansionists, from the 1540s right up to the 17th century, that is at a relatively late date compared with other nations. The following major factors should therefore be taken into consideration in determining the periods of Finland's folk culture.

The first has already been mentioned: the period of political and administrative change in the early Middle Ages, when Finland was made part of Sweden (part of Karelia was annexed to Novgorod) and Christianity was assimilated. These are decisive events that constitute a natural beginning to the period.

The second factor is marked by the changes in settlement and population, the most important being the settlement of the inland areas already mentioned in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. The folk culture of Southeast Finland was in turn influenced by the flight of the Karelian population to Russia in the 17th century from areas ceded to Sweden under the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617. Neither of these migrations actually constitute period limits but they do considerably reinforce the picture of the 17th century as a distinct period (i.e. from the end of the 16th century to about 1730). Other changes included the rapid growth of the population, familiar in other European countries but especially pronounced in Finland after the 1730s and in the 19th century. The social consequence was a change in the demographic background to folk culture; from this era onwards the proportion of the non-landed population was so considerable that rural folk culture from the final decades of the 18th century onwards began to display clear social segregation. The growth in the population and its consequences thus belong to the 18th century and the early 19th century and support the classification of the years c. 1730 - 1860 as a distinguishable period. The emigration of the late 19th and early 20th centuries is in turn a feature of the industrial era, but it was less significant than the previous population changes.



Historical divisions are further aided in Finland by certain notable years of crop failure and famine, accompanied by catastrophic death from disease. The worst years fell at the end of the 17th century (1696-1698) and the beginning of the industrial era (1867-1868).

The third factor bringing changes that must be allowed for in Finland, as in other countries, relates to the technical innovations that took place in the economy, primarily in its main branch, agriculture. Technological and economic changes in a folk culture dominated by agriculture are, of course, most often connected with agrarian conjunctures and booms. Other forms of production may nevertheless be of greater significance, depending on what could be produced for export in various countries and the economic situation and price trends on European markets. Booms are not simply reflected in the folk culture of a country, because there were always other interests between the peasants and markets – the Crown, manors and merchants – who handled exports and also drew immediate benefit from them. Finland was affected by economic conditions in Northern and Western Europe and also, in the latter half of the 19th century, by fluctuations in Russia. The export articles chiefly affected in Finland by the market situation were furs (only in the early Middle Ages), corn (no longer in the 19th century), butter, and from the 17th century onwards tar and also timber, which grew in importance from the 18th century onwards and was already a basic item by about the mid 19th century. Timber was in fact the most important force behind the industrial era from the 1860s onwards. There were high conjunctures, the effects of which can be said to have been reflected in Finnish folk culture, in the 16th century (corn), the second half of the 17th century (tar), the 1770s/1780s and the 1860s/1870s (timber). This last era, in which the start of the industrial era naturally falls, is also marked technically by the revolution that took place in energy and the power economy with the invention of the steam engine (later motors, etc.) and the more general transfer during the period from draught animals to the new source of energy in agriculture too. The special nature of the industrial era is further emphasised by the mass migration into the industrial centres and towns.

Other factors may also be observed in the division into periods. One is the development that took place in education and communications, which in the case of Finland had most impact in the last two periods. Public education, the spread of literacy and the role of the press are among the main features of the period beginning with the industrial era, though the spread of literacy was also significant in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In speaking of periods we should also allow for climatic fluctuations and epidemics, which are noted in historical and economic-historical research. The

crop failures that occurred so frequently in Finland, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, were often a result of a deterioration in the climate, but only some of them caused catastrophe among the population, for example those of 1696 - 1698 and 1867 - 1868. The first of these was also accompanied by plague, which further broke out in the early years of the 18th century. On the other hand the Black Death that swept the rest of Europe in the 1350s was of no great significance to Finland; in Scandinavia it was an important event in Norway.

### *PERIODS IN FINLAND'S FOLK CULTURE*

In a country such as Finland, with a small and sparse population, where domestic colonisation led to the formation of uniform settlement and a coherent nation only after hundreds of years, the starting point for the division of folk culture into periods can be taken at the end of the prehistoric era, in Finland's case the 12th century and the level of culture at that time. The Middle Ages are, due to the scarcity of source material, and also for other reasons, usually treated as one era in historical research, and in folk culture too it is natural to divide it off as a distinct period, the end of which can be placed in the 16th century, around 1520, i.e. at the start of the Vasa dynasty in Swedish history. The next period, "from mediaeval to modern times" covers the population catastrophe of the end of the 17th century, the Great Wrath, and the Russian occupation up to the beginning of the 1730s. Combining the 16th and 17th centuries is justified, for they were a stage in the transition from Catholicism to Lutherism and also politically and economically to the might of Sweden in the 17th century.

The next period, from about the 1730s to the 1860s, "in the heterogeneous society of folk culture" is usually divided into two parts in political and economic history: 1721 - 1809, i.e. the end of Swedish rule in Finland, and 1809 to the 1860s, the period of Finnish autonomy up to the industrial era. This bipartite division is not, however, essential in the case of folk culture, and it is more of an advantage to regard the period as one era.

Dating the beginning of the next period is easy and is not a matter of dispute: the start of the industrial era in the 1860s. Like the former period, this one could on political and possibly also economic grounds be divided into two, the First World War and Finland's Independence in 1917 constituting the dividing line. Again as in the previous period, it would seem expedient to regard it as one era in folk culture too, covering the years through the Second World War to the end of the 1950s and early 1960s, which was the start of a new period, "modern Finland", following the post-war "second industrial era" and period of recovery. This span of a century was an important era during which folk culture changed with indus-

trialisation and urbanisation more and more rapidly. A similar phenomenon is also evident in other periods; the process of change at the start of the period is generally slower, a prelude to the cumulative nature of changes and innovations taking place at a growing speed in the second half of the period.

### *THE PREHISTORIC INHERITANCE*

There is in the history of Finnish settlement a clear and typical bipartite division at the end of the prehistoric era that is reflected in folk culture even centuries later. In around the year 1000 there was a distinctly *Finnish* area in the southwest part of the country, including the *Swedish* province of Åland, while in the southeast part of the country there was *Karelian* settlement along the shores of Lake Ladoga. Both derived from the common proto-Finnic inheritance, but developments had already taken off in different directions. The Karelian area, especially in the 11th-12th centuries, looked south in particular towards the Slav areas of Novgorod; but from Southwest Finland there had ever since Roman times been good contacts with the West, and in the period of the great migrations in particular (650-800) the area already came under the cultural influence of Central Sweden. Trade in the 9th and 10th centuries looked towards Birka and in the 11th and 12th centuries Sigtuna and Gotland, when the first contacts with Christianity were also made. In about the mid 12th century Southwest Finland was annexed to Sweden, to begin with as a missionary area, but in the latter half of the 13th century also in politics and religion (diocese of Turku). In the same way Karelia was from the 12th century onwards more and more influenced by Novgorod and the Orthodox Church, and the conversion to Christianity took place there too in the 12th-13th centuries.

At the end of the prehistoric era Finland was a typical sparsely populated periphery (possibly some 50,000 inhabitants) in which the potential for hunting and fishing was more or less limitless. People's existence depended on how effectively they could exploit nature. Arable farming, slash-and-burn farming, cattle management, fishing and hunting (trapping) were the chief means of subsistence.

The year was divided up according to the means of subsistence into specific recurring periods. The wide variety of jobs called for great versatility. These realities also moulded the goals and expectations of upbringing within the family, as did the demands, norms and values which the community imposed on its members.

The basic unit of settlement and the community was the farm, a self-sufficient economic unit managed by free men. In addition to family and relatives the

biggest households also had servants. Society was relatively homogeneous, but there were certainly also large farm-owners in the central regions. A person's status was determined by the position and influence of his kin, the size and resources of the family household; his security was dependent on the power of the kin and its potential for applying sanctions. Marriages were arranged between two families and the bride was handed over to the groom's family; children were born into the family and property was handed down in the family and kin.

As settlements became more concentrated, so joint undertakings expanded from village level to district and parish level, as is proved by joint cult places and ancient castles. But in Finland, as among the Estonians (a related peoples living on the southern shores of the Gulf of Finland), no more lasting concentration of power developed out of this joint enterprise, which at times reached provincial level. Nor was there any larger regional unit of authority capable of controlling the new political situations that faced Finland in the 12th and 13th centuries.

### *THE MIDDLE AGES (1200-c. 1520)*

The early Middle Ages, which in Finland ended with the Treaty of Pähkinäsaari between Sweden and Russia in 1323, meant that the religious and political allegiance with Sweden was complete. But most of Karelia remained part of Novgorod and the Orthodox Church. This continued throughout the period in question, right up to the beginning of the 17th century (1617). One important event was the start of Swedish settlement along the coastal regions in the 12th and 13th centuries. At the same time the new administration of Church and Crown became established, churches and castles were built, a new northern system of justice was adopted and the first real towns in which merchants and artisans lived permanently came into being (Fritz 1973, 113-147).

In the 15th century the political situation was unsettled. Towards the beginning of the century, especially in the 1430s/1440s, the exceptionally cold weather brought numerous years of crop failure and famine. In Europe the plague of the mid 14th century was followed by a long agricultural crisis that continued until the second half of the 15th century, after which a more prosperous era began in Finland too (Utterström 1955, 13-18; van Bath 1963, 132ff., 144). From the 1460s/1470s onwards ecclesiastical culture enjoyed a major boom. A large number of stone churches were built and monasteries were founded. Also of significance was the spreading of the population in the 14th century but especially the second half of the 15th century in the southwest provinces and Ostrobothnia. Apart from a few battles on the eastern border (1348-1351, 1495-1497) the Middle Ages was a period of peace after the 1320s. Profound changes took place in society and folk culture in the course of this period.

Of primary importance to the population and folk culture were the changes affecting society, religion and material culture. These changes were felt first and most deeply in the more densely populated part of the country, the southwest, which at the end of the period had 70-80 % of all farms (STH I, 89). The peasant farmers were joined in society by new social groups such as the freeholders (noblemen), the clergy and the urban middle classes – with the exception of the clergy mostly of foreign origin (Anthoni 1970). Most of them adapted to local conditions and also learnt Finnish, but there was also a Swedish-speaking population in Finland from the 13th century onwards. The former balance of power in society was, however, shattered, because power had transferred to the foreign nobles, predominantly of Swedish origin. This brought with it a difficult process of adaptation, for the peasants retained their former rights only on a local scale. The rightful importance of family and kin decreased from the late 14th century onwards with the introduction of the new system of justice and new laws. Personal jurisdiction was also restricted by both the new administration and taxation; in the villages of Southwest Finland also by the open field system. A freer and more individualistic way of life was preserved on the coast and inland, where fishing, hunting, and woodland burning for agricultural use were still important livelihoods.

The conversion to Christianity was slow. In the oldest Christian areas of Southwest Finland Christianity had been an influence for many generations even before the start of the Middle Ages, but Häme, Ostrobothnia, Savo and West Karelia were converted to Christianity from the mid 13th century onwards, partly in the 14th century. The new religion brought about fundamental changes in the system of norms and symbols; the new calendar, the Christian feasts and the cult of saints were adapted to former practices and religious concepts. The whole view of the world had to be remoulded in the light of the new concepts of Earth, Heaven and Hell, and it also had to take in Christian eschatology and the church explanations of the origin and meaning of phenomena. The old beliefs were confronted by Catholic ritual with all its symbols, gestures, holy ointments and oaths. The customs of the Church affected the life of every person from the cradle to the grave, and this had to accommodate earlier concepts, customs and rites. It is, however, clear that the spiritual, physical and material security of the individual increased. As a Christian he could find support and refuge in religion and the Church, but he could also find this in the new system of justice, which was presided over by the impartial power of the Crown. Through the ethical norms of Christianity the concept gradually spread that regardless of his estate every Christian was important as a person, not dependent alone on the prestige of kin or community.

Compared with the previous era there were considerable changes in the economy and material culture. The importance of arable farming increased greatly in Southwest Finland with the implementation of the open field system;

this was characterised by regular alternating crop farming, the chief crop being winter rye. Also important was continuous land clearance (for single crops) and woodland burning for agricultural use in deciduous and mixed forests. Grassland with occasional crops, a sort of rotational farming (*Graswirtschaft*) was in use outside Southwest Finland, the main crop being barley. In the eastern parts of the country, Karelia and South Savo woodland burning was the most important and developed with new methods (woodland burning in coniferous forests). In the southwest arable farming areas new implements (plough, harrow) were assimilated from Sweden, while certain innovations were also introduced in fishing (various new types of nets and seines). Through the castles of the Crown and the city craftsmen peasant technology assimilated limestone and brick burning, the circular coal pit for tar and the bloomery in iron smelting. Among the new textiles were rya-rugs and double-fabric (*täkänä*)-weaves, and craftsmanship passed on the treadle lathe, double-headed wooden barrel and treadle looms.

Housing underwent considerable changes with the introduction of the new flat-topped oven with a fireplace at the front for cooking. Among the architectural innovations were also two-storeyed granaries with lofts and upper balconies, stables, wheel mills and new threshing places beside the old drying barns.

The administration of the Crown called for good roads and waterways, at least between the main castles, and the peasants were obliged to help build new roads, bridges and ferries. This led to an increase in communications and contacts. Technical innovations were also adopted in ship and boat building, and because of the new administration and new towns, sea connections also became more regular. The most important new vehicle was the eastern type of sleigh with a high front in Karelia-Savo; being light and less rigid than its predecessors, it was suitable for terrain where there were no roads.

Along with the development of arable farming and rye growing, sour rye bread, which could be baked in the new ovens and could be stored, became a major food item, at least in the households of Southwest Finland. Salt was more readily available, making food easier to store, and salting spread at the expense of other preservation methods. New upright churns were adopted in butter making and rennet and cheese frames in cheese making; new implements made their appearance in the kitchen (the three-legged iron pot, mortar, gridiron, etc.). Religious fasting was reflected in households in the southwest nucleus area – the art of preparing lye (lute) fish was learnt and “*mämmi*” (a baked dish of rye meal) was added to the diet during Lent.

The changes in other areas of folk culture were less pronounced. In style of dress the people of the castles and the urban upper class constituted groups of their



own; among the peasants clothing hardly changed: the innovations were limited to headgear, trinkets and belts with metal ornamentation, in the towns also to new types of footwear. Folk songs in Kalevala metre were still predominant, but new themes were assimilated through ballads and holy legends. The influence of Christian texts and Christian morals and maxims was reflected in proverbs and riddles, while the fairy tale narrators assimilated new international themes. New games were learnt from the visitors that were increasingly in evidence in the towns and castles:

Various innovations spread only slowly among the rural population, to begin with in the southwest nucleus area, but some of them were only superficial, passing phenomena. Some were backed by the authority of the Church and Crown. At the beginning of the 16th century, when three centuries had passed, folk culture was as a whole quite different from what it had been at the start of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages can therefore with justification be called a period of transition. The process of change, often prompted by the Church and the authorities, concerned in particular society, its structure, the world of beliefs and values of the people, and customs. The central administration did not have such a strong hold on the other sectors of folk culture, e.g. material culture. In every case the change was a long process, including temporary solutions, variations and syncretic interim forms little of which is known. The authority and sanctions at the disposal of the central administration nevertheless led, after initial difficulties and intermediate stages, to a certain degree of uniformity, the result of which was political annexation to Sweden, a social system conforming to that of the mother country, and a Christian people belonging to the Church and subordinate to its authority. The uniformity was, of course, relative; society and folk culture had indeed changed, but in the process the former tradition had preserved its basic features, though much had indeed been given a new function and meaning. Anything that could not be adapted disintegrated or vanished into the background.

A regional division based on settlement was already evident in folk culture at the end of the prehistoric era: Finnish in the west and Karelian in the east, split by the region of Savo. Folk culture in Southwest Finland already had more extensive settlement and probably also a more established population behind it at the end of the prehistoric era. During the Middle Ages it became the heart of mediaeval Finnish Catholicism.

On the northern periphery in the early Middle Ages was South Ostrobothnia; the cultural foundation was the same here, and in the late Middle Ages and 16th century many, though not all the innovations adopted in Southwest Finland were assimilated here (for example, the open field system, new farming implements,

outbuildings, etc.). There was a certain difference between regions from the 13th-14th centuries onwards; the northern fringe area represented the older tradition. The sparse new settlement in Central Ostrobothnia also represented the common Southwest Finland folk culture, though for ecological reasons not all of its typical features; at the end of the Middle Ages southwest Finnish innovations no longer reached Central Ostrobothnia (Talve 1974).

Geographically the folk culture of the Middle Ages was thus still chiefly divided into two parts: eastern Finland and western Finland, where Åland, being Swedish-speaking, and south Ostrobothnia were to some extent unique. The reason for the differences was that the southwest nucleus area had the status of an innovation area. Here there was a better contact network because of the relatively dense population, trade relations beyond Finland's borders, more settled livelihood based on arable farming, the attention of the central administration and also a heterogeneous society. All these furthered the psychological prerequisites, curiosity, willingness to adapt, need to imitate and valuing of status and symbols necessary for change.

#### *THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE MODERN ERA (c. 1520s to 1720s/1730s)*

The era as a whole was a transition from mediaeval culture to the modern era. Of the two centuries in this period, the 16th century was in many respects the forerunner of Swedish might. At the end of the period Finland was hit by catastrophe in the form of the Great Famine of 1697-1698, which was followed by the Great Northern War, the Great Hate (1713-21) and Russian occupation. Whereas the population at the beginning of the 16th century was an estimated 250,000 and about half a million around the mid 1690s, by 1720 it was no greater than 320,000.

The 16th century was marked by the stabilisation of conditions when Gustavus Vasa came to the throne of Sweden in 1523. The years up to the 1540s were economically good, for there had been a high conjuncture in Europe. The value of money and prices remained stable until the death of Gustavus Vasa in 1560 (CEH IV, 400ff.). At the same time population growth in Finland reached its peak, partly because of a wave of Savo settlement in the inner regions. The position of the peasants as taxable farmers in the 16th century was relatively stable. In the second half of the century there were several years of pest and famine and a period of economic recession during which the value of money dropped and the prices of imported goods rose (Hammarström 1956, 387ff.). The end of the century was dominated by the 25-year war with Russia of 1570-1595 and civil war in Finland – the “Club War” of 1597-1599 – between supporters of Duke

Charles and King Sigismund. The increase in the population ceased in the 1570s and the population decreased 20 % by the end of the century.

The biggest change in the 16th century was the Reformation, which in Finland was set in motion by the Church, not the people. For this reason the whole century was a slow transitional stage during which Catholic institutions (such as the monasteries in the 1540s) were dissolved and Catholic ritual and beliefs gave way to Lutheranism. One major event at this time was the work of Mikael Agricola, who established the written Finnish language, and the birth of religious literature in Finnish in the 1540s and 1550s.

Sweden won her position of might in numerous and extensive wars in the first half of the 17th century. These were a great burden to the peasant population in the form of increased taxation and loss of manpower. About one third of the Swedish army consisted of Finnish troops. The first few decades of the 17th century were a series of bad years; at the same time there was a general agricultural crisis in Europe. The taxation of the peasants was heaviest in the 1620s/1630s, and as a result of outstanding taxes numerous assessable farms were turned into Crown farms, and as a result of increasing fees and fiefs towards the middle of the century also into freehold estates. The independent peasants became rentpaying farmers to the Crown and the nobility. On the other hand abandoned farms also gave the landless population a chance of rising socially.

The wars with Russia came to an end with the Treaty of Stolbova 1617, that favouring Sweden. The area of Karelia around Käkisalmi (the eastern part of Carelian Isthmus) was annexed to Finland and land communications opened up with Ingria and Estonia – also annexed to Sweden. In the part of Karelia annexed to Finland the intolerance of Lutheran church policy led to the mass exodus of the Greek Orthodox population of Karelia across the border into Russia. Conditions for the population here changed radically as Lutheran settlers moved into the abandoned farms. For the same reason a considerable Lutheran Finnish population settled in Ingria. The movement continued inland too in the 17th century and extended in the north to the regions inhabited by the Lapps. It was then that the Lapps were finally converted to Christianity.

The second half of the 17th century saw the beginning of an economically brighter era (Peace of Westphalia 1648). From the 1660s onwards there now followed a period of peace lasting nearly 40 years, during which Finland was no longer immediately affected by war. The value of money and prices of corn were also stable in the latter half of the 17th century. The increase in the population was considerable from the 1640s onwards, but especially after the 1670s, and a class of landless people already significant in number formed in the rural areas. In this

century a number of new towns were founded on the Gulf of Bothnia and also inland; trade between the urban middle classes and the peasants picked up, especially with the spread of tar-burning, which had become Finland's new export item. Seafaring was boosted by Sweden's might in the Baltic and the simultaneous shift of the economic heart of Europe from the Mediterranean to the North Sea (FEH II, 12-13). Also proof of the economic revival were the twenty or more little iron works established in Finland, mostly in the latter half of the century, and financed by the richer burghers in the trading towns. Another aspect of the development of urban culture was the spread of the handicrafts-guilds to Finland's biggest towns.

The intensive activities of the Lutheran Church in the Orthodox spirit were important to folk culture. Under the leadership of the strong bishops of the 17th century church discipline was imposed on congregations and a uniform concept of Christianity took root among the people. A large number of catechisms, hymn books and also Bibles (1642 and 1685) was now printed in Finnish. By the end of the century literacy was rapidly increasing among the people and about a third of the population could read. The achievements of the Church were further backed by the trend in Finnish school conditions and the opening of Finland's own university in Turku in 1640.

At the end of the 17th century this favourable trend nevertheless turned into catastrophe. The entire 1690s were extremely cold and at the end of the decade crop failure was common throughout almost all of Europe. In Finland 25-30 % of the population died during the Great Famine of 1697-1698 (Jutikkala 1955, 48-63). This was immediately followed by the Great Northern War in 1700, the loss of Ingria and the Baltic countries, and the occupation of Finland 1713-1721. Before this, in 1709-1710, there was famine and pest in Finland as in the whole of Scandinavia, the Baltic countries and the eastern parts of Central Europe. The war years ended with the Treaty of Uusikaupunki in 1721, under which South Karelia and Finland's second major city, Viipuri, was ceded to Russia. The period can well be regarded as closing at the end of the 1720s or the beginning of the 1730s, when a new revival and a new period began.

Two periods of economic boom occurring during the period are important from the point of view of folk culture: the 1520s/1560s and 1660-1695. Other major factors were the growth in the population, internal migration, the royal demesnes of the 16th century, the new coastal towns, the military tenure establishment, migration caused by the war years, and the significant increase in communications in the 17th century.

Of the popular livelihoods, arable farming gained in importance in the southwest nucleus area in the 16th and 17th centuries and the natural economy

disappeared. New implements for field cultivation were adopted (the field drag, the roller, and in Ostrobothnia the articulated harrow). The royal demesnes of Gustavus Vasa were transmitters of innovations. The surface burning and cultivation of peat lands were important new methods. Tar making improved and for the first time provided a suitable mass export item outside agriculture (Åström 1978, 78, 91). Also belonging to the 17th century were the smelting furnaces of the iron works and the new charcoal burning methods for them. With the making of gunpowder came the manufacture of saltpetre as a subsidiary industry among peasants. The city craftsmen passed on new tools and methods (new looms, spinning wheels, hackle combs, flax breaks and scutching machine etc.).

During this period there were also notable changes in architecture, interiors, clothing and diet. The most important background factor was the influence of the Renaissance via the highest estates (court of Duke John at Turku 1556-1563), the royal demesnes and the towns. Alongside the one-roomed cottage there were now cottages with two rooms, and in the southwest provinces at the end of the 17th century these cottages already had chimneys. Also belonging to this period was the advent of new furniture in Renaissance style. Renaissance fashions were also adopted in clothing, and under the influence of military dress new garments appeared for both men and women towards the end of the 17th century; the period saw the disintegration of the mediaeval clothing tradition and in the central and coastal regions the arrival of a new element – fashion consciousness.

The mediaeval diet also began to change as salt became more readily available and with the increase in availability of new spices and contacts with the towns. One notable innovation was that the cold midday meal became the third hot meal of the day. Tobacco and spirits also began to spread among the peasant population.

Under the influence of Lutheran orthodoxy the basic religious models, the catechism and the framed copy of the Ten Commandments became established in the course of the 17th century and the life of the people was under the strict control of the Church. The family and the patriarchal way of life were strengthened; the customs attached to the high points in human life were adapted to the demands of the Church. In folk poetry the older Kalevala metre began to lose its status in the western regions and the new ballad with end rhymes spread at the end of the 17th century. The events of the war years and the migratory population, as also the Finnish soldiers who had taken part in the wars in Europe, introduced new themes to the narrative tradition. The wellerism, a new figure of speech in the 17th century, became known in West Finland. The growing administrative and ecclesiastical pressure and the widening of social differences also made their mark on the life of the people in the 17th century. Society had become more

heterogeneous, Crown and Church had considerable power over the peasants and the nobility were at their peak. Class thinking and class differences were clearly emerging; even in the peasant population a rich class had emerged by the end of the period. At the same time literacy had increased, mobility and contacts were greatly expanded and at the end of the period, in the 1690s, all the main conditions for accelerating change in folk culture already existed. This was, however, interrupted by the famine years, the Great Northern War and the Russian occupation between the years 1697 and 1721. This was not, however, an unusual state of affairs for Finland and can even be regarded as typical of the rhythm of change in Finland's folk culture.

### *FOLK CULTURE IN A HETEROGENEOUS SOCIETY (c. 1730 – c. 1860)*

The crumbling of Sweden's position as a major power in the Great Northern War meant the occupation of Finland 1713–1721 and also the loss of South and Ladoga Karelia under the Treaty of Uusikaupunki in 1721. Following this the population of Finland was about 320,000. Large areas of South and West Finland had been ravaged in the war years, and the clergy and officials of the Crown, even the ordinary people of Åland had fled to Sweden. The rebuilding in the 1720s was accompanied by a major increase in the population that continued throughout this period. In Sweden the power had been transferred via the new constitution of 1720 to the Diet, and a "time of freedom" had also begun in Finnish history. The war with Russia in 1742–1743 brought a brief occupation of Finland and further losses of land in the east. Even so the first half of the 18th century was characterised by relatively stable prices and a rise in real income (Ahlström 1974, 49). The second half of the century was a time of economic boom throughout Europe, and in Finland-Sweden too the 1750s and 1760s saw favourable weather conditions and good harvests, a high birth rate, relatively stable prices and a rise in real earnings. Exports of tar, shipbuilding and seafaring were in the interests of both burghers and peasants. Monetary measures stabilised the economy right up to the 1780s. The border war with Russia of 1788–1790 brought with it inflation, and the period of economic uncertainty from the 1790s onwards continued into the next century, through the economic crisis of the 1820s following the Napoleonic Wars, to the early 1830s (Ahlström 1974, 12, 98, 111; Heckscher 1935, 220–222). The change in society after the mid 18th century was considerable. After the general parcelling of farm land begun in 1757, tenant farmers could settle on peasant lands, and because of the rapid population increase there also emerged large groups of landless people. The position of the peasants was strengthened when they were given an opportunity to buy their farms as assessable farms in 1789. The population of the towns also increased in the 18th century, new towns were founded, the position of the merchants and artisans became established, and in



the latter half of the 18th century a distinct urban middle class culture also emerged. The material side of life improved and diversified in all sectors of society in the latter half of the 18th century. Culture also experienced an upswing from the 1760s onwards, and literacy among adults exceeded the 75 % limit in many places in South and West Finland. Swedish was, however, more markedly the language and yardstick of learning, and Crown officials and the clergy became assimilated to Swedish before the end of the century. In the early 19th century Finland got involved in major power politics and the centuries-old allegiance with Sweden ended with the war of 1808 - 1809 and the Treaty of Hamina in 1809. As an autonomous region Finland did, however, retain her own official language (Swedish), administration and laws. Another positive outcome was that the regions ceded in 1721 and 1743 were again annexed to the mother country in 1811.

The biggest domestic problem in the first half of the 19th century was the increase in the population and the proletarianisation of the rural landless. The trend in prices and wages was also unfavourable to the landless and the working population up to the 1850s and led to a drop in their standard of living.

The social gulf was further widened by the fact that other classes – the peasants, city merchants and artisans and the officials – in general prospered. The society of the 18th century estates became stronger and more deeply rooted in the first half of the 19th century. The economic boom of the early 1830s was short-lived and the 1840s was a decade of crop failure and hardship in the whole of Europe (Abel 1935, 132; Haushofer 1972, 18 - 21, 123 - 141). Not until after the Crimean War (1853 - 1854) did seafaring, foreign trade and agriculture recover, and a period of prosperity continued right up to the crisis years of 1867 - 1868.

The grasp of the Church over the people had again become weaker after the strains of the occupation in the early 18th century; the Church also had many new tasks. As a reaction to the secularisation process came the first revivalist movements, which also reflected the greater independence and awareness of the peasants. New revivalist movements also sprang up in the 1830s and 1840s. The position of the church was, however, stable throughout the period, and 1600 - 1850 has in fact been called the period of uniform ecclesiastical culture. Politically Finland was subjected to strict bureaucracy and censorship during the reign of Nicholas I (1825 - 1855). Not until Alexander II came to the throne of Russia in 1855 were the conditions created for a more liberal era and economic reforms.

In folk culture the period was, despite the political changes, rather homogeneous. Agriculture and dairy farming were still the main sources of livelihood, but there were no major innovations. Potatoes became known in the latter half of the 18th century but did not grow in significance until the first half of the 19th

century, when they were transferred to the fields. Two-crop rotation was still in use in the southwest nucleus area; three-crop rotation had spread in Karelia and South Savo. Woodland clearing was still important in the eastern and central parts of the country. New methods included peat-land cultivation in South Ostrobothnia, Savo and Karelia, and from the mid 18th century onwards the surfaces of lakes were lowered in order to obtain more pasture land. In some western areas the mediaeval plough was improved and imported iron ploughs were also experimented with on large farms in the south in the 1820s and 1830s. In the 1840s they were manufactured in Finland too. There were, however, no major technical innovations in peasant occupations.

Due to the growth of the landless population, however, various subsidiary occupations were more numerous than ever before; all ecological possibilities were exploited. Timber working and tar burning, and in Ostrobothnia shipbuilding, were still the most important subsidiary occupations. In Southeast Finland trade had even in the late 18th century begun to look towards St. Petersburg, and in the first half of the 19th century this city attracted its own circle of traders and influenced the area around the Karelian Isthmus.

Since there were in farming no major innovations which the land-owning peasants, for example, who had grown prosperous as a result of the economic boom in the 18th century, could have afforded, the innovations accumulated in other fields of folk culture. The homes of the richer peasants had already improved in the late 17th century with the introduction of extra rooms, chimneys and glass windows. In the 18th century these became common in South and West Finland. In the second half of the 18th century chambers with tiled stoves were added to the biggest farm houses. Twostoreyed houses also began to be built, initially in South Ostrobothnia. Interiors altered likewise. A large number of new items of furniture in Renaissance and Baroque style, towards the end of the era also in Gustavian style, now appeared in the homes of the wealthy peasants, such as separate beds, chairs, sofas, cupboards, mirrors and wall- and grandfather clocks. From the 1750s onwards furniture was also painted and decorated.

The period was notable in folk art. The former utility textiles became works of art (rya rugs, raanu-blanket and double fabric-weaves, etc.). In Ostrobothnia decorative carving was added to wooden items and peasant artisans carved wooden statues for churches and built bell towers and even wooden churches. At the end of the period, in the 1830s / 1850s, the richer peasants also introduced wall panels and papers, curtains at the windows, rag mats and new types of bed clothing. In just the same way ordinary dress changed considerably. The government tried to preserve the class distinctions in dress, but even so a large number of innovations were adopted in dress in the 18th century (the waisted

skirt, striped fabrics, waistcoats, jackets, silk bonnets, knee breeches, high hats, etc.). In the first half of the 19th century fashion took an even firmer hold, local costumes began to go out of use, and in West and South Finland people in the country began to dress more and more like people in the towns.

People's diet changed less, because in both town and country households still relied on storage and preserving. Everyday food did not change much, apart from the addition of the potato in the first half of the 19th century. Coffee and tea were introduced in the late 18th century but were not in everyday use, though they were served by the wealthy on special occasions. Of greater importance were the innovations in cooking and eating utensils, though pewter cans and plates, china, ceramic and glass dishes were even in the wealthiest peasant households only status objects brought out for guests and on festive occasions. It was a feature of popular custom that the festive tradition of the more prosperous peasants was modelled on that of the bourgeoisie and other estates. It became the custom to emphasise status and prosperity at major festivals. Weddings would, for example, include decorations in the house, feasting and drinking, musicians (fiddles and clarinets) and the new dances. These too were assimilated from upper-class circles in the 18th century (to begin with the polka, later the minuet, polonaise and anglaise, in the 19th century also the waltz and quadrille). The period as a whole was characterised by the large number of political, economic and social changes, long uninterrupted periods of peace, a general improvement in economic conditions, an increase in the independence and prosperity of the peasant class in particular and the considerable strengthening of urban middle class culture. On the other hand the increase and proletarianisation of the landless population led in the rural areas to a deepening of the gulf between the estates. In the rural areas there emerged a second stratified society within the main estates of the period.

The change in folk culture was marked by minor innovations in the means of livelihood; the reason for this was the absence of foreign models. In Sweden too this was a time for lively experimentation and ideas but little progress was made in their application (Högborg 1961). The innovations concerned precisely the sectors of folk culture most susceptible to the influence of the upper classes: architecture and housing, interiors, clothing, means of transport, folk art, music and dancing, and festive customs. Since rural society was, however, no longer homogeneous, as it had been in the previous period, its culture was socially divided more than before. Each social group imitated the one above it as far as possible. Novelties were quite regularly assimilated by the next class up, from which they spread, but the time differences might be considerable. Folk culture in this period clearly took on the mark and nature of a social group tradition.

### *THE INDUSTRIAL ERA (c. 1860 – 1960)*

This relatively long period could on political, economic and indeed other grounds be divided into two, but this is not essential in folk culture. It is more appropriate to deal with it as a single period, admittedly one of accelerating change, slowed down by the war years (1914 - 1918) and 1939 - 1945), though they did not radically alter its course and content.

The period began with the politically liberal reign of Alexander II, who came to the throne of Russia in 1855. Countless reforms in the late 1850s and in particular the 1860s freed the economy from its restrictions, made the movement of labour possible and created the foundations of industrialism, which rapidly led to a profound change in folk culture. The most important reforms were the permission to establish steam-driven sawmills in 1857, the construction of canals and railways (Saimaa Canal 1856, first railway 1862, St. Petersburg railway 1870), the suspension of the handicrafts guilds and the freeing of country trade in 1859, the monetary reform of 1860, the Diet of 1863, municipal reform in the rural areas and the end of compulsory service in 1865. Developments were checked by the crop failures in the 1860s, especially the famine of 1867 - 1868, and the high mortality rate (8 % of the population).

The economy was favourably affected at the beginning of the period by the boom following the Crimean War (1853-1855) and the high conjuncture throughout Europe. The high prices paid for timber saw the start of timber felling in the 1860s (Talve 1978) and the production of sawn timber by steam sawmills and also the expansion of the wood processing industry (mechanical wood-pulp mills). The demand for tar was also great in the early 1860s. For the peasants the beginning of the period was, despite the crop failures of the 1860s, favourable because of the rise in corn prices and of timber felling; for the landless population it was unfavourable because of the low wage level and high food prices. This in turn increased the internal migration of labour (Lento 1951; Markkanen 1977, 203). The high conjuncture nevertheless ended around the mid 1870s, with the start of a relatively long recession in Europe that continued right up to the early years of the 1890s (Abel 1935, 151; Björqvist 1958, 151, 190). In Finland the effects of the recession in the late 1870s and the 1880s were not, however, very profound; these decades saw the first real flowering of Finnish culture (literature, art and music), including the considerable expansion of the Finnish-language press, the growing popularity of reading and the explosive increase in association activities.

When the European economic crisis eased in the early 1890s, there began a high conjuncture which, with the exception of brief set-backs, continued up to the First World War. The importance of industry in Finland grew dynamically. In 1890 9 %

of the population was employed in industry, in 1910 14 %. Industrialisation was accompanied by increasing urbanisation, which was particularly rapid towards the end of the 1890s. Since the population increase between the 1870s and the First World War was great, the pressure was felt in industry and the towns, and also in the form of emigration (Kero 1974). In the rural areas population growth was accompanied by considerable land clearance, as a result of which the area of land under cultivation doubled between 1880 and 1910. South and West Finland witnessed the mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture in the 1880s and 1890s (Anttila 1976); East Finland, too, changed from corn growing to a form of production dominated more by cattle (Jutikkala 1953, 253-254). Forestry and sales of timber provided a basic income for the peasants, the cottagers and to some extent also the landless workers. The farmers and cottagers increased in prosperity and the changes now led to an increasingly general transfer from a self-sufficient to a monetary economy; the use of consumer goods grew considerably (Markkanen 1977).

At the start of the new century Finnish society was in many senses, also politically, in a state of ferment (the period of Russian oppression). Emigration reached a record peak in 1901-1910, but the revolution in Russia in 1905 brought political reforms to Finland: the setting up of a unicameral parliament in 1906, universal suffrage (for women too) and the transfer to parliamentarism.

The First World War was a period of economic set-back, but as Finland was not involved and Russian markets were open, the effects in Finland were slight (STH II, 96ff.). The Russian Revolution of 1917 became a political watershed when Finland gained independence. Internal conflicts, differing ideals and class prejudice led the country into civil war at the beginning of 1918. The law pertaining to small tenant farmers passed in 1918 led to the formation of some 200,000 new, independent smallholdings. There was considerable land clearance in the 1920s/1930s (about 30,000 hectares a year). The postwar slump was followed by a boom in 1925-1929, cut short by the world-wide depression of 1929-1932. Finland, too, suffered from extensive unemployment, primarily in the northern areas characterised by small farms.

The 1920s and 1930s saw the enforcement of compulsory education for all, the development of parliamentarism and the advance of industry on western markets. The rural areas witnessed a fervent period of rebuilding, transport networks expanded greatly (buses and cars), communications were improved (radio) and the standard of living also rose significantly (STH II, 308ff.). The structure of the economy also changed considerably; in 1920 agriculture and forestry accounted for ca. 70 %, by 1940 for only 54 % (STH II, 199ff.).

Towards the end of the period came the Second World War and the post-war years. Finland was involved in the Winter War of 1939-1940 and the Continuation War of 1941-1944. Under the Peace Treaty Finland again had to cede the southeast part of the country, already ceded once before in 1721-1809, and the Petsamo region in the north that had belonged to Finland in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition to the heavy loss of manpower, the country lost 10-12% of her industry, and about half a million people had to be evacuated and resettled. War reparations were paid in 1945-1948. Lapland, which had been destroyed in the war, was rebuilt, and farms were created for the evacuees. These difficult years were marked by rationing of food and consumer goods and a long period of inflation. Because of the war the late 1940s and almost all the 1950s were for Finland a period of recovery, and the beginning of the new era was delayed to the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s. The situation and the period dividing line may well be compared to e.g. the war years at the beginning of the previous period (1700-1721).

In folk culture the changes in the population and the economy that took place in the course of the period meant that alongside, and partly in contrast to farming and rural peasant culture there emerged an urban middle class culture and also a workers' culture in the towns and industrial centres. It was no longer the subculture of a small group living in semi-agrarian conditions but a new and important form of culture parallel to the cultures of the peasants and the estates.

A change took place in rural folk culture after the crop failure years of 1867-1868 from farming dominated by corn growing to the development of cattle raising. Other factors that had an influence were the increasing ease of exporting butter as a consequence of better transport connections and the growing demand for milk, butter and meat in the towns. Cheap grain was imported from Russia and corn growing declined. The prices of corn also dropped in the 1880s and did not rise before the First World War; at the outbreak of war Finland produced only 30% of her corn. There was also a food shortage following the break with Russia in 1918.

The shift in agriculture was accompanied by the reform of cultivation systems. A cropping system with a rotation including fallow, periods of cereals and grass was introduced. Artificial fertilisers, new tools and machines appeared on farms in the southwest in the 1880s/1890s and around the turn of the century, in East and North Finland in the early decades of this century. Among the new items were more advanced iron ploughs and harrows, winnowers, threshing and mowing machines, in dairy farming the separator and the establishment of the first dairies. Farmers usually financed these innovations by selling timber, and the rise in the value of forests also put an end to woodland burning for agriculture purposes in



the eastern and northern parts of the country (Anttila 1976). Whereas the previous period had been characterised by the diversity of livelihoods among ordinary people, the rise in the value of forest land limited and put an end to a number of subsidiary occupations and factory-produced goods took the place of cottage industry products. The farmers now concentrated on agriculture and cattle breeding, whereas there were other openings for the landless in forestry, railway building, on the canals and in the towns. Fishing likewise changed, with the exception of salmon fishing, from a subsidiary occupation to fishing for household use only, and a separate class of professional fishermen emerged. Tar production was the only subsidiary occupation of significance, but mainly only in Kainuu in North Ostrobothnia up to the 1900s, because the common forests were not divided up there and there were no other sources of income. A large number of smallholdings were established under the influence of the law pertaining to small peasant farmers in the 1920s and 1930s and in the form of farms for evacuees and men from the front in the 1940s. Even today these are dominant in large parts of Finland (especially the northern parts of Savo, Karelia and Häme, Central and North Ostrobothnia). These farmers needed regular outside income, however, and this was provided by forest work. These smallholders were thus extremely susceptible to economic trends in forestry and later to the changes in forestry brought about by mechanisation (Kiiskinen 1961).

Even before the First World War some of the farming population transferred from a self-supporting to a monetary economy; the peasant became a producer, because marketing was radically changed due to the activities of the cooperatives, associations, dairies and slaughter houses. Professional training, agricultural literature, agronomists and agricultural advisers became basic elements of the farming profession; farmers became organised professionally and politically, and modern business principles gained ground in their way of thinking. Whereas paid labourers and crofters were generally employed on farms in the latter half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the mechanisation of farming reduced the labour requirement. From the 1920s onwards the crofters became independent farmers. Farms have therefore been reduced in size since the 1920s in particular, and by the 1930s they usually consisted only of members of the nuclear family. Instead of annual labourers, day labourers were hired at the busiest times of year.

Expediency aspects also influenced the style of building in the country. With the technical development of agriculture, many of the old outhouses became obsolete. They were pulled down and their place was taken by multi-purpose sheds and barns. The old farm lay-out was already beginning to vanish at the end of the 19th century. Houses were modernised to meet the new demands (separate kitchen, running water, drains, metal ranges, etc.) and when new houses were

built they were modelled on the detached houses already to be found in the towns. New furniture, representing very different styles, was bought or ordered; guest rooms, separate chambers, drawing rooms and parlours became common. The walls were covered with board or bought wallpapers, and curtains, carpets, oil prints, photographic enlargements and oil lamps came into general use.

The diet also changed with the transfer to a monetary economy and after the liberation of country trade. But the eating habits inherited from the days of the natural economy persisted throughout the period. By the 1880s and 1890s coffee was an everyday commodity and changed the times and order of meals. The change in food management became more rapid from the 1920s onwards under the influence of schools, courses, literature and association activities. Home-butter-making decreased in amount, and was already insignificant by the end of the period, home-slaughtering continued to the II World War and home baking of bread even longer. Table and kitchen ware and technical aids to food processing diversified and increased considerably, and at the turn of the century personal crockery and cutlery were common.

Popular dress for men had already changed in the previous period, and women too, with the exception of certain areas and older people, had given up their local costumes right at the beginning of the period. Clothes and footwear were made by the country tailors and shoemakers. The sewing machine became known in the 1860s and was quite common in households at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, so undergarments and children's clothes could still be made at home. Ready-made clothes, footwear and hats were generally on sale in the country too at the turn of the century. The weaving of dress fabrics at home also came to an end in the 1920s and 1930s. Clothing became more uniform; the differences were no longer regional or, at the end of the period, social, and derived chiefly from the practice and fashion of different age groups. When factory-made working clothes came into general use in the 1920s and 1930s, the working population also began to have separate clothes for work, weekdays and Sundays.

The development of transport, organised activities and the growing popularity of the bicycle in the 1920s/1930s provided young people in particular with greater opportunities for contacts with others and changed the pattern of leisure. Associations arranged festivals and organised sport, their brass bands and the accordion altered the nature of dance music in the 1860s/1870s. In the 1920s people in the country too became familiar with modern dances and jazz music through bands, the gramophone and the radio.

As regards changes in urban culture, this period was decisive. The number of towns did not greatly increase (33 in 1870, 38 in 1920); various types of population

centre were thus of major significance to urbanisation in Finland. These communities had grown up in the country around factories and the most important railway stations, and many of them developed into towns, though often they did not gain town rights until the 1970s.

The Finnish towns were small, and at the turn of the century only 7 had more than 10,000 inhabitants. The increase in the population was rapid in the towns and the urban population consisted mostly of newcomers. The population of Helsinki, for example, quadrupled between 1870 and 1910, and in Turku at that time only 2 / 5 of the population were actually born in the town where they lived.

As a result of the rapid increase in the population, housing in the towns was in short supply and of poor quality. Irregular housing grew up in the areas outside the towns, and at the beginning of the century 25-35 % of the urban population lived here. Regional incorporations were not common until the 1920s and 1930s. Sanitary conditions were also poor in the towns, and there was a number of epidemics. Towards the end of the 19th century, the streets were paved, electric lighting and the first forms of public transport made their appearance. In the smaller towns the buildings at the beginning of the period were made of wood, and houses of stone were still rare even at the beginning of the 20th century. Most of the population lived in rented apartments, usually with only one or two rooms. The proportion of apartments with two rooms and a kitchen increased, though slowly, from the turn of the century onwards, and even in 1950 they represented only one third of all small apartments (86 % of apartments with one or two rooms and a kitchen). Electricity was already common in the towns at the end of the period, 60 % of homes had running water and drains, and 50 % an indoor WC. There were indeed changes in the living conditions of townspeople during the period, but modernisation proper was delayed until the following period.

The urban population made its living from trade, crafts and industry, but the proportion of civil servants and the professions increased throughout the period. Farming, cattle raising and fishing were still practised by some people in the small towns in the 20th century. Features of a natural economy were likewise to be found in the small towns at the beginning of the century among the middle class and working populations. The majority of townspeople nevertheless supported a monetary economy even in the 19th century and more and more generally in this century, due to the fact that they rented their homes and housing conditions were poor.

Throughout the 70 years or so of this period (c. 1870-1940) agrarian Finland, which had a predominantly landless population, sharp social distinctions and a small urban and industrial population, became an industrial state in which there

were numerous independent smallholders, a satisfactory employment situation, and the population generally speaking had a sufficient livelihood.

This period was by nature one of transition, but different from that at the beginning of the Middle Ages. It was influenced by the transfer of industry from wind and hydro power to new sources of energy: steam, later engines and electricity – and to rapid expansion. The expansion of the forest industry in particular also gave the farmers economic potential for innovations and led to the mechanisation of agriculture as engines took the place of draught animals. The number of innovations and influences was great and their introduction rapid. Decisions were now in the hands of the individual farmer with the end of village dependence in the southwest and western regions. The importance of innovation was great precisely because it concerned the chief source of livelihood in the country and because new methods had been assimilated with the new implements. The peasant became a producer and adopted a new ideology.

In the latter half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries migration brought a large number of people into the industrial communities and towns. The traditional models assimilated in agrarian society could also be applied to the industrial communities just forming. Adaptation was nevertheless a laborious process, but during this period there emerged in an industrial society a culture coupled to the new working conditions and social environment.

In popular culture the influence of changes began to be more evident in the 1920s and 1930s. These were furthered by the denser and more versatile communications network, better education, increased learning, a higher standard of living, a broader view of life, more general democratic rights and a greater equality of opportunity. This, in a country such as Finland, which had only just gained her independence, brought about a wide-spread movement towards better economic and cultural conditions. Furthermore these goals were long-term, and often looked towards the opportunities and life of the next generation.

#### *FOLK CULTURE IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY (c. 1960-)*

Contemporary Finnish research into folk culture since 1960 is only in the early stages; the methods and goals are still being discussed and there is as yet only little empirical material. The early part of the period includes certain features typical of Finland, some of which were mentioned in connection with the previous period. The economic recovery, to which the conditions for the changing of folk culture are tied, was delayed by numerous difficulties. Industry, much of which was working to pay off war reparations, expanded and quickly adopted new

methods, rationalisation, and modern planning and management principles. The trend was towards larger units, and the metal industry became the most important branch of industry. When various restrictions and rationing were lifted in 1947 - 1949 and war reparations had been paid off, industry's capacity was freed and a new era began. The 1960s provided the step to modern Finland.

The structure of society had changed. The proportion of the population making its living from agriculture and forestry dropped (32 % in 1960, 18 % in 1970) while the proportion in industry and construction (30 % in 1970) and the service professions (28 % in 1960, 34 % in 1970) grew. The proportion of the agricultural and working population in society has decreased and the middle classes have grown. There has been steady migration to the south, and modern "industrial Finland" coincides almost exactly with the "arable Finland" of the Middle Ages and 16th century, i.e. the southern and southwestern parts of the country. More than 60 % of the population now lives in the towns and urban communities.

Industrial growth raised Finland to eleventh place in Europe at the beginning of the 1960s, slightly behind the other Nordic countries. Finland has a high standard of living in the fields of nutrition, education and social security, whereas the standard of health is, mainly because of the high mortality rate among middle aged men, slightly below the level for Western Europe. Nor is the standard of housing altogether satisfactory, especially in the eastern and northern parts of the country. The employment situation is also unsatisfactory (Vepsä 1973).

With the rise in the standard of living Finnish society has become increasingly mechanised, urbanised and better educated. Movement in society is primarily connected with training, and more and more young people are applying for university-level education. In the latter half of the 1960s Finland had more university-level students in proportion to the population than any other country in Europe. Following the introduction of the 5-day working week in 1970 people have more free time than ever before. The communications' network has, thanks to the Press, radio and TV, become even wider and open to international issues. Information reaches all sectors of society simultaneously by means of the mass media. With the rising standard of living regional differences are also being ironed out, though they have not disappeared completely, and the variations in popular culture are tied more narrowly than before to social structures and attitudes.

The living conditions of the rural and urban populations were effected strongly by the advance of mechanisation in the 1960s. The number of tractors, combine harvesters, milking machines and motor saws has leapt. In 1950 there were only 80 combine harvesters in Finland, in 1966 there were 16,000; in 1950 there were

14,000 tractors, in 1966 135,000; in 1950 there were 4,000 milking machines and in 1966 55,000. Rationalisation was introduced in the 1950s because of marketing difficulties in agriculture, leading to fewer cattle, more "cowless" farms and later also a reduction in the land under cultivation, soil banks, monocultures and specialisation (e.g. vegetables, sugar beet, turnip rape, strawberries, mink farms). The use of paid labour has decreased and farms are for the most part family undertakings, where the traditional division of labour between men and women has changed and is now dictated by practical needs.

Mechanisation in forestry has also led to reductions in labour and with it permanent unemployment in the areas of North Finland dominated by small farms, where the subsidiary income from forestry was vital for subsistence. As a result young people have moved away, farms have been abandoned, villages deserted, shops and primary schools closed, and there has been extensive emigration, chiefly to Sweden.

The freeing of sales of private cars from restrictions in 1963 was significant to the rural and urban populations. Whereas there were only 58 cars per 1,000 inhabitants in Finland in 1960, in 1966 there were 131 and in 1975 241. This has meant easier contacts; in the country also the concentration of shops in local centres and the death of little village shops. Services and also housing are becoming concentrated on the local centres, which also have industrial plants, government offices, department stores, banks, doctors, health centres and schools. With the new wave of building these centres have become urbanised and standardised. The old types of houses have also vanished from the farms in the rebuilding process and they have been replaced by standard detached or villa-type houses. New building has created new suburbs with blocks of flats, and terraced and detached houses on the outskirts of the towns. The old centres have turned into "cities", with shops, banks and offices and a diminishing population.

The standard of housing has improved steadily, but there are still regional and social differences. Due to the regional differences in modern housing production the eastern and northern parts of the country have not reached the level common in the more industrialised and urbanised regions in the west and south (Heikkonen 1971). Interiors have been steadily modernised and standardised in line with the spread of relatively inexpensive factory-produced furniture, because in the post-war years, even during rationing, furniture was freely available. The rapid increase in domestic appliances began in the late 1950s and continued through the 1960s (refrigerators, freezers, vacuum cleaners). Although the ground plans of dwellings have been standardised, traditional aspects still influence the furnishing and use of different rooms: the kitchen and bedroom are still for private use, while the living room, the former salon, is for guests and show. Very different



solutions have been devised between different age and social groups, the living room representing the latest entity typical of the era.

Due to the new types of residential areas and constant movement new social contact networks have grown up on the basis of neighbourly relations, leisure and hobbies. The people now moving into the towns come from a rural environment that is different from that of their predecessors, because the gap between town and country has been reduced; the problems confronting migrants are, however, in principle still the same. The industrial and urban community of today is increasingly organised, institutionalised and bureaucratic. The migrants are freer from various ties than previously, but in their new jobs and houses they are still forced to seek contacts, examples and cultural models; this takes place more and more within the social group.

Basic traditional elements of contemporary popular culture are housing, food and clothing, customs and practices, and social contacts in and out of work.

The diet is based on a purchasing economy; the dairies, slaughter houses, the foodstuffs industry and bakeries process the food. Baking at home is for the most part restricted to cakes and buns for Sundays and feast days. The higher standard of living has reduced the consumption of bread and potatoes and increased that of meat, conserves, vegetables and imported fruit. Eating habits and hours have further been influenced by meals at work and school, but even so there are regional and social differences.

Dress has become international and is dictated by fashion; new fabrics, man-made fibres, washing machines and detergents have changed the uses of clothes and the arguments for buying them. With the introduction of the family allowance system sales and consumption of children's clothes have grown decisively since the 1950s. The repairing of shoes and mending of clothes have become rarer and rarer. Differences in clothing are determined almost exclusively by age and the set the wearer belongs to.

The family with only two generations (parents and children) living in the same household has become increasingly common. Developments in social policy (insurances, pensions) have meant that families are no longer responsible for the older generation to the extent they were before. Furthermore modern dwellings do not favour communal living with the older generation. Contacts between children, parents and relatives have changed; the most important means of maintaining contact is the telephone. Contacts with relatives nevertheless play a central role.

Leisure has, with the 5-day working week and the extension of annual leave, become a fundamental quality of life in contemporary society. The way in which it is spent has, however, changed since the beginning of the period. Since almost all families had a car in the 1960s and 1970s and more and more summer cottages were built from the 1960s onwards, spending the summer holiday motoring and at the summer cottage is a typical feature of the Finnish way of life in every social group (Vuori 1966). Holidays abroad, on the other hand, are a new element that has become available to all with the rising standard of living. To satisfy leisure demands the local rural centres also have sports fields and halls, and swimming pools and ice rinks are on the increase. Reading is still a leisure activity; borrowings from libraries are five to six times the figure for before the war. The same can be said of the number of visits to theatres and concerts. The extensive interest in light and dance music is furthered by the recording industry and cheap mechanical reproduction equipment, especially among the younger age groups. The cinema lost ground to television initially, but has an established position. The radio and TV nevertheless hold a central place in family leisure habits.

A very large number of Finns nowadays belong to various organisations, men more than women. Typical mass organisations are trade unions, the cooperative movement and sports clubs, which nevertheless activate only a fraction of their members. Of greater significance are the political, professional and hobby-related associations, which are leading channels for contacts. The position of the Church as a central institution has decreased, but along with other religious organisations it activates some of its members and still plays an important part in creating contacts. The norms and concepts of the Church and the Christian faith do still play a fundamental part in contemporary life, though this is not always recognised. Many Church feast days, such as Christmas in particular, but also Easter and Midsummer, are attracting more and more people to church. Baptisms, confirmations, weddings and funerals are still generally held in church and according to its customs. Some of the annual feast days have also lost their former significance in the country due to the changed working and annual rhythm in agriculture. Others, whose message has not faded in the same way, even have a more significant role than before. May Day and Midsummer have more and more taken on the nature of public holidays, whereas Christmas and Easter are increasingly family events. Commercial interests and advertising have had a strong influence on all these festivals, and the same may be said for e.g. Mother's Day and Father's Day, whereas name days and birthdays centre around the family. "Round number" birthdays from 50 upwards are widely observed at work and in the local press. Major events in associations and at work have also won a notable position in the festival tradition, as have local and summer festivals in the country.

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