

TH
Sa 12

PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION
TO AMERICAN CHURCH LIFE FOR
THE FINNISH CHRISTIAN

By

ARVI HENRY SAARISUU

S.M.C. University of Helsinki, Finland
M.A. Great Lakes College, Detroit, Michigan.

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SACRED THEOLOGY
IN
The Biblical Seminary in New York
New York, N.Y.
April 1951

BIBLICAL SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY LIBRARY
HATFIELD, PA.

24041

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION.	VIII
A. The Problem	VIII
1. The Problem Stated and Explained	VIII
2. The Problem Justified	VIII
3. The Problem Delimited	IX
B. The Method of Procedure	IX
C. Source of Data	X

Chapter

I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FINNISH CHURCH LIFE IN AMERICA	1
A. Introduction	2
B. The Historical Background of the Finns in America. . .	3
1. The Finns of Delaware 1638-1831	3
2. The Finns of Alaska 1835-1867	6
C. The Problems of the Unorganized Finnish Church on American Soil	8
D. Summary and Conclusions	13
II. THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANIZED FINNISH CHURCH IN AMERICA .	16
A. Introduction	17
B. The Finnish Lutherans and Their Special Problems . . .	18
1. The Apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians and Their Special Problems	18
2. The Finnish Suomi Synod with Their Problems . . .	23
3. The National Lutherans and Their Problems	30
C. The Special Problems of the Other Finnish Churches . .	33

Gift of Author

28534

May 21, 1951

	Page
D. Some General Problems of All Finnish Churches	36
1. The Problems of Transition	36
2. Moral Difficulties	37
3. Misuse of the American Freedom	38
4. The Question of Citizenship	38
5. The Problem of Language	39
6. The Problem of the Second Generation	40
7. The Conflict of the First and Second Generation.	41
8. The Problem of Worship	42
9. Sunday School and Youth Work	43
10. Mission Work	44
11. Home Mission	44
12. Help to Finland	46
E. Summary and Conclusions	47
III. THE FINNISH CHURCH AND THE ORGANIZED ASSOCIATIONS IN WAR AGAINST MORAL EVILS, BUILDING UP A BETTER CULTURE.	51
A. Introduction	52
B. The Temperance Movement	52
C. National Associations	55
D. National Secret Societies	56
E. The Finnish National Newspapers	58
F. Conclusions	60

	Page
IV. THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICS. THE RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	62
A. Introduction	63
B. The Finnish Church of America and the Labor Agitators in Opposition	64
1. The Battle in the Papers	65
2. The Battle in Different Societies	68
3. Theaters and Labor Clubs as Trainers of Workers in anti-Christian Spirit	70
C. Dispersion and Changes in the Politics of Labor . . Movement	72
D. Summary and Conclusions	74
V. CONCLUSIONS	76
A. Summary	77
B. Problems and Conclusions	78
C. The Plan for the Reorganization of the Home Mission. in the Finnish Lutheran Churches	81

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION
TO AMERICAN CHURCH LIFE FOR
THE FINNISH CHRISTIAN

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

1. The Problem Stated and Explained.

The subject treats of the problems resulting from the immigration of Finnish nationals to America. It touches upon their particular difficulties here, both those which have arisen in their own midst from their mutual difficulties, and those resulting from migration into alien surroundings on a strange continent among foreign peoples. Also must be considered the new problems that have arisen from the new generations which have grown up in a different culture. It is deeply concerned with the numerous religious and spiritual questions in urgent need of solution.

2. The Problem Justified.

The subject is timely and important not only with regard to the Finnish nationals, but as well considering other nationals, previously faced by similar, very difficult decisions. The subject presents a delicate group of problems, before the intricate puzzles of which so many peoples have

sweat blood without ever having been able to solve these problems in a manner entirely satisfactory to themselves. There always seems to remain in these problems something dark, oppressive, and enigmatic, as if inherent in the new continent, which the limited, human intellect seems unable to solve, but which subsequently is automatically clarified in the light of the history of this continent.

3. The Problem Delimited.

The old Finnish settlements in Delaware and Alaska have ceased to be an acute problem. From the viewpoint of this study, they are primarily of historical value, although the experiences gained in them are trail blazing. Therefore, reference will be made primarily to their historical significance in view of the fact that the population of the settlements has become thoroughly mixed with the American people, or, as in the case of Alaska, the settlement actually has ceased to exist due to the sale of Alaska by Russia, at which time the Finnish officials and the greater part of the settlers returned to Europe.

B. Method of Procedure

The present thesis deals primarily with problems with an historical background which varies somewhat during different periods. Some of them reach their focal points at different times, when their solution becomes particularly

urgent. The present thesis will treat them in the following order:

1. Transplantation of the Finnish church in American soil, its division into groups and congregations.
2. How powerful national associations are in war with the Finnish church against the moral evils of the public.
3. Political problems and their difficulties. Subversive labor groups, arising from the Finnish people, disturb the life of the Finnish church in America and weaken the spiritual pursuits of the people by their powerful Russian-directed propaganda.
4. The most urgent problems of the present day and their solution.
5. Conclusions.

C. Sources of Data

In the present thesis, there will be recourse to reference literature published in the Finnish language from America, Canada, and Finland on subjects relating to American Finns. This reference literature is quite abundant. English-language literature is also available.

CHAPTER I
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FINNISH
CHURCH LIFE IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FINNISH
CHURCH LIFE IN AMERICA

A. Introduction

In the present chapter, a brief historical survey of the Finns in Delaware and Alaska, and their spiritual pursuits, is given. In many respects, their problems are of no immediate concern to this study, due to the end of the settlements, but since these settlements are the original pioneers in the field of Finnish spiritual endeavor in this country, a brief historical survey of them is necessary. However, the fate of these settlements is of concern in that the present generation of Finnish immigrants in their territories still have no regular religious services. At present, they are of interest as home mission fields.

It is important to note the difficult and hard time facing the Finns in this country at the time when their own national churches had not yet developed.¹ The period is the saddest and in many respects the most difficult in the history of Finnish America, the consequences of which extend far into our times.

.

1. A. J. Pietilä: Helsingistä Astoriaan, p. 283.

Finally, there will be an attempt to discover whether or not there is any way still to remedy the abuse and negligence, primarily due to the last-mentioned circumstance, when great numbers of Finns had no spiritual leadership at all in this country and lived the free life of children of nature, many following their instincts and lower impulses, forgetting the warnings of the Holy Scriptures.¹

B. The Historical Background of the Finns in America

1. The Finns of Delaware 1638-1831.

The reader probably will be interested in learning something about the earlier experiences of the Finns in America. In the destinies of the Delaware Finns too, there was seen the guidance of the Almighty Father, His invisible hand directing and leading. This study begins with Delaware or the so-called New Sweden settlement, in which both Swedes and Finns played such an important part, particularly during the years 1638-1664², when the settlement enjoyed considerable independence and had not yet come under English domination.

These were the forceful times after the Reformation. The people lived in the possession of living faith

.

1. Hugo Hillilä: Valinkauhassa, pp. 15, 17.

2. John H. Wuorinen: The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655, pp. 44-45, 128.

S. Ilmonen: Amerikan Suomalaisten historiaa, pp. 13-19.

much more vigorously than at many other times. Champions of faith came during this period from England, the Pilgrims and Puritans to New England; the Huguenots from France to New York, Pennsylvania, and also to the New England states; believers of many denominations from Germany to Pennsylvania, such as the Moravians, German Pietists and many other groups. The Finnish and Swedish immigrants also were deeply inspired by spiritual life and the need thereof. During this time, numerous churches rose in the Delaware River valley in the present states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. To mention just a few there were: Trinity Church in Wilmington, the Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia, the Swedesboro church in New Jersey.¹ Several other smaller and less important ones could be added to the list. All of these churches are still standing and in use, but belong to the Episcopalian Church, not anymore to the Lutheran. The rise of these churches proves the spiritual need felt by the Finnish and Swedish immigrants also upon their arrival on American soil. The Quakers, who are of English origin and have so magnificently aided Finland, came together with the American Finns to the old Finnish-Swedish land in Philadelphia which Finnish and Swedish pioneers had built and cleared for farming forty years before the Quakers' arrival in the country.²

.

1. S. Ilmonen: Suomi College Bulletin, December 1938, p. 27, Delawaren siirtokunnan seurakunnat ja kirkot.
2. A. H. Saarisuu: Amerikan Suometar, April 3, 1945, Pennsylvania monessa suhteessa mielenkiintoinen.

Of the clergymen of the Swedish-Finnish settlement, Pastor E. Björk was a forceful preacher.¹ Among preachers from Finland who visited here, Master Peter Schaefer, known from the history of Finnish Pietism, deserves special mention; also the famous scholar Peter Kalm who wrote a book after his extended trip. Both men preached the word of God, thereby fortifying these people.²

The history of the Delaware settlement is one of the most beautiful pages in the life of the Finns, although their descendants have drowned in the vast American ocean of peoples in the course of the three hundred years which have elapsed since then. One of the most famous names among them is John Morton³ (formerly Marttinen), one of the noted men of the American Declaration of Independence, who also aided in the building of Delaware churches.

Here Northern energy was felt,
Here Finland and Sweden toiled.
The Lord gave us abundant grace,
The Lord's pilot brought us here.
Here Christian faith cast its glow,
The light of dawn shone brightly,
Here NEW SWEDEN was born.⁴

Delaware is the first stage in the life of Finnish

.

1. S. Ilmonen: Suomi College Bulletin, Dec. 1938, p. 27, Delawaren siirtokunnan seurakunnat ja papit.
2. V. Rautanen: Amerikan suomalainen kirkko, p. 7. Martti Ruuth: Oma Maa, IV, Uskonnollinen separatismi ja uskonnonvapautta koskeva lainsäädäntö Suomessa, p. 787.
3. S. Ilmonen: Suomi College Bulletin, December 1938, p. 27.
4. A. H. Saarisuu: Suomen Silta, Delaware, poem.

immigrants here.

2. The Finns of Alaska

The second wave of emigration from Finland to the American continent was immigration to Alaska in 1835-1865. At that time Alaska belonged to Russia as did Finland. Thus Finland and Alaska were parts of the same empire. The Finns had come with the Russians and many left the country with them when in 1867 Alaska became a part of the United States.¹

In connection with this period, special mention should be made of the great and valuable work performed in Alaska by the Finnish governor Arvid Adolf Etholen in collaboration with his noble spouse.² Otto Lindeman of Alaska has written a beautiful appraisal of their work in the publication "Raitis Joulu", 1939. He regrets that a Finnish sermon is no more heard among the Finns in Alaska, because the number of preachers has been insufficient to cover their needs. In those olden times there was a Finnish clergyman, called by Etholen, who preached in several languages, Uno Cygneus, the father of the Finnish public school system. These are the times Otto Lindeman is thinking of when he writes in his poem.

I am kneeling in your ruins
Holy House of God
as I knelt in childhood
in church in beloved Finland.³

.

1. S. Ilmonen: Amerikan suomalaisten Historiaa, p. 62.

2. Ibid., p. 67.

3. Otto Lindeman: Raitis Joulu, 1939, p. 14.

After Cygneus, among others Gabriel Plathan and after him Pastor R. Winter, who later died as rector of Rautu, were clergymen in the Sitka region of Alaska. Later on, the Finnish pastors Antti Lajunen and Salomon Ilmonen were active in Alaska, making preaching tours from here.

The Alaskan cities have small populations; the largest cities have only a few thousand inhabitants. The capital is Juneau, which the Finns consider a suitable center in Alaska also from the viewpoint of Finnish spiritual activity. According to Otto Lindeman's statement, about 400 Finns reside in and about Juneau.² Another Finnish center is Anchorage with quite a considerable Finnish settlement in the vicinity.

Of course, several churches have their representatives in Alaska, and the Finnish people there have the opportunity of hearing the word of God in English. But as there are still in the country about 2,200 persons who have been born in Finland³, the problem is the fact that there is so little organization for their spiritual needs since they could easily support such a work. The Alaskan population is employed in mining, fishing, hunting, and farming, and the short summer of the country produces various types of vege-

.

1. A. H. Saarisuu: Amerikan Suometar, May 1945, Alaskan hengellinen työ.
2. Ibid.
3. S. Ilmonen: Amerikan suomalaisten historiaa, pp. 66-67.

tables and grain.

One of the bright aspects of Alaska, and she is not lacking in them either, is the infrequency of crimes against life. It is being told that "Alaska has been free from murders and other serious crimes".¹ It is due to the latter circumstance that judicial procedure is as slow as it is.

The third event that caused the Finns to move to America was the famous California goldfever in 1848-1854. Increasing danger of war which then became known as the Crimean War, caused numerous Finns to desert ship in various ports of the United States in search of fortune, of glimmering gold, with feverish desire. Many Finns at that time joined the goldseekers and many among them suffered the disappointments of their trade, returning from their difficult journeys to San Francisco or some other large port on the Western coast where the last trace of them is lost almost entirely.²

Actual Finnish immigration to America started a few years later, with multitudes of them moving to the Northern states and New England.

C. The Problems of the Unorganized Finnish Church on American Soil

.

1. A. H. Saarisuu: Amerikan Suometar, May, 1945, Alaskan hengellinen työ.
2. S. Ilmonen: Amerikan suomamaisten historiaa, pp. 81-84.

Finnish emigration to America began in the decade of 1860 and continued to increase, reaching its peak in 1902, when 23,152 emigrants left Finland, the preponderant part of them for America.¹

The period from 1870-1890 was in many respects a dangerous one from the viewpoint of the Finnish immigrants.² During those decades, tens of thousands of Finnish immigrants entered the country, but they were a herd without herdsmen.³ Many men of the Finnish Church have recognized the drawback in not sending clergymen with the emigrants at the time. These many thousands of Finns became alienated from their church to such an extent that it was next to impossible later on, to persuade them to join the Finnish Church in America. Finnish clergymen who came to take charge of the Finns in America, lost years in office in Finland. They were unable to compete for office on equal terms with others of their age if they had lost years in America. Emigration was not looked upon with favor, because the vitality of the nation suffered on account of lost labor.

The Finnish government then resorted to the precaution of having all emigrants warned by the parsons re-

.

1. O. K. Kilpi: *Oma Maa V. Suomen siirtolaisuudesta*, p. 696.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 695.
A. J. Pietilä: *Helsingistä Astoriaan*, p. 283.
3. Akseli Rauanheimo: *Oma Maa III, Amerikan suomalaiset*, pp. 435-436.

garding emigration to America, so as to prevent the best labor from leaving the country.¹ The disadvantage of this state of affairs to Finland was proved by the following arguments:

1. Socially it meant loss in population to Finland. The small population of Finland lost thousands. Moral evils were on the increase due to the separation of many families with the husband going to America and the family remaining in Finland.² "American widows" sometimes were left morally unprotected.

2. It was also considered that emigration meant economic loss due to labor leaving the country exactly at the age when youth was ready to start working. No attention was paid to the fact that on the other hand the immigrants, after a few years in this country, could take care of their families much more efficiently, in that they were able to attend to the material wants of a needy home frequently with much greater ease and speed from America.³

In pondering the question of emigration there was no thought of what national advantage possibly could result from the Finns living abroad, and what they could possibly do, for example, in America later on for the old country

.

1. O. K. Kilpi: Oma Maa V, Suomen siirtolaisuudesta, p. 695.
2. Rafael Engelberg: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, p. 63.
3. V. A. Heiskanen: Kävin tähtilipun maassa, p. 155.

which they still loved. There was no thought that it sometimes may be advantageous for a country to have a considerable foreign representation which still lovingly watches the advantage of the old country. Neither was any thought given to the spiritual side of the life of the emigrant under the assumption that America had accepted the life of the "wide road" and that therefore nothing could be learned in this respect. Neither was anything done to remedy the matter. Only later was the spiritual aspect of the matter understood, and Finnish pastors in ever-increasing numbers visited America in order to preach the word of God to their people.¹

The attitude toward emigration to America changed after the First World War. This change in attitude has brought joy on both sides of the ocean. After the Second World War, this mutual joy has been felt still more strongly as the result of American gift packages and their material and moral value.

The first church, in support of which the Finnish immigrants participated during this period, was the Scandinavian Church, joint property of three nations, the Norwe-

.

1. U. Saarnivaara: Apostolis luterilaisuuden historia, pp. 174, 342-343.
Bishop Juho Koskimies and other ministers; V. and A. Malmivaara, Aug. Oravala, K. Lounasheimo, O. H. Jussila, V. Havas, K. R. Kares, and others.
Rafael Engelberg: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, pp. 229-230.

gians, Finns, and Swedes, founded in 1867 at Hancock, Michigan. The first Finnish Apostolic-Lutheran Church was established in Calumet, Michigan in 1873. But the first clergyman of the Church of Finland, A. E. Backman, did not arrive in this country until 1876 to organize Finnish spiritual activities in Upper-Michigan.¹ The Finnish Church in America was born only in 1890.²

The damage done during this period was quite considerable from the moral point of view. The time of many a Finn was spent in cheap saloons and other cheap entertainment. There were no parishes to take care of the compatriots. They started to form a little later. In 1885 the temperance movement began and protected the people, and Finnish-language newspapers laid the foundation for their interest in spiritual life as early as in 1876, when the first Finnish newspaper was published in Upper-Michigan.³

The period also delivered a backstroke in the political field in the forceful rise of the working class in the beginning of the twentieth century. The errors made by the Finnish Church, its negligence with respect to these nationals, brought it about that they established it themselves in the light of the propaganda made by educators

.

1. Suomi Synod, 50 vuotisjuhla, pp. 9-10.
Rafael Engelberg: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, p. 68.
2. V. Rautanen: Amerikan suomalainen kirkko, p. 63.
3. Juuso Hirvonen: Michiganin kuparialue ja suomalaiset siirtolaiset, pp. 70, 96.

of the working class. The Church should have admitted its fault and sent an army of clergymen to remedy the situation, but this was not done. Even later on, it is almost impossible to repair such a breach, although something possibly could be done by means of an intensified home mission.

D. Summary and Conclusions

The problems of the settlements in Delaware and Alaska, as a matter of fact, are of no concern anymore because the settlements have ceased to exist.¹

However, they are close to the problem in the sense that those are the regions where the compatriots first had the opportunity of hearing God's word on American soil. Although the Delaware Finns have fused completely with the American people, the power and kinship of the Finnish spirit still are felt in Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania and Western New Jersey. This is evidenced by the splendid memorial of the Finns to the first pioneers of the land, raised in 1938 during the tercentenary celebrations of Delaware in commemoration of the event and now standing in a town formerly named Finland, now Chester, a university town in the Southern corner of Eastern Pennsylvania.² Of the Finnish settlement in Alaska only memories remain, as

.

1. S. Ilmonen: Amerikan ensimmäiset suomalaiset, p. 113.
2. Rafael Engelberg: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, pp. 467-470. Oskari Tokoi: Amerikan suomalaisia, pp. 14-17.

mentioned in the foregoing. The Finnish church people, and particularly the home mission, should pay serious attention to the care of present-day Finns, particularly of Alaska and also of Delaware. In Alaska, a regular clergyman with command of Finnish and English would be needed for home mission work. Delaware could best be taken care of from the small parish of Washington, D. C. With respect to Delaware, the Finnish work in New York is a little too far, although some clergymen have been conducting divine services in homes. However, such clergymen cannot tear themselves from their own work except at the expense of it. The Finnish parishes of New York need the entire time of their pastors. Getting out of New York for the benefit of other parishes would considerably weaken the work there.

The unsettled period of 1870-1890 of the unorganized church has a disturbing influence even at the present. Complete elimination of the damage done by it, is impossible. Only some of the most shocking abuses of this period can be remedied by intensified home mission activity. Some churches have, indeed, conducted home mission work, but their activities should be further intensified in order to increase the number of workers and effect concentration in all churches.¹

.

1. Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1951, p. 199.
Suomi Synod has its own home mission work. In their board there are five ministers and one layman.
Vuosikirja, 1951, p. 30. National Lutheran Church is just starting their work in Oregon and Washington.

This is the only solution by which some of the damage done by the unorganized church can be compensated for. This damage appears all the more clearly in the forceful rise of the working classes which rapidly take possession of the easily conquered, weakly protected flock of the Finnish church of America, thereby placing the church for the entire period of its history in a difficult and precarious position, in which the church seems to have been left with the essential task of only defending itself instead of actively attacking said movements, which would have constituted more effective defense.¹

1. Suomi Synod, 50 vuotisjuhla, A. Haapanen, p. 18.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANIZED FINNISH CHURCH
IN AMERICA

CHAPTER II
THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANIZED FINNISH CHURCH
IN AMERICA

A. Introduction

An overwhelming majority of the Finnish immigrants naturally come directly from the State Church of Finland, although after 1920 withdrawing was possible;¹ however, this right has been exercised, as a matter of fact, only to a comparatively small extent. The "free believers" of Finland, the dissenters, had the right to establish Christian parishes of their own and form churches while still living in Finland, as was done to some extent. But, as already said, the overwhelming majority of Finnish immigrants were members of the State Church. Those who when still in Finland had felt inclined to establish special parishes of their own, were free to do so here. As is well known, the Finns have had a greater number of independent parishes in America than other nationalities.² Lutheran groups also were inclined to remain independent parishes without any higher guidance.

Thus, upon their arrival in America, the Lutherans also refrained from joining any local Finnish parishes where

.

1. Suomen kirkkolaki vuodelta 1869, p. 10.

2. V. Rautanen; Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 322.

they would have been needed. They always were good Lutherans, no doubt about that, had attended confirmation school and had been confirmed, and frequently were even ready to defend Lutheranism in this reformed country, but joining a parish, in their opinion, was an entirely different story. They were members of their home parish in Finland: what reason had they to be members here. Indeed, they were here for a temporary stay only.

B. The Finnish Lutherans and Their Special Problems

The Lutherans who in Finland had belonged together although divided in different persuasions, originally divided here into two groups, namely, the Apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians and other Lutherans, which in 1898 divided principally into two groups; the supporters of the Suomi Synod and members of the National Lutheran Church.¹

1. The Apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians and Their Problems

The Apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians are followers of the revival movement which originated in Lapland and has revived the souls of the Lapps in three countries, Finland, Sweden, and Norway, from the disease of spiritual apathy and drunkenness to which they had sunk. The well-known founder of the movement, clergyman Lars Laevi Laesta-

.

1. V. Rautanen: Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 63.

dus who was born in 1800 and died in 1861, was the reformer of the entire Northland.¹ Laestadianism or, as the movement is called in America, Apostolic Lutheranism, is primarily revival Christianity. The movement emphasizes conversion, confession, and absolution, also absolute abstinence. It is characterized by a simple stress on externals, peculiar to Pietism, and continuous revival meetings besides divine services. Here the service has been greatly simplified to Quakerlike barrenness, and the liturgy is more shunned among them here than in Finland.

Apostolic Lutheran Finns first came to this country from Norway and later from Finland, settling first in Minnesota in 1864 and a little later in Michigan. Their activity in this country began vigorously in 1870.² To begin with, they joined the Scandinavian Church, belonging to the Norwegians, Finns, and Swedes in Upper-Michigan in the Upper-Peninsula, but since their Norwegian pastor did not understand them very well, they founded their own parish in 1873.³ They formed a church group later, not until 1928, which is proof of the fact that externals and form never are stressed by them to the extent of the internal, spiritual part of their work. Nevertheless, the manner of operation of the Apostolic Lutheran Christianity is the oldest among American

.

1. Elis Bergroth: Suomen Kirkko, p. 858.

2. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilaisen kirkon historia, pp. 24-25.

3. Ibid., p. 27.

Finns.¹ The division of the movement into separate groups began as early as 1879 and 1888; this breaking up has continued to the present day. All in all, their membership in America numbers 26,000 to 27,000 with 148 parishes, 19 clergymen and 76 preachers.²

Separation into various groups seems to be the greatest weakness of the Apostolic Lutherans. Their division at the present here in America is as follows: 1. Apostolic Lutheran Church, 2. Heidemannians, 3. Firstlings, and 4. Evangelicals. The largest of these groups is the Apostolic Lutheran Church with 15,000 to 16,000 members, 18 clergymen, and 23 preachers.³ The other groups have mostly only lay preachers. The groups are dispersed and do not communicate with each other to any appreciable extent, since they somehow differ in dogmatic interpretation. Besides Luther and Laestadius, their greatest lay preacher, Juhana Raattamaa, is an authority recognized by all of them.⁴ Due to the present dispersion and disagreement, no considerable revival has occurred of late in the ranks of the movement. The parishes are rapidly diminishing due to deaths; new members do not apply for admission as frequently as before. The fact

.

1. V. Rautanen: Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, pp. 15-20.

2. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilainen kirkko, p. 333.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp. 72-73. Also Elis Bergroth: Suomen Kirkko, p. 856.

that prayer meetings of a week's duration, as formerly, are not being held anymore, and the preachers come and go, staying only three or four days in a locality,¹ is considered one of the reasons for the weakening of the Apostolic Lutherans. In older times they stayed one week or longer.

One of the greatest individual problems of this church is the serious lack of clergymen. A single man and clergyman may be faced with the task of taking care of 15 parishes, and in collaboration with other clergymen of some additional parishes.² Since they approve as their clergymen only those who have experienced the same kind of revival as they themselves, it is in general difficult for them to find clergymen except from Finland. Many of them assume a cool attitude toward theological education, because the theological seminary may produce clergymen who have not experienced their revival. Repentance must be made before the parishioners. They as representatives of the parish, the elders, grant absolution. In this revival, dogmatic and practical demands are strict. Moreover, the belief of everyone is probed as to its strength.³

The Apostolic Lutheran group is the most given to debate among the representatives of Finnish Christianity

.

1. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilainen kirkko, p. 273.
2. Ibid., p. 278.
3. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilaisen kirkon historia, pp. 354-359.

here as well as in Finland. Their dogmatic conceptions are surprisingly clear, even among common men. They examine a stranger easily to determine whether he belongs to them or not. They soon discern the voice of their "own shepherd" and follow him. They are thoroughly acquainted with the order of salvation, doctrine, parish, confession, law, and "circumcision of the heart",¹ by which they mean purification of any impurity of the flesh or spirit in Christian meditation. Their tenets are once for all clear and thoroughly probed. They obscure the coarse daily language of their creed² with victorious debating skill, in which they are unyielding. The prophetic and psychologically eminent spirit of the great prophet of Lappland is working through them.³ They stand on the rock of salvation, at the feet of the bleeding Christ.

Work with the Sunday school and among the youth is weak. With a few exceptions, there is not much organized Sunday school. Some groups, as the Firstlings, take their children and young people to their prayer meetings, thereby

.

1. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilaisen kirkon historia, pp. 354-359.
2. L. L. Laestadius uses this language throughout his Postilla, pp. 298, 317, 478, 232, 221, 285, 229.
3. Arvi Henry Saarisuu: Lars Laestadius as the Preacher, unpublished study shows the skill and originality of the greatest prophet of Lappland. Laestadius was sharp and deep and ironical like Amos. This is clear when you study his Postilla, the published works of his sermons.

giving them elementary schooling. They also carry on more activities in the English language, and their group has been instrumental in having their literature translated into English. Most of these writings are Laestadius' sermons.¹

In this country, the young people shun the prayer meetings of the Apostolic Lutherans. It is a tender sore in the hearts of these believers. In general, revival Christianity in Finland has paid attention to the youth, but in this respect there has been extensive failure in America. Their historian Uuras Saarnivaara, complains that the Finnish youth of America do not like to attend the numerous prayer meetings arranged by the Apostolic Lutherans.²

2. The Finnish Suomi Synod with Their Problems

Suomi Synod is the Finnish Church in America which in greatest measure is the daughter of the Finnish State Church and has tried to cherish this heritage to its best ability. It was born as early as in 1890 and consequently is more than sixty years old.³ At present it is well organized and keeps fairly well abreast with the times. It is not faced by any overwhelming troubles at this time but continues its course, making progress and learning from others. The center of the church still is where Finnish

.

1. Uuras Saarnivaara: Apostolis-luterilaisuuden historia, p. 307.

2. Ibid., p. 273.

3. V. Rautanen: Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 63.

spiritual work in America originally gained strength, in the copper region of Upper Michigan. The president, John Wargelin, lives in the city of Hancock, Michigan, where the publishing business of the church also is located, as are Suomi College and the Theological Seminary for those studying for the ministry.

The first parishes of Suomi Synod were organized in the times of Pastor A. E. Backman who settled in Calumet, Michigan, in 1876 and extended his work also to Hancock, Michigan and surroundings, bringing order into the activities of the parishes with the increasing flow of immigrants and the birth of new parishes.¹ But the Church of Suomi Synod was born only in 1890, when several parishes united into a single church. Its first president was Pastor, Dr. J. K. Nikander, who had come to this country in 1885.²

The membership of Suomi Synod now numbers 30,237; it comprises 168 parishes and twenty preaching places.³ It has 76 clergymen. It is headed by a president who also is chairman of the Consistory of highest administration. The Consistory consists of four Suomi Synod clergymen and it is equivalent to the bishop's council of the church of

.

1. V. Rautanen; Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 35.

2. Ibid., p. 39.

3. Kirkollinen Kalenteri, p. 212.

Finland, although with somewhat different powers. The center of the church is Hancock, Michigan, where the first president had his residence. The church is divided into seven conferences all over the country, each headed by a clergyman living in the pertinent district.¹ The church has its own home mission and mission among the heathen, which foreign work now has two missionary workers in Japan in the very neighborhood of the Finnish Mission in Japan.² The work among the youth conducted by the church is well organized, and many parishes have brotherhoods. The board of education attends to educational questions of the church. At present, the Suomi Synod clergy includes a considerable number of learned men who have received higher education. In its requirements, Suomi Synod represents the most demanding faction among the Finnish churches in America, in view of which it sometimes has been called high-church. This, however, is not true in comparison with the conditions of the Finnish State Church. The accusations went so far that before long, during the first lap in the career of the church, a new church was born under the name of "the Evangelic-Lutheran National Church" which separated from Suomi Synod and became an independent church in 1898.³

.

1. Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1951, pp. 200-202.

2. Ibid., p. 211.

3. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 20.

Suomi Synod represents forcefully both educational and instructive Christianity. All the revival movements born in Finland in the eighteen hundreds are represented in it. All these revival movements originally derive from pietism and therefore are Finnish branches thereof. But perhaps Suomi Synod has stressed more the form of educational Christianity, represented by its highest institution of learning, Suomi College and Theological Seminary, with its traditions, founded in 1896 at Hancock, Michigan.¹ Most of the clergymen of the church have received their schooling in the institution mentioned above. It has the following departments: For the training of clergymen, a theological seminary with a three-year course, and the so-called Junior College with courses in Liberal Arts, Business, and Music.² There are fourteen professors or teachers,³ many of them still with full command of the Finnish language, although many subjects now are taught in English. Of course, instruction in the Finnish language continues, although its position has become weaker year by year from the time of its special position when it reigned almost supreme. The students ordinarily number well over a hundred. There is a representative library which contains material, repre-

.

1. Suomi College General Catalogue, p. 1.
2. Ibid., pp. 47-50.
3. Ibid., p. 8.

sentative of almost any type of Finnish literature, which is fairly abundant, because the Finnish people are avid readers and buy many books. The foreign literature translated into Finnish also is unbelievably extensive. All noteworthy works of foreign literature are translated into Finnish without delay. In the immediate neighborhood of Suomi College at Hancock, Michigan, is the extensive publishing business of the church which does the printing of all its literature and papers and through the associated commercial undertaking distributes considerable quantities of Finnish-language literature received from Finland among the American Finns. It also does the printing of "The American Finn", three weekly issues, which was established in 1899, and of the "Shepherd's Tidings" dating from 1889.¹

With great patience the church has tried to gather as members and under its influence, many straying souls who, after having left the Finnish State Church, have not joined any church. In this respect, the clergymen of Suomi Synod and other Finnish churches have tackled a hard and difficult task, frequently for a very modest remuneration. Spiritual work, despite its blessings, always is responsible work, and so it has been all the time among the American Finns, too.

.

1. John I. Kolehmainen: The Finns in America, pp. 86-87.
The Shepherd's Tidings

One of the problems of Suomi Synod during recent years has been the question of unification with the National Church. The question already was taken up in 1913-14, but came to naught on account of dogmatic differences.¹ As a matter of fact, there are no great dogmatic differences, but once the representatives of the National Lutheran Church saw them, it was an indication that the parties were not yet ready for unification. This problem is almost as old as the church itself, and always has been something of a disgrace to the Finnish Lutheran churches of America. At the crossing of two streets, Finnish disagreement still blossoms today in that three Lutheran churches have erected each its own edifice adjacent to each other, i.e. Suomi Synod, the National Church and the Apostolic Lutherans. The most bitter battle has been waged between Suomi Synod and the National Lutheran Church.² In several small Michigan towns all these factions have their own churches and clergymen.³ No matter what is done to promote peace, it sometimes is impossible, so serious are the controversies. Particularly in the beginning these controversies were acute, because they were used to their own advantage by the antagonists of all these churches who propagated either socialistic or communistic ideas. Suomi Synod has attempted to promote the unification plan and the matter was

.

1. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 288.
2. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, pp. 154, 172, 180-182.
Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, pp. 22, 25.
3. Kirkollinen Kalenteri 1951, pp. 216-217.
Vuosikirja 1951, p. 38.
Uuras Saarnivaara Apostolis-luterilai suuden historia p. 278
All these three Churches are in these small towns of Michigan:
Hancock, Calumet, Ironwood, Bessemer, Wakefield, Marquette,
Covington, Mass.

again taken up by the last church congress.¹ However, the indications are that unification by no means is imminent.

Suomi Synod also has collaborated with other Lutheran churches, because Suomi Synod is a member of the National Lutheran Council, an association of eight Lutheran churches.² In other respects, Suomi Synod is an entirely independent church. It has to some extent cooperated with the United Lutheran Church in America which at a time extended economic assistance to it. For this reason, Suomi Synod yielded the Finnish congregations on Canadian territory to the United Lutheran Church in 1931, in view of which the Finns of Canada constitute their own conference district there and are under the leadership of the United Lutheran Church.³

The lack of clergymen is a sore problem with Suomi Synod also.⁴ Indeed, clergymen could be gotten from Finland, but since they have not received the desirable training in English, the congregations here, which at present already are bilingual, have not been particularly eager to call them as long as clergymen trained here have been available. We shall return to the question of language in the article on common and general problems of all Finnish churches.

Sunday school and work among the youth are abreast with the times. In many congregations they already are conducted in the English language, but Finnish, nevertheless is still being used in many Sunday

.

1. Vuosikirja, 1951, pp. 17-19.

2. Kirkollinen Kalenteri 1951, p. 207.

3. Arvi Henry Saarisuu, Riemuvuoden virta, p. 61.

4. Suomi Synod, 50-vuotisjuhla, p. 18.

schools and at meetings of Luther Leagues. Their newspapers, however, have become almost exclusively English.

The controversies which have arisen sharply between church work and the labor front, touching upon all Finnish churches, will be discussed in a special chapter later on.

3. The National Lutherans and their problems

The third and smallest of the Finnish Lutheran churches in America is the Evangelic-Lutheran National Church with its main strength in Minnesota, where most of its congregations are located. The church has in this country and Canada a total of sixty-two congregations and a few preaching places.¹ Since they this year have only twenty-one clergymen on the books, we can well understand that they also have a serious lack of pastors.² The total membership of the church is 7,147.³ The church is headed by a five-member Synodical Board, four of the members being clergymen, one a layman. The president of the board, G. A. Aho, at the same time is headman and president of the church and at present resides in Painsville, Ohio.⁴ The literature of the church is printed in its own printing shop at Ironwood, Mich., where the newspaper of the church, Auttaja, is published.⁵

The church separated from Suomi Synod in 1898 and thus has gone its own ways for more than fifty years. The question of unifica-

.

1. Vuosikirja 1951, p. 29.

2. Ibid, pp. 141-142.

3. Ibid, p. 29.

4. Ibid, p. 138.

5. Auttaja, p. 4. March 1, 1951.

tion with Suomi Synod is not as yet possible. In recent years the church is showing an increasing inclination towards the Missouri Synod, a powerful American church, and has not much contact with other Lutheran churches. At present, the clergymen of the National Church get their training at the Missouri Synod Seminary at Springfield, Ill. A total of nineteen young men are now studying for the clergy there.¹ To the church, this is a great promise of relief in the shortage of clergymen. The trend towards the Missouri Synod is surprising in that it is known to be a church with strong emphasis on the observance of the law, resting on the foundation of strict, unrelenting discipline. To begin with, the National church, having been a child of the Finnish Evangelical movement, was strongly adverse to law, primarily emphasizing the import and power of Christian grace.² But nature favors opposites, and this doubtless is a case of opposites attracting each other. The contact with the Missouri Synod has given the National church valuable gifts also, firmness and backbone, which certainly are needed in managing the church affairs of the American Finns.³ In the beginning there was opposition to the contact with said church,⁴ but since theological students get their training in an institution belonging to the Missouri Synod, the young theologians grow in the dogmatically strong spirit of said Synod and naturally will lend ever-increasing support to the unification with the Missouri Synod.

.

1. Vuosikirja 1951, p. 140.

2. Elis Bergroth, Suomen Kirkko, p. 743.

3. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, pp. 371-375.

4. Ibid, pp. 314-316.

Dogmatically the church is absolutely Lutheran, as are those mentioned previously, and adheres to Luther's inheritance and confessional books besides the Bible, unwilling to deviate from the road it has recognized as the right one doctrinally, because questions pertaining to doctrine are dear to it. As already mentioned, the church is a child of the Evangelical revival of Finland, which in its turn is a branch of the great pietistic general revival.¹

The church shuns any fraternizing with those of different thought.² For that reason its theological students do not any more avail themselves of the services of Suomi College and Theological Seminary, but have established their own department in said Concordia Seminary of the Missouri Synod at Springfield, Ill. The church likewise avoids doing clerical services to unbelievers. Neither does it favor secret societies.³ The church also has severed all its relations to the State Church of Finland.⁴ That is one of the undertakings which have given it a more independent and American character.

The thought of mission work by the church has been revived in recent years. A mission worker was recently sent to Australia to work among the Finnish people there.⁵

.

1. Elis Bergroth, Suomen Kirkko, pp. 742-743.

2. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, pp. 374-375.

3. Ibid, p. 374.

4. Ibid, p. 231.

Separation from the Finnish State Church has been a great surprise, but it gives a special character to this Church. Therefore the relationship with Missouri Synod is more natural, because it is a powerful Lutheran Church on the American soil.

5. Vuosikirja 1951, p. 74.

The question of language in the National church stands approximately as in Suomi Synod. There also the change has been rapid in favor of the English language.

C. The Special Problems of the Other Finnish Churches

In addition to Lutheran churches, there are a few other Christian congregations among the American Finns, of which the most notable belong to the Congregational group and others to the Pentecostal group. Very small groups belong to the following churches: Methodists, Baptists, the Salvation Army, Adventists, Unitarians¹ and some independent congregations which last mentioned primarily are in the charge of the National Church clergy. Among these, the most notable Finnish congregations in America are the Congregationals and the Pentecostal Church which we are going to review in detail.

The Congregationals have twenty-three clergymen and also two women preachers.² The membership of their congregations totals about 2,000 to 3,000. They have no common president, but are dependent on the center of the American Congregational Church in each state or group of states. With respect to ecclesiastical organization, they thus are less independent than other Finnish churches. Ordinarily, their clergymen have received their training in some American Congregational seminary with special preparation for work among the Finns. Earlier they had for a short period of time their own Finnish theolog-

.

1. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, pp. 306-321.
2. Reports of Rev. W. Hokkanen.

ical seminary in New England,¹ but after its closing the candidates for the pulpit of the church have attended other American seminaries. The church has progressed comparatively well under American conditions, although the work of the Congregationals in Finland has been relatively limited, in view of which they have not received from the old country help for their own work to the extent other churches have. On the other hand, their strength has been the support lavished by Americans on Congregational churches, thereby extending spiritual and material assistance to foreign-language congregationals.²

Their mouthpiece is "The Servant", published monthly and printed in New York Mills, Minn.³ Moreover, they are most active in the Eastern and Western states. The Finnish Congregational Church or Mission Church is comparatively speaking one of the older churches in America, having been founded in 1890.⁴

The Pentecostal Church has a few congregations among the American Finns, and some in Canada.⁵ The total membership of the congregations is about two thousand. It is a comparatively young church here, founded in 1921. But despite its youth, it has made considerable progress. It is an independent and strongly nationalistic church even today. It conducts extensive mission work, aiding the Finnish missionaries of the Pentecostal Church in various countries. Furthermore, they have their own missionaries in Japan, and the

.

1. Muistoja 30-vuotisesta lahetystyosta, pp. 81-84.
The seminary was located first at Quincy, Mass. then at Cambridge, Mass.
2. Muistoja 30-vuotisesta lahetystyosta, p. 5.
3. Palvelija, The Servant, January, 1951.
4. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 291.
5. The Witness of the truth, February, 1951, p. 12.

Finnish Pentecostals of Canada have theirs in India.¹

The Pentecostals also have their own main organ "The Witness of Truth" which is published once monthly and printed in New York, N. Y.

The problems of these churches are approximately the same as those of Lutheran churches. The moral support, received by them from Finland, has been weaker, because their membership is not large in Finland either. But on the other hand, they have been in closer contact with corresponding American churches, both the Congregationals, Baptists, Methodists, Adventists and the Salvation Army, etc. However, they have not been absorbed by their surroundings as could be expected, because somehow they have been more dependent on primarily spiritual experiences, gained among Finnish Christians, and have not been dependent in the same manner on the influence of the schooling received. Work among youth and Sunday school work among them is approximately on the same level as in the Lutheran churches.

These churches also have experienced shortage in clergymen, Members being widely scattered in many places, has made conducting of services difficult. Many independent congregations have applied to clergymen of the National Church for services because they themselves did not have preachers.²

All these congregations also have eagerly participated in helping Finland, which by two severe wars was plunged in unbelievable

.

1. Reports of Rev. U. Lande.

2. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 322.

difficulties, starting from 1939 and to the present day, although the situation has greatly eased in Finland and the gravest economic danger has been overcome.¹

D. Some General Problems of All Finnish Churches.

There are several general problems common for all Finnish Churches. Let us study them now more carefully.

1. Problems of Transition to American Church Life

In general, the incorporation of the Finnish church in America has not been an entirely simple and easy matter. Numerous delicate special questions have arisen during the organizational work. At the same time, the Finnish character has had to fight with itself in the course of these disagreements. The weaknesses and the strength of the Finnish race have become exposed by the church strife in America. Weakness in easily aroused controversies, unforgivingness, stubbornness, envy, sitting in judgment upon those of a different opinion;² strength in a ripper awareness of what Christianity should be, educational development in comparison with many other nationalities in the light of Luther's Short Catechism, its explanations and the Biblical history, and in the even, fairly high general level of the schooling given by the Church of Finland. The Finnish church in America has tried to hold on to these Finnish traditions while paying attention to other Christian churches in America and learning from them.

.

1. Työssä Suomen hyväksi, p. 15.

2. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 323.

2. Moral Difficulties of the Finnish Race

Moral damage was very considerable, particularly in the beginning.¹ Drunkenness, to which the Finns seemed to be inclined as the Scandinavian peoples in general, became ruin to many of them, because the Finns did not have the gracious gift of moderation.² They drank immoderately, that is to say, many of them. They worked furiously, because they mostly were thoroughly skilled diligent workers, had greater endurance in physical exertion than other nationalities, and ordinarily were left last when workers were being laid off. Work was a question of honor to the Finns, losing a job was considered shameful by them. In the lumber camps the Finns toiled all week like strong bears. On Sundays they came to drink the saloons in the cities dry and to fight with the Irish Hotheads.³ Such was the life of the Finns as seen from their weaker sides.⁴ Due to drunkenness, they became prey to sexual decay, some of them more, others less. If they were married, they naturally were much more protected against these temptations. The Finnish women also were reckless amazons. They, too, had great physical strength and when aroused could beat up a weak man. As housewives they were hard-working, hospitable, among the best of American mothers. In the lumber camps as boarding-house keepers they were regular in their habits, not afraid of work, strong and used to defend themselves, and to throw

.

1. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria, p. 179.
2. Tahti 40 vuotta, p. 5.
3. Ashtabula Harborin Bethania Seurakunnan 25-vuotisjulkaisu, p. 19. One Finn fought once against 30 Irishmen, knife in his hand, wounding three of them.
4. Hugo Hillila, Valinkaukassa, pp. 172, 51, 49-50.

out drunks.

3. The Misuse of the American Freedom.

To begin with, the Finns were unable to make proper use of the free life in America. Of course, the Finns loved freedom like all the others, but the Finns explained it to themselves approximately in the following manner: freedom from all church taxes, freedom with regard to their own schools without any compulsory support, freedom in reading the newspapers, whether red or blue, communistic or non-communistic, freedom to commit a lot of sins of which the authorities know nothing, freedom to drink and lead a reckless life, freedom to fight. Thus, many Finns were not mentally mature for the freedom received, but lived like pagans on Sundays and like beasts of burden on weekdays. Of course, not all lapsed into this false freedom, but the number of those who sinned heavily in the name of this freedom is overwhelming.¹ Therefore also few of them joined these Finnish Churches.

4. The Question of the Citizenship.

The national question never has been a sore spot to all Finns. American citizenship was so honored that he who hoped to manage the language test, took American citizenship. The more bashful who were shy in the presence of the judge and afraid of not passing the examination due to lack of knowledge, did not go to the tests. The common people of Finland have deep respect, mingled with a portion

.

1. Ashtabula Harborin Bethania Seurakunnan 25-vuotis-julkaisu, p. 44,
pp. 18-20.

of hatred of the gentry, for their officials. Even today it is somewhat fateful to come as a Finnish 'gentleman' to America. A gentleman and official may experience hardships and become the object of slander. He pays for being a 'gentleman'. The inferiority complex of the Finnish common people avenges the wrongs suffered in Finland on the gentlemen who have come to America, such as clergymen, teachers and any white-collar officials.¹ It tests them as 'men of the people'.

In part, for the reasons mentioned above, shyness or lack of enterprise, many Finns have not become citizens. Many have not done it, because they are going to return to Finland, as they think. Many of them want to have their last sleep in Finnish soil. Particularly of late, Finns have become American citizens in increasing numbers. From the viewpoint of Finland, United States citizenship is so valuable that Finnish citizenship can be exchanged against it, but hardly against the citizenship of any other country in the world. For example, in Europe, Finns only with difficulty become incorporated in any other nationality. Also in Canada, Finns have become citizens at a slower rate than in America.

5. The Problem of Language

In the beginning, the language question did not come up at all. There were so many Finns, particularly in Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts and the City of New York, that they managed beautifully in their churches and societies with their own Finnish, as they fre-

.

1. Hugo Hillila, Valinkauhassa, pp. 115-120.

quently still do. Suomi Opisto or Suomi College, the university founded by Finns, had been established for the preservation of Finnish culture and language, and in the beginning the studies were conducted almost exclusively in Finnish. English was taught as second language, but the main language was Finnish.¹ Official business in which English was needed was conducted by the Finns through their agents who knew English.

But if in the beginning the question of language was not acute at all, with time it has become an ever-increasingly important problem of the present day. In general, the Finnish churches, during their entire history in this country, have favored preaching in the Finnish language. But in the course of the years, natural development has brought English alongside Finnish, in view of which both languages are used in many congregations and several Finnish Churches at daytime-services, especially reserved for them. However, in many congregations youth work and Sunday School are conducted exclusively in English,² although they still have classes in Finnish. Particularly the Second World War had a detrimental influence on the future of the Finnish language due to the interrupted connections with the mother-country.

6. The Problem of the Second Generation

The question about language among the Finns, has been many times so serious in many congregations, that it has divided the con-

.

1. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria, p. 78.

2. Also The Messenger, the Sunday School paper is now in English.

gregation into two different groups, the younger one, English speaking, and the older one, Finnish speaking. The older people have of course many times, been painful about that, but they have hidden their sorrows, weeping their tears secretly, and usually they have made conciliations.¹ The Finnish American youth has become strange already in the second generation from their forefathers, going over to some uncertain groups and nationalities, which speak English, but the third generation often comes back to their forefathers, or wants to draw draw near to them. The second generation has become mixed, through marriages with the Irish, Germans, Americans, Swedes, Eastonians, Italians, and with the Polish people² and with some other nationalities. Only very small groups of these mixed marriages, have anything to do with the Finnish Churches. Usually they are not members of any church, but visit several.

7. Conflict of the First and Second Generation.

The older generation, born in Finland, were accustomed to see the old and worthwhile men in the layman work of the Church. When they became older here, they thought very naturally that those places belong to them. If the younger people were put in to help them, they were hurt. The American born Finnish youth has been, on the other hand, too emotional. After the first small hurt, they have been ready to leave their places. So it has happened also many times, therefore, that the younger people have not been able to take care regularly of

.

1. Uuras Saarnivaara, Apostolis-luterilaisuuden historia, p. 273.
2. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten historiaa, pp. 128, 122.

their work in the Church, for some reason, and therefore have gone out from Church service.

Small quarrels, of course, have happened between the first generation born in Finland and the American born second generation, but among the Finnish people those events have not been too serious, because the first generation, born in Finland, do not want to fight with their American born race, if they do not belong to their own family. There is a gulf between these two generations,¹ but usually they are not on the same fighting front, there is not enough reason for them to fight with each other. The Finnish, American born youth is not a scornful youth, making fun of the older people and about their customs, but often they are too emotional, like the Fish, which already in the distance know what will happen and therefore flee from the front.² This fleeing away is not Finnish style at all, and it hurts the first generation. Why this second generation is always going away. Why they are not familiar with them, and do not want to be.

8. The Problem of Worship.

The most serious spot in the language question, has been many times, the mainworship of the Church, that is, which is the main language of the service, Finnish or English. Which language is officially accepted for the main language? With the language question, the question of nationality has also often been decided. Decision has often been made in such a way that both languages have been

.

1. Uuras Saarnivaara, Apostolis-luterilaisuuden historia, p. 273.
2. Ibid, p. 273.

accepted in the same worth and level, in other words, there are now two main services, instead of one.¹ The pastor is able to speak in both languages. Let him speak in Finnish and English. So there is one main service in Finnish and another one in English. This is the usual decision. The other congregations have still the opinion that the main emphasis is the Finnish and the other language can be used only at funerals and weddings, where there are also those who don't understand Finnish.

9. Sunday School and Youth Work

Work among youth and Sunday School work has made good progress in the churches with the exception of the Apostolic Lutheran Church, which emphasizes revival Christianity exclusively and in which said work is not abreast with the times. In this church and in others, too, estrangement of the American-born youth from its national heritage and religion can be noted. Thus religious training of Finnish youth of necessity has not received sufficient attention, as the public educational institutions in America offer no study of religion, and the Finns have been unable to establish their own schools with the exception of Suomi College and Theological Seminary.

Our Sunday School work is under the Conference Board in Suomi Synod.² Several books were published about Sunday School work. Suomi Synod also have their own Sunday School newspaper for children, The Messenger. In the National Lutheran Church they also have their

.

1. New Yorkin Uutiset, Betania Ev. Luth. Kansallisseurakunta, Ilmoitus, p. 2.

2. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria, I, p. 162.

own paper Nuorison Paimen.¹

In Suomi Synod and National Lutheran Church, they both have their own youth work, like the Congregational Church also have their own. In the Lutheran Churches, these are called Luther Leagues. They are very well organized in both Churches. In Suomi Synod, there are four Luther League boards in different conferences and one main board;² just as there is also one main board in The National Church.³ The members of the Luther Leagues are using English usually in their services.

10. The Mission Work

In recent years, mission work has been revived in all Finnish Churches. Suomi Synod recently sent two workers to Japan, where a special field has been opened for the mission work of Suomi Synod. The National Church has its worker in Australia who performs his duties^{al/} in Finnish among the Australian Finns.⁴ The Pentecost Church has two missionaries in Asia. Likewise, the Finnish free-churches in America have aided the missionaries of the Free Church of Finland in various countries. The revival of mission work among the Finnish churches in America is a sign of spring in their field of endeavor.

11. The Home Mission

However, many Finns in this country do not belong to any of the aforementioned churches. Winning them by the word of the gospel is an important mission question among the American Finns.

.

1. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 164.
2. Kirkolliskalenteri, 1951, pp. 202-203.
3. Vuosikirja, 1951, p. 140.
4. Vuosikirja 1951, pp. 64-74.

Home Mission among the American Finns is a very important question, because the Finns are living so separately in many states. It is also very well know fact among the Finns, that the socialistic movement won power in many states in the midwest, that the Finnish Churches have lost their power there and many congregations have breathed their last breath. So it has happened in Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona and Idaho.¹ Home Mission work is so acute a problem, that if we want to win something in this matter, it is time to do something. Suomi Synod have their Home Mission board, but it should be necessary to have several pastors working full time in this field. Now Suomi Synod does not have anybody who gives his full time for this question. The National Church has the same problem, and the Apostolic-Lutherans still more severe, because their ministers cannot take care of their own flock either, because of the lack of ministers, as we have shown before.

It would be worthwhile for all Finnish speaking Churches to unite on these questions, and organize in the same way Home Mission work for the good of the Finnish speaking people. It is too serious that those big states, where there are still so many Finns, are without any Finnish worship. The Finnish Lutheran Churches should be one in their Home Mission work, otherwise we lose too many precious values.

In Canada the situation is better, because an agreement has been made with the United Lutheran Church of America, that those Finnish Lutheran congregations there belong as a united conference to the United

.

1. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyahistoria II, p. 191.

Lutheran Church of America.¹ There are now 15 Finnish Lutheran Churches in Canada, and they have seven Finnish ministers.²

12. Help to Finland

Helping Finland during these severe years has been very powerful. Suomi Synod has been a member of the Lutheran World Action whose extensive help to European Lutherans is well known.³ Several congregations have supported the work of the Help Finland organization which has worked under the leadership of the Quakers,⁴ particularly in aiding Lappland. But very many congregations have cooperated with other Finnish societies, doing magnificent work primarily for the benefit of Finland.⁵ Some congregations have given direct aid to Finnish orphan homes and other charity institutions.⁶ By a conservative estimate, this aid of all Finnish Americans probably totals about seven million dollars.⁷

We can openly say that the Finnish people have been much more eager to help Finland in its trouble, than they have ever been enthusiastic to help their own church in America and Canada. Of course, it is therefore also a fact that all Finnish American people have been concerned with this question except Communists. The nationistic tendency to help their very much wounded mother country has revived the

.

1. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria, p. 195.
2. Faith of our Fathers, February 1951, p. 4.
3. Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1951, p. 209.
4. Kalevaisten 50-vuotisjuhla-julkaisu, pp. 49-50.
5. Työssä Suomen hyväksi, pp. 37, 15.
6. Harlemin Suom. Ev. Luth. Seurakunnan 45-vuotisjuhlien juhlaohjelma, p. 8.
This congregation has helped 33 orphan homes in Finland.
During the years 1945-1950 with \$4,390.91.
7. V.A. Heiskanen, Kävin tähtilipun maassa, p. 149.

Finnish national soul. Never have the Finnish American people shown such kind energy as in helping their wounded mother country.

There is not any great doctrinal change in the Finnish American Churches, except that the National Lutheran Church has cut out its relationship with the State Church of Finland.¹

E. Summary and Conclusions

1. Great shortage of clergymen thus seems to be a common problem to all Finnish churches in America. It is most acute among the Laestadians, but all Finnish churches are complaining about it. The work of the clergymen also is made difficult by the extensive dispersion of our people in various states, although they are to be found in more concentrated groups in Michigan, Minnesota, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Washington.

2. Another detrimental factor among the Finns is dissension and enmity towards those of different opinion even in matters which could be settled amicably. This in part is due to Lutheran orthodoxy which subconsciously is felt perhaps even more forcefully among the American Finns which are in close contact with the reformed world. Thus, hardly any contact has been brought about between Suomi Synod and the National Church, although good will has not been lacking on either side. However, opposition has been so strong that contact so far has been inexpedient.²

.

1. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 231.

2. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, pp. 297-309.

3. Many a Finn has been tripped by American freedom. Many among them have imagined it as a variation of the freedom of the Forest-Finns as enjoyed by them in ancient times in recesses of their backwoods. As previously told, many of them made a deplorable mess of their freedom in sensuous enjoyment, forgetting about spiritual and higher aspirations.¹ One reason for this decline was the negligence of the Church of Finland in not sending them clergymen in sufficient numbers as teachers. Another reason was hard liquor and the anti-church spirit and activities of the labor groups.

4. The mission work has been revived in all Finnish American Churches, during the last years. They have now a few of their own missionaries in Japan, India and Australia. They have also helped much the mission field of Finland in several countries.

5. The home mission work among the American Finns is the most important problem of our day. We have still time to do something toward winning in those fields in Midwest and in the West, what we have lost to the socialists. This work must be organized in a different way and all Finnish Churches should unite in this battle in some way. This work must be given to some full-time ministers, who are able to take care of these big fields. The ministers who have their own congregations are not able to work sufficiently in the important home mission. For this work it is necessary to give more attention than what has been done.

.

1. Kalevaisten 50-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu, p. 15.

6. The Sunday School and youth work is generally well organized in these Finnish Churches, except among the Laestadian groups. The work is already in our day done in English, except for a few Finnish classes.

7. The problem of language is at present a very acute problem. English is winning more and more places in worship. It is also necessary for ministers to know English. The pastors from Finland are not able to come to this country because their English is not sufficient for use in services. Therefore there are only a few ministers left who have come from Finland.

8. The question about American citizenship is not a problem at all. Many of the Finnish nationals are already citizens, some are not. But there is not any tendency to be either a Finnish or an American citizen. Both are good in the minds of the Finnish Americans.

9. The problem of the second generation is also acute right now. But it is not too bad, because the older, first generation, has taken a more conciliatory position on that question. The Finnish speaking and English speaking groups have not too much to do with each other. The battles between these groups have never been so serious ~~as those~~ which have occurred between the members of the first generation among themselves. The first generation is still ruling in all congregations, though there are a few exceptions.

10. In anti-atheistic war the Finnish churches, nevertheless, have been in concord. It appears with greater clarity from the

chapter which is dedicated to the study of this battle.

11. The churches likewise have been very unanimous on the question of help to Finland. The old mother-country, Finland, indeed has received abundant assistance from all these churches and all Finnish nationals in America, except the communists.

12. As we have said before, the Suomi Synod is a member of the National Lutheran Council, an association of the eight Lutheran Churches,¹ The National Lutheran Church is related to the Missouri Synod and the Congregational group is under the control of the American Congregational Church. The ecumenicity is not more advanced among the Finnish Christian groups.

.

1. The Year Book of Suomi Synod, 1951, p. 145.

CHAPTER III

THE FINNISH CHURCH AND THE ORGANIZED ASSOCIATIONS

IN WAR AGAINST MORAL EVILS, BUILDING UP A

BETTER CULTURE

CHAPTER III

THE FINNISH CHURCH AND THE ORGANIZED ASSOCIATIONS IN WAR AGAINST MORAL EVILS, BUILDING UP A BETTER CULTURE

A. Introduction

In this chapter we are going to present the various associations outside the Church, which along with the Church, have been important and helped the Church in some way in the war against the moral evils. Ordinarily, the relationship of the various societies to the Church is such that their members frequently belong to local parishes or at least are closely connected with same and usually under their influence. But for some reason, either national zeal or something else, they also are ardent members of these associations, some of them belonging to several societies at the same time. Usually their work with the Church has been very fruitful, though there has not always been full contact between the Church and the organized associations.

B. The Temperance Movement

The temperance society has been and still is strong among the American Finns. It began its work as early as 1885, consequently before any Finnish Church union had been founded in the country.¹ It was brought to life by the counteraction of women and thinking men

.

1. John I. Kolehmainen, *The Finns in America*, p. 49.

who perceived that Finnish men were in serious danger of succumbing to the influence of alcohol. The temperance movement has had many notable moving spirits. Particularly in the beginning, the temperance movement went hand in hand with the Church. It has done much good by emphasizing the importance of a sober and moral way of life and by drawing into its sphere those Finnish nationals who have felt likewise about these questions.¹ In many localities, the temperance movement continues actively among the Finns. They also have carried on extensive cultural activity by means of entertainment, meetings and lectures touching on temperance, religion or other close fields. They have had many speakers, who came from Finland and have travelled over the country speaking about temperance.² Also many Finnish clergymen from this country have contributed to the victory of the temperance movement, speaking at their entertainments and meetings, like V. Rautanen and S. Ilomen from Suomi Synod, and M. Lehtonen from the Finnish Methodist Church.³

In many places their libraries are large and comprehensive.⁴ They have engaged in continuous publishing. One of their regular series has been an annual temperance calendar. It shows lively activities also today.⁵

.

1. Hugo Hillila, Valinkauhassa, p.14.
2. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, pp. 235-236.
Speakers like Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppala, Alma Hinkkanen-Lipsanen, Vihtori Karpio, Antti J. Pietila, Vilho Reima, etc.
3. Siirtokansan Kalenteri 1938, pp. 196, 202.
4. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, pp. 195-6.
In the year 1900 there were 70 libraries and 20,000 books in them.
5. Raittiuskalenteri, p. 157.

The first president of Suomi Synod, J. K. Nikander, was very favorable for the temperance movement and saw temperance work for his own.¹ In many ways the Finnish temperance movement and the Finnish Church have done their great work together. In the beginning, they they were often also located in the same meeting houses.² The statistics show that in the year 1908 there were 200 Finnish temperance societies in this country, with 11,200 members.³ There are four federations in America, the Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood, the Finnish Temperance Friends, the Eastern Finnish Temperance Organization, and the Western Finnish Temperance League, as well as many other independent temperance societies.⁴ They have never had union among themselves.

The Apostolic-Lutherans are naturally in favor of the temperance movement among themselves, because L. L. Laestadius, the reformist of Lappland was a man of temperance.⁵

Also the National Lutheran Church gives credit to the temperance movement and is behind the work.⁶ So also are all Finnish Churches in America.

The Finnish American Church and the temperance movement, have then, been very successful in the war against all kinds of moral evils, especially against drunkenness, as we have seen above.

.

1. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, p. 234.
2. F. J. Syrjala: Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväenliikeestä, p. 34.
3. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, p. 196
4. John I. Kolehmainen, The Finns in America, pp. 49-50.
5. Elis Bergroth, Suomen Kirkko, p. 856.
6. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 69.

C. National Associations

Who knows the heroic nationalistic mind of the Finn, also knows that the Finnish group is suffering very much, seeing their own nationals going down into the immoral atmosphere, where the old heroic Finnish character is lacking and nobody will say any more: Where is your brave mind today, because you are forgetting your Finnish "sisu".¹ It means, awake your "firm resolution," otherwise you are lost.

Many national associations under different names have been characteristic of the activities of the Finns in this country. They have gathered a considerable public and particularly in the beginning they were connected with many good and useful interests, athletic clubs, sports associations, (about one hundred), etc.² They were interested in national festivals, choirs, orchestras, and brass bands, and had the cause of the Finnish people at heart. They had Finnish literature in great quantities at their disposal. The Finnish American Literature Society, since 1878, published A B C book, Catechism and Bible History.³ From the viewpoint of the Finnish state, these people were of sound thought and ideals. They often belonged to churches or at least respected the work of the churches. They emphasized the preservation of the Finnish language. They tried to keep abreast with Finnish language literature and to be in contact with the literature and spirit of the old country. Many cultural envoys from Finland

.

1. The Finnish word "sisu" may be translated in English "firm resolution."
2. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, p. 201.
3. Ibid, p. 192.

visited with them here.

These groups have been related to the Church. When their brass bands and choirs and and orchestras visited Finland, they were related to the Finnish clergy in Finland, who spoke during their journeys.¹ When the famous brass band Louhi, from Monessen, Pennsylvania, was visiting Finland, they had Rev. F. Y. Joki, from Suomi Synod as their main speaker during their long tour over Finland.²

These national associations have helped the Finnish nationals to find home here among their own nationals. It has helped them to remember their moral standard in living from the standpoint of their Finnish education and ideals, for example, those moral values which are revealed in the Finnish national epos Kalevala and also in Kanteletar.³ It also gives to the Finnish nationals the duty to live life, which is worth living according to their ancestors. These are the ideals of the national associations, which the Finnish American Church has also honored.

Giving value to all Finnish civilization and culture, these national associations have been on the same front with the Finnish American Churches, especially with the Suomi Synod, fighting against moral evils and against the Finnish barbarism.

D. National Secret Societies

As the Finnish people in this country began to succumb to

.

1. Rafael Engelberg, Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset, pp. 340-369.

2. Ibid, p. 340.

3. Kalevala, pp. 10, 20, 54, 68; Kanteletar, I Kirja, pp. 9, 15,
II Kirja, pp. 216, 213, 150.

'drunkenness and barbarism in ever-increasing numbers with resulting national decay, a strong counteraction arose among energetic Finns. The result of this was two quite powerful and extremely well organized secret societies, Kaleva Knights, 1898, and Ladies of Kaleva, 1904.¹ They were born in the far West in the mountain state of Montana.² They are based on the Finnish national epos and its vocabulary. The societies are still going strong and have been able to impart spiritual inspiration to many. They are members of churches and favorably disposed towards them, as well as, particularly in earlier times, promoters of children's Sunday School.³ Small disagreements have sometimes been caused by parishioners in their anxiety that the Bible will be forgotten and Kalevala given a higher position than is its due, but since these organizations do not fight in public, the attacks have quieted down.⁴ It goes without saying that both organizations pay strict attention to the preservation of the Finnish language and civilization among the Finns in America. In this respect, young Finnish clergymen in America have been compelled to pay some attention to the opinions presented by said societies, because many members are parishioners who pursue the aims of true Finnicism as well as of true Americanism. The publishing done by these large and notable societies is quite considerable. Every year they publish their Kalevainen magazine, which is a large, worthy publication.⁵

.

1. Kalevaisten 50-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu, p. 10
2. Ibid, p. 10.
3. Ibid, pp. 12-14.
4. Ibid, p. 14.
5. Kalevainen 1951.

The National Lutheran Church does not accept these secret societies and therefore does not have anything to do with them.¹ Also the former president of Suomi Synod has spoken against these societies but Suomi Synod has not rejected its members which also belong to these societies.²

Kaleva Knights and the Ladies of Kaleva have been on the same front with the Finnish Church and the Finnish Temperance movement, fighting against the moral evils of the Finnish race, being loyal to the United States.³ These societies have also honored the old Finnish culture. Their ideals have been high, though there has not been full contact between these societies and the Finnish Christian Churches of America.

E. The Finnish National Newspapers

There always has been an abundance of Finnish nationalistic newspapers among the American Finns. Old papers have died, new ones have been born. The Finnish people are interested in literature to a much greater extent than many other people. Although the number of our people in this country hardly ever has exceeded the half million mark, rather less, the newspapers have been very numerous in all the regions of Finnish nationals, and more numerous than, for example, among the Swedes who geographically are so close to our people. The influence of Finnish journalism started in 1876 with the publication

.

1. Evankelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko, p. 374.
2. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko, p. 329.
3. S. Ilmonen, Amerikan suomalaisen sivistyshistoria, II, pp. 12-13

of "Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti" in Upper-Michigan.¹

The number of all Finnish newspapers, published in this country and in Canada is 92.² Most famous of them, except the socialistic and communistic newspapers, have been: The American Finn, The New York News, The Western Finn, The Helper, The Guardian, The Guide, The Daily Journal and The Western News.³ These newspapers have been the most worthy of them.

From the viewpoint of the Churches, these various papers have served as news media, and many of the above, are the papers of the Churches. But on the other hand, particularly in the beginning, the attacks of several papers, have damaged many an undertaking. The attacks of many Finnish newspapers on the Suomi Synod and Suomi College are very well known among the Finns.⁴

Except for these quarrels, which have also harmed the Finnish American Churches, these newspapers have been very important to the Finnish Churches, because they have helped all these churches in many ways through their news material. The ministers have also been their writers and these newspapers have also taken the religious writings for their papers, though all of them have not been founded on the Christian basis.

The Finnish American Church and these different newspapers have been helping each other, building up a better Finnish world in

.

1. Jusso Hirvonen, Michiganin kuparialue ja suomalaiset siirtolaiset, p. 70
2. F. J. Syrjala, Historia-aihteita Ameriikan suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, pp. 30-32.
3. John I. Kolehmainen, The Finns in America, pp. 81-87.
4. Hugo Hillila, Valinkauhassa, p. 53.

America in the cultural and religious fields. All these societies have been one, fighting together against the danger of communism. That will be seen in the next chapter, where there is a climax of the troubles of all Finnish American Churches and associations.

F. Conclusions

The various associations mentioned in this chapter, together with the Finnish churches, thus have been building a better Finnish America. In principle, they have been willing to submit to the higher authority of the Finnish Church, although they sometimes have made mistakes and sometimes even caused disturbances. The attitude of the Church has not always been seen from the proper level, as a result of which the program of the churches sometimes has suffered.

However, upon repondering the matter, it has become evident that first place belongs to the Kingdom of God, in view of which no serious controversies have arisen with said organizations, except the workers' organizations which will be the subject of the following chapter.

All of the aforementioned societies have promoted the distribution of Finnish spirit, Finnish language and products of the Finnish mind among this people. And as long as the Finns emphasize these features among themselves, they will aid each other in preserving their virtue as useful Finns. Then they will have interests which prevent them from sinking into the evils of sensuousness, drunkenness and an immoral way of life.

The most worthwhile of these societies have been the Temperance movement and, perhaps in second place, the national secret

societies Kaleva Knights and Ladies of Kaleva. The awakening of the responsibility of Finnish men and women with regard to their own duties has been brought about by the last mentioned societies. Also note-worthy is the group of newspapers which has represented this national and temperance front. Their columns also have been available for articles by Finnish clergymen in America.

Against the danger of communism, which has been so very well known among the Finnish people in America and in Finland, all these different associations and all the Finnish American Churches have been one, fighting against the ideals and practices of communism. In that mind they have also done services for the country where they live.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICS. THE RISE OF THE
LABOR MOVEMENT.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEMS OF POLITICS. THE RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

A. Introduction

The labor movement in Finland rises sharply from 1896 and increases in strength at the beginning of the century.¹ It was of great importance in the forceful rise of the Finnish labor movement in America, because in those early times agitators and propagandists from Finland began to show interest in the conditions of American Finns. The Finnish workmen in America organized their own movement at the beginning of the century. Several workers' associations were formed on the pattern of Finnish labor associations. They offered various programs which from the very beginning had the radical flavor of organized labor movement and during the time became increasingly communistic or socialistic in color. The Finnish labor movement in America practically coincides with the corresponding movement in Finland. When "The Workingman" was founded in Finland in 1895,² "The Pioneer", the Finnish socialistic paper in America was established here in 1905.³ The socialistic movement had had its inception in Finland in 1903. In this country the Finnish workers

.

1. Vaino Voionmaa, Oma Maa VI, Suomen Työväenliike, p. 885.
2. Ibid, p. 887.
3. F. J. Syrjala, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeesta, p. 62

organized along socialistic lines actually in 1905. Soon it was a well organized society, also ready to attack those harboring other opinions. Its battle front against the Finnish churches of America could not be avoided for long.

B. The Finnish Church of America and the Labor

Agitators in Opposition

The Church and labor fronts here clashed in the very beginning, when the labor agitators started going around in the final year of the last century and in the beginning of the present. At that time, the Finnish workers were about to get under the influence of the radical German labor, and therefore many Finns who came to this country in the beginning of the century had been poisoned by this more radical and coarse faction.¹ Therefore, a clash could not be avoided by the clergy and leadership of the church, even with the will of eliminating any public conflict.

Wherever an opportunity presented itself, the representatives of the workers attacked the clergy and the church front. Since they owned several newspapers and distributed translated literature in great quantities, in addition to being particularly well organized, with their own labor associations all over the country, the labor front became powerful and solid. In their opinion, clergymen were representatives of the reactionaries, tools of the capitalists, men behind their times who could be led by the nose. It was clear that a battle loomed.

.

1. Vaino Voionmaa, Oma Maa, VI, Suomen Työväen liike, p. 892.

The Finnish workers used their many newspapers to carry on agitation. Before long, a bitter battle was being waged between them and the bourgeois and church fronts. The judiciary and police of the country became mediators in this battle.

1. The Battle in the Papers

Through the papers the workers saw to it that the thunder never stopped and that there was no end to accusations. It seemed strange if they were not in armor. Particularly the Finnish churches and their clergymen were continuous targets. In this respect the following papers were worthy of notice: The Finnish-American Workingman, Hancock, Mich., The Industrialist, Superior, Wisc., Comrade, Astoria, Oregon, Forward, New York, N. Y., Pioneer, Fitchburg, Mass., and Freedom, Sudbury, Ont., Canada.¹ Many of these papers used coarse and indecent language, in general a characteristic of the communist papers. Of these, the publication of the Finnish-American Workingman began in 1904, of Pioneer in 1905. Upon the forceful rise of communism, particularly after 1917, the following of these papers passed directly over to the communist front: The Finnish-American Workingman, Comrade, Forward and Freedom.² The Industrialist assumed a mediatory position in representing radical syndicalism,³ and Pioneer remained true to its socialistic point of view and, particularly after 1939 when Russia attacked Finland, cut further its ties to the left and actually be-

.

1. The Finns in America, pp. 91-94.

2. F. J. Syrjala, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeesta, pp. 129-145.

3. Ibid, p. 141.

came an opponent of Russian communism.¹

The papers had numerous agitators which carried on propaganda for the workers' paradise, among them Matti Kurikka, who founded such a place at Malkosaari, B.C., Canada.² This society went to ruin fast, bringing the people to poverty and misery. But they also had other propagandists who at the same time used both pen and tongue, such as Moses Hahl, K. Haapakoski, Santeri Nuorteva, Yrjo Makela, Leo Laukki, J. A. Mustonen, A. F. Tanner, Taavi Tainio, Aku Paivio, Alex Halonen, Kaapo Murros, Yrjo Sirola and Aku Rissanen, among others.³ On the church front they were opposed, among other, by many Finnish clergymen of America, as for example, V. Rautanen, J. Wargelin, A. Haapanen, J.E. Lillback, K. F. Henrikson, P. Airak-sinen, William Williamson, and by many editors of bourgeois papers, as for example Onni Syrjaniemi and Antero Riippa and Carl H. Salminen. But the red paradise was so strongly idealized that despite the warnings of bourgeois and church papers hundreds of Finnish families departed in the decade of 1930-40 for Russia, the ideal society.

Pastor K. F. Henrikson has written "7 Lectures against M. Kurikka",⁴ V. Rautanen has written numerous anti-communist articles in the American Finn, and in his book "The Finnish Church of America" he has expressed his anti-communist attitude. Pastor Jaakko Hirvi translated into Finnish articles condemning atheism. Pastor J. E.

.

1. Työssä Suomen hyväksi, pp. 3, 7, 15.
2. F. J. Syrjala, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeesta, pp. 83, 133, 145, 157.
3. Ibid & Op cit. pp. 73, 37.
4. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen kirkko, pp. 296, 330.

Lillback won a lawsuit against Forward for libel. J. Wargelin and P. Airaksinen with several other clergymen were active against the worker' propaganda. The workers make the accusation that the Finnish clergymen in America and their assistants pay attention to the quality of the shows of the Workers' Clubs so that the authorities take steps. The shows staged at workers' clubs frequently were coarse. Along with the newspapers, the stage was a powerful weapon for the workers in promoting their atheistic philosophy of life.

Finally, the sins of the Finnish labor papers overflowed, and the government took them severely in hand, with the following results:

The editors of Comrade got jail sentences in 1919, accused by clergymen and their assistants.¹

Among the editors and personnel of the Finnish-American Workingman, twenty persons were once arrested. It was in connection with a strike in 1913. The former editor of the Finnish-American Workingman, Leo Laukki, was sentenced to twenty years in jail, but being free on bail he fled to Russia, thereby compelling his bailsmen to pay tremendous fines in his behalf.²

The Canadian government suppressed Freedom, which was then taken over by the communists and published by them.

Forward had to pay considerable fines for libel concerning Pastor J. E. Lillbacka,³ a generally known fact among the Finns in

.

1. F.J.Syrjala, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, pp. 140-1,

2. Ibid, & Op cit., pp. 164, 183

3. The sum was \$16,000.00. So told me the man who saw those bills.

the East.

The more orthodox Pioneer also went through a thorough investigation by the state police in 1918, which lasted about a week. As far as is publicly known, the paper managed without any great disturbances. The Pioneer, although more cautious, nevertheless always had been an avid participant in all the labor struggles. The Pioneer is one of the few leftist papers still alive. The foul-mouthed Forward folded up recently, in 1950, for economic reasons, and is now united with the Finnish-American Workingman, Duluth, Minn. This year two editors of the Finnish-American Workingman were arrested, accused of communism.¹

Thus the formerly strong and scarlet newspapers of the numerous Finnish workers, to a great extent, have fallen in the abyss of their own agitation. The division of the labor in different groups dispersed them, the congregational groups fought against them, and finally the state police or economic difficulties compelled them to lay down their weapons.

2. The Battle in Different Societies

The Finnish congregations and temperance societies in America, which in many localities work together, ordinarily at some time were compelled to determine their attitude toward labor associations in some manner or other.

Since the Lutheran congregations, the temperance society and the labor association in the beginning worked in the same premises, war broke out between the Church and temperance society, on the one

.

1. The Finnish New York News, March 20, 1951, p. 1.

hand, and the labor association on the other hand. Such a lawsuit came before the court in 1904 in Fitchburg, Mass., which has many labor representatives. The end of it was that the legal rights of all three to the premises were recognized. This battle was extraordinarily heated and violent.¹ It was clear that soon thereafter the Church and temperance people formed their own group in localities where the workers carried on their activities in the same premises. The Finnish Christians early detected the anti-Christian spirit which the Finnish workers had absorbed from their own meetings, the works of K. Kautsky, K. Marx, Fred Engels and Ingersoll in Finnish translations,² their own prophets' smaller works and their radical press. The congregational members withdrew far from them.

The labor meeting technic was extremely well organized and governed. And no wonder - they had been schooled in that. Therefore, they rushed into the Finnish temperance societies, because many of them favored the temperance movement, and took over many of them by storm, having gained majority in voting. In this manner several temperance societies with premises were lost to them. But it could have happened to independent Finnish congregations, too, as it indeed has (Butte, Montana, Red Lodge, Montana).³ Neither do the workers approve of these confiscations of halls, as stated by the labor historian, F. J. Syrjälä. He admits frankly that rash acts have been committed on

.

1. F.J.Syrjälä, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, p. 35.
2. Ibid, pp. 57, 143-144.
3. V. Rautanen, Amerikan Suomalainen kirkko, p. 324.

their part, too, i.e. in storming temperance society halls.¹

Finnish clergymen in America frequently had difficulties on account of the hotheaded labor representatives who had assumed an atheistic philosophy of life. Many prayer-meetings were disturbed by the deliberate acts of brutish Finnish atheists. A Finnish clergyman was fatally beaten after a meeting and died a few days later.²

3. Theaters and Labor Clubs as Trainers of Workers in anti-Christian Spirit

The training camp of the Finnish workers most frequently was their workers' club where they arranged continuous entertainments, meetings and stage shows, chorus and orchestra rehearsals, socialistic Sunday Schools for propagating utopian socialism among children, training courses in various fields, rehearsals and shows, sewing circle meetings, committee meetings on education and agitation, training in meeting technic, and what not.³ They also had their own restaurants on the premises. For mental pursuits they had their own socialistic or red libraries and numerous newspapers which in zeal and violence outstripped the bourgeois and Church publications.

Theatrical activity was extremely lively. Frequently shows offensive to spiritual attitudes were staged, which Finnish clergymen

.

1. F.J. Syrjälä, Historia-aiheita Amerikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, p. 158

2. Siirtokansan Kalenteri, 1934, Marttyyri, pp. 81-84.

Rev. A. Lajunen died of an attack after his devotional service in Idaho, 1929, in Portland, Ore., a few days later, without accusing the man who beat him.

3. F.J. Syrjälä, Historia-aiheita Amerikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, pp. 92-95, 98-102.

reported to the authorities with the result that shows sometimes had to be withdrawn. The labor club theatres in Fitchburg and New York have been the most active. In Fitchburg thirty-six big shows have been staged annually.¹

The labor club theatres still today are so active as to hamper considerably the programs, for example, of all Finnish churches in New York and other places. If there are any shows nowadays which are more decent, they offer entertainment of any description which removes the people from the influence of the church, these occasions frequently being at the same time as Church services or Church socials. The Finnish youth of America frequently feel more at home at these workers' entertainments than in their own churches.

It also happens sometimes that the gospel appeal wins souls entangled and misguided by labor ideals, and may lead them to the road of salvation, but such happenings are by no means general. An acute problem of the Finnish Church is to find ways to make these people also listen to the message of salvation. Sometimes, such opportunities are presented to the clergy in connection with funerals which among the Finns have the stirring quality of prayer meetings. Members of the workers' societies come with more ease to funerals because their innate feeling is that it is their duty to honor the deceased by being present at his funeral. On these occasions the clergyman's message will more naturally penetrate into the heart of the unbelieving worker.

.

1. Ibid, p. 107.

C. Dispersion and Changes in the Policies of the
Labor Movement

The Finnish workers of America also have had bitter experiences and losses during their lifetime. Among them have been numerous strike fights, some of which they have won, while others were lost by them. Sometimes representatives of the Church publicly opposed their activities, as was the case during an extensive strike in Minnesota, when in the name of the Finnish people a protest against the activities of the socialists was entered in 1908.¹ The strike of the copper miners in Michigan in 1913 also meant loss to the workers.

The coarseness of the language of the press brought about the opposition of the clergy and authorities. Heretofore mention has been made of several lost lawsuits. The Church papers have continuously entered protests against the gross propaganda of the workers, although it has not been possible to answer everything.

Moreover, in the midst of the Finnish labor, (formation of new notable groups) reverses and losses occurred, from which the Finnish labor front in America never again has risen hale and hearty. The first break-up in their front occurred in 1914, when I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) and the Finnish Socialist Federation separated. The I.W.W. took from the socialists about 6,000 to 7,000 members.²

.

1. F.J.Syrjälä, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, pp. 73-77, 158-165.
2. Ibid, pp. 85, 86.

A new break occurred in 1919 in Chicago at a general labor conference. The communists withdrew from the socialist federation, taking along 4,500 members and leaving the socialist party with only 3,500.¹

Finnish labor thus had divided into three sharply opposed groups, although they originally had sprouted from the same stub. The most unyielding and gross among them was the communist group, which in recent years has lost almost all its influence among the Finns, all the more that its papers have succumbed to economic difficulties. The second group represents the I.W.W., radical industrialists or factory workers, who also approve violent acts in carrying out their ideas. Thus, the group approaches anarchism. The third, most vigorous and most conservative of them, is the socialist group, which still continues strong and vigorous among the American Finns and gathers at its Workers' Club people exactly as before for shows and socials and various recitals, although it has made its separation from the Russian communists in public and maintains that it does not approve of them. In the battle between Finland and Russia, the Finnish socialists sided with Finland and have eagerly participated in aiding struggling Finland together with the church people, the temperance people and the nationalistic Finns.² But even the socialists will not become supporters of the Finnish churches in America, making it immediately clear that they do not approve the fundamental conceptions of Christianity. If there are exceptions, they join the Church and become alienated from former Workers' Club interests.

.

1. Ibid, p. 86.

2. Työssä Suomen hyväksi, pp. 3, 15.

The Finnish Church has won over even communists. They were once a very strong party in America. The Finnish communists have been the main power in their party in this country. In the Workers' Party's 15,233 members there were 6,803 Finns, 877 Russians, 1048 Jews, 1064 Slovenians, 319 Italians, 359 Hungarians, 245 Polish, 1192 Americans, and the rest of the other nationalities.¹ This information is given by the Communistic Internationale. When the communists came to the Church, many have become honest and sacrificing parishioners, loyal to their mission, with the humility of prodigal sons in their hearts. Ordinarily they become loyal supporters and defenders of their pastor.

D. Summary and Conclusions

The Finnish labor movement of America gained speed in the very beginning, when the socialist movement was rising in Europe and America. It found fertile soil in the unprepared people who had lived here without regular spiritual care and were not spiritually alert.

The battle between labor and the churches therefore could not be anything but difficult, since the Church circles were not informed about the ideas of socialism, and later of communism, and therefore were not prepared to meet them. Through their propaganda the workers attack all Finnish churches and associations in their coarse press and other literature. They had whole flocks of preachers who agitated the Finnish people to depart for utopian Russia, where they went in great numbers in the decade of 1930-40. They have been

.

1. F.J. Syrjälä, Historia-aiheita Ameriikan Suomalaisesta Työväen liikkeestä, p. 207.

promised much goods at low cost over there, but, miserably and sheepishly, some have succeeded in fleeing from there, and even joining churches here upon awakening from their false dreams.

Due to their meeting technic, many labor representatives were helpful in surrendering Finnish temperance halls, sometimes even churches, to socialists and communists.

Many of their abilities, which the bourgeois class did not have, they had acquired by courses and study at their labor clubs. From a mundane point of view, many of them were smarter than the church people and were able to harass the latter in many pursuits of life. They were hard on the clergy, although, properly speaking, only one Finnish clergyman died a martyr's death as a result of being attacked by them.

Finally, the Finnish workers in America are divided between three opposing camps which have no contact with one another, namely, socialists, industrialists, and communists. The might of the communists has suffered a thorough beating among the Finns in America despite the fact that they formerly were the backbone of the American communist party. Naturally, the movement has not yet been finally beaten, although it has been compelled to go underground due to existing conditions. Nevertheless, Finnish Churches have won a part of all these leftist groups through the message of salvation of the gospel.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the first chapter there is the historical background of the Finns in America. The story of the Delaware settlement and Alaska Colony under the Russian Government were the first experiences of the Finns in America.

In the second chapter there is related more specific information about the character of the Finnish Lutherans, namely the apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians, about Suomi Synod and the National Lutherans with their problems. There are also the special problems of the other Finnish Churches. In addition to the general problems of all Finnish Churches, special attention is given to the problems of transition, moral difficulties, misuse of freedom, the problems of language, citizenship, worship, the problems of the first and second generations. There is also the story about the Sunday School and youth work, about Mission and Home Mission work. There is also related the manner in which the Finnish Americans have helped their old home country in its difficulties during the last years.

In the third chapter is discussed the relationship of the Church and the organized associations in their war against the moral evils, in an effort to build up a better culture in America. Those societies are the temperance movement, different national associations,

the national secret societies and the Finnish national newspapers. Some of these societies are older than many congregations.

In the fourth chapter are the hot spots of all Finnish Church life, because there are the problems of politics and the socialistic movements. At first the Finnish Church was alone in its fight against labor agitators. There was the battle in the papers and in the different societies. The theaters and labor clubs were the big training centers of workers in anti-Christian spirit. But the workers' front was not without its inner conflicts and there will be seen the great dispersion and changes in the politics of the workers. It was not so easy to open the mind of the American state officials, because the Finnish left wing movement was very powerful and active, using the American freedom for its ideals. But the very coarse language and the behavior of the radical workers soon opened the minds of the state officials, because those radicals are also dangerous to them.

B. Problems and Conclusions

There are no longer any problems concerning Delaware and Alaska, except the problem of the Home Mission. But it is an important question and worthy of discussing more fully in this chapter.

The problems of the unorganized churches still have their influence today. What was not done during those early times, when the Finnish emigrants first came to this country, between the years of 1860-1890, cannot be done today either. We cannot get back those lost times, which are gone, without much sowing and reaping. They are the times when the soil was prepared for the anti-Christian seed, which

was sowed in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its harvest has been rich and plentiful and it will still win too many souls. But its main power has been already beaten in the American countries.

The problems of the Finnish Lutherans in America are many. One of the main problems of all Finnish Lutherans is their separation into various disharmonious groups which have nothing to do with one another. There is no union among the Finnish Lutherans. The Apostolic Lutherans or Laestadians are divided into four groups which are at variance with one another. Suomi Synod and the National Lutheran Church have very similar church and doctrine, but there is no union between them. There have been attempts to bring about a union of these churches, but without success.

A very serious problem which also exists in all Finnish Churches is the lack of ministers. More about this later in this chapter.

Moral difficulties are still acute problems. It is still necessary to give attention to the temperance movement and work with them hand in hand. It is also necessary to preach the gospel, which points out and emphasizes the value of a moral, sober life.

The problem of the second generation is not too serious any more. The Finnish American ministers are already able to preach the gospel in both languages. This question must be settled in every congregation according to the majority of the voters, so that it is satisfactory to all groups, enabling them to listen to the gospel in that language which they understand.

To Sunday School and youth work is, generally speaking, given

its rightful place, and it is normally advanced in all Finnish Churches, except the Laestadians.

The Mission work has progressed so rapidly during the last ten years in all congregations, that it brings joy for the other Christians to hear it.

Helping Finland and other European countries in their danger from Communism, is a very well-known problem in America. This problem is also very well met in all Finnish Churches in America.

The relationship between the Finnish American Church and the organized associations is good today. They are still working together and helping each other. The relationship between the Church and the socialists is much better than before, because the socialistic group is now working with it for Finland. Otherwise they have not very much to do with each other. The old enmity between the Finnish Christian Church and the communists is still there, but a few of their members have rejected their old ideals and joined the Churches. The power of the Finnish communists has gone. It has been ruined in its own inner battles, in its battles against the Finnish Church and in its battles against official authorities of the United States. Many of them have been betrayed by the practice of the Russian communistic government against its small neighbor, Finland, which the idealistic communists also loved. So Finnish American communism has declared war against itself, and therefore, it could not stand. But it is hard for them to confess their sins and repent.

Transition to the American churchlife for the Finnish Christians has not been too easy a problem. Their language is very

far from the English language. The Finnish character is different from many members who represent other nations and races. Of course, American life has not been too strange for the Finns, otherwise they would not have come to this country. America has also given freedom to the Finns. It has also given to them the freedom to think openly and independently, and that is what the Finns like very much. There has always been a very warm relationship between the Finns and the Americans and between Finland and America. In the practical American customs there is very much that the practical Finns also love. For these reasons there has always been a good relationship and friendship between Finland and America.

C. The Plan for the Reorganization of the Home Mission
in the Finnish Lutheran Churches

The question of the Home Mission is now most serious. Therefore it would be valuable to make a plan of how to reorganize the Finnish Home Mission among the Lutherans, for the good of all these Churches.

Each Lutheran group should choose one man from its Church for the United Home Mission Board, which will have only three members. These three members of the three different Churches must be friendly and amiable toward one another, as Christians. It would be still better if three persons could be found who have experience in these three Churches and could in some way be representatives of these Churches, when necessary. They should not attack the other groups in their sermons, but rather build bridges between them. Each church group should give

a list of those congregations which are without regular service in the church-body, to these men. All three ministers should be on full time service, choosing themselves in which city they will live. These three ministers should be in contact with one another, if possible, but otherwise they could be independent. These home mission ministers should serve the many congregations which are without ministers. They could be guest speakers in other Finnish Lutheran churches outside their own if they should be called, but otherwise they should serve only their own church-group. Once a year they should have discussion meetings with the others, to explain their difficulties to each other and to make plans for the future. They should bear one thing clear in mind - that they are serving the Finnish people in the best way they can and that their service is a great sacrifice . They should know that they are called "The repairer of the breach, the restorer¹ of paths to dwell in."

Another important question is the lack of ministers in all Finnish groups. It would be wise to call young ministers from Finland, who have studied the English language in their schools or otherwise have learned to use the English language. These Finnish ministers could be used very well as home mission ministers, but their field should be very carefully explained to them first. Contact could be made with the Archbishop of Finland, requesting him to help, together with other Finnish bishops, to choose these young ministers. It would be possible to get these young Finnish ministers during

.

1. Isaiah 58: 12.

these times, because so many Finnish ministers are not serving their own Church in Finland any more due to the economic and political situation.

If anything is ever to be done for the Finnish Home Mission work in America, this is the time for this work, because the old generation will soon leave this world, and their descendants are not able to understand the Finnish sermon very well. Neither are they trained to listen for the word of God in English. This is the time to seek those lost sheep of the Finnish people, if it is possible to find any.

"SEEK, AND YOU WILL FIND."¹

.

1. Matthew 7:7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

- Holy Bible, Authorized (King James) Version,
The National Bible Press,
Philadelphia, 1944.
- New Testament, Revised Standard Version,
New York, 1946. Thomas Nelson & Sons.
- Engelberg, Rafael Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset,
Suomi-Seura r.y., Helsinki, 1944.
- Kolehmainen, John F. The Finns in America
A Bibliographical Guide to their History.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock,
Mich., 1947.
- Rautanen, V. Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko,
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern,
Hancock, Mich., 1911.
- Saarnivaara, Uuras Amerikan läestadiolaisuuden eli apostolis-
luterilaisuuden historia. Ironwood, Mich., 1947.
- Syrjälä, F. J. Historia-aiheita Amerikan suomalaisesta
Työväenliikkeestä,
Suom. Sosial. Kustannusyhtiö, Fitchburg, Mass.
- Evangelis-luterilainen Kansalliskirkko
National Publ. Company, Ironwood, Mich., 1949.

B. Secondary Sources

- Bergroth, Elis Suomen Kirkko, W.S.O.Y. Porvoo, 1902.
- Heiskanen, V. A. Kävin tähtilipun maassa.
Kustannusyhtiö Karhu, Helsinki, 1946.
- Hirvonen, Juuso Michiganin Kuparialue ja suomalaiset siirtolaiset,
Päivälehti, Duluth, 1920.
- Hillilä, Hugo Valinkauhassa,
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock,
Mich., 1950

- Ilmonen, S. Amerikan suomalaisten historiaa I-III.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock,
Mich., 1919.
- Ilmonen, S. Amerikan ensimmäiset suomalaiset, Hancock,
Mich., 1916.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern.
- Ilmonen, S. Amerikan suomalaisten sivistyshistoria I-III, osa.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock,
Mich., 1931.
- Laestadius, Lars Levi Postilla, the sermons of Laestadius, Suomi.
- Olander, Ragnar Amerikka Valokeilassa,
Otava, Helsinki, 1946.
- Pietilä, A. J. Helsingistä Astoriaan,
W.S.O.Y. Helsinki.
- Pulli, E. A. Ja Setä Sämi avasi ovensa.
Finnish Publishing Company, Duluth, Minn., 1947.
- Saarinen, J. F. America Awake,
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock,
Mich., 1948.
- Saarisuu, Arvi Henry Riemuvuoden Virta,
St. John's Ev. Luth. Congregation,
New Finland, Wapella, Sask., Canada, 1940.
- Tokoi, Oskari Amerikan suomalaisia,
Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi, Helsinki, 1949.
- Wuorinen, John H. The Finns on the Delaware 1638-1655.
Columbia University Press, 1938, New York, N. Y.
- Kalevala,
Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki,
1918.
- Kanteletar
Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki,
1947.
- Suomen Evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon
Kirkkolaki vuodelta, 1869, Helsinki.

C. Encyclopedias

Iso Tietosanakirja A,
Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, Porvoo-
Helsinki, p. 450.

Oma Maa, I-VI.
Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1907--II.

Kilpi, O. K.

Oma Maa V. Suomen siirtolaisuudesta.

Rauanheimo, Akseli

Oma Maa III, Amerikan suomalaiset.

Ruuth, Martti

Oma Maa IV, Uskonnollinen seperatiimi ja
uskonnovapautta koskeva lainsäädäntö Suomessa.

Voionmaa, Väinö

Oma Maa, VI, Suomen Työväenliike.

D. Magazines, Calendars, Pamphlets

Engelberg, Rafael

Suomen Silta, Kevät 1937, Helsinki,
Ulkosuomalaiskysymys luonteeltaan ja
merkitykseltään suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa.

Ilmonen, S.

Suomi College Bulletin, December, 1938, Hancock,
Mich.
Delawaren siirtokunnan seurakunnat ja papit.

Karhisto, E. N.

Suomen Silta, Jouluku 1937, Helsinki,
Marcus Jacobus,
The Long Finn.

Lindeman, Otto

Raitis Jouluku 1939, Duluth, Minn.

Salminen, Carl H.

Suomen Silta, Kesä 1937, Helsinki
Siirtolaisuudesta ja siirtolaisista.

Saarisuu, Arvi Henry

Suomen Silta, Kesä 1948. Helsinki,
Delaware, poem.

Kirkollinen Kalenteri, 1951, Hancock, Mich.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern.

Raittiuskansan Kalenteri, 1951, Hancock, Mich.

Siirtokansan Kalenteri, 1934, 1938.
Duluth, Minn., Carl H. Salminen.

Kalevainen, 1951, Detroit, Mich.

Suomi Kirkko 1891-1941, Fairport Harbor, Ohio.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock, Mich.,
1941.

Detroit, Mich., Suom. Ev. Luth. Seurakunnan 25-
vuotis-Juhlajulkaisu, 1939.

Tähti 40 vuotta New Yorkissa, U. S. A.
New Yorkin Uutisten Kirjapaino, 1936.

Kalevaisten 50-vuotis Juhlajulkaisu 1898-1948.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1948.

Työssä Suomen hyväksi,
Fitchburgin ja ympäristön Suomen Avustustoimikunta,
Raivaaajan Kustannusosakeyhtiön kirjapainossa,
Fitchburg, Mass., 1941.

Vuosikirja 1951. Evankelis-lutherilainen Kansal--
liskirkko,
National Publishing Company, Ironwood, Mich.

Muistoja 30-vuotisesta lähetystyöstä,
Suomalainen Evankelinen Lähetysyhdistys,
Pohjan Tähtien kirjapaino, Fitchburg, Mass., 1920.

Suomi Synodin viisikymmen-vuotismuisto 1890-1940.
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern 1940.

Ashtabula Harborin Bethania Seurakuntaan 25--vuotis--
julkaisu 1891-1916
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern.

Year Book of the Finnish Ev. Luth. Church or
Suomi Synod 1950,
Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, Hancock, Mich.

Kultalehtiä, Brooklyn Ev. Luth. Seurakunnan 50-
vuotisjuhla-julkaisu 1891-1941.

Suomi College and Theological Seminary,
General Catalogue 1950-1952.

Harlemin Suom. Ev. Luth. Seurakunnan 45-vuotisjuhlien
juhlaohjelma, 1950.

E. Newspapers

Saarisuu, Arvi Henry

Amerikan Suometar, The American Finn, Hancock, Mich.
 Finnish Lutheran Book Concern.
 Pennsylvania monessa suhteessa mielenkiintoinen, April 3, 1945.

Saarisuu, Arvi Henry

Alaskan hengellinen työ, May, 1945.

Isien Usko, The Faith of our Fathers,
 Winnipeg, Man. Canada, February, 1951.

The Lutheran Counselor, Hancock, Mich.
 February, March, 1951.

The Messenger, Hancock, Mich., 1951.

Auttaja, The Helper,
 National Publishing Company, Ironwood, Mich.

New Yorkin Uutiset, The Finnish New York News,
 Brooklyn, N. Y., March 20, 1951.

Paimen Sanomat, The Shepherd's Tidings,
 Finnish Lutheran Book Concern

Totuuden Todistaja, The Witness of the Truth,
 Finnish Pentecostal Churches in America,
 New York City, February, 1951.

Palvelija, The Servant,
 N. Y. Mills, Minn., January, 1951.

F. Unpublished Material

Hokkanen, W.

Reports of Rev. W. Hokkanen concerning the
 Finnish Congregational Church, 1951.

Lähde, Urho

Reports of Rev. Urho Lähde concerning the
 Finnish Pentecostal Churches, 1951.

Saarisuu, Arvi Henry

Lars Levi Laestadius as the Preacher, Unpublished
 study concerning the preaching of the prophet of
 Lapland.